ENCYCLOPAEDIA AETHIOPICA

Volume 2

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ENCYCLOPAEDIA AETHIOPICA

Volume 2
D–Ha

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Introduction

The Encyclopaedia Aethiopica, a state-of-the-art reference work for Ethiopian and Eritrean studies, was launched in 1997. Created by hundreds of scholars from all over the world, whose joint efforts are coordinated by Hamburg University team, the lexicon will contain circa 4,500 articles in its four volumes. The fifth volume will accommodate indices and necessary supplements as well as addenda and corrigenda.

Volume one was presented to the scholarly audience during the 15th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies held in Hamburg during the summer of 2003. Since then it has found its due place in the fields of Ethiopian, African and Oriental studies; the first reviews have already appeared (for example, the review by Joseph Tubiana in *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 194–211). The publication of the first volume, with nearly 1,000 articles, motivated many more colleagues to collaborate with the project.

Geographically, the Encyclopaedia focuses on the Horn of Africa. Present-day Ethiopia and Eritrea receive the most attention, but issues concerning Djibouti and the border areas of the Sudan and Somalia are also addressed. Thematically, the Encyclopaedia concentrates on the humanities, with history, anthropology, languages and literature, culture, religion and arts forming the core areas. Geographic and biographic entries are also indispensable in a lexicon of the Encyclopaedia Aethiopica's scale.

The Provisional Military Government's rise to power in 1974 creates a temporal caesura for the Encyclopaedia; however, events after this demarcation point are included if they originated before 1974.

The Encyclopaedia articles present basic information in a concise form; to encourage further research, the articles are accompanied by a short list of bibliographic references, which distinguishes between primary and secondary sources. Maps and illustrations offer additional information.

All entries appear alphabetically, and Oriental notations are listed according to their transliterated form. For personal names, pre-positioned particles like *da*, *de*, *van* or similar are ignored for the sake of simplicity – irrespective of traditional names relating to a person's provenance – thus facilitating the search for a name under its main part (e.g., *Andrade, Antonio de*; *Bassano, Francesco Da*; *Esbroek, Michel van*). Somali words are as a rule transcribed in accordance with this work's orthographical rules (s. Transcription and transliteration tables). Articles that for various reasons could not be accommodated in due alphabetical order will appear in volume five.

To make volume two bindable, the block of the articles beginning with letter H had to be divided in two parts; the second part (beginning with *Healers/Healing*) will appear in volume three.

Due to a software error, a portion of text, between pages 809 and 810, was unfortunately omitted in the first volume. We apologize to our readers and the authors of the affected articles, *Coup d'etat 1916* and *Coup d'etat 1960*, and enclose the corrected pages with the present volume. These pages can also be downloaded from the official Encyclopaedia website (*http://www.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/EAE*), and they will be reprinted in volume five.

Acknowledgements

An interdisciplinary project like the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* can only be successful if it collaborates with scholars who are willing to research topics lying within their field of competence in addition to investigating new areas. Such scholars must also be able to phrase their results concisely and be willing to allow their research to pass through intensive editorial processing by colleagues and co-authors. Just like the first volume of the Encyclopaedia, the second volume saw numerous contributors face up to this challenge: over 250 authors agreed to collaborate and are herewith presenting the results of their painstaking work. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to them all, especially to the many Ethiopian scholars for their tremendous commitment to the project. The exceptionally active co-operation of young scholars should be particularly emphasized. I owe special thanks to those researchers who participated in the project notwithstanding personal complications of various kinds.

A special circle of colleagues had the difficult task of reading the submitted entries and making suggestions towards their improvement. Their number is in reality higher than that of the official "Field Specialists", whose names are listed on page xi, because many placed themselves at our disposal in certain individual cases. I thank them all for their important help and willingness to respond at short notice.

Several colleagues have agreed to serve the Editorial team as "First Readers" by critically reading through the draft manuscripts, and this under considerable time constraints. In many cases they were able to draw our attention to embarrassing mistakes at the very last minute: for this I am sincerely grateful.

Special thanks go to those Ethiopisants who agreed to participate in the editorial activities of the Research Unit Ethiopian Studies making themselves available and at hand in Hamburg. These were, in most cases, the same scholars who have agreed to become members of the "Advisory Board" and spent long days and weeks in Hamburg – in some cases several trips were made whilst working on this volume. During their stays at the University, they daily – and sometimes nightly – discussed current problems together with members of the Editorial team, checked and counterchecked the articles, tested the coherence between different entries dealing with related topics, suggested alternative phrasing and made important additions. In this connection I must emphasize the collaboration of Gianfranco Fiaccadori who regularly came to Hamburg – for one to two weeks – and took active part in the editorial work.

I owe my most sincere gratitude to the young editorial team that bears the daily workload with me. Their duties and responsibilities are indeed vast, including: writing articles, formatting and laying out the incoming texts, revising articles as necessary – shortening or extending when needed – looking up references and ensuring the necessary contiguity throughout the volume. Additionally, they check the structure of general entries, and perform the numerous processing and editing steps that are necessary for the entries' completion. Whilst performing their work, the team remains in individual correspondence with authors and field specialists and ensures the progress in

scholarly discussion – remaining involved and yet critically distant at the same time. All of these tasks they perform with tremendous dedication, time and energy, and the project would not be possible without their extraordinary effort. I would like to thank them all, and also our student assistants for their technical support.

Various individuals and organizations have provided a number of less visible but often important contributions, and I would like to express my gratitude to them all, even if I can only list them here very briefly. I would also like to mention all those who have placed valuable illustrative material at our disposal and those who have helped us and the authors to translate articles written in languages other than English. My special thanks are owed to the Institute of Ethiopian Studies of Addis Ababa University for its important support, to Matthias Schulz for his detailed maps, to Arthur Irvine for language proof-reading, to Thomas Rave for the lay-out and to Michael Langfeld from Harrassowitz Verlag for invaluable professional technical advice.

The financial support, and thus the necessary material base for the project, came from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft within the framework of a long-term project, from the German-Israeli Foundation, the Zeit-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, the Johanna und Fritz Buch Gedächtnisstiftung, and the Stiftung zur Förderung der Äthiopistik. The present volume could only appear thanks to the generosity of the Universität Hamburg, which accommodates and equips the Research Unit, thus ensuring its technical survival, and offers support at the administrative level.

I am particularly grateful to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for the subsidy towards the printing costs, which has allowed us to maintain a relatively low price for the volume, particularly relevant for scholars from less economically secure countries.

Last but not least, we cannot forget those Encyclopaedia authors who have passed away since the launch of the project, having sometimes spent the very last weeks of their lives working on their contributions. Among those are Aberra Jembere, Ayele Teklehaymanot, Sevir Chernetsov, Michael van Esbroek, Friedrich Heyer, Thomas Leiper Kane, Otto Meinardus, Caspar Detlef Gustav Müller, Stuart Munro-Hay, Paulos Tzadua and Alexander Sima. To them we owe a debt of gratitude and sincere appreciation.

Siegbert Uhlig
Hamburg, 7 March 2005*

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* on the occasion of the Centenary of German-Ethiopian Diplomatic Relationships

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Notes for the User

Transliteration and Transcription Tables

Table 1. General Encyclopaedia Aethiopica transcription system

	Plosive	Plos. implos.	Plos. eject.	Nasal	Affricat.	Aff. ejective	Fricat.	Approx.	Lateral approx.	Tap/flap	Trill
Bilabial, vcl.	p		p̣		pf		ɸ				
Bilabial, vcd.	b	ɓ		m	bv		β	w			
Labiodental, vcl.							f				
Labiodental, vcd.							v				
Dental, vcl.	t		ṭ				θ/ṯ				
Dental, vcd.	d	ɗ		n			ð/ḏ				
Alveolar, vcl.					ʦ	ṣ	s		l̥		r̥
Alveolar, vcd.					dz		z		l		r
Lateral, vcl.					tɬ	tɬ̣	ɬ				
Lateral, vcd.					dl		ɮ				
Retroflex, vcl.	ʈ				ç̌		ş				
Retroflex, vcd.	ɖ	ḍ					ʐ				ɽ
Postalveolar, vcl.					č		ç̣̌	š			
Postalveolar, vcd.					ǧ		ž				
Palatal, vcl.	c						ɕ				
Palatal, vcd.	j			ñ			ʝ	y			
Velar, vcl.	k		q		kx		ḵ/x				
Velar, vcd.	g	ɠ		ŋ	gɣ		ɣ				
Labiovelar, vcl.	kp						xʷ				
Labiovelar, vcd.	gb						ɣʷ				
Uvular, vcl.	q										
Uvular, vcd.	ɢ						ʁ/ġ				ʀ
Pharyngal, vcl.							ḥ				
Pharyngal, vcd.							ʿ/ʕ				
Glottal, vcl.	ʾ/ʔ						h				
Glottal, vcd.							ɦ				

Table 2. Gəʿəz script

1st order		2nd order		3rd order		4th order		5th order		6th order*		7th order	
ሀ	*ha*	ሁ	*hu*	ሂ	*hi*	ሃ	*ha*	ሄ	*he*	ህ	*hə*	ሆ	*ho*
ለ	*lä*	ሉ	*lu*	ሊ	*li*	ላ	*la*	ሌ	*le*	ል	*lə*	ሎ	*lo*
ሐ	*ḥa*	ሑ	*ḥu*	ሒ	*ḥi*	ሓ	*ḥa*	ሔ	*ḥe*	ሕ	*ḥə*	ሖ	*ḥo*
መ	*mä*	ሙ	*mu*	ሚ	*mi*	ማ	*ma*	ሜ	*me*	ም	*mə*	ሞ	*mo*
ሠ	*śä*	ሡ	*śu*	ሢ	*śi*	ሣ	*śa*	ሤ	*śe*	ሥ	*śə*	ሦ	*śo*
ረ	*rä*	ሩ	*ru*	ሪ	*ri*	ራ	*ra*	ሬ	*re*	ር	*rə*	ሮ	*ro*
ሰ	*sä*	ሱ	*su*	ሲ	*si*	ሳ	*sa*	ሴ	*se*	ስ	*sə*	ሶ	*so*
ሸ	*šä*	ሹ	*šu*	ሺ	*ši*	ሻ	*ša*	ሼ	*še*	ሽ	*šə*	ሾ	*šo*
ቀ	*qä*	ቁ	*qu*	ቂ	*qi*	ቃ	*qa*	ቄ	*qe*	ቅ	*qə*	ቆ	*qo*
ቐ	*q̣ä*	ቑ	*q̣u*	ቒ	*q̣i*	ቓ	*q̣a*	ቔ	*q̣e*	ቕ	*q̣ə*	ቖ	*q̣o*
በ	*bä*	ቡ	*bu*	ቢ	*bi*	ባ	*ba*	ቤ	*be*	ብ	*bə*	ቦ	*bo*
ተ	*tä*	ቱ	*tu*	ቲ	*ti*	ታ	*ta*	ቴ	*te*	ት	*tə*	ቶ	*to*
ቸ	*čä*	ቹ	*ču*	ቺ	*či*	ቻ	*ča*	ቼ	*če*	ች	*čə*	ቾ	*čo*
ኀ	*ḫa*	ኁ	*ḫu*	ኂ	*ḫi*	ኃ	*ḫa*	ኄ	*ḫe*	ኅ	*ḫə*	ኆ	*ḫo*
ነ	*nä*	ኑ	*nu*	ኒ	*ni*	ና	*na*	ኔ	*ne*	ን	*nə*	ኖ	*no*
ኘ	*ñä*	ኙ	*ñu*	ኚ	*ñi*	ኛ	*ña*	ኜ	*ñe*	ኝ	*ñə*	ኞ	*ño*
አ	*ʾa*	ኡ	*ʾu*	ኢ	*ʾi*	ኣ	*ʾa*	ኤ	*ʾe*	እ	*ʾə*	ኦ	*ʾo*
ከ	*kä*	ኩ	*ku*	ኪ	*ki*	ካ	*ka*	ኬ	*ke*	ክ	*kə*	ኮ	*ko*
ኸ	*ḵä*	ኹ	*ḵu*	ኺ	*ḵi*	ኻ	*ḵa*	ኼ	*ḵe*	ኽ	*ḵə*	ኾ	*ḵo*
ወ	*wä*	ዉ	*wu*	ዊ	*wi*	ዋ	*wa*	ዌ	*we*	ው	*wə*	ዎ	*wo*
ዐ	*ʿa*	ዑ	*ʿu*	ዒ	*ʿi*	ዓ	*ʿa*	ዔ	*ʿe*	ዕ	*ʿə*	ዖ	*ʿo*
ዘ	*zä*	ዙ	*zu*	ዚ	*zi*	ዛ	*za*	ዜ	*ze*	ዝ	*zə*	ዞ	*zo*
ዠ	*žä*	ዡ	*žu*	ዢ	*ži*	ዣ	*ža*	ዤ	*že*	ዥ	*žə*	ዦ	*žo*
የ	*yä*	ዩ	*yu*	ዪ	*yi*	ያ	*ya*	ዬ	*ye*	ይ	*yə*	ዮ	*yo*
ደ	*dä*	ዱ	*du*	ዲ	*di*	ዳ	*da*	ዴ	*de*	ድ	*də*	ዶ	*do*
ጀ	*ǧä*	ጁ	*ǧu*	ጂ	*ǧi*	ጃ	*ǧa*	ጄ	*ǧe*	ጅ	*ǧə*	ጆ	*ǧo*
ገ	*gä*	ጉ	*gu*	ጊ	*gi*	ጋ	*ga*	ጌ	*ge*	ግ	*gə*	ጎ	*go*

1st order	2nd order	3rd order	4th order	5th order	6th order*	7th order
ጠ *ṭä*	ጡ *ṭu*	ጢ *ṭi*	ጣ *ṭa*	ጤ *ṭe*	ጥ *ṭə*	ጦ *ṭo*
ጨ *č̣ä*	ጩ *č̣u*	ጪ *č̣i*	ጫ *č̣a*	ጬ *č̣e*	ጭ *č̣ə*	ጮ *č̣o*
ጰ *p̣ä*	ጱ *p̣u*	ጲ *p̣i*	ጳ *p̣a*	ጴ *p̣e*	ጵ *p̣ə*	ጶ *p̣o*
ጸ *ṣä*	ጹ *ṣu*	ጺ *ṣi*	ጻ *ṣa*	ጼ *ṣe*	ጽ *ṣə*	ጾ *ṣo*
ፀ *ṣ́ä*	ፁ *ṣ́u*	ፂ *ṣ́i*	ፃ *ṣ́a*	ፄ *ṣ́e*	ፅ *ṣ́ə*	ፆ *ṣ́o*
ፈ *fä*	ፉ *fu*	ፊ *fi*	ፋ *fa*	ፌ *fe*	ፍ *fə*	ፎ *fo*
ፐ *pä*	ፑ *pu*	ፒ *pi*	ፓ *pa*	ፔ *pe*	ፕ *pə*	ፖ *po*
ቨ *vä*	ቩ *vu*	ቪ *vi*	ቫ *va*	ቬ *ve*	ቭ *və*	ቮ *vo*

Labiovelars**:

ቈ *qʷä*	ቊ *qʷi*	ቋ *qʷa*	ቌ *qʷe*	ቍ *qʷə*
ኈ *ḫʷä*	ኊ *ḫʷi*	ኋ *ḫʷa*	ኌ *ḫʷe*	ኍ *ḫʷə*
ኰ *kʷä*	ኲ *kʷi*	ኳ *kʷa*	ኴ *kʷe*	ኵ *kʷə*
ጐ *gʷä*	ጒ *gʷi*	ጓ *gʷa*	ጔ *gʷe*	ጕ *gʷə*
ዀ *ḵʷä*	ዂ *ḵʷi*	ዃ *ḵʷa*	ዄ *ḵʷe*	ዅ *ḵʷə*
ቘ *qʷä*	ቚ *qʷi*	ቛ *qʷa*	ቜ *qʷe*	ቝ *qʷə*

* The consonant in the sixth order can be vocalized (-ə) or unvocalized (ø).

** Consonant symbols with the additional ¬ underneath (e.g., ሏ, *lʷa*, ቧ, *bʷa*, ቷ, *tʷa* etc.) or ˉ above (e.g., ሟ, *mʷa*, ሯ, *rʷa*, ፏ, *fʷa* etc.) stand for the respective consonant phonemes followed by -*ʷa*.

Numerals:

፩	1	፰	8	፷	60
፪	2	፱	9	፸	70
፫	3	፲	10	፹	80
፬	4	፳	20	፺	90
፭	5	፴	30	፻	100
፮	6	፵	40	፲፻	1,000
፯	7	፶	50	፼	10,000

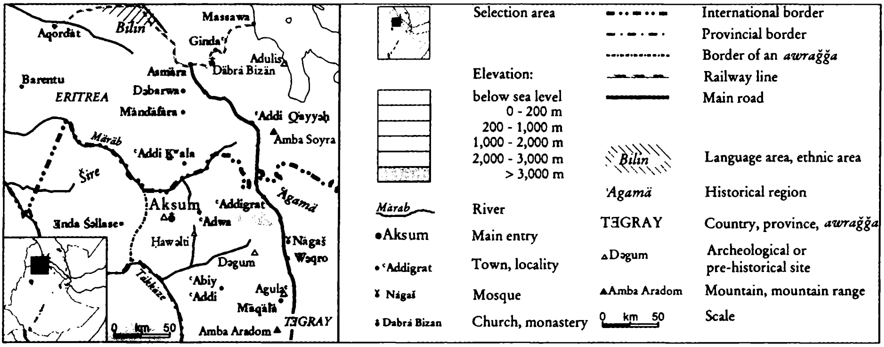
Table 3. Arabic transcription/transliteration

a)	Consonants										
أ	ʾ	ح	ḥ	ز	z	ط	ṭ	ق	q	ه	h
ب	b	خ	ḫ	س	s	ظ	ẓ	ك	k	و	w
ت	t	د	d	ش	š	ع	ʿ	ل	l	ي	y
ث	ṯ	ذ	ḏ	ص	ṣ	غ	ġ	م	m		
ج	ǧ	ر	r	ض	ḍ	ف	f	ن	n		
b)	Vowels										
ـَ	a	ا or ى	ā	ـُ	u	و	ū	ـِ	i	ي	ī

Table 4. Transliteration for Epigraphic South Arabian

𐩱	ʾ	𐩳	ḍ	𐩭	ḫ	𐩬	n	𐩯	ś (s^3)	𐩥	w
𐩲	ʿ	𐩰	f	𐩢	ḥ	𐩤	q	𐩮	ṣ	𐩺	y
𐩨	b	𐩴	g	𐩫	k	𐩧	r	𐩩	t	𐩸	z
𐩵	d	𐩶	ġ	𐩡	l	𐩪	s (s^1)	𐩻	ṯ	𐩼	ẓ
𐩹	ḏ	𐩠	h	𐩣	m	𐩦	š (s^2)	𐩷	ṭ		

Key to Detail Maps


Massawa
Aqordät
Bilin
Ginda'
Adulis
Asmära
Däbrä Bizän
Barentu
ERITREA
Däbarwa
Mändäfära
'Addi Qäyyəḥ
Amba Soyra
Märäb
'Addi K'ala
Širé
'Agamä
Aksum
'Addigrat
Ǝnda Śəllase
'Adwa
Hawəlti
Nägaš
Wəqro
Dəgum
'Abiy 'Addi
Agula'
Täkkäze
Mäqälä
TƎGRAY
Amba Aradom
0 km 50
Selection area
Elevation:
below sea level
0 - 200 m
200 - 1,000 m
1,000 - 2,000 m
2,000 - 3,000 m
> 3,000 m
Märab
River
Aksum
Main entry
'Addigrat
Town, locality
Nägaš
Mosque
Dabrä Bizan
Church, monastery
International border
Provincial border
Border of an awraǧǧa
Railway line
Main road
Bilin
Language area, ethnic area
'Agamä
Historical region
TƎGRAY
Country, province, awraǧǧa
Dəgum
Archeological or pre-historical site
Amba Aradom
Mountain, mountain range
0 km 50
Scale

Disclaimer: The majority of boundaries used by the Encyclopedia Aethiopica reflect the situation at the end of the Ḫaylä Śəllase I period. The only exception is the international border between Ethiopia and Eritrea, which reflects the present situation. The borderlines shown on the maps should not be considered official.

General Abbreviations

abbr.	abbreviation; abbreviated
A.D.	*Anno Domini*
Afr.	African
A.M.	*Anno Misericordiae*; *ʿAmäta Məḥrät* (year in Ethiopian calendar)
A.Mart.	*Anno Martyrum*
Amh.	Amharic
ANLin	Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma
annot.	annotated
anon.	anonymous
Arab.	Arabic; Arabian
art.	article
A.S.L.	above sea level
b.	born
B.A.	Bachelor of Arts
B.C.	before Christian Era
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
bibl.	bibliography; bibliographical
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
BritLib	British Library, London
BritMus	British Museum, London
B.Sc.	Bachelor of Sciences
B.S.L.	below sea level
C	Celsius
ca.	*circa*
cent.	century
cf.	confer
ch(s).	chapter(s)
cm	centimetre(s)
col(s).	column(s)
comm.	commented
Copt.	Coptic
cp.	compare
d.	died, dead
D.Sc.	Doctor of Sciences
ead.	eadem (the same, fem.)
ed(s).	editor(s); edition; edited
e.g.	*exempli gratia* (for instance)
et al.	*et alia* (and others)
etc.	*et cetera*
Eritr.	Eritrean
Eth.	Ethiopian; Ethiopic
f(f).	(the) following
fasc.	fascicle
fem.	*femininum*
fig(s).	figurative(ly); figure(s)
fl.	flourished
fol(s).	folio(s)
Fr.	French
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
geogr.	geography; geographical
Germ.	German
Gr.	Greek
H.	*hiğrī* (year of Hiğra, i.e. in Arab. calendar)
ha	hectar(s)
ibid.	*ibidem* (in the same place)
id.	*idem* (the same, masc.)
i.e.	*id est* (that is [to say])
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa
iid.	iidem (the same, pl.)
ill.	illustration
incl.	including; inclusive(ly)
intr.	introduced; introduction
Ital.	Italian
IUO	Istituto Universitario Orientale (= Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
km	kilometre(s)
Lat.	Latin
lit.	literature; literal(ly)
l(l).	line(s)
m	metre(s)
M.A.	Master of Arts
masc.	*masculinum*
mf(s).	microfilm(s)
M.Sc.	Master of Sciences
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
n.	note; footnote
n.d.	no date
N.N.	*nomen nominandum*
no.	number
obv.	obverse
op.cit.	*opus citatum*
orig.	original(ly)
p(p).	page(s)
p.a.	*per annum*
pers.	person(al) [grammatical]

Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy
pl.	plural; plate
pol.	political; politics
pron.	pronoun
r	recto
r.	rule(d); reign(ed)
repr.	reprint(ed)
rev.	reverse
s.	see
ser.	series; série
sg.	singular
sp.	spelling; spelled
spec.	specifically; special
src.	source(s)
St.	Saint
suppl.	supplement(ary)
syn.	synonym(ous)
Syr.	Syriac; Syrian
Tgn.	Təgrəñña
Tgr.	Təgre
theol.	theology; theological
tr.	translation; translator; translated
trad.	traditional
v	verso
var.	variant; variation
VatLib	Vatican Library; Biblioteca [Apostolica] Vaticana
vol(s).	volumes
vs.	versus

Bibliographic Abbreviations

AAP	*Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere*, Köln 1985–2002
Abbay	*Abbay. Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la civilisation éthiopienne*, Paris 1977–86/87
AbbCat	Antoine d'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d'Abbadie*, Paris 1859
AbbGeogr	Antoine d'Abbadie, *Géographie de l'Éthiopie, ce que j'ai entendu, faisant suite à ce que j'ai vu*, Paris 1890
AbbSéjour	Arnauld d'Abbadie, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Ethiopie (Abyssinie)*, vol. 1, Paris 1868 [repr. Città del Vaticano 1980 (Studi e testi 286)]; vols. 2–4, ed. by Jeanne-Marie Allier, Città del Vaticano 1980, 1983, 1999 (Studi e testi 287, 304, 391)
ABoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*, Bruxelles 1882ff.
AbPrince	Mordechai Abir, *Ethiopia: the Era of the Princes. The Challenge of Islam and the Re-Unification of the Christian Empire, 1769–1855*, New York 1968
AE	*Annales d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1955ff.
AeF	*Aethiopistische Forschungen*, Stuttgart – Wiesbaden 1977ff.
Aethiopica	*Aethiopica. International Journal of Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies*, Wiesbaden 1998ff.
AfrZion	*African Zion: the Sacred Art of Ethiopia*, catalogue by Marilyn Heldman – Stuart C. Munro-Hay, essays by Donald Crummey et al., ed. by Roderick Grierson, New Haven – London 1993
AmhChurchD	Sergew Hable Sellassie (ed.), **የአማርኛ፡ የቤተክርስቲያን፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት**. *Amharic Church Dictionary*, 6 vols., Heidelberg – Addis Ababa 1981–82 A.M. [1989–90 A.D.]
Annali IUO	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, Napoli 1940ff.
ArEvang	Gustav Arén, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia. Origins of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus*, Stockholm – Addis Abeba 1978 (Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia 32)
AsmGada	Asmarom Legesse, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York 1973
AuÜ	*Afrika und Übersee*, Berlin 1910ff.
AWTarik	Asfa-Wossen Asserate, *Die Geschichte von Šawa (Äthiopien) 1700–1865 nach dem Tārika Nagaśt des Belāttēn Gētā Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 53)
BaetDic	Joseph Baeteman, *Dictionnaire amarigna–français. Suivi d'un vocabulaire français–amarigna*, Dire-Daoua 1929
BartOrom	Lambert Bartels, *Oromo Religion: Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia: an Attempt to Understand*, Berlin 1983 (Collectanea Instituti Anthropos 8)
BassDic	Francesco da Bassano, *Vocabolario tigray–italiano e repertorio italiano–tigray*, Roma 1918
BassÉt [I, II]	René Basset, "Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Première Partie: Chronique éthiopienne, d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris", *JA* 7e sér. 17, 1881, 315–434 [I]; 18, 1881, 93–183, 285–389 [II]; repr. Paris 1882

BassHist	ŠIHABADDĪN AḤMAD IBN ^{c}ABDALQĀDIR, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, [pub.] par RENÉ BASSET, *Histoire de la conquête de l'Abyssinie (XVI^{e} siècle) par Chihab Eddin Aḥmed ben ^{c}Abd el-Qāder, surnommé Arab-Faqih*, [I], T. arabe and [II]. Tr. fr. et notes, Paris 1897, 1909 (Publications de l'École des lettres d'Alger 19, 20)
BeckHuntAlm	CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM – GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (ed., tr.), *Some Records of Ethiopia, 1593–1646; being Extracts from the History of High Ethiopia or Abassia by MANOEL DE ALMEIDA, together with BAHREY's History of the Galla*, London 1954 (Hakluyt Society Works, ser. 2, vol. 107); repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein 1967
BeckHuntAlvar	CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM – GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (eds.), *The Prester John of The Indies. A True Relation of the Lands of the Prester John; being the Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520, Written by Father FRANCISCO ALVAREZ*, tr. by Lord STANLEY OF ALDERLEY (1881), Cambridge 1961 (Hakluyt Society Works, ser. 2, vols. 114, 115)
BecRASO I-XV	CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, I: *Notizia e saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardanti la storia di Etiopia durante i secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII*, Romae 1903; II: P. PETRI PAEZ S.I. *Historia Aethiopiae*, Liber I–II, Romae 1905; III: op.cit., Liber III, Romae 1906; IV: P. EMMANUELIS BARRADAS S.I. *Tractatus tres historico-geographici*, Romae 1906; V: P. EMMANUELIS D'ALMEIDA S.I. *Historia Aethiopiae,* Liber I–IV, Romae 1907; VI: op.cit., Liber V–VIII, Romae 1907; VII: op.cit., Liber IX et X, Romae 1908; VIII: Patriarchae ALPH. MENDEZ S.I. *Expeditionis Aethiopicae* Liber I et II, Romae 1908; IX: op.cit. Liber III et IV, Romae 1909; X: *Relationes et epistolae variorum*, pars prima, liber I, Romae 1910; XI: op.cit., pars prima, liber II, Romae 1911; XII: op.cit., pars prima, liber III, Romae 1912; XIII: op.cit., pars prima, liber IV, Romae 1913; XIV: op.cit., pars secunda, liber unicus, Romae 1914; XV: *Index analyticus totius operis*, Romae 1917
BegCron	FRANCESCO BÉGUINOT, *La Cronaca abbreviata d'Abissinia, nuova versione dall'etiopico e commento*, Roma 1901
BendLang	MARVIN LIONEL BENDER et al., *Language in Ethiopia*, London 1976
BendNonSLang	MARVIN LIONEL BENDER et al., *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, East Lansing, MI 1976
BerkAdwa	GEORGE FITZ–HARDINGE BERKELEY, *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik*, Westminster 1902; London ^{2}1935; New York ^{3}1969
BerTarik	BƎRHANÄ MÄSQÄL TÄSFAMARYAM, **ታሪክ፡ ገዳማት፡ ዘምድረ፡ አግአዚት፡ ኤርትራ፡ ወስርዓተ፡ ብሕትውና፡ ንኑም፡ ወወልድባ፡ ካብ፡ ጥንቲ፡ ክሳብ፡ ሕጂ** (*Tarik gädamat zämədrä agʾazit Erətra wäsər^{c}atä bəḥtəwənna nənum wäwäldəbba kab ṭənti kəsab ḥəğği*, 'The History of the Cloisters of the Country of *Agʾazit* of Eritrea [Təgrəñña-speaking highland part of Eritrea], and the Customs of the Asceticism of the "Nənum" [lit. 'Let us Sleep'] and Wäldəbba, from the Origins till Nowadays'), Aśmära ^{2}1996
BezKebr	CARL BEZOLD (ed.), *Kebra Negest: Die Herrlichkeit der Könige*, München 1905
BHO	[PAULUS PEETERS (ed.)], *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, Bruxelles 1910 (Subsidia hagiographica 10)
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Leiden 1943ff.
BlunChr	HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL (ed., tr.), *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia, 1769–1840*, Cambridge 1922
BrakKirche	HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, *Τὸ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔργον θεῖον. Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum*, Bonn 1994

BrHad	ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens: von den Anfängen bis zur Revolution 1974*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 50)
BrKam	ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Die Kambata. Geschichte und Gesellschaft eines südäthiopischen Bauernvolkes*, Wiesbaden 1983 (SKK 65)
BruNile	JAMES BRUCE OF KINNAIRD, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773*, 5 vols., Edinburgh 1790
BSO[A]S	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental* [*and African*] *Studies*, London 1917ff.
BTafA	BAIRU TAFLA (ed., tr.), *Aṣma Giyorgis and His Work: History of the Gāllā and the Kingdom of Šawā*, Stuttgart 1987 (AeF 18)
BTafY	BAIRU TAFLA (ed., tr.), *A Chronicle of Emperor Yohannes IV* (*1872–89*), Wiesbaden 1977 (AeF 1)
BudHist	ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE, *A History of Ethiopia (Nubia & Abyssinia), according to the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Egypt and Nubia, and the Ethiopian Chronicles*, 2 vols., London 1928
BudSaint	ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE (ed.), *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 4 vols., Cambridge 1928; repr. Hildesheim – New York 1976
BZHist	BAHRU ZEWDE, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855–1974,* London – Athens – Addis Ababa 1991
CANT	MAURITS GEERARD (ed.), *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, Turnhout 1992 (Corpus Christianorum)
CE	AZIZ S. ATIYA (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, 8 vols., New York 1991
CecZeila	ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, 3 vols., Roma 1886–87
CentAddis	AHMED ZEKARIA – BAHRU ZEWDE – TADDESE BEYENE (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa: November 24–25, 1986*, Addis Ababa 1987
CentAdwa	ABDUSSAMAD HUSAIN AHMED – RICHARD PANKHURST (eds.), *Adwa: Victory Centenary Conference, 26 February – 2 March 1996*, Addis Ababa 1998
CerEt	ENRICO CERULLI, *Etiopia occidentale. Dallo Scioa alla frontiera del Sudan. Note del viaggio 1927–28*, 2 vols., Roma 1930, 1933 (Collezione di opere e di monografie a cura del Ministero delle Colonie 6, 16)
CerFolk	ENRICO CERULLI, *The Folk-Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia*, Cambridge, MA. 1922 (Harvard African Studies 3)
CerIslam	ENRICO CERULLI, *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi,* Roma 1971 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente 64)
CerLett	ENRICO CERULLI, *La letteratura etiopica: L'Oriente cristiano nell'unità delle sue tradizioni*, Milano ^{3}1968 (Le letterature del mondo 30)
CerMaria	ENRICO CERULLI, *Il libro etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria e le sue fonti nelle letterature del Medio Evo latino*, Roma 1943
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LesCDic	WOLF LESLAU, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (*Classical Ethiopic*): *Geʿez – English / English – Geʿez with an Index of the Semitic Roots*, Wiesbaden 1987
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MahHorse	*Blattén Géta* MAHTÄMÄ-SELLASÉ WÄLDÄ-MÄSQÄL, "A Study of the Ethiopian Culture of Horse-Names", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 195–303; first printed as ቼ፡ በለው (*Če bäläw*), Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]
MahZekr	*blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, ዝክረ፡ ነገር (*Zəkrä nägär*, 'Memorable Things'), Addis Abäba ^{2}1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.]
MaqIlmam[^{2}]	AḤMAD IBN ʿALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-aḫbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabaša min mulūk al-Islām. Historia regum Islamiticorum in Abyssinia*, ed. by FRIEDRICH THEODOR RINCK, Leiden 1790; *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-aḫbār …*, ed. by ǦIRǦĪ ZAYDĀN, Cairo ^{2}1895

MarAmdS	PAOLO MARRASSINI (ed., tr.), *Lo scettro e la croce. La campagna di ʻAmda Ṣeyon I contro l'Ifāt (1332)*, Napoli 1993 (StAfEt 4)
MasMis	GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia*, 12 vols., Roma – Milano 1885–95
MesfAtlas[^{2}]	MESFIN WOLDE-MARIAM, *An Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1970; revised Asmara ^{2}1971
MesfGeogr	MESFIN WOLDE-MARIAM, *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1972
MHAksum	STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Aksum. An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity*, Edinburgh 1991
MHAlex [I], II	STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Ethiopia and Alexandria: the Metropolitan Episcopacy of Ethiopia*, Warszawa 1997, 2005 (Biblioteca nubica et aetiopica 5)
MHasOr	MOHAMMED HASSEN, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: a History 1570–1860*, Cambridge 1990 (African Studies Series 66)
MiscAethKur	MIECZYSŁAW LUBAŃSKI et al. (eds.), *Miscellanea Aethiopica Reverendissimo Domino Stanislao Kur septuagenario professori illustrissimo viro amplissimo ac doctissimo oblata*, Warszawa 2000 (= Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne 12, 2, 1999)
MockWar	ANTHONY MOCKLER, *Haile Selassie's War: the Italian-Ethiopian Campaign, 1935–1941*, New York 1984
MolLit	REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, *Black Lions: the Creative Lives of Modern Ethiopia's Literary Giants and Pioneers*, Lawrenceville 1997
MonVidTheo	FRANÇOIS MARIE CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Théodoros II, roi des rois d'Éthiopie (1853–1868), d'après un manuscrit original,* Paris [1904]; repr. Westmead ^{2}1971
MorTeod	MARTINO MARIO MORENO, "La Cronaca di Re Teodoro Attribuita al Dabtarà Zaneb", *RSE* 2, 2, 1942, 143–80
MRALm	*Memorie della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Roma 1898ff. [After 1947: *Memorie della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei …*]
MuhTarih	MUḤAMMAD ᶜUṮMĀN ABŪ BAKR, *Taʾrīḫ Īrītriyā al-muʿāṣir: arḍan wa-šaʿban* ('The Contemporary History of Eritrea: Land and People'), Cairo 1994
NadEr	SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *The Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944
NÆ	*Nubica et Æthiopica. Internationales Jahrbuch für koptische, meroitisch-nubische, äthiopische und verwandte Studien*, Warszawa 1987ff.
NEASt	*Northeast African Studies*, East Lansing, MI 1979ff.
OMahPh	KEVIN O'MAHONEY, *"The Ebullient Phoenix". A History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia*, 3 vols., Asmara 1982, 1987, 1991
OrbAethChoj	PIOTR O. SCHOLZ – RICHARD PANKHURST – WITOLD WITAKOWSKI (eds.), *Orbis Aethiopicus: Studia in honorem Stanislaus Chojnacki natali septuagesimo quinto dicata, septuagesimo septimo oblata*, Albstadt 1992 (Bibliotheca nubica 3)
OrChr	*Oriens Christianus*, Leipzig – Roma – Wiesbaden 1901ff.
OrChrA	*Orientalia Christiana analecta*, Roma 1923ff.
OrChrP	*Orientalia Christiana periodica*, Roma 1935ff.
PankBord	RICHARD PANKHURST, *The Ethiopian Borderlands: Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the End of the 18th Century*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1997
PankEcon	RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968

PankHist I, II	Richard Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns: from the Middle Ages to the Early Ninteenth Century*, Wiesbaden 1982 (AeF 8) [I]; Id., *History of Ethiopian Towns: from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to 1935*, Stuttgart 1985 (AeF 17) [II]
PankIntro	Richard Pankhurst, *An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia, from Early Times to 1800*, London 1961
PankSoc	Richard Pankhurst, *A Social History of Ethiopia: The Northern and Central Highlands from Early Medieval Times to the Rise of Emperor Téwodros II*, Addis Ababa 1990
PerChron	Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, *Chronica de Susenyos, rei de Ethiopia*, 2 vols., Lisboa 1892–1900
PerGov	Margery Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, London 1948
PerrAmdS	Jules Perruchon (ed., tr.), "Histoire des guerres d'^{c}Amda-Ṣeyon, roi d'Éthiopie, traduite de l'Éthiopien", *JA* 8 sér., 14, 1889, 271–363, 381–493; repr. Paris 1890
PerrEsk	Jules Perruchon (ed., tr.), "Histoire d'Eskender, d'^{c}Amda-Ṣeyon II et de Nâ'od, rois d'Éthiopie. Texte éthiopien inédit comprenant en outre un fragment de la chronique de Ba'eda-Mâryâm, leur prédécesseur, et traduction", *JA* 9 sér., 3, 1894, 319–66
PerrZarY	Jules Perruchon (ed., tr.), *Les chroniques de Zar'a Yâ^{c}eqôb et de Ba'eda Mâryâm, rois d'Éthiopie de 1434 à 1478*, Paris 1893 (Bibliothèque de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études: Sciences philologiques et historiques 93)
PICES	*Proceedings of the International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies*, 1960ff.
PICES 1	[Enrico Cerulli (ed.)], *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Roma 2–4 aprile 1959)*, Roma 1960 (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 357, Problemi Attuali di Scienza e di Cultura 48)
PICES 2	Charles Fraser Beckingham – Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopian Studies. Papers Read at the Second International Conference of Ethiopian Studies (Manchester, July [8–11] 1963)*, Manchester 1964 [= JSS 9, 1]
PICES 3	[Richard Pankhurst – Stanisław Chojnacki (eds.)], *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa [3–7 April] 1966*, 3 vols., Addis Ababa 1969–70
PICES 4	*IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Roma, 10 – 15 April 1972)*, 2 vols., Roma 1974 (Accademia dei Lincei 371, Problemi Attuali di Scienza e di Cultura 191)
PICES 5a	Joseph Tubiana (ed.), *Modern Ethiopia from the Accession of Menilek II to the Present (Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies [Session A], Nice/19–22 December 1977)*, Rotterdam 1980
PICES 5b	Robert Lee Hess (ed.), *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Session B, April 13–16, 1978*, Chicago 1979
PICES 6	Gideon Goldenberg (ed.), *Ethiopian Studies. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference, Tel-Aviv, 14–17 April 1980*, Rotterdam – Boston 1986
PICES 7	Sven Rubenson (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, University of Lund, 26–29 April 1982*, Addis Abeba – Uppsala – East Lansing 1984
PICES 8	Taddese Beyene (ed.), *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies. University of Addis Ababa, [26–30 November] 1984*, 2 vols., Addis Ababa – Frankfurt-am-Main 1988–89
PICES 9	Anatoly Andreevich Gromyko (ed.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Ethiopian Studies, Moscow, 26–29 August 1986*, 6 vols., Moscow 1988

PICES 10	Claude Lepage – Étienne Delage (eds.), *Études Éthiopiennes. Actes de la Xe conférence internationale des études éthiopiennes, Paris, 24–28 août 1988*, vol. 1, Paris 1994
PICES 11	Bahru Zewde – Richard Pankhurst – Taddese Beyene (eds.), *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa, April 1/6 1991*, 2 vols., Addis Ababa 1994
PICES 12	Harold Golden Marcus (ed.), *New Trends in Ethiopian Studies. Papers of the 12th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Michigan State University, 5–10 September 1994*, 2 vols., Lawrenceville, NJ 1994
PICES 13	Katsuyoshi Fukui – Eisei Kurimoto – Masayoshi Shigeta (eds.), *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective. Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Kyoto, 12–17 December 1997*, 3 vols., Kyoto 1997
PICES 14	Baye Yimam et al. (ed.), *Ethiopian Studies at the End of the Second Millennium, Proceedings of the XIVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, November 6–11, 2000, Addis Ababa,* 3 vols., Addis Ababa 2002
PICES 15	Siegbert Uhlig et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Hamburg 21–25 July 2003*, Wiesbaden 2005
PNCES 1	Tadesse Beyene – Richard Pankhurst – Ahmed Zekaria (eds.), *Proceedings of the First National Conference of Ethiopian Studies, April 11–12 1990*, Addis Ababa 1990
PollEr	Alberto Pollera, *Le popolazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935
PrRosDic	Chris Prouty – Eugene Rosenfeld, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia and Eritrea*, Metuchen, NJ ^{2}1994
QSE	*Quaderni di Studi Etiopici*, Asmara 1980–87
RANLmor	*Rendiconti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Roma 1947ff.
RasTheo	Hormuzd Rassam, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia*, 2 vols., London 1869
RevSem	*Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne*, Paris 1893–1914
RicLett	Lanfranco Ricci, "Letterature dell'Etiopia", in: Oscar Botto (ed.), *Storia delle letterature dell'Oriente*, vol. 1, Milano 1969, 801–911
RIÉ I–III	Etienne Bernand – Abraham Johannes Drewes – Roger Schneider, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite*, I: *Les documents*, II: *Les planches*, Paris 1991; III: *Traductions et commentaires*, A. *Les inscriptions grecques*, par Étienne Bernard, Paris 2000
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, Paris 1896–1946; repr. New York 1966
RRALm	*Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Roma 1892ff. [After 1947: *RANLmor*]
RSE	*Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Roma 1941ff.
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali*, Roma 1907ff.
RubActa I	Sven Rubenson (ed.), *Correspondence and Treaties, 1800–1854*, Evanston – Addis Ababa 1987 (Acta Aethiopica 1)
RubActa II	Sven Rubenson (ed.), *Tewodros and his Contemporaries, 1855–1868*, Lund – Addis Ababa 1994 (Acta Aethiopica 2)
RubActa III	Sven Rubenson (ed.), *Internal Rivalries and Foreign Threats, 1869–1879*, Addis Ababa – Lund – New Brunswick, NJ 2000 (Acta Aethiopica 3)
RubInd	Sven Rubenson, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, London 1976 (Lund Studies in International History 7)

RubTew	SVEN RUBENSON, *King of Kings, Tewodros of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa – Nairobi 1966 (Haile Sellassie I University Department of History: Historical Studies 2)
SAe	*Scriptores Aethiopici* (within CSCO)
SalTrav	HENRY SALT, *A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of that Country, Executed under the Orders of the British Government in the Years 1809 and 1810*, London 1814; repr. 1967
SawHist	SAWĪRUS IBN AL-MUQAFFAᶜ, *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Known as the History of the Holy Church,* tr. by ᶜAZIZ SURYAL ATIYA – YASSA ᶜABD AL-MASIḤ – OSWALD HUGH EWART BURMESTER, Cairo 1948–59; tr. by ANTOINE KHATER – OSWALD HUGH EWART BURMESTER, Cairo ^{2}1968–70
SerHist	SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*, Addis Ababa 1972
ShGurage	WILLIAM A. SHACK, *The Gurage. A People of the Ensete Culture*, London – New York – Nairobi 1966
SihFutuh	ŠIHABADDĪN AḤMAD IBN ᶜABDALQĀDIR (ᶜARAB FAQĪH), *Tuḥfat az-zamān, aw Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša, aṣ-ṣirāᶜ aṣ-ṣūmālī al-ḥabašī fī l-qarn as-sādis ᶜašar al-mīlādī* ('The Rarity of the Epoch, or the Invasion of Abyssinia, the Somali-Abyssinian Struggle in the 16th Cent. A.D.'), ed. by FAHĪM MUḤAMMAD ŠALTŪT , Al-Qāhira 1394 H. [1974 A.D.]
SixBay	VERONIKA SIX, *Äthiopische Handschriften*, 2: *Die Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, ed. by ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, Stuttgart 1989 (VOHD 20, 5)
SixDeu	VERONIKA SIX, *Äthiopische Handschriften*, 3: *Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken, Museen und aus Privatbesitz*, Stuttgart 1994 (VOHD 20, 6)
SixTana III	VERONIKA SIX, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee*, Teil 3: *Nebst einem Nachtrag zum Katalog der äthiopischen Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken und Museen*, ed. by ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, Stuttgart 1999 (VOHD 20, 3)
SKK	*Studien zur Kulturkunde*, Stuttgart – Wiesbaden 1933ff.
S.L.L.E. linguistic reports	*Survey of Little-known Languages of Ethiopia. Linguistic Reports*, Addis Ababa 1992–95
StAfEt	*Studi Africanistici. Serie Etiopica*, Napoli 1992ff.
StrANL	STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de l'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Fonds Conti Rossini et Fonds Caetani 209, 375, 376, 377, 378*, Roma 1976 (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Indici e sussidi bibliografici della biblioteca 9)
StrBritLib	STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the British Library: Acquired since the Year 1877*, London 1978
StrGriaule	STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens (collection Griaule)*, Tome IV, *éthiopien 373 (Griaule 69) – éthiopien 674 (Griaule 366) – Nouvelles acquisitions: éthiopien 301–304, 675–687*, Paris 1954
StStud	VOLKER STITZ, *Studien zur Kulturgeographie Zentraläthiopiens*, Bonn 1974 (Bonner geographische Abhandlungen 51)
StudAeth	VERENA BÖLL – DENIS NOSNITSIN – THOMAS RAVE – WOLBERT SMIDT – EVGENIA SOKOLINSKAIA (eds.), *Studia Aethiopica. In Honour of Siegbert Uhlig on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Wiesbaden 2004
TadTChurch	TADDESSE TAMRAT, *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270–1527*, Oxford 1972
TedEthPrel I, II	SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Ethiopian Prelates", in: *CE*, vol. 3, 999–1003 [I]; vol. 4, 1005–44 [II]
THMDic	TÄSÄMMA HABTÄ MIKAʾEL, **ከሣቴ፡ ብርሃን፡ ተሰማ። የዐማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት** (*Käśate Bərhan Täsämma. Yäᶜamarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Täsämma, the Light Revealer. An Amharic Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]

TilDic	TILAHUN GAMTA, *Oromo–English Dictionary*, Addis Ababa 1989
TrIslam	JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – Oxford – New York 1952
TSTarik I–IV	TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄK^{w}ƎRIYA, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾityopya tarik*, 'History of Ethiopia'). **ኑብያ – አክሱም፡ ዛጕዬ፡ እስከ፡ ዐፄ፡ ይኩኖ፡ አምላክ፡ ዘመን፡ መንግሥት። ፩ኛ፡ መጽሐፍ** (*Nubəya – Aksum Zag^{w}əye əskä ^{c}aṣe Yək^{w}ənno Amlak zämänä mängəśt. Andäñña mäṣḥaf*, 'Nubia, Aksum, Zag^{w}e till the Time of Reign of *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak. Book I'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; op. cit., **፪ኛ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ከዐፄ፡ ይኩኖ፡ አምላክ፡ እስከ፡ ዐፄ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል** (*Hulättäñña mäṣḥaf: kä^{c}aṣe Yək^{w}ənno Amlak əskä ^{c}aṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl*, 'Book II: from *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak to *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; op. cit., **ከዐፄ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል፡ እስከ፡ ዐፄ፡ ቴዎድሮስ** (*Kä^{c}aṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl əskä ^{c}aṣe Tewodros*, 'From *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl to *aṣe* Tewodros'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; ^{5}1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.]; op. cit., **ከአፄ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ እስከ፡ ቀደማዊ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ** (*Käʾaṣe Tewodros əskä qädämawi Ḫaylä Śəllase*, 'From *aṣe* Tewodros to Ḫaylä Śəllase I'), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.]
TurIz	BORIS TURAEV, *Izsledovaniya v oblasti agiologicheskih istochnikov istorii Efiopii* ('A Study on the Hagiographic Sources for the History of Ethiopia'), St. Petersburg 1902
UhPal	SIEGBERT UHLIG, *Äthiopische Paläographie*, Stuttgart 1988 (AeF 22)
UllBibl	EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, London 1968 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967)
UmMasGaud	IBN FAḌLALLĀH AL-^{c}UMARI, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, 1: *L'Afrique, moins l'Égypte, traduit et annoté avec une introduction et 5 cartes*, tr. by MAURICE GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES, Paris 1927 (Bibliothèque des géographes arabes 2)
UmMasSezg	IBN FAḌLALLÂH AL-^{c}UMARI, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār, 'Routes toward Insight into the Capital Empires'*, ed. by FUAT SEZGIN, Frankfurt/Main 1988 (Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, Series C, Facsimile Editions 46, 4)
USCES	HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS – JOHN HINNANT (eds.), *Proceedings of the First United States Conference on Ethiopian Studies, Michigan State University, 2–5 May 1973*, East Lansing, MI 1975 (Monograph no. 3, Occasional Papers Series, Committee on Ethiopian Studies)
VelMaw	BERNARD VELAT, "Le Mawāsəʾət et les livres de chant liturgique éthiopien", in: *Mémorial du Cinquantenaire de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*, Paris 1964 (Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris 10), 159–70
VelMe I–II	BERNARD VELAT (ed., tr.), *Mə^{c}əraf. Commun de l'office divin éthiopien pour toute l'année. Texte éthiopien avec variantes*, Paris 1966 (PO 34, fasc. 1–2) [I = text]; *Études sur le Mə^{c}əraf, commun de l'office divin éthiopien. Introduction, traduction française, commentaire liturgique et musical*, Paris 1966 (PO 33) [II = tr.]
VelSoDe I–II	BERNARD VELAT (ed., tr.), *Ṣoma Deggua. Antiphonaire du carême. Quatre premières semaines*, Paris 1966 (PO 32–1, 32–2 [no. 151, 152]) [I = text]; Paris 1969 (PO 32–3, 32–4 [no. 153, 154]) [II = tr.]
VOHD	*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Wiesbaden – Stuttgart 1961ff.

VSAe I–III	ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN (ed.), *Altvölker Süd-Äthiopiens*, mit Beiträgen von EIKE HABERLAND – ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN – W. SCHULZ-WEIDNER – ELISABETH PAULI, Stuttgart 1959 (Völker Süd-Äthiopiens. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expeditionen 1950–52, 1954–56, Teil 1) [I]; EIKE HABERLAND, *Galla Süd-Äthiopiens*, mit einem Beitrag von K. REINHARDT, Stuttgart 1963 (Völker Süd-Äthiopiens. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expeditionen 1950–52, 1954–56, Teil 2) [II]; HELMUT STRAUBE, *Westkuschitische Völker Süd-Äthiopiens*, mit einem Beitrag von W. SCHULZ-WEIDNER, Stuttgart 1963 (Völker Süd-Äthiopiens. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expeditionen 1950–52, 1954–56, Teil 3) [III]
WagFath	EWALD WAGNER (ed., tr.), *Legende und Geschichte. Der Fatḥ Madīnat Harar von Yaḥyā Naṣrallāh*; Wiesbaden 1978 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 44, 3)
WrBriMus	WILLIAM WRIGHT, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1847*, London 1877
YaqMist I–II	YAQOB BEYENE, *Giyorgis di Saglā: il libro del Mistero* (*Maṣḥafa Mesṭir*), Louvain 1990 (CSCO 515, 516 [SAe 89, 90]) [I]; Louvain 1993 (CSCO 532, 533 [SAe 97, 98]) [II]
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*, Leipzig 1886–1938
ZanBibl	SILVIO ZANUTTO, *Bibliografia etiopica in continuazione alla "Bibliografia etiopica" di G. Fumagalli. Secondo contributo: manoscritti etiopici*, Roma 1932
ZanLitTheod	*däbtära* ZÄNNÄB, *The Chronicle of King Theodore of Abyssinia*, ed. by ENNO LITTMANN, Princeton 1902
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig – Wiesbaden – Stuttgart 1847ff.
ZerEth	ADRIEN ZERVOS, *L'empire d'Éthiopie. Le miroir de Éthiopie moderne*, Alexandria 1936
ZewYohan	ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia: a Political Biography*, Oxford 1975
ZotBNat	HERMAN ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens* (*Gheez et Amharique*) *de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1877
ZSem	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, [Leipzig] 1922–35

Biblical Abbreviations

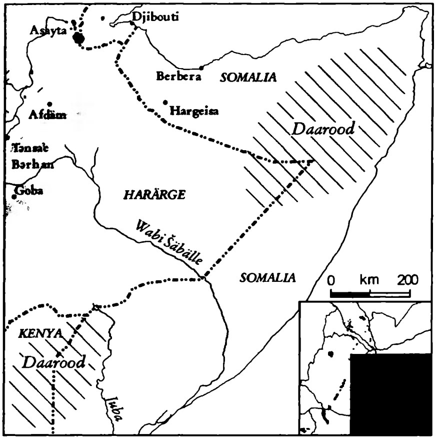
O.T.	**Old Testament**
Gen	Genesis
Ex	Exodus
Lev	Leviticus
Num	Numbers
Deut	Deuteronomy
Josh	Joshua
Judg	Judges
Ruth	Ruth
1 Sam	1 Samuel
2 Sam	2 Samuel
1 Kgs	1 Kings
2 Kgs	2 Kings
1 Chr	1 Chronicles
2 Chr	2 Chronicles
Ezra	Ezra
Tob	Tobit
Jdt	Judith
Neh	Nehemiah [= 2 Ezra]
3 Ezra	Apocryphal Book of Ezra
4 Ezra	Apocalypse of Ezra
Esth	Esther
1 Mac	1 Maccabees
2 Mac	2 Maccabees
Job	Job
Ps	Psalms
Prov	Proverbs
Ecc	Ecclesiastes
Song	Song of Songs
Wis	Wisdom
Sir	Sirach
Ba	Baruch
Is	Isaiah
Jer	Jeremiah
Lam	Lamentations
Ezek	Ezekiel
Dan	Daniel
Hos	Hosea
Joel	Joel
Am	Amos
Obad	Obadiah
Jon	Jonah
Mic	Micah
Nah	Nahum
Hab	Habakkuk
Zeph	Zephaniah
Hag	Haggai
Zech	Zechariah
Mal	Malachi
En	Enoch
Jub	Jubilees

N.T.	**New Testament**
Mt	Matthew
Mk	Mark
Lk	Luke
Jn	John
Acts	Acts
Rom	Romans
1 Cor	1 Corinthians
2 Cor	2 Corinthians
Gal	Galatians
Eph	Ephesians
Phil	Philippians
Col	Colossians
1 Thes	1 Thessalonians
2 Thes	2 Thessalonians
1 Tim	1 Timothy
2 Tim	2 Timothy
Tit	Titus
Phlm	Philemon
Heb	Hebrews
Jas	James
1 Pet	1 Peter
2 Pet	2 Peter
1 Jn	1 John
2 Jn	2 John
3 Jn	3 John
Jude	Jude
Rev	Revelation

D

Daarood

The Somali clan of D. in its oral tradition refers to the *šayḫ* Ǧabartī b. Ismāʿīl as its founder. He is said to have migrated to Somalia from Arabia sometime prior to the 13th cent. (↗Ǧäbärti). Linguistic evidence places the origin of the ↗Somali in south-western Ethiopia (LewPeople 20ff.). The D., which are divided into the subclans of Mareeḥaan, Kablalaḥ, Yuusuf, Warsangali, Dhulbahante, Mağeerteen and Ogaadeen, quickly spread throughout Somalia. They currently occupy the Bari and Nugal regions and parts of the Lower Juba, Mudug, Sanaag and Tog Dheer regions.



There are also D. populations in eastern Ethiopia and northern Kenya. Those who live in the trans-Juba and in Kenya are largely cattle herders while the others are camel herders. Both engage in agricultural pursuits where conditions permit.

Lit.: MARGARET CASTAGNO, *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*, Metuchen, NJ 1975 (African Historical Dictionaries 6), 41, 141; LewPeople 20–23.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Đáasanač

Đáasanač language

Genetically, the Đ. ([*ɗáasanač*]) language belongs to the Omo-Tana branch of East ↗Cushitic. With ↗Arbore and Elmolo it forms the Western branch; farther relatives are the Somali dialects, Rendille and ↗Bayso.

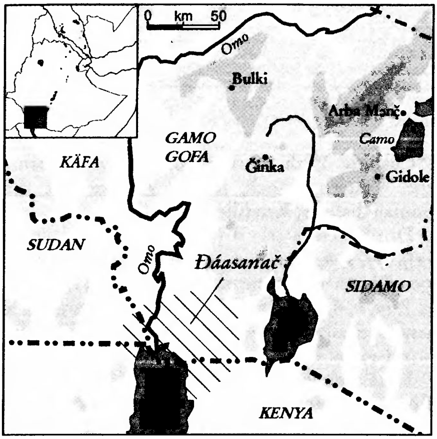
Đ. phonemes are: *ð* (in free alternation with [z]), *s*, *f*, *š*; *b*, *ɓ*, *d*, *t*, *ɗ*, *ʄ* (in a handful of words, possibly an allophone of the following), *č*, *ž*, *g*, *k*, *g*, *ʔ*; *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *ŋ*; *r*, *l*, *w*, *ğ*. A further segment, [*h*], is automatically inserted before any phonologically word-initial vowel in absolute initial position.

Đ. is a pitch-accent language. Accent distinctions are used fairly often in the morphology (e.g., *só*, 'meat', *so*, 'meats, pieces of meat'; *fúr*, 'open!', (*mí*) *fur*, '(he) opened' ["Short Past" form]), less so in the lexicon (e.g., *ʔár*, 'bull', *ʔar*, 'song'; *ʔíl*, 'valley', *ʔil*, 'eye'). A few determiners and sentence markers have a so-called "seesaw" accentual pattern: they bear an accent when preceded or followed by an unaccented word, while they are unaccented when the preceding or following word bears an accent (e.g., *gíl ču*, 'my hand', *gil čú*, 'my hands').

The morphology is very complex, especially for the many allomorphs and irregularities in verbal morphology. Four verbs (*ˀát*, 'to become/say', *káɗe*, 'to come', *ˀás*, 'to kill', *yáal*, 'to stand') are partially prefixal, all other morphology is suffixal.

There are three main positive paradigms: a Past, a Non-Past and a Dependent (also used for an on-going action). Inflectional categories interact in a small number of endings and most distinctions are not expressed on the verb alone. Due to various assimilation and reduction processes, within any paradigm a maximum of two forms are distinguished, expressing number-gender-inclusiveness (for the 1st pers. pl. only). The "A-form" has no exponent, and a paradigmatic vowel (Past *-i*, Non-Past *-a*, Dependent *-u*) directly follows the stem; in the "B-form" either an infix is inserted or various changes in the stem take place. E.g., from the stem *fur-* 'to open', the positive past has the A–form *furi* (for 1st pers. sg., 3rd pers. sg. masc., 1st pers. pl. inclusive) and the B-form *fuɗɗi* (for 2nd pers. sg., 3rd pers. sg. fem., 1st pers. pl. exclusive and 2nd pers. pl.).

There are five series of (partially overlapping) pronominal elements in Đ.: Absolute, Subject,



Verbal, Object and Possessive. An Inclusive and an Exclusive form are distinguished in the 1st pers. pl. For the 3rd pers. a single form is used, irrespective of number and gender. Here only the Absolute and the Subject series are exemplified, in this order: 1st pers. sg.: *yú/yáa*; 2nd pers. sg.: *kúuni/kúo*; 3rd pers.: – /*ʰé*; 1st pers. pl. inclusive: *múuni*/(*ʰé*) *ke* ~ *ki*; 1st pers. exclusive: *ñíini/ñaañi*; 2nd pers. pl.: *ˀitíni/ˀití*.

In demonstratives, a basic opposition is built upon a binary [±NEAR] opposition; e.g.: *máa l=a* 'this man' vs. *máa ti=a* 'that man" (final *=a* is a further determiner).

There are no copula elements in Ð. The nominal predicate is preceded by the Subject pronoun.

Interrogative sentences are marked by a special rising intonation. The interrogatory pronoun is not moved to sentence-initial position.

In negative sentences special negative paradigms are used; the verbal form is further preceded by the negative markers *má* ~ *ma* (with a "seesaw" accentual pattern) and *ʰa* – the latter limited to Jussive and Imperative sentences.

Ð. has an accusative syntax and is on the whole a dependent-marking language. It is Subject-Object-Verb at sentence level and Head-Modifier at clause level, but relatives precede the matrix clause. Phrases are consistently marked at their end by the determinative *ka*.

The lexicon appears to be drawn from different sources and contains many loans. The standard ten-word list for Ð. is: *tákač̣*, 'one', *naama*, 'two', *seddi*, 'three', *šíeti*, 'fire', *bie*, 'water', *ˀáaðu*, 'sun', *guí*, 'moon', *fás*, 'blood', *ˀére*, 'tongue', *kéču*, 'tooth'.

Use of the language is intensive; most Ð. are monolingual or have at best a working knowledge of Amharic. ↗Turkana also plays a role in naming and in cultural activities (singing and story-telling).

Lit.: HANS-JÜRGEN SASSE, "Notes on the Structure of Galab", *BSOAS* 37, 1974, 407–38; ID., "Dasenech", in: *BendNonSLang* 196–221; MAURO TOSCO, *The Dhaasanac Language: Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary of a Cushitic Language of Ethiopia*, Köln 2001.

Mauro Tosco

Ðáasanač ethnography

The Ð. (Dhaasanac) are a pastoral people of south-west Ethiopia and north–west Kenya. They inhabit a plain of approximately 2,300 km², stretching along the lowest course of the Omo river and the northern and north–eastern shores of Lake Turkana. The Ð. are bordered in the north by the ↗Ñaŋatom and in the south and west by the ↗Turkana; to the East their neighbours are the ↗Hamär.

The Ð. are generally called Gäläb by their neighbours; other names found in old sources are Merille and Reshiat. "Šangílla" is used in Kenya.

The 1994 Ethiopian Census numbers Ð. at 32,029, almost all of them in the Kuraz *wäräda* (Southern Omo Zone, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region). A few thousand Ð. live in Kenya. The Ð. belong to the cattle-complex like their neighbouring pastoral peoples, but they also practise agriculture (their main crops being sorghum, followed by maize

Young Ðáasanač man with typical hair dress; photo courtesy of the author and beans) and fishing. The Đ. are divided into eight tribal sections (at least some of them of other origin). The sections are further divided into clans, which are further segmented into "houses" or "families". The same clans are often scattered among different sections and are the primary focus of self-identification.

Other important areal cultural features are the excision of the two lower incisors, an age-group system and the division into two endogamous moieties which regulate marriage and kinship terms. The age-group, or "generation-set", is the central classificatory device of the society. Each person belongs to the alternate generation-set of his or her father. For most sections, alternation is regulated by the division of the generation-sets into two triads.

Lit.: URI ALMAGOR, "Name-Oxen and Ox-Names among the Dassanetch of Southwest Ethiopia", *Paideuma* 18, 1972, 79–96; ID., "Tribal Sections, Territory and Myth: Dassanetch Responses to Variable Ecological Conditions", *African and Asian Studies* 8, 2, 1972, 185–206; ID., *Pastoral Partners: Affinity and Bond Partnership among the Dassanetch of South-West Ethiopia*, Manchester 1978; CLAUDIA J. CARR, *Pastoralism in Crisis: the Dasanetch and their Ethiopian Lands*, Chicago 1977; NEAL W. SOBANIA, *The Historical Traditions of the Peoples of the Eastern Lake Turkana Basin c. 1840–1925*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1980; CSA 1996.

Mauro Tosco

Däbän Ansa

D.A. (ደበን፡ አንሳ, also ደበናንሳ, *däbänansa*), is a pejorative term for a ↗tanner and/or ↗blacksmith. In Amharic the term *däbän* means 'hair and grease of the fell', and *ansa* is an imperative meaning 'remove, pick up'. Hence *däbänansa* seems to convey the meaning of 'one who scrapes off hair and grease from a fell'.

The term also appears in a few sources as the name of a clan or an ethnic group akin to the ↗Gafat people. Yet, even in such instances, it is not quite clear whether the term is perhaps used pejoratively, referring to a community of Gafat people engaged in traditional tannery or foundry, or as a proper designation for a group of people who provided specific services to the imperial court, such as making and/or managing *däbäna*, 'a kind of royal tent made of woollen fabric' (cp. ↗*Kätäma*). In the latter sense *däbäna ansa*, unlike D.A., may have conveyed the meaning of 'carriers of a royal tent'. D.A. and other offensive terms were commonly used to refer to artisan Gafat communities. This seems to be indicated in their own customary laws which censured such usage of the term with heavy penalties.

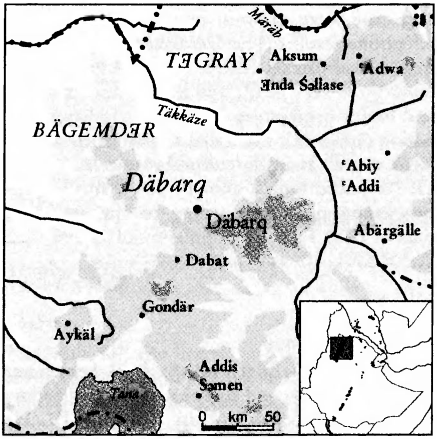
Src.: BTafA 363, 875, 900; KaneDic 1786f.; LesCDic 121; THMDic 1096; DTWDic 333; PerChron vol. 1, 224.

Lit.: GIRMA GETAHUN, "Ancient Customary Laws of the Gafat People", *JES* 30, 2, 1997, 27–88.

Girma Getahun

Däbarq

D. (ደባርቅ, 13°09' N, 37°54' E) is a town of about 20,000 inhabitants in north-west Ethiopia, ca. 90 km north-north-east of ↗Gondär. Located on the western foothills of the Səmen mountains, it nowadays serves as a starting point for tourists' hiking tours into the Səmen Mountains National Park.



Historically, D. appears to be first mentioned in the late 17th cent. as a way-station on journeys and campaigns that *aṣe* Iyasu I (r. 1682–1706) undertook from Gondär to the north. However, given D.'s strategic location on the old main trade route that led from ↗Goǧǧam (and beyond) via Gondär and ↗ʿAdwa to the Red Sea, it seems reasonable to assume that a settlement of some size existed in D. sometime earlier. In the mid-19th cent., D. is reported to have been an important toll-post of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam of Təgray, collecting duties of the same scale as ʿAdwa; a ↗*näggadras* used to be installed over the customs and the local market. In the time of Italian occupation (1936–41) D. was made a *Commissariato*. Violent fights occurred around D. between the regular army and the Ethiopian Democratic Union and the Ethiopian Democratic Movement guerrilla. After the Liberation D. became the capital of Səmen *awrağğa* (now within the Amhara *kəlləl*).

Src.: GuiIohan 158ff., 168, 186 (text) = 150ff., 165, 196 (tr.).
Lit.: AbbGeogr section 97; *Guida* 257; PankEcon s. index; HuntGeogr s. index.

Tsegaye Tegenu – Michael Kleiner

Dabat

D. (ዳባት) is a small town located about 50 km north of ↗Gondär on the main Gondär–Asmära road (s. Däbarq map for location). It is the capital of the ↗Wägära *awrağğa*, D. *wäräda*, in north Gondär. Little is known about how the town was established. Its church is devoted to St. George. In the late period of *aṣe* Mənilək II's reign the town grew in importance due to its telephone station. The *Guida* identifies D. as a major local market centre. Much of the Wägära *awrağğa* is very fertile and known for its wheat and barley production. During the Italian occupation (1936–41), the Italians established a large farm, as well as an agricultural research centre in D. They also built a granary and a small food-processing plant. According to the statistical data of 2000, D. had a population of 11,596.

Lit.: MahZekr 493, 499; *Guida* 258; CSA 2000.

Mulatu Wubneh

Däbbäb Arʾaya

Fitawrari D.A. (ደቡበ፡ አርአያ; d. 24 September 1891) was the second son of *ras* ↗Arʾaya Śəllase Dəmṣu, and a cousin of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV. He had an insatiable appetite for political success and an extremely turbulent nature. Frustrated with his low rank of *fitawrari*, he first defected and joined the Egyptians and later sided with the Italians. He was an inveterate enemy of his brother-in-law *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda (who married D.A.'s sister Ǝmlasu), against whom he fought several times during 1882–88, whilst being armed by the Egyptians and the Italians. As a ↗*šəfta*, he mostly robbed Alula's caravans and disturbed trade between Asmära and Massawa. Towards the end of Yoḥannəs's reign he submitted and was pardoned, which distressed Alula. When Yoḥannəs summoned Alula to help fight against the Mahdists, D.A. occupied Asmära, killed Alula's deputy *däğğazmač* Ḫaylä Śəllase, and opened its gates for the Italians.

After the death of Yoḥannəs, D.A. once again rebelled, this time against ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs. In July 1889, Mängäša had to confront D.A., who had been encouraged and assisted with arms, ammunition and finance from Italy. Mängäša along with Alula fortified Mäqälä, awaiting D.A. with his superior resources, but, instead of attacking, D.A. decided to negotiate a truce, with the secret intention of imprisoning Alula and Mängäša. However, his plan failed and D.A. was incarcerated at ↗Amba Sälama. He was soon released, only to rebel once again, fighting *ras* Alula at nearby Abba Gärima on 24 September 1891, where he was defeated and killed.

Lit.: HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ras Alula and the Scramble for Africa. A Political Biography: Ethiopia and Eritrea 1875–1897*, East Lansing, MI 1982 (Lit.), s. index.

Zewde Gabre-Sellassie

Däbbäbä Säyfu

D.S. (ደበበ፡ ሰይፉ; b. 12 July 1950?, Yərgaläm, Sidamo, d. 25 April 2000, Addis Abäba) was an important poet and academic teacher. His parents were *ato* Säyfu Antän Yəsṭäñ and *wäyzäro* Maryam Wärq Asfaw. He was educated at the Ras Dästa School in Yərgaläm and at the ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School in Addis Abäba, where he graduated with distinction in 1967. Then he went on to the Ḫaylä Śəllase I University, studying accounting for one year, before transferring to the arts faculty, where he studied Ethiopian languages and literature and obtained his first degree (B.A.) in 1973. For his M.A. he studied English literature and graduated with top marks in 1980.

D.S. was always dedicated to reading. Still in secondary school, he showed a gift for fictional writing, winning a short-story competition, and was from then on encouraged to cultivate his literary talent. He wrote poetry during his university years and steadily improved as a poet until the end of his life. In 1972, he wrote a poem about his home town, playing on the "double meaning" he attached to its name: ይርጋ፡ ዓለም (*Yərga ʿaläm*, 'Let the Land have Peace') and ይርጋ፡ለም (*Yərga läm*, 'Be Peaceful [and] Prosper'), both divisions of the word possible for its usual spelling as one word (ይርጋለም, *Yərgaläm*). He soon showed social concern and used his poetry to point to ways towards progress for Ethiopia. Patriotism and compassion became characteristics of much of his writing.

Thus, he wrote several poems against the indifference of the government during the severe famine in 1973. It was natural for him to see hope for the country with the coming of the ↗Revolution in 1974 and he gave it his support. At this time he took as his slogan "Greater self-awareness and self-realization" (**የራስ፡ ግንዛቤ**, *Yärase gənəzzabe*), and he became involved in the national debate about Marxism. As a linguist, he contributed to the development of a Marxist vocabulary in Amharic, as well as other fields needing new ways of expressing modern ideas.

D.S. was a member of the Ethiopian Writers' Union for many years and held high positions in the union, for several years as chairman, helping other authors to get their work published, and he edited the union's magazine, **ብሌን** (*Bəlen*, 'The Pupil [of the Eye]'). He was also a member of the board of the government-owned ↗Kurraz Publishing House and he became involved in the turmoil over ↗Bäʿalu Gərma's celebrated novel **ኦሮማይ** (*Oromay*, Tgn. 'It is pointless', from Ital. *ormai*, or 'now or never', from *ora o mai*), which was critical of the government (and led to its author's abduction and execution).

D.S. taught in the Department of Ethiopian Languages, Literature and Theatre Arts at the Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (later the Addis Abäba University) up to 1993. At first he taught literature, later (from 1980) he worked in the theatre section. Many of his students have testified to the strong impression he made on them. At this time, he wrote and translated plays and also published a book on acting. Some of his plays were acted only as experimental theatre by his students on the university stage, but others found a wider public. One, **ክፍተት** (*Kəftät*, 'The Gap'), had several showings on Ethiopian television.

When the Marxist regime in Ethiopia ended in May 1991, several academics lost their jobs. D.S. was dismissed from his teaching post at the university in 1993. During his last years he therefore experienced great stress and sorrow, but he also wrote some of his best poetry during this period, e.g., **አይደለም፡ ዘወትር፡ ሞት** (*Aydälläm zäwätər mot*, 'It is not Always Death') and **ለምን፡ ሞተ፡ ቢሉ** (*Lämən motä bilu*, 'If they Ask why he Died'). The latter poem also shows his pessimistic mood at this time: "If they ask why he died, tell all concerned, withholding nothing, that he died sulky and at loggerheads with the world."

Some of his early poems were published in an anthology with poems by 17 contributors, called **ጽጌረዳ፡ ብእር፡ የግጥሞች፡ መድበል** (*Ṣəggeräda bəʾər: yägəṭəmočč mädbäl*, 'A Pen of Roses: a Bunch of Poems'), but most of his poems were published in two volumes, **የብርሃን፡ ፍቅር** (*Yäbərhan fəqər*, 'Love of Light') and **ለራስ፡ የተጻፈ፡ ደብዳቤ** (*Läras yätäṣafä däbdabbe*, 'Letter to Myself', with the subtitle 'Second Volume of Love of Light'), which came out a short time before he died.

D.S. left behind many unpublished plays and essays as well as poems. His poetry is prescribed reading for students of Amharic literature at ↗Addis Abäba University, and he is a highly respected poet in Ethiopia.

Src.: DÄBBÄBÄ SÄYFU, **የብርሃን፡ ፍቅር** (*Yäbərhan fəqər*, 'Love of Light'), Addis Abäba 1980 A.M [1987/88 A.D.]; ID., **ለራስ፡ የተጻፈ፡ ደብዳቤ** (*Läras yätäṣafä däbdabbe*, 'Letter to Myself'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.]; ID. (DEBEBE SEIFU), *Ethiopian Literature in English*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa 1980; ID., "Profile of the Peasantry in Ethiopian Novels", in: *PICES* 7, 103–12; ID., "A Note on Post-Revolution Theatre", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 3, 45–53; ID., "The Thirteenth Sun: an Eerie Novel of a Society", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 609–24.

Lit.: REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, "Afewerq Yohannis and Debbebe Seyfu: Notes on Ethiopian Writers of the Late Twentieth Century", *NEASt* new series 6, 3, 1999, 59–74 (Lit.).

Reidulf K. Molvaer

Dabbo ↗Bread

Däbo

D. (Amh. **ደቦ**, also known as **ጅጌ**, *ǧəge* or **ወንፈል**, *wänfäl*), a common practice in the rural areas of central and highland Ethiopia, is one of the traditional forms of co-operation and mutual assistance. The communal labour sessions are usually organized during peak agricultural seasons of ploughing, weeding, harvesting and threshing, whereby peasants contribute their labour and agricultural tools to carry out urgent and time-consuming tasks. Besides, a D. can be organized for such tasks as house construction, wood collection and the preparation of large social events (↗Funeral, ↗Wedding etc.).

The D. functions as an informal mutual help agreement. The host is expected to provide ↗food and ↗drink for D. participants which, thus, incurs considerable costs in terms of finance, material and labour.

A D. can be called together by an individual to accomplish an urgent (agricultural) work. If the size of a D. team is large, e.g., 20 to 30 persons, women from the neighbouring households or close relatives take part in the preparation of food and drinks and carry them to the work-site of the D. The type of tools, foods and drinks prepared for the D. vary according to the community, the culture and the nature of work to be done.

D. is also an important occasion for its participants to improvise and perform a variety of work ↗songs (**የሥራ፡ ዘፈን**, *yäśəra zäfän*), heroic recitals (**ቀረርቶ**, *qärärto*, ↗*Fukkära*) praises (**ሙገሳ**, *muggäsa*) and blessings (**ምርቃት**, *mərrəqat*), accompanying them by different gestures and jokes, whispering and boasting freely and openly. Usually, a D. consists of age-mates. Adult men, women of the same age, young boys and girls etc. each form their own D. to tackle various types of social and traditional tasks. During a D. elderly men and women play an important role in motivating and encouraging participants by recalling past reminiscences, improvising amusing and touching songs and making jokes. Above all, they bless the participants, the cattle, the harvest, the season and even the community and the country at large.

Src.: THMDic 945, 1048, 1098f.

Lit.: ABDUL-JELIL MOHAMED, "The Making of *Däbo*", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* 1, 3, 1955, 27–28; GETIE GELAYE, *Peasants and the Ethiopian State. Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives and their Reflections in Amharic Oral Poetry: a Case Study in Yetnora, East Gojjam, 1975–1991*, Hamburg – Münster 2000, 50–62; KEBEBEW DAKA, *The Cooperative Movement in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1978.

Getie Gelaye

Däbr

D. (**ደብር**, pl. *adbar*, *adbarat*) means, literally, 'mount, mountain': e.g., Däbrä Zäyt ('Mount of Olives'), Däbrä Sina ('Mount Sinai'), Däbrä Ṣəyon ('Mount Zion'). Since the late 15th cent., the latter has also been adopted as a personal name known through rare attestations (mainly in the hypocoristic form Däbru), though alluding to the millenarian doctrine of the "Banquet on Mount Zion" (Fiaccadori 1993:332, n. 2; ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon).

D. is traditionally the most common term used, chiefly in composition, for a monastic church and/or the relevant cloister, as well as for the place in which they are located. Only in recent times was D. sometimes usurped for the name of important churches (e.g., Däbrä Ṣəyon of ↗Addis ʿAläm, ↗Däbrä Ṣəge Qəddus Uraʾel of Addis Abäba etc.). While some authors have traced the origin of the ecclesiastical usage of the term to the frequent location of monastic settlements on mountains (LesCDic 121, but cp. ibid. 183; Wondmagegnehu – Motovu 1970:24), it should be noted that sacred places are often depicted as "mountains", regardless of their geographical status: cp. Coptic *tow* and Egyptian Ar. *ǧabal*, meaning both 'mountain' and 'monastery' (Crum 1939:441a). The most famous of Ethiopia's monastic institutions are styled by this term: ↗Däbrä Bizän, ↗Däbrä Damo, ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Əsṭifanos, ↗Däbrä Libanos etc.; the name of Däbrä Fərem ('Monastery of Fəremnaṭos', i.e. of *abunä* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan), is attested as early as in the 10th/11th-cent. Aksumite inscriptions of *ḥaṣani* ↗Danəʾel (RIE 193, I–II).

D. also came to indicate a particularly important type of church institution, different from the smaller countryside church, a ↗*gäṭär*. A D. was supposed to have at least three priests serving at time and even more deacons. This was only possible if the monastic community was large enough (cp. ↗*Gädam*) or founded and sponsored by noble patrons – emperors and members of the royal family, local rulers and "kings" providing financial support for the construction of huge buildings, for murals, liturgical vessels, books etc., and granting land possessions. The foundation and endowment of a D. was considered the most pious act, crucial for the salvation of the soul (such churches were frequently supposed to become their patrons' sepulchres). The rising of some famous D. took quite a number of years and resulted in enormous expenses, as for ↗Däbrä Śäḥay Qʷəsqʷam (GuiIyas 89–105). The D.'s wealth and its ties to the royal court attracted many educated clergy (*liqawənt*), so that the place was usually a major centre for religious ↗education. Because of its royal connections the D. tended to be located in or around important political centres: the seat of the ruler's or emperor's court or the capital cities. If a local community wanted a D. to be erected, it needed consent from the emperor in order to secure resources for its clergy, monks and students.

Founding a D. involved land-granting and special ceremonies: after the emperor reached the designated place, horns were blown and drums beaten; he then went around the construction-site and announced the properties given to that church. An appointed scribe immediately registered his words in the "testament of the D.". The emperor could also have service books copied for the D. and inscribed with the list of his donations to the D. (which in some cases included votive ↗crowns used in the church service). In other cases, he merely signed a list of donations and sent it to the D. After the building was finished, its ↗*tabot* was solemnly introduced into the D.

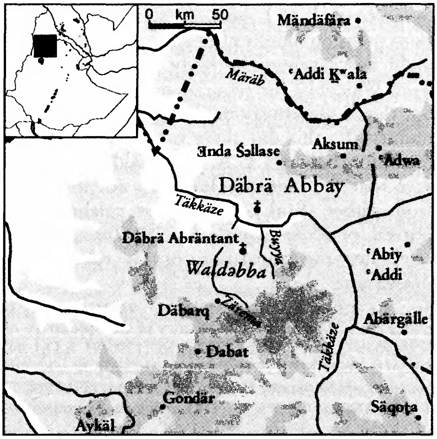
Sometimes the emperor had his word written on parchment and sent it through a messenger to the place where the D. was being constructed. Then the metropolitan or bishop blessed the building-area of the church. The local noblemen and elders, along with the clergy holding a Gospel book and ringing special bells (↗*Qač̣əl*), encircled the area, together with the emperor's messenger. In the churchyard, the words of the emperor were read and, in turn, confirmed by the metropolitan.

Src.: AmhChurchD vol. 2, 1–5; Guilyas 89–105 (text) = 95–114 (tr.); LesCDic 121, 183; WALTER EWING CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939, 441a; DillmLex 1102. **Lit.:** AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU (eds.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 24; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Aethiopica (II)", *RSO* 10, 1925, 481–520, here 500; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Epigraphica Aethiopica", *Quaderni Utinensi* 8 [15–16], 1993 [1996], 325–33, here 327f., 331ff.; HAILE MARIAM LAREBO, "The Ethiopian Orthodox Church and Politics in the Twentieth Century", *NEASt* 9, 3 1987, 1–23, here 11ff.

Steven Kaplan – Red.

Däbrä Abbay

D.A. (ደብረ፡ አባይ) is an important monastery connected to the ↗Waldəbba complex. It lies in the Šire *awrağğa* (now North Gondär Zone of the Amhara *kəlləl*) between May Ṣäbri and Ǝnda Abba Guna, close to where the Täkkäze River formed the Təgray–Bägemdər border. The history of the monastery is known mostly from local traditions and legends (for the apparently earliest mention in written sources s. PerZarY 28). It is said to have been founded as a church by ↗Samuʾel of Waldəbba in 1339 A.M. [1347 A.D.] and it was granted a monastic charter much later, in 1380 A.M. [1388 A.D.] during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II. However, it remained under the administration of Waldəbba for a long time.



D.A. was established with a more liberal rule than other Waldəbba monasteries, it allowed to consume grain and was consequently appropriate for the aged and infirm. The "Golden Gospel" (↗*Wängelä wärq*) of the monastery records that the monks were weakened by eating ↗*qʷarf*, the staple diet. In the time of *abbot* Bäkimos, when the communities of Waldəbba refused to accept land estates, these were granted to D.A. It is claimed that half of the *gʷəlt* (44 or 88 units in total are mentioned) was given by *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq (HuntLand 34).

In the second half of the 19th cent., D.A. remained an important monastery. Around 1905 it was richly endowed by *ras* Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, then in 1916 by *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən, the future emperor. The ↗*Dərsanä Uraʾel* mentions D.A. along with Däbrä Damo, Däbrä Ḥayq and some other famous monasteries. During the Italian war, D.A. suffered much in the course of the fighting between the Italians and *ras* ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase. Most of the monks who survived sought refuge in the neighbouring areas. After the liberation, D.A. was restored and became a flourishing community, famous as a centre of traditional education, especially for the certificate in *Mäzgäbä qəddase*, eucharistic liturgy, in which the *mämhərs* of D.A. are considered to be the highest authority. This was confirmed by the demise of the other centre of Sədäd Kula in Goğğam, whose teachers came to D.A.

The community of D.A. claims to preserve the relics of *abba* Samuʾel in the *mäqdäs* of the monastery's Betä Ləḥem church. Certain traditions mention monks of D.A. coming secretly at night and stealing the body of *abba* Samuʾel from Waldəbba for reburial at their monastery, but this is vigorously denied by the D.A. community. To this day there is a tradition of cooperation between D.A. and Waldəbba to ensure that the monastic life does not disappear from either. Both communities celebrate the festival of *abba* Samuʾel on 12 *Taḫśaś*; D.A. celebrates the translation of his relics on 7 *Mäskäräm*.

Src.: BÄRIHUN KÄBBÄDÄ, የዋልድባ፡ ገዳም፡ ታሪክ (*Yäwaldəbba gädam tarik*, 'The History of the Monastery of Waldəbba'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.], 44, 62f., 71, 116f.; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce* ..., London 1831, vol. 2, 174ff.; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "L'Homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Ouriel (Dersāna Urāʾel)", *AE* 1, 1955, 61–88; HuntLand 34; AmhChurchD vol. 4., 185–90; PerrZarY 28; BZHist 12.

Joachim Persoon – Denis Nosnitsin

Däbrä Abräntant

D.A. (ደብረ፡ አብረንታንት) is the central monastery of ↗Waldəbba. It is located in a lowland desert area near the Səmen Mountains, straddling the former Təgray–Bägemdər (Gondär) border (s. ↗Däbrä Abbay map for exact location). Waldəbba's borders are marked by the rivers Täkkäze, Zärema, Anṣəya and Buyya. This area is venerated as a sacred place where, as some traditional sources narrate, the Holy Family dwelt during its return from Egypt.

One of the earliest independent sources that explicitly refers to D.A. is possibly a note attached to the Acts of Märqorewos (Conti Rossini 1904:48). Besides, the Chronicle of *aṣe* Iyasu I reports that the Emperor visited the monks of Abräntanti (or Ḫabärtanti) and passed the place twice in 1692 (Guilohan 152f., 165). The local monastic tradition dates the foundation of D.A. to 493 A.D. and attributes it to a group of faithful from ↗Bulga, who, having been admonished by a hermit, set out for Jerusalem. A youth accompanying them revealed himself to be Christ and made a "testament" that the site would be "like Jerusalem". The word *abräntant* in the name of the monastery is traditionally explained as አብረን፡ ተአንተ (*abrän täʾantä*, 'we are together with you [God]'). Later, the local hermits are reported to have been massacred by Queen Gudit (↗Ǝsato) and, as a result, the monastery declined. *Abba* ↗Samuʾel of Waldəbba rebuilt the monastery and is considered its patron; after his death *abunä* Bäkimos, his pupil, became the head of the community. *Aṣe* ↗Dawit II offered D.A. *rəst-* and *g^{w}əlt*-land possession, but the monks refused to accept it (and the land is said to have been transferred to the nearby Däbrä Abbay). However, later, as the tradition claims, land estates were accepted from the Betä Ǝsraʾel leader ↗Gedewon.

The "five fathers" from ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa reportedly came to the monastery in 1397 and found it divided into 44 *däwäl* (lit. 'bells') – groups of hermits, each having its own ↗*tabot*; these were eventually reduced to two "houses", those of *abunä* Minas and those of *abunä* Ṭa^{c}əmä Krəstos, which exist to this day. The monks had fled before the army of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī; thereafter, the community was threatened by the Rayya and the Azaboo Oromo. The main church of D.A., Kidanä Məḥrät, was established in 1773. *Aṣe* ↗Täklä Häymanot II, who went to Waldəbba and became a monk after his abdication in 1777, is said to have been later buried at D.A.

After this, D.A. retained its importance; in the 1970s it hosted a large community with an elaborate organization, consisting of several settlements with churches of their own, all under the administration of one head (አበ፡ ምኔት, *abä mənet*). The monk grades range from the novices to the "perfect hermits"; the monks are engaged in the production of cereals and bananas (which is the main ingredient for ↗*q^{w}arf*) along with bee-keeping. The monastery is famous due to the austerity of the monks, as well as its masters of ↗*zema*-chanting and ↗exegesis.

D.A. has an important collection of ↗crosses, paintings on wood and manuscripts. Two staff-crosses deserve special attention. One, called the "Jerusalemian" or "Egyptian", is decorated with inlays of gold and silver and seems to be of Coptic origin. The cross cannot be precisely dated, but the inlay-technique connects it with objects of Islamic sumptuous art of ca. 13th–15th cent. The cross has an invocation in the name of "King Gäbrä Mäsqäl" (possibly *aṣe* ↗^{c}Amdä Ṣəyon or ↗Yəsḥaq?) and, on a picture of St. Mary, an inscription which mentions *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II. The second cross, made of bronze, has a shaft decorated with the head of a ram, a very rare feature, shared with the cross from the monastery of Wərrä Mäsqäl, ʿAgamä (attributed by its inscription to Ṭənṭäwədəm; ↗Zagʷe) and the cross from ↗Tädbabä Maryam, Sayənt (which is connected by local traditions with ↗John the Baptist). Two other iron hand-crosses in open-work technique and the imitation of bamboo-knots on the handles are dated to 15th–16th cent.

Two large wooden panels with the ↗Crucifixion scene are high-quality examples of the so-called First Gondärine style. Among the manuscripts there is a Vita of Täklä Haymanot decorated with 187 miniatures in the Second Gondärine style. According to oral tradition, the monastery owns a portrait of St. Mary, painted by St. Luke, which suggests a foreign provenance.

D.A. could be described as the "Mount Athos" of Ethiopia, preserving the essential values and aspirations of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. It was, and still is, a training-ground for future church leaders. The particular life style that has evolved over the centuries involves unique ways of interacting with nature, agricultural methods, architectural style, handicrafts and diet. Above all, D.A. has developed a strictly ascetic and contemplative spirituality.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum I. Acta Marqorēwos*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 48f. (text) = 63 (tr.); Guilohan 152f., 165 (text) = 160, 173 (tr.).

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "Is Näwa Bägʿu an Ethiopian Cross?", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 105–24; BÄRIHUN KÄBBÄDÄ, **የዋልድባ፡ ገዳም፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäwaldəbba gädam tarik*, 'The History of the Monastery of Waldəbba'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; JACQUES JARRY, "Un voyage de reconnaissance au Waldebba", *AE* 9, 1972, 227–36; GIRMA ELIAS, "The Monastery of Abrentant in Waldibba", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 93–121.

Joachim Persoon – Denis Nosnitsin

Däbrä Amin Täklä Haymanot

D.A. (**ደብረ፡ አሚን፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት**, lit. 'Mount [Monastery] of Faith [dedicated to] Täklä Haymanot') is a church in Addis Abäba, located near Täsämma Abba Qämmaw Road. The corner stone of the church was laid down on 12 July 1898. The *tabot* was blessed by the then Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Matewos, accompanied by *aṣe* Mənilək II, his officials and the surrounding people, before being placed within a small tent. After this, the Emperor proclaimed the commencement of the construction of the church. The stone was brought from the Kotebe area; since the ↗Männagäša forest was rich in timber, there was no problem of wood supply for the construction. The church was designed to be octagonal in shape, like the churches of ↗Əntoṭṭo Raguʾel and Mänbärä Mängəśt Gäbrəʾel.

The main reason for constructing D.A. was the sheer distance between the capital and ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, which prevented the faithful, including the nobles, high officials and the Emperor, from visiting this monastery, the sanctuary of *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot. The main feast of this Saint was celebrated on 24 *Näḥase*, during the rainy season, a time when communication between Däbrä Libanos and Addis Abäba became especially difficult. Hence, a church of Täklä Haymanot in the capital was needed.

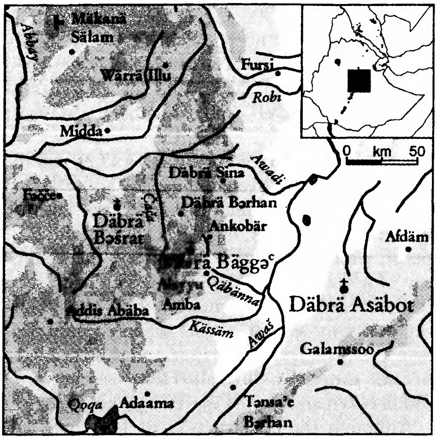
Although the construction of D.A. was announced by the Emperor and became the concern of many officials, it was a long time in reaching completion. Construction of the principal church started in 1898, and was terminated and inaugurated in the reign of *ətege* Zäwditu. The bell house, also started in 1898, was completed during the second half of the 1930s. The hall, used as an accommodation for the ↗*sänbäte*-meetings, was built in the 1960s. The *mäqdäs* was built in 1983. Construction of the fence started in the 1950s, in co-operation with the city municipality of Addis Abäba and with contributions from the public, finally completed in the second half of the 1970s. The church administration offices were built at different times. However, the church began offering full spiritual services from the very outset, even although it took almost 90 years to build the church complex.

Lit.: HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "The Establishment of Churches in Addis Ababa", in: *CentAddis* 57–78.

Mersha Alehegne

Däbrä Asäbot

D.A. (**ደብረ፡ አሰቦት**, or Asäbot Śəllase Däbrä Wägäg, 9°17' N, 40°35' E) is a monastery (*gädam*) in eastern Harärge, approximately halfway between Addis Abäba and Dərre Dawa (2,493 m A.S.L.). Mount Asäbot is an extinct volcano. The most important monastery of this area, D.A. was founded by a highly venerated saint, the Šäwan *abba* ↗Samuʾel [of Däbrä Wägäg], perhaps around the second half of the 14th cent., and follows the rule of *abba* ↗Täklä



Haymanot. *Aṣe* ↗Dawit II richly endowed the monastery with *gʷəlt* estates situated between the Awaš and the Mullu. In the 16th cent., the advancing Muslim forces of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī destroyed it. In 1911 D.A. was re-established under the Empress ↗Zäwditu, only to be destroyed during the Italian period. The Italians took the monks to Mogadishu, where many were to die. It was restored again by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, who ordered a modern church to be built, in the form of a Latin cross with a cupola.

According to the ↗*Dərsanä Uraʾel*, Christ's blood was collected in a shining chalice and sprinkled by an angel in different places that were to become monasteries on account of this action. When the blood fell on D.A. the place was illuminated, hence its name of Däbrä Wägäg (Caquot 1955:77, 87), cp. Amh. **ወገገ፡ አለ**, *wägägg alä*, 'to dawn'. In addition, the name D.A. is also traditionally explained as "mount of the thinkers, or the wise men" (cp. Amh. **አሳቢዎች**, *assabiwočč*, 'thinkers').

In the 1990s the community numbered approximately 50 monks and nuns (excluding novices), following the cenobitic *andənnät* rule. 7 *Ṭərr* and 7 *Ḥamle*, the feasts of the Trinity, to which Samuʾel dedicated the monastery, are among the most celebrated and important moments at the monastery.

D.A.'s strategic location, in an area where Muslim population is predominant, has given it a political, spiritual and cultural relevance. At times, persecuted Christians found refuge there. Other monasteries of the region disappeared, but it was believed that attempts to do away with D.A. were thwarted through divine intervention.

Src.: ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Ouriel (Dersāna Urāʾél)", *AE* 1, 1955, 61–88, here 64, 77, 87f.; STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Samuel de Dabra Wagag*, Louvain 1968 (CSCO 287, 288 [SAe 57, 58]).
Lit.: *abba* AYELE TEKLEHAIMANOT, "Un faro di luce cristiana brilla da secoli sull'Ogaden", *QSE* 2, 1981, 56–64; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il monachismo in Etiopia", *OrChrA* 153, 1958, 259–78, here 260.

Joachim Persoon

Däbrä ᶜAsbo ↗Däbrä Libanos

Däbrä Bäggəᶜ

D.B. (**ደብረ፡ በግዕ**, lit. 'Mount [Monastery] of the Lamb') is a monastery in the early Christianized district of Ṭära in eastern Šäwa (former Tägulät Bulga *awrağğa*), located in the valley of the Qäbänna, a tributary of the ↗Käsäm River (ca. 39°40' N, 9°25' E; s. map for Däbrä Asäbot). By tradition, it was founded in the 14th cent. by ↗Ḥəṣan Moʾa, who was a cousin of Zena Marqos (both having the same grandfather).

A substantial number of manuscripts from the monastic library, most of them dating to the 18th or 19th cent., have recently been catalogued (s. EMML vols. 6, 10). The monastery possesses a copy of the *Acts of Ḥəṣan Moʾa* (mf. EMML 2353, fol. 3a–35b), judged to have been written in the 18th cent. An inventory of books and church furnishings in the possession of D.B. mentions landholdings given to the monastery during the time of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase (EMML 2353, fol. 2a), as well as those donated by *aṣe* Mənilək II, whose father *nəguś* ↗Ḫaylä Mälakot was buried in D.B. (GueCopMen 84), and by *wäyzäro* Bafäna (EMML 2352, fol. 169b; 2353, fol. 89a). Five miniatures from EMML 2349 are judged by Chojnacki to be significant examples of the Šäwan painting style, showing evidence of the impact of Gondärine art on 18th- and 19th-cent. Šäwan art (s. ChojPaint 471f.). Ms. EMML 4380 contains valuable texts in Old Amharic, such as the interpretations of Gəᶜəz letters, ↗*Śənä fəṭrät*, interpretation of the Nicene Creed etc.

Src.: EMML 2349, 2352, 2353, 4380; GueCopMen 84.
Lit.: AWTarik xv, map, 113; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Heiligen der äthiopischen Erde*, Erlangen 1998 (Oikonomia 37), 92f.; ChojPaint 471f., figs. 215a-d.

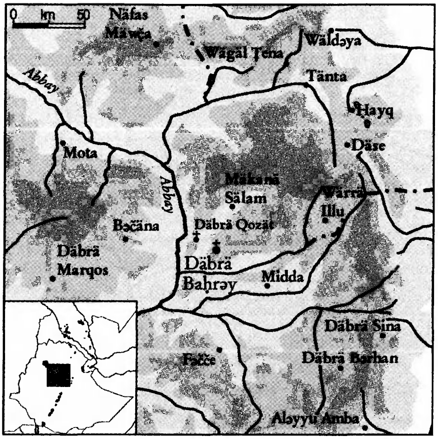
Paul B. Henze

Däbrä Baḥrəy

D.B. (ደብረ፡ ባሕርይ, lit. 'Mount of the Pearl [or, of the Divine Nature]') is a monastery founded by *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla (Gasəč̣č̣a) during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq, quite close to the grave of *abba* ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel. D.B., more commonly referred to as Gasəč̣č̣a Abba Giyorgis *gädam*, is located on the summit of a precipitous elevation (*amba*; 2,400 m A.S.L.) on the Gasəč̣č̣a plateau, opposite Č̣aqata and south of the River Wäläqa in Wällo. It is only two or three hours walk from Sägla, which is the birthplace of the founder (Wright 1957:12; Derat 1994:25).

The location by Yaqob Beyene (YaqMist I) of Gasəč̣č̣a in Ambassäl and Sägla in Šäwa is, thus, far from certain. Neither can his assumption that Giyorgis of Gasəč̣č̣a and Giyorgis of Sägla were two different people be proved. In addition, the reference in the *Gädlä Iyäsus Moʾa* to Giyorgis of D.B. and of Gasəč̣č̣a as different individuals should not be taken for granted. According to his hagiography and to oral tradition, the Giyorgis who was born in Sägla and the one who founded D.B. in Gasəč̣č̣a was one and the same person; hence, Giyorgis of Sägla, or Gasəč̣č̣a, or D.B. The ↗*Mälkəʾ* of Giyorgis of Sägla, which repeatedly describes him as *baḥrəy* ('pearl'), summarizes everything when it refers to his grave at Gasəč̣č̣a as D.B.: ሰላም፡ ለመቃብረከ፡ ወለኵሉ፡ አድያማ፡/ሰዋስወ፡ ጸሎት፡ ኑኃ፡ ወምዕራግ፡ ስብሓት፡ ግድማ፡/ጊዮርጊስ፡ ማኀፈዳ፡ ወዘኢትንህል፡ ጥቅማ፡ እምኵሎን፡ ከልዓቲሃ፡ ሶበ፡ አፈድፈደት፡ ግርማ፡/ደብረ፡ ባሕርይ፡ ሰመይዋ፡ ስማ, 'Greetings to your grave and its surroundings/ Its length is a ladder for prayer and its breadth a staircase for [raising] glorification/Giyorgis is its tower and its building that will never be destroyed/When its glory was more than the others,/They called its name Däbrä Baḥrəy'.

The monastery has been damaged by fire three times: first by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, then by a certain *arämawi* (lit. 'pagan', i.e. Muslim) who reportedly has come from the town of Yädära Adäre (probably the town of Harär) and finally by the Muslims of the surrounding area. Wright (1957:12) observed evidence of burning; there are also some burnt pages of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*säʿatat* by Giyorgis that are believed to belong to the original exemplar of this work (the present author examined them during his visit to the monastery in 1997). As a result of these fires, D.B. does not have a particularly rich manuscript collection. A recent inventory reveals only 54 manuscripts on parchment and 45 published books. Nevertheless, it still serves as a major centre of religious instruction for about 18 parish churches.



During the reign of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, the monastery had 50 *gašša* (ca. 2,000 ha) of land; however, it has now lost more than 90 % of this total due to the sweeping land reforms after 1974 by the *Därg*. There are three *tabots* consecrated to St. George of Lydda, the Trinity and St. Mary. A cave-church of ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel, which had fallen into disuse, now also belongs to D.B.

Src.: EMML V, 339, no. 1838, fols. 1r–50r; 434, 1940; GÉRARD COLIN, *Vie de Georgis de Saglā*, Lovanii 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]), 64 (text) = 48 (tr.); KurMoa, s. index; YaqMist I, V–VI.

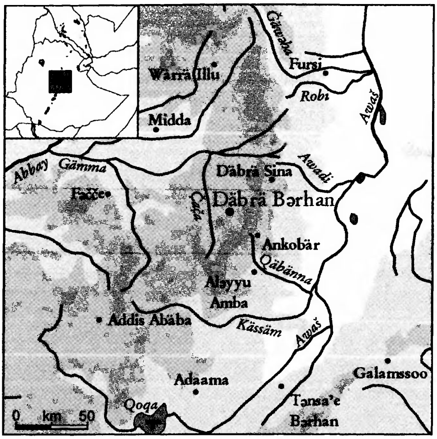
Lit.: MARIE-LAURE DERAT, *Giyorgis de Saglâ (1365–1425): un prêtre du Tabernacle*, Mémoire de D.E.A., Université de Paris I – Sorbonne 1994, 25; STEPHEN WRIGHT, "Notes on Some Cave Churches in the Province of Wallo", *AE* 2, 1957, 7–13, here 12.

Fisseha Tadesse Feleke

Däbrä Bərhan

D.B. (ደብረ፡ ብርሃን, 'Mount of Light') was one of the earliest, and most important, capitals of Šäwa, and remains to this day a large and flourishing urban centre.

The town was apparently founded in the 15th cent. by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob and figures extensively in his chronicle. This links the establishment of the settlement with a miraculous, Heaven-sent light. This was probably Halley's comet, which



made its appearance in 1456, i.e. in the last third of Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob's reign. D.B., according to the chronicler, became the site of a fine palace, which he describes in considerable detail. The town at this time was visited by numerous priests and countless courtiers from all over the empire, who came to pay allegiance to the mighty Emperor.

D.B. subsequently suffered from a serious epidemic, which Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob reputedly overcame in part by building the town's church of Betä Qirqos and by insisting on the proper burial of the dead. D.B. was, however, later abandoned by Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob's son and successor *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam, after which its importance doubtlessly declined. The settlement was nevertheless still in existence in the early 16th cent., during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, when it was occupied by an army he had summoned there from Təgray. The town later fell to *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, who reportedly destroyed Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob's old palace; and it was at D.B. that the ᶜAdal leader proclaimed: "Abyssinia is conquered".

The revival of D.B., in the late 17th cent., owed much to ↗Nägaśe Krəstos Wärädä Qal, the founder of the later Šäwan dynasty, who made the settlement his capital and rebuilt Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob's former palace. His immediate successors moved, however, to other locations. Two subsequent late 18th- and early 19th-cent. Šäwan rulers, ↗Asfä Wäsän and Wäsän Sägäd, both spent part of their time at D.B. and part at nearby Ankobär. This practice was followed, in the early 19th cent., by *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase, who, in addition to Ankobär and D.B., also resided for part of the year in the vicinity, at Angoläla. The D.B. area was, however, the locality where he galloped his horses, and held his principal military reviews. The town also had a sizeable market, renowned especially for the sale of mules and horses.

D.B. suffered as a result of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros's occupation of Šäwa in 1855. The then ruler, *nəguś* ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot, set fire to the town, including the palace, to prevent it falling to Tewodros. The latter nevertheless occupied the town, and placed his tent on the cinders of the former palace.

Mənilək, after his escape from Mäqdäla, occupied D.B. in 1865, but established an entirely new settlement five km to the north-east, at ↗Ləčče, which he made for a time his capital. Later, however, in 1878–79, under pressure from *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, he abandoned Ləčče, in favour of old D.B. The latter then reverted to its former status as one of the principal political centres of Šäwa, and the settlement was subsequently largely rebuilt by Mənilək, who restored the town's Śəllase church in 1905.

After the abandonment of Ankobär, in favour of Ǝnṭoṭṭo, and later Addis Abäba, D.B. emerged as the principal settlement of northern Šäwa. Its population was estimated in 1935 at no less than 12,000. After World War II the town's position on the Addis Abäba – Asmära road ensured it considerable urban growth. The town became the capital of a large *awrağğa* consisting of ↗Bulga and ↗Tägulät. The development was accelerated by the establishment of a teacher's training college, a woollen blanket factory, a flour-mill, a tannery, and numerous hotels. The population grew from 14,986 inhabitants in 1970 to 51,446 in 2000. D.B. is twinned with the French town of Blanc-Mesnil, on the outskirts of Paris.

Src.: PerrZarY 193f., s. index; BassHist 401; CSA 2000.
Lit.: PankHist I, II (Lit.).

Richard Pankhurst

Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase

D.B.Ś. (ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ሥላሴ, lit. 'Mount of Light [dedicated to, i.e. with the *tabot*] of the Trinity', also known as Śəllus Qəddus) is one of the finest churches of ↗Gondär. Situated on elevated land north-west of the city, it was consecrated in January 1694 during the reign of *aṣe*

↗Iyasu I and is ecstatically described in a panegyric to him. This enumerates how Iyasu prescribed that the walls should be four cubits thick and (being round) exactly one hundred cubits from north to south and east to west. The roof was surmounted by a gold *gulləlat*, or roof decoration, and a large gold cross holding gold spheres the size of ostrich eggs, which shone like the sun by day and the moon by night (Conti Rossini 1942:76–81, 108–13). The belfry had two large bells, presented by the Dutch India Company and imported by the Armenian trader *ḫoǧa* ↗Murād. The church was important as a place where the Emperor and his courtiers celebrated the Feast of the Trinity and where not a few prominent figures were buried (BegCron 64). Its original establishment or *särit* involved over 170 clergy supported by grants of land in ↗Dämbəya. This establishment served as a model for many of the churches later founded in Gondär and in other parts of the country (CrumLand 88f.).

The original round church, the external foundations of which are still visible, was destroyed by lightning in 1707, but it was immediately restored and until 1730 frequently used as a royal necropolis. It was replaced by the present rectangular building (Di Salvo 1999:67), reconstructed by order of *liq* Ḫaylä Maryam Ǝšäte (d. 1842), a nobleman from Gondär, probably between 1800 and 1830. His church survived the pillaging of Gondär by the dervishes in 1888. Tradition claims that they were driven away by a swarm of angry bees.

D.B.Ś. is today renowned for its fine murals, which cover the entire interior and include paintings of the church's original founder, Iyasu I, as well as of ↗Ǝgʷalä Ṣəyon, who probably paid for its redecoration. The ceiling, decorated with cherubs, is today a major tourist attraction.

Src.: BegCron 64, s. index; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Iyāsu I re d'Etiopia e martire", *RSO* 20, 1, 1942, 65–128, here 76–81, 108–13.

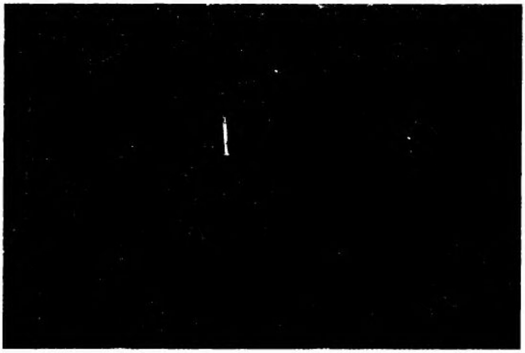
Lit.: GUY ANNEQUIN, "De quand datent l'église actuelle de Dabra Berhan Sellase et son ensemble de peintures?", *AE* 10, 1976, 215–26; CrumLand 88f.; MONTI DELLA CORTE, *I Castelli di Gondar*, Roma 1938 PankHist I, 132, 143; MARIO DI SALVO, *Churches of Ethiopia: the Monastery of Nārgā Śellāsē*, Milano 1999, 67, fig. 64.

Richard Pankhurst

Paintings in Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase

The detailed description of D.B.Ś. in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I and in the Vita of the Emperor allows us to reconstruct it as a round building of tooled stones, with the central part encircled by arcades reposing on twelve pillars with twelve entrances. The walls of the ↗*mäqdäs* and the pillars were entirely covered with paintings. The choice of the scenes and their disposition represent what we now call the classical decoration system of a round church. An exception was made by the pillars decorated in the lower sections with the stories of the Apostles, and in the upper sections, with the figures of twelve archangels. A fragment depicting an angel, still kept in the church in frames, may originate from this ensemble.

The present church is a rectangular hall with a half-circular apse at the east end; it has three entrances from the north, south and west and a divided thatched roof. An ambulatory bound by rectangular pillars is the latest addition. The building is encircled by a high smooth-stone enclosure with a two-storey tower facing west. In the lower part there is the main entrance, the upper part houses the treasury.



Cloth mural painted about 1820; ceiling and north wall: cherubs, mariological scenes and St. George; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

The interior of the church is entirely covered with paintings. The decoration of the sanctuary inside the apse is unknown. This part of the church was not entered during the restoration works that UNESCO performed in the 1970s. The technique used is painting on canvas glued to the walls. Stylistically, the painters were followers of the second Gondärine school. The name of one of them, Bäḫaylä Mäsqäl, is mentioned in an inscription. *Aṣe* ↗Ǝgʷalä Ṣəyon, who should be considered the ↗donor of the paintings, is depicted three times: prostrating before *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot, the Virgin Mary and the Crucified Christ.

The north wall is divided into five rows. The two highest show a Mariological cycle, including the story of the Flight to Egypt based on the ↗*Nägärä Maryam*. The third row has portraits of ten ↗equestrian saints and figures of the most popular Ethiopian and ecumenical saints. The south wall is devoted to the Passion cycle, the Last Judgement, the martyrdom of Peter and Paul and portraits of the Apostles. On the west wall, the main scene represents the Apparition of the Virgin Mary at ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq, surrounded by the portraits of various saints. The east wall, transfixed by two portals leading to the *mäqdäs*, is flanked by figures of St. Michael and St. Gabriel. In the upper part of the wall the ↗Trinity is represented, in the lower part the Crucifixion between the Annunciation and the Nativity of Christ. The whole ceiling is decorated with the heads of cherubs.

↗Church buildings; ↗Painting

Src.: BegCron 81f., 67ff., 75–78; GuiIohan 176f., 285f., 304ff.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Iyāsu I re d'Etiopia e martire", *RSO* 20, 1942, 65–128, here 108f.

Lit.: OTTO JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia: a Guide*, Stuttgart – London 1974, 47–52 (Lit.); PAUL M. SCHWARTZBAUM et al., *Conservation of Mural Paintings in Ethiopia*, Paris [UNESCO] 1979 (Technical Rapport 1); GUY ANNEQUIN, "De quand datent l'église actuelle de Dabra Berhan Sellasé de Gondar et son ensemble de peintures?", *AE* 10, 1976, 215–26; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ – ANAÏS WION, "Inventaire des peintures datées du XVII^{e} au début du XIX^{e} siècles: questions sur l'art gondarien (Éthiopie)", in: CLAUDE HÉLÈNE PERROT – FRANÇOIS-XAVIER FAUVELLE (eds.), *Autres sources, nouveaux regards sur l'histoire africaine*, Paris 1998 (= Cahiers du Centre de recherches africaines 9), 215–42, here 227f.

Ill.: JULES LEROY, *La pittura etiopica*, Milano 1964, pl. 38, 39a, 39; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT – OTTO JÄGER, *Illuminierte äthiopische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1968, pls. 32; WOLFGANG VON VOLBACH – JACQUELINE LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE (eds.), *Byzanz und der christliche Osten*, Berlin 1968 (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 3), pl. 429; EWALD HEIN – BRIGITTE KLEIDT, *Ethiopia – Christian Africa: Art, Churches and Culture*, Ratingen 1999, figs. 191–200.

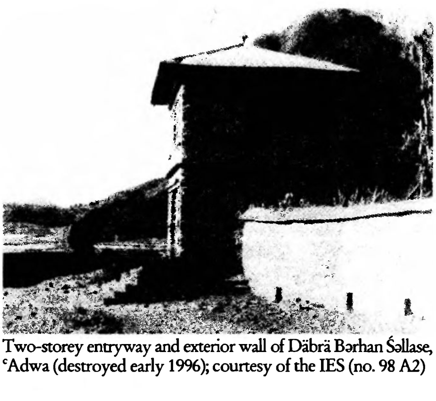
Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase

The church of D.B.Ś. (**ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ሥላሴ**, lit. 'Mount of Light [dedicated to, i.e. with the *tabot*] of the Trinity', also known as Ǝnda Śəllase) was founded by *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Mərča (*aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV) at ↗ᶜAdwa, as here was the residence of his court. Built upon a "lofty place" where the house of Kaśa's father, *ras* Mikaʾel Səḥul, once stood, it was consecrated by *abunä* ↗Atnatewos on 14 May 1871. Dedicated to the Trinity, it was named D.B.Ś. after the famed church founded in ↗Gondär in 1694 by *aṣe* Iyasu I.

Its structure, with an attractive height and width and a ceiling that was "lofty and decorated with purple color" (BTafY 85, 90–93), along with its secondary buildings, was reduced to ruins during a battle fought at the church in the recent civil war.

A description and photographs of the church were recorded in the report of the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition (DAE III, 57ff., pl. III). The church was a circular building of stone and wood with a double ambulatory and a central, square sanctuary (↗*Mäqdäs*) surmounted by a tambour. It was constructed within a stone enclosure with a circular tower and a square entryway. Its decoration consisted of many carved and incised wood details (the framing of doors and windows, the beams of entablature, the grills of screens) – the work of Italian craftsman Giacomo ↗Naretti. The murals on the exterior



Two-storey entryway and exterior wall of Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase, ᶜAdwa (destroyed early 1996); courtesy of the IES (no. 98 A2) wall of the sanctuary, which survive only in photographs, included a depiction of the arrival of *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa at Aksum for his coronation as Yoḥannəs IV on 21 January 1872, the banquet that followed it, an episode from the ↗Egyptian-Ethiopian war in 1870 and several hunting scenes. According to the *Guida*, most of the murals were painted by *aläqa* ↗Luqas of Goǧǧam. The church owned a large collection of military objects and church paraphernalia.

Src.: BTafY 85, 90–93; DAE I, 7; III, 57ff., pl. IV; AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYDLE, *Modern Abyssinia*, London 1901, 170; EMILIUS ALBERT DE COSSON, *The Cradle of the Blue Nile: a Visit to the Court of King John of Ethiopia*, London 1877, vol. 1, 113f.; ALEXANDRE GIRARD, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Abyssinie (1868–1869)*, Le Caire 1873, 98, 168, 198; *Guida* 242.
Lit.: PankHist II, 91, 351; ALBERTO SBACCHI, "'Le Memorie' di Giacomo Naretti alla corte dell'imperatore Giovanni IV d'Etiopia", *Bolletino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 12ª, 4 [136], 1999, 751–63; ID., "The Late Robert L. Hess and the Memoirs of Giacomo Naretti at the Court of Emperor Yohannes of Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 899–918, here 911f.

Marilyn Heldman

Däbrä Bəśrat

D.B. (ደብረ፡ ብሥራት, 'Monastery [Mount] of the Annunciation'), known also as Däbrä Zena Marqos, is located on the slopes of a table-mountain in Morät (Šäwa, Tägulät and Bulga *awraǧǧa*) near the church of Däy Giyorgis (s. map for ↗Däbrä Asäbot). The latter was recently rebuilt on the top of this mountain, in the vicinity of the ruins of the ancient Däy Giyorgis church attributed to the 15th-cent. *aṣe* Ḥəzbä Nañ (↗Täklä Maryam).

According to Enrico Cerulli's summary (1962) of the Acts of ↗Zena Marqos, D.B. was founded in the 14th cent. by this saint, a cousin and disciple of *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot. It was the site where his birth was announced to his father.

After the death of Zena Marqos, in 1375/76 according to his hagiography, *aṣe* ↗Nəwayä Maryam granted lands to the community, which constituted a third of the income of the Emperor (a clear reference to the late tradition concerning the donations of *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak to Täklä Haymanot).

Zena Marqos was buried in his monastery. According to his Miracles, pilgrims rushed to his burial place. They used to sleep near his tomb, hoping for an apparition of Zena Marqos in their dreams. Pilgrimage to D.B., on the commemoration of the death of the saint, 3 *Taḫśaś*, and generally the third day of each month, is still very popular, rivalling the pilgrimage to ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa.

A miracle added to the Acts of Zena Marqos (EMML 3987, fol. 136a–38b), written by an abbot of D.B. named Qalä ᶜAwadi, in charge during the war of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ), shows that the library of the monastery was very rich. When Qalä ᶜAwadi heard of the coming of Grañ's armies, he dispersed hundreds of manuscripts and the *tabots* and fled to Bägemdər.

D.B. belongs to the Däbrä Libanos movement. For this reason, during the doctrinal quarrel between Unctionists (↗*Qəbat*) and Unionists (↗*Täwaḥədo*) in the 17th and 18th cent., the community followed the Däbrä Libanos party.

Src.: EMML vol. 9, 268–77, no. 3987 [cp. no. 4740, fol. 149b]; vol. 10, 285f., no. 4741 [list of the abbots of D.B.]; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (ed., tr.), *The Life and Miracles of Tâklâ Hâymânôt in the Version of Dabra Lîbânôs ...*, London 1906, vol. 1, 199; vol. 2, 81, 258f.; GABRA IYASUS HAYLU, "Un manoscritto amarico sulle verità della fede", in: *PICES* 1, 345–52, here 351; GreTisVat 371, ms. Vat. Aeth. 95.
Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli atti di Zēnā Mārqos, monaco etiope del sec. XIV", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e testi 219), vol. 1, 191–212; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Day Giyorgis", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 43–48, here 43f.

Marie-Laure Derat

Däbrä Bəṣuᶜa Amlak ↗Kodadu

Däbrä Bizän

The monastery of D.B. (ደብረ፡ ቢዛን) lies in the Eritrean province of ↗Ḥamasen, near the village of ↗Näfasit, some 25 km east of the capital city Asmära, on a high mountain, on the main road leading to Massawa. The name D.B. could be translated literally as 'Monastery [Mount] of Byzantium', but the true meaning of such an expression is rather obscure. Francisco Alvares's *Verdadera Informaçam*, published in 1540, refers to D.B. as "Monastery of the Vision", certainly because of local traditions narrating that Jesus appeared to the saint and told him to build the convent in the place that he would see a golden stick suspended in mid-air. It seems the place-name Bizän had existed before the foundation of the monastery referring to the great massif dominating Näfasit.

View of Däbrä Bizän; photo 1995, courtesy of Paul B. Henze

At present D.B. is also known as Ǝnda Abunä Filəppos, since it was founded in 1373 or 1374 by the monk ↗Filəppos, a leader of the monastic movement known as *däqiqä Ewosṭatewos* (↗Ewosṭateans). Under Filəppos's abbotship until 1406, D.B. grew so much in importance as to assume the political and religious leadership of the Ewosṭatean monasteries. During the last decade of the 14th cent. the community suffered from repression, culminating, after the resolutions of a council summoned in April 1400 by *aṣe* ↗Dawit II, in the arrest of Filəppos and his internment on the island of Ḥayq, within the monastery of ↗Däbrä Ǝsṭifanos. A few years later, about 1403 or 1404, the same Emperor allowed the ↗Sabbath celebration, i.e., the observance of rest on both Saturday and Sunday. According to the Gəʿəz sources, after the new council of ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq (1450) and the subsequent resolution of the monastic schism with a decision favourable to D.B., the monastery was liberally granted land by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob.

D.B. was founded on the top of a massif the eastern slope of which descends steeply to the lowland, in the direction of Gindaʿ and Dogʿali. In this choice of a strategic position, dominating the route to the sea, one can see a serious attempt to establish a stronghold on the political and cultural boundary separating the Christian Solomonic Kingdom and the Islamic Sultanate of ↗Dahlak, with Massawa as its main coastal centre. The most ancient literary documents informing about D.B. are the hagiographies of the first two abbots of the monastery, the founder Filəppos (1322/23–1406) and his first successor ↗Yoḥannəs (1372/73–1449). These texts reveal the conflict between the monastery and the *nayb* (↗*Nāʾib*), i.e., the deputy of the Dahlak *sulṭān* in Massawa, called *śəyyumä baḥər* ('governor of the sea'). The social and political role played by D.B. in the struggle of the Solomonic rulers to extend their sovereignty over the lowland was a primary one. It is not by chance that the religious doctrine of D.B. was progressively accepted in the days of Dawit II, Yəsḥaq and Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, three emperors deeply engaged in a long-term conflict which brought eventually to the occupation of Massawa (1438). Specifically, Zärʾa Yaʿəqob expressed his acknowledgement of D.B.'s contribution in at least one significant land grant preserved in the ms. BritLib Orient. 481 (fol. 208).

An important source for D.B.'s history in the first half of the 16th cent. is the already-mentioned *Verdadera Informaçam* by Francisco ↗Alvares. According to this report, in 1520 the coast from Ḥərgigo to Massawa was still nominally part of the Solomonic Kingdom, under the direct administration of the ↗*baḥər nägaš*. The monks of D.B. are depicted as the highest religious authorities of the Eritrean regions, playing also a political role as "ambassadors" of the *baḥər nägaš* residing in ↗Dəbarwa. The leading position of D.B. among the monasteries of the Ḥamasen and Säraye regions is confirmed for the 17th and 18th cent. by the reports of Pedro Paez, Charles Poncet and James Bruce.

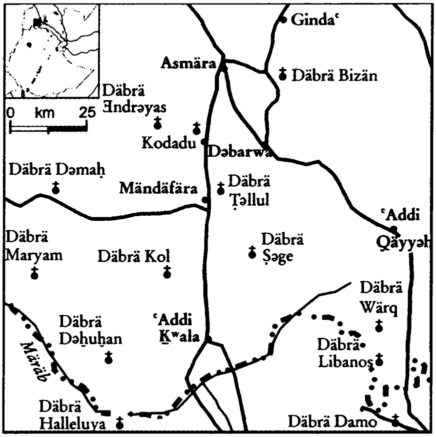
In the last decades of the 18th cent. (after 1780–81 according to the *Annals* of ʿAddi Näʾammən, s. KolTrad III, 44, 49), a serious devastation affected D.B. The event must have occurred before 1810, because Henry Salt informs about the monastery "deserted and in ruins" (SalTrav 442). Some 15 years later a similar scene appeared to the French travellers Edmond Combes and Maurice Tamisier who undertook their journey in 1837.

Starting from the mid-19th cent., the monastery was rebuilt in its modern shape. Today it includes three churches, a large number of cells plus different small buildings all constructed of uncommonly accurately cut masonry. The rights of D.B. were respected during the Italian occupation, and during the Ethio-Eritrean war the importance of the monastery grew quickly. It is sufficient to recall that after the Eritrean declaration of independence, the abbot of D.B. was invested with the office of Metropolitan of Eritrea. The monastic rule of D.B., tracing back to the same Filəppos, is celebrated for its severity, especially as to the strict prohibition for any female to enter the monastery. The monastery now houses the greatest manuscript collection of all Eritrea, totalling around 572 pieces, according to the local monks. The preservation of this first-rate historical heritage and its environmental context is one of the several challenges facing the Eritrean state.

Src.: WrBriMus 6, no. 2 [Orient. 481], fol. 208; FRANCISCO ALVAREZ, *Ho Preste Joam das indias. Verdadera informaçam das terras do Preste Joam*, Lisboa 1540; *ibid.* annot. by AUGUSTO REIS MACHADO, Lisboa 1943; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *RRALm* ser. 5^a, 8, 1901, 61–170; ID., "Aethiopica (I)", *RSO* 9, 1923, 365–468, here 452–55 [no. 15. "Un editto di re Zarʾa Yāᶜqob per l'Eritrea"], 455ff. [no. 16: "Sulla politica abissina verso i musulmani del NE, nei secoli XIV, XV e XVI"]; KolTrad III, 9–49; BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 53, 56–59, 68–73, 85–96; SalTrav 441f.; EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le Pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat*, vol. 4, Paris 1843, 192–95.

Lit.: OTTO FRIEDRICH AUGUST MEINARDUS, "Notizen über das eusthatische Kloster Debra Bizen", *AE* 6, 1965, 285–91; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes sur Filpos de Dabra Bizan et ses successeurs", *ibid.* 11, 1978, 135–39; LusStud 96–110; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, here 22–25; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea. Parte seconda", *RSE* 29, 1995 [1997], 25–48.

Gianfrancesco Lusini



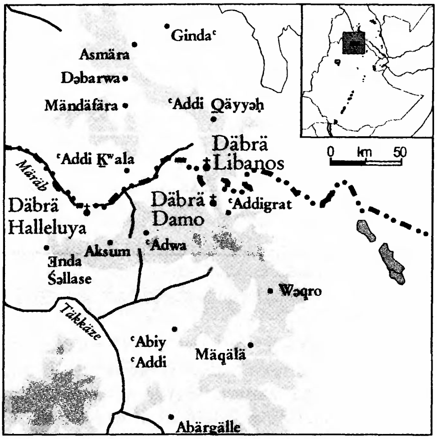
Däbrä Daga Ǝsṭifanos ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos

Däbrä Damo

D.D. (ደብረ፡ ዳሞ, Däbrä Dammo, also Ǝnda [Abunä] Arägawi) is one of the oldest Ethiopian monasteries. Located on top of a mountain plateau entirely surrounded by steep cliffs in the district of Bizät, eastern Təgray, it can only be reached by climbing. The foot of the ↗*amba* is connected by a dry-weather road to the ᶜAddigrat–ᶜAdwa main highway.

No documents are available on D.D.'s foundation. Hagiographic sources, however, attribute the first monastic settlement there, under the Aksumite kings ↗Tazena and ↗Kaleb Ǝlla Aṣbəha, to *abunä* ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi, who gave it the name of Däbrä Halleluya (*Gädlä Zämikaʾel Arägawi*, s. Guidi 1894:68); what is now the main or large church was then built by the son and successor of Kaleb, ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl (ibid., 73), who is credited with a land grant to the monastery (cp. CRAxum 19f., and HuntLand 30, no. 4). At he end of the works, the King was asked by the Saint to remove the scaffold used for construction: *daḥməmo*! (lit. 'demolish it!', cp. LesCDic 127), and henceforth the place was called Däbrä Daḥməmo (Guidi 1895:74) – thus introducing a popular etymology for its name: *Dam(m)o* < *Daḥməmo*. According to local traditions, Gäbrä Mäsqäl was eventually buried in D.D., where his remains are still supposed to be. The monastery was later devastated by a pagan queen, Gʷədit (↗Ǝsato), who destroyed it to ground and built a town in its place (Fiaccadori 1992b:441, 444). Other traditions also have it that by then the *amba* served as a royal confinement, for Gʷədit had all the princes slaughtered (TSTarik I, 384; MahZekr 761).

The monastery lies at ca. 2,216 m A.S.L., the *amba* being ca. 600 m long from the north-east to south-west. The monastic complex includes two churches, compounds of monks' dwellings, some household constructions etc. The main



church of D.D., the importance of which for the history of Ethiopian art has been underlined since its first scholarly description by the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition (DAE II, 168–94; s. also Matthew – Mordini 1959), is dedicated to Zämikaʾel Arägawi. Although rebuilt several times, it still preserves some important features typical of Aksumite ↗architecture. The Aksumite spolia still in situ were used for construction. Laying on a stepped plinth, the building has a simplified basilica plan including the central nave, two aisles, a tripartite sanctuary and a narthex proceeded by a porch of later date. A stairway in the northern part of the low-roofed narthex gives access to the upper chamber. Three monolithic pillars support a wooden coffered ceiling that may come from an earlier building. The carved panels of this ceiling are decorated with geometric and zoomorphic motifs in relief, comparable with those of ↗Ǝnda Maryam in Asmära. The central nave is divided into four bays by Aksumite monolithic columns supporting the lintel beams. A frieze imitating the row of blind windows runs above them and continue around the walls of the central part of the sanctuary. The walls of the nave that rises above the frieze support a timber roof of uncertain date. The aisles, lower than the nave, are surmounted by lofts. The central part of the sanctuary communicates with the nave by a wooden arch and is crowned by a wooden dome. Doors and windows (one with the original wooden tracery) are framed with squared beams projecting at the corners. The recessing and projecting courses of walls are alternatively made of timber and stones set in mud mortar and plastered. They are reinforced by timbers set in intervals and passing through the wall with the ends visible in the outer and inner faces of the wall. Massive dressed stone blocs are at the corners of the building. The age of the church was and still is the subject of debate. The most plausible dating, proposed by Buxton (1947), is 9th/10th cent. It is not excluded that the walls of the church were once decorated with the paintings on canvas. Two such fragments were reported by DAE (III, 50; fig. 149) and later described by Mordini (1952:29–32) who dates them to the 16th cent. One piece representing St. Mary with the Child found its way to the private collection in Italy; the second, with depiction of six monastic leaders is lost (or was probably lost in 1950).

There is a second, lower church, also dedicated to Zämikaʾel Arägawi, and built over the underground cave from which, according to the Acts of the latter, he mysteriously disappeared. The water leaking onto its bottom is supposed to have healing powers. The church is an orientated, rectangular building with central sanctuary surrounded by external walls constructed according to Aksumite principles; its other parts are later additions of different periods, the date of which is presently difficult to establish.

Some of the rock-cut tombs and caves of the hermits, decorated with carvings, that surround the church may be of ancient date.

Some Kuṣāna gold coins of the 2nd cent. A.D. and several ancient Arab coins of the Umayyad and Abbasid period were found in D.D. This implies closer commercial ties of North Ethiopia with the Middle and Far East from the Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages, even though it is unclear how the material reached the monastery (s. Fiaccadori 1992a:56ff. and n. 32). A few Islamic textiles with Arabic inscriptions of the Fāṭimid period discovered in the main church also bear witness to the history of the place and its trade contacts throughout the centuries (Wiet in Matthews – Mordini 1959:58; Mordini in PICES 1, 249–54).

The monastery seems to have been favoured by the Aksumite kings, but neglected in the ↗Zagʷe period, for it was at the forefront of the anti-Zagʷe struggle. In fact, under the "restored" Solomonic dynasty, the abbots of D.D.

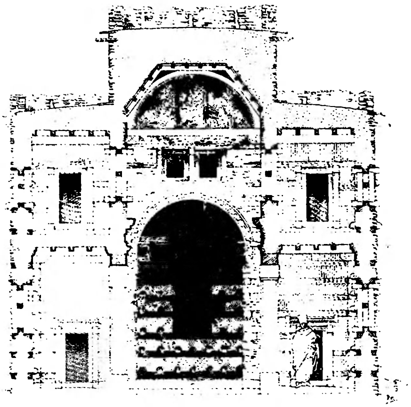
acquired the title of ↗*nəburä əd*, and became most influential in the Ethiopian political system (this being supported by the wide-spread veneration of *abunä* Zämika᾽el Arägawi).

D.D. enjoyed a reputation as a centre of learning. Several prominent religious missionaries and monastic leaders were indeed educated there, among whom *abunä* ↗Iyäsus Mo᾽a and *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Däbrä Libanos (Šäwa), under the abbot *abba* ↗Yoḥanni. The *Gädlä Zämika᾽el Arägawi* is followed by a brief history of D.D., which lists, though with difficult chronology, only eight heads of D.D. from Zämika᾽el Arägawi till (early 14th cent.?) Zä-Iyäsus (Guidi 1894:78–86). From the later notes, it is clear that the emperors tried to keep the monastery (situated in the region governed by ↗*təgre mäkʷännən*) under their control by nominating its heads: ↗Giyorgis of Gassəča, according to his hagiography, spent some time as *nəburä əd* of D.D. having been appointed by *aṣe* ↗Däwit II (Colin 1987:17, 23). *Nəburä əd* ↗Nob from Däbrä Bəkʷər and Matewos were appointed by *aṣe* ↗Zär᾽a Yaᶜəqob (PerrZarY 12, 109, 149; Matewos was in tenure also under *aṣe* ↗Bä᾽ədä Maryam).

Its inaccessibility allowed D.D. to escape such destructive events as the Muslim invasion of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") in the 16th cent. Instead, it served as the refuge of the royal family of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, who was also buried at D.D. (BassÉt I, 332; Kropp 1988:11 [SDL §8], 20 [MS §16]). The Portuguese army who came to rescue the Christian state used the monastery as an arsenal and munitions depôt during its successful expedition against Grañ in 1542–43.

In September 1557 Turkish forces from Yemen under ↗Özdemir *paša* seized D.D., burnt the church there and massacred the monks (s. ConzGal 74). The monastery must have partly recovered in the 17th/18th cent., if not already by 1626, when the Jesuit Manoel ↗Barradas wrote his short description (*Tractatus*, II, 37 and 45, s. BecRASO IV, 246, 279ff.; Barradas 1996:132, 158ff.). During the 17th–18th cent., however, D.D. seems to have mostly abstained from large-scale political involvement. At some time the head of D.D. lost his title of *nəburä əd* and was styled as *mamhər* only.

Yet, for the monarchs of the re-united Ethiopian empire, from ↗Yoḥannəs IV at least, it was crucial to count on the loyal support of D.D. as well as of other major monasteries (cp. RubActa III, no. 234). A certain Gäbrä Mäsqäl, representative of D.D., reached Jerusalem in ca. 1807–08 (Mordini 1953:68ff.). In 1830 the monastery was visited by Samuel Gobat (Gobat 1834:314ff.) and in 1843 by Giustino De Jacobis (De Jacobis 2000:552–65), whose notes provide important details (s. Mordini 1953:64). In the 1940s the community was composed of several hundred monks (and small settlement of nuns living at the foot of the *amba*); also, it was in charge of the administration of the neighbouring areas.


Däbrä Damo, main church, transversal section; drawing by Theodor von Lüpke, 1906; from DAE II, Tafel XXV

Because of the antiquity of the monastery, its library contains old Gəᶜəz manuscripts, but the information on that is still scarce (s. Conti Rossini 1940). To this library a few leaves from a rare painter's album or model book of ca. 1700 also belonged. Now kept in the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma (ms. Parm. 3853), they were formerly in the collection of Antonio ↗Mordini, Barga (Lucca), who visited D.D. several times (s. Fiaccadori 2001:282–87, no. 60). A series of archaeological missions – a few of them led by Mordini himself – surveyed the monastery in the 20th cent.; major restoration works were carried out by Derek Matthews in 1948, the financial support being provided by the Society of Antiquaries of London and, above all, the British Council at Addis Ababa through the munificence of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. Until the 1974 Revolution, D.D. was among the greatest beneficiaries of rural land grants and other material endowments. Currently, however, it depends upon the offerings of the congregation and some subsidies from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The treasury (↗ʿ*Ǝqä bet*) of D.D. was severely damaged by fire in 1996.

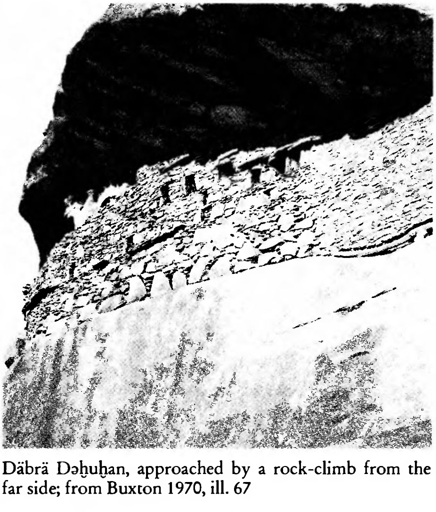
Src.: IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Il 'Gadla 'Aragâwî'", *MRALm* ser. 5^a, 2, 1894, 54–96; BassÉt I, 332 (text) = II, 103 (tr.); CRAxum 19f. (text) = 21f. (tr.), nos. 3–4; GÉRARD COLIN, *Vie de Georges de Saglā*, Lovanii 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]), 23f., 31 (text) = 17, 23 (tr.); MANFRED KROPP (ed., tr.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 11 [SDL §8], 20 [MS §16] (text) = 10, 20 (tr.); BecRASO IV, 246, 279ff.; MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634): a Seventeenth-Century Historical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABETH FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 132, 158ff.; ConzGal 74 (text) = 164 (tr.); RubActa III, 338, no. 234; TSTarik I, 384; AmhChurchD vol. 4, 191–96; GIUSTINO DE JACOBIS, *Scritti*, 1. *Diario*, Frascati (Roma) 2000, 552–65 and fig. (1072); SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal d'un séjour en Abyssinie pendant les années 1830, 1831 et 1832*, Genève 1834, 315ff.; HuntLand 30, nos. 3–4; EWALD HEIN – BRIGITTE KLEIDT, *Ethiopia – Christian Africa: Art, Churches and Culture*, Rattingen 1999, 90–95; LesCDic 127; MahZekr 761; *Pittura etiopica tradizionale*, with notes and introduction by LANFRANCO RICCI, Roma 1989, 158–62, no. 89 (ill.).

Lit.: DAVID R. BUXTON, "The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 92, 1947, 1–42; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "I. Pergamene di Dabra Dammo", *RSO* 19, 1940, 45–57; DAE II, 168–94; III, 50, fig. 149; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (a), 56ff. and n. 32; ID., "Bâlî", *La Parola del Passato* 47, 1992 (b), 439–45, here 441, 444 (Lit.); ID., "Album di pittore. Ms. Parm. 3853 [= Mordini 20]", in: *Cum picturis ystoriatum. Codici devozionali e liturgici della Biblioteca Palatina*, Modena 2001, 282–87, no. 60 (Lit.); ChojPaint 223f.; OTTO A. JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *The Antiquities of North Ethiopia*, Stuttgart ^{2}1974, 99–103; GEORG GERSTER (ed.), *Kirchen im Fels. Entdeckungen in Äthiopien*, Zürich ^{2}1972, 71–78; DEREK MATTHEWS – ANTONIO MORDINI, "The Monastery of Debra Damo, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 97, 1959, 1–58, pls. I–XV; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Informazioni preliminari sui risultati delle mie ricerche in Etiopia dal 1939 al 1944", *RSE* 4, 1944–45 [1946], 145–54, here 145–48, fig. 1; ID., "Il soffitto del secondo vestibolo dell'Endā Abuna Aragāwi in Dabra Dāmmò", *ibid.* 6, 1947, 29–35; Od., "Un'antica pittura etiopica", *ibid.* 11, 1952 [1953], 29–32; ID., "Il convento di Gunda Gundiè", *ibid.* 12, 1953 [1954], 29–70, here 64, n. 1, 68ff., figs. 31–33; ID., "I tessili medioevali del convento di Dabra Dāmmò", in: *PICES* 1, 229–47; ID., "Gli aurei Kushāna del convento di Dabra Dāmmò", *ibid.* 249–54; ID., "Uno sconosciuto capolavoro dell'arte etiopica: il soffitto di Dabra Damò", *Antichità viva* 1, 8, 1962, 29–35; ID., "Un crucifix en bois sculpté provenant du monastère de Dabra Dāmmó (Tigrai Orientale, Ethiopie)", in: DAVID COHEN (ed.), *Mélanges Marcel Cohen. Études de linguistique, ethnographie et sciences connexes offerts par ses amis et ses élèves à l'occasion de son 80ème anniversaire, avec des articles et des études inédites de M. Cohen*, The Hague – Paris 1970, 441–43; TadTChurch, s. index.

Tsegay Berhe G. Libanos – Red.

Däbrä Dəḫuḫan

The monastery of D.D. (ደብረ፡ ድኁኃን, also Dəhuḥan, lit. 'Mount [Monastery] of the Hollowed [Rocks]'; s. map for Däbrä Bizän) lies in Éritrea, in the Qʷäḥayn district of Säraye province (*zoba* Däbub in the present Eritrea). It is also known as Ǝnda Abunä Yonas Taḥtay, since it was founded in 1489 by the monk ↗Yonas, a disciple of ↗Ewosṭatewos. It is not to be confused with another monastery established by the same Yonas in 1455, ↗Däbrä Ṣəge, known also as Ǝnda Abunä Yonas Laʿəlay. Nowadays D.D. and Däbrä Ṣəge share a single abbot for both communities. According to the documents, D.D. was granted land by ↗Bəlen Sägädä, head of Säraye, during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər.



Däbrä Dəḫuḫan, approached by a rock-climb from the far side; from Buxton 1970, ill. 67

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Gli Atti di Abbā Yonās", *RRALm* ser. 5^a, 12, 1903, 177–201, 239–55.

Lit.: LusStud 118–22; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, here 15f.; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḫuḫān e Dabra Ṣege, Sarā'e, Eritrea)", *RSE* 42, 1998 [1999], 5–55; DAVID BUXTON, *The Abyssinians*, London 1970, 118.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Däbrä Dəmaḥ

The monastery of D.D. (ደብረ፡ ድማሕ, lit. 'Mount [Monastery] of the Top') lies in Eritrea, in the Däqqi Täsfa district of ↗Säraye province, north of ᶜArräza, in the historical region of Dämbälas (s. map for Däbrä Bizän). In the modern Eritrean administrative terminology the district (*wäräda*) is called Qʷälla Säraye and the sub-district (*nəʾus wäräda*) Mədri Fälasi. The monastery is also known as Däbrä Märqorewos, because its foundation is attributed to the 14th-cent. monk ↗Märqorewos, a disciple of ↗Ewosṭatewos. According to the 17th-cent. *Gädlä Märqorewos*, D.D. was granted land by *aṣe* Dawit II (1382–1412), while its founder was still alive. However, since the Italian occupation the monastery has lost all of its land rights. Among Eritrean monasteries, D.D. shares with ↗Däbrä Bizän and ↗Däbrä Ǝndrəyas the strict rule forbidding women to enter the monastery.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum* I. *Acta Marqorewos*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]).
Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea. Parte terza", *RSE* 41, 1997 [1998], 13–56, here 37–40; LusStud 110ff.; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, here 18ff.; DAVID BUXTON, *The Abyssinians*, London 1970, pl. 86 (ill.).

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Däbrä Ǝgziʾabḥer Ab ↗Däbrä Ḫayq Ǝsṭifanos

Däbrä Ǝndrəyas

The monastery of D.Ǝ. (ደብረ፡ እንድርያስ, 'Mount of Ǝndrəyas'; s. map for Däbrä Bizän) lies in Eritrea, in the Säffəʾa district of ↗Säraye province, west of Dəbarwa. Its foundation is attributed to the monk ↗Ǝndrəyas, a lesser known figure of 15th-cent. religious history of this region, whose still unpublished *Gädl* is transmitted in the 20th-cent. manuscript Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Rome), Fonds Conti Rossini no. 84. D.Ǝ. is also known in Asmära, where a modern building houses a delegation from the monastery. D.Ǝ. shares with ↗Däbrä Bizän and ↗Däbrä Dəmaḥ the strict rule forbidding women to enter certain parts of the monastery, especially the church.

Src.: KinBibl 69, no. 44.
Lit.: StrANL 216f., no. 84; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, here 16f.

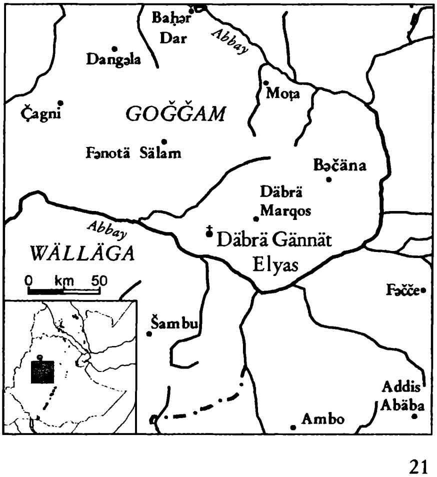
Gianfrancesco Lusini

Däbrä Ǝsṭifanos ↗Däbrä Ḫayq Ǝsṭifanos

Däbrä Gännät Elyas

D.G.E. (ደብረ፡ ገነት፡ ኤልያስ, lit. 'Mount of Paradise [dedicated to] Elijah') is a church located in East Goǧǧam, ↗Mäčäkkäl *wäräda*, 45 km south-west of the town of Däbrä Marqos. The tradition has it that it was founded in 1468, at the very end of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob's reign, by a certain Dəl Asäma from Ifat. A high-ranking official of Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, he was the commander of the ↗*čäwa* ordered by the Emperor to settle there. When he came to the Mäčäkkäl area, he brought with him the *tabot* of Elyas (Elijah). Some oral traditions suggest that Dəl Asäma was Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob's son-in-law through marriage with the Emperor's daughter.

The church came to prominence from 1874 onwards. In this year *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV was on a military campaign to Goǧǧam. The church is located close to the mountain fortresses of Ǧäbälla and Mutära. *Ras* Adal Täsämma, the governor of Goǧǧam (*däǧǧazmač* ↗Täklä Haymanot), had taken refuge in these mountains when Yoḥannəs came to subdue him. In the course of this confrontation, the Emperor's soldiers looted the church's treasury and the huts of the monks in the compound. In compensation, Yoḥannəs promoted the church to the rank of ↗*däbr* (thus it acquired the name D.G.E.), donated ↗*gʷəlt* lands and instituted a large number of church officials. Since then the title of the head of D.G.E. has been ድማሐ፡ ገነት (*dəmaḥa gännät*).



In the last quarter of the 19th cent. and throughout the first half of the 20th cent. the church was well known for its *qəne bet* and *zema bet* schools. Famous individuals such as the Patriarch *abunä* ↗Tewoflos, the writer ↗Ḥaddis ᶜAlämayyähu, ↗Yoftahe Nəguśe and ↗Mälaku Baggosäw were educated at D.G.E.

Lit.: ABEBAW AYALEW, *A Short History of Dabra Eleyas Church 1874–1974*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1998.

Abebaw Ayalew

Däbrä Garzän ↗ Gundä Gunde

Däbrä Halleluya

D.H. (ደብረ፡ ሃሌሉያ, also known as Däbrä Hallelo, Allelo) was an important monastery in the district of ᶜAddi Arbaᶜətä (Torat, Təgray), about 30 km north-west from the city of Aksum, on a hill overlooking the Märäb river (s. map for Däbrä Damo). It is believed to have been founded by *abunä* ↗Samuʾel (d. 1375), a spiritual son of the monk ↗Ǝnṭonəs of Däbrä Tämbuk, some time in the late years of *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon (1314–44) or during the reign of his successor *aṣe* Säyfä Arᶜad. Nothing is exactly known about the initial adherence of D.H. to any religious order or movement of that time, although it was later exposed to the influence of the ↗Ewosṭaṭeans.

As reported in the Acts of Samuʾel, during the office of abbot Zäʾiyäsus, Samuʾel's successor, *aṣe* ↗Dawit II, bestowed on D.H. gold, vestments and land-possessions. His initial intention had been to punish D.H., since one of his officers assumed the monastic habit there against his will. Yet, due to the miraculous intervention of Samuʾel, he changed his mind, made gifts and concluded a "testament" with Zäʾiyäsus. According to a number of sources, at least from the early 15th cent. to the Muslim invasion of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ), D.H. was a big and prosperous monastery. Monks from D.H. stood at the camp of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob (r. 1434–68), enjoying the privilege of being in the vicinity of the Emperor together with the representatives of other important communities. One of the itineraries recorded by Alessandro ↗Zorzi estimates at 500 the number of D.H.'s monks. Three charters of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl (r. 1508–40) concerning D.H. are known (all dating shortly before Grañ's invasion), which confirm the old privileges of D.H. Later sources include further details about the pre-Grañ situation, sometimes in an exaggerated way; e.g., Manoel de Almeida speaks of both the impressive ruins of the old church, "90 churches", all once under the authority of D.H., and several hundreds of monks who used to dwell in the monastery.

Monks of D.H. were among the Ethiopian pilgrims to ↗Jerusalem. During the 15th cent. the monastery became known also in Europe due to the false rumours that its monks converted to Catholicism and followed "Dominican rules" (cp. ↗Dominicans), and there was the seat of a bishopric established by the otherwise unknown Italian Dominican Barthelemy of Tivoli, alleged founder of the monastery itself. However important the latter may have been, in 1535 it was brought to an end by Grañ's army, which, on its progress through Təgray, destroyed the monastery, as well as many other communities of the area. D.H. was never properly rebuilt after the invasion; its ruins were inhabited by a few monks alone (they were five in 1625), and at a certain point it disappeared completely from the Ethiopian sources, even though a small monastery or church still existed there as late as the first quarter of the 20th cent.

This monastery of D.H. should not be confused with ↗Däbrä Damo, founded by *abba* Zämikaʾel Arägawi, which is also sometimes called Däbrä Halleluya (cp. CRStor 159; ms. EMML 3987, fol. 113a).

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 32, no. 1, 572f.; MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634): a Seventeenth Century Historical and Geographical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABET FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 132–38; CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Il Tigrè descritto da un missionario gesuita del secolo XVII*, Roma ^{2}1912, 149–62, esp. 153f.; BassEt 15, 105; GÉRARD COLIN, *Vie de Sāmu'ēl de Dabra Hāllēluyā*, Lovanii 1990 (CSCO 519, 520 [SAe 93, 94]), 60–64 (text); CrawItin 18f., 122, s. index; CRAxum nos. 41, 42, 44; HuntLand nos. 40, 41, 43; PerrZarY 27f.; EMML vol. 9, 274, no. 3987, fol. 113a.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Il monachismo in Etiopia", *OrChrA* 153, 1958, 259–78, here 260; CerPal vol. 2, 368; CRStor 159; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Sulle missioni domenicane in Etiopia nel secolo XIV", *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia, Rendiconti* ser. 7^{a}, 1, 1940, 71–98; MARC-ANTOINE VAN DEN OUDENRIJN, "L'évêque dominicain fr. Barthélemy, fondateur supposé d'un couvent dans Tigré au 14e siècle", *RSE* 5, 1946 [1947], 7–16.

Denis Nosnitsin

Däbrä Ḫayl Qəddus Raguʾel

D.Ḫ. (ደብረ፡ ኃይል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ራጉኤል, lit. 'Mount of the Power [dedicated to] St. Raguel') became a "twin church" and the continuation, in terms of history, of the well-known ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel, which was the third church, after those of St. Mary (↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam) and Uraʾel (↗Däbrä Ṣəge Qəddus Uraʾel), founded by *nəguś* Mənilək on the Ǝnṭoṭṭo mountain.

With the death of Mənilək II and the emergence of other Addis Abäba churches the preeminence of Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel was over. During the Italian invasion, *ətege* ↗Mänän Asfaw, who was the *gäbäz* of Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel, made a vow to the Archangel Raguel, just before the campaign of ↗Mayčäw, beseeching the intercession of St. Raguel for the victory of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I. After the Mayčäw defeat, on her way into exile, she made another vow to construct a new church for Raguel should he bring her consort to power. In 1941, after Ethiopians' victory over Italian invaders, Mänän returned to Addis Abäba and started to plan the construction, being inspired by the priests' numerous stories about Raguel's miracles during the Italian occupation. She summoned a big council of influential persons related to the church of at Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel, the agenda being how to construct a new church building within the compound of the old one, by demolishing it. However, all advised her against the demolition of the existing church, and thus this idea was given up. *Ǝtege* Mänän decided to find a place to move the old Raguʾel Church to Addis Abäba, where a large parish would be found, and the first site she chose was on the Kolfe area. But it was soon abandoned in favour of another place, ↗Addis Kätäma, where the church is located today. On 9 May 1953, *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I and *ətege* Mänän attended the May annual feast of St. Raguel at Ǝnṭoṭṭo. When the celebration was over, the gathering descended to Addis Abäba to attend the consecration. *Abunä* Basəlyos blessed the site; the ceremony was concluded with the Emperor himself laying the foundation stone. The site of the church was very close to ↗Ǧāmiʿ al-Anwār. Thus, Addis Abäba Raguʾel church became the first in the history of the city to be in the immediate neighbourhood of a mosque.

The people entrusted to follow up the construction work were *bäǧərond* (later *fitawrari*) Rätta Gäbrä Amlak, *əndärase* of *ətege* Mänän, Bərhanu Dənqu and Śəyyum Akalä Wäld. Those in charge of the quick demolition of the houses on the site were Wäldä Arägawi, with the close support of two guards, Wäldä Ṣadəq Tägäññä and Kidanä Wäld Mädhən. The construction of the church took two years and cost ca. *bərr* 300,000. On the eve of the inauguration of the new church, which was held in Christmas Hall (now Addis Ababa University), on 11 September 1955, the *tabot* was brought from Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel to Addis Abäba. The old church of Raguʾel accommodated then the *tabot* of Elyas and was called Däbrä Ḫayl Qəddus Elyas. The move was attended by a large number of people from Addis Abäba, the Emperor and *ətege* Mänän. Although the occasion gave a lot of rejoicing to the Addis Kätäma's local people, the residents of Ǝnṭoṭṭo and the neighbouring Oromo population were greatly disappointed; the aged and women wept bitterly for having lost their *tabot*, which was Mənilək's great monument.

Src.: mss. and documents from the archive at Däbrä Ḫayl Raguʾel, Addis Abäba; Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel Church Archives; Ethiopian Orthodox Church [EOC] Archive: Special Secretary of *abunä* Basəlyos to EOC, Ref. No. 888/761/51, 3 *Mäskäräm* 1952 A.M.; Menelik II Memorial Board Office Archive, Gərma Zälläqä, Head of Addis Abäba City Council Estimate Department to Mənilək II Memorial Board Office, Ref. No. 250/25, 9 *Gənbot* 1960 A.M., Ref. No. 3/9u/25, 2 *Näḥase* 1965 A.M. and 502/1/60, 4 *Ṭərr* 1960 A.M.; EOC Archive, Märsəʾe Ḥazän Abbäbaw, to Financial Department, File no. 3–u–7, ref. nos. 4630/117/71 and 4631–4633/117/71, 4 *Miyazya* 1971 A.M.; EOC, Ecclesiastical Office (ed.), የአዲስ፡ አበባ፡ አድባራትና፡ ታሪካዊ፡ አመሰራረታቸው (*Yäʾaddis Abäba adbaratənna tarikawi ammäsärarätaččäw*, 'The Cathedrals of Addis Abäba and their Historical Foundation'), *Dəmṣ́ä Täwaḥədo*, *Gənbot-Säne* 1980 A.M. [1988 A.D.]; Id., ደብረ፡ ኃይል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ራጉኤል፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን (*Däbrä Ḫayl Qəddus Raguʾel Betä Krəstiyan*, 'Church Däbrä Ḫayl Qəddus Raguʾel'), *ibid.* 15 *Mäggabit* 1980 AM. [1988 A.D.]; Id., ዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክና፡ የአዲስ፡ አበባ፡ አድባራት፡ የመቶ፡ ዓመታት፡ ገጽታ (*Dagmawi Məniləkənna yäʾaddis Abäba adbarat yämäto ʿamätat gäṣṣəta*, 'Mənilək II and the Overview over the Centenary of Addis Abäba Cathedrals'), *ibid.* 15 *Ṭərr* 1978 A.M. [1986 A.D.]; GSMen; Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus, ዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ (*Dagmawi Mənilək nəguśä nägäśt zäʾityop̣ya* 'Mənilək II, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), Roma 1901 A.M. [1909 A.D.]; Asmara ^{2}1967.

Lit.: Haile Gabriel Dagne, "The Establishment of Churches in Addis Ababa", in: *CentAddis* 57–78; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975; PankHist II; Richard Pankhurst, "Menelik and the Foundation of Addis Ababa", *JAH* 10, 1, 1966, 103–17; Id., "Some Notes For a History of Ethiopian Secular Art", *EthObs* 10, 1, 1966, 5–80.

Mersha Alehegne

Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsţifanos

D.Ḥ. (ደብረ፡ ሐይቅ፡ እስጢፋኖስ, also Däbrä Ḥayq or Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad) is a monastery located on the island of Lake ↗Ḥayq in the old Amhara region (Ambassäl, Wällo). According to the Acts of ↗Iyäsus Moʾa (KurMoa 15), two churches were founded at this place, known as a worshipping-area consecrated to a snake's cult before the coming of the Saint. One church, built around the 10th cent. by *aṣe* ↗Dəlnaʿod and Metropolitan *abunä* Sälama (Sälama Zäʾazeb, 'Sälama from the South', or Sälama II, known only from this source), was dedicated to God the Father (therefore named ደብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አብ, Däbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Ab); the other one, founded by "another king" in the 6362nd Year of the Creation of the World (862 A.D.; s. KurMoa iii) and consecrated by the Metropolitan Bənyam, was dedicated to St. Stephan (ደብረ፡ እስጢፋኖስ, Däbrä Ǝsṭifanos). Cerulli (in KurMoa) suggested correcting 6362 to 6662 [1167 A.D.] in order to restore a consistent chronology; but he himself underlined other chronological errors in the same text. The Acts of Iyäsus Moʾa are very incoherent as to dating, because their only objective is to place the foundation of D.Ḥ. before the reign of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty.

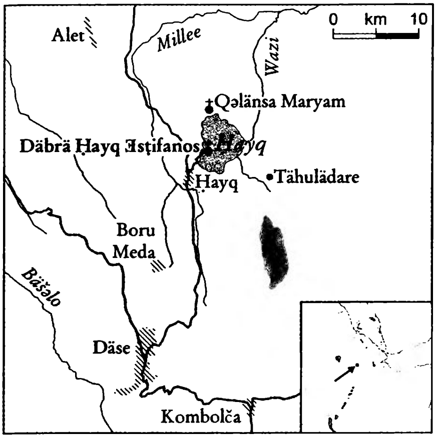
The development of D.Ḥ. began when Iyäsus Moʾa came to the island around 1248. He offered his support to ↗Yəkunno Amlak to seize the throne of the Zagʷe. In exchange, Yəkunno Amlak entered into many "pacts" (*kidan*) with Iyäsus Moʾa. The island was given exclusively to the monks (laymen and women were no longer allowed there) and the title of ↗*ʿaqqabe säʿat* was conferred on the head of the community. The abbot of D.Ḥ. was attended by the አፈ፡ ዓቃቤ፡ ሰዓት (*afä ʿaqqabe säʿat*, 'spokesman of the *ʿaqqabe säʿat*') and the ቄሰ፡ ገበዝ (*qesä gäbäz*, 'administrator').

D.Ḥ. became famous for its monastic school, where the youngsters of the area had to stay a few years to complete their formation. To testify to the influence of D.Ḥ., the author of the Acts of Iyäsus Moʾa enumerates the most famous pupils of the school and the disciples of Iyäsus Moʾa: ↗Giyorgis of Sägla (Gasəčča), ↗Täklä Haymanot, ↗Aron of Däbrä Daret and ↗Ḥirutä Amlak (KurMoa 35).

According to the records preserved in Iyäsus Moʾa's Gospel (ms. EMML 1832), from the reign of Yəkunno Amlak onwards, the community of D.Ḥ. was richly endowed with lands. Though his predecessor Wədəm Räʿad confiscated them, *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon, who enjoyed a close relationship to D.Ḥ.'s abbot Krəstos Täsfanä, confirmed these donations and increased them with new lands. Some of these lands were redistributed to ecclesiastics for their support.

The relations between the rulers and the monastery became so close that the *ʿaqqabe säʿat* ↗Amməḥa Ṣəyon stayed permanently at the court of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob in Däbrä Bərhan, forcing his community to elect a new abbot, Gäbrä Krəstos. Afterwards, the role of the *ʿaqqabe säʿat* in the government of the empire became more and more significant, so that Abbot Täsfa Giyorgis belonged to the Regency Council of the young *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər. The monastery became also a place of internment from

Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, western view, photo 2004, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt



1400 to 1404 for ↗Filəp̣p̣os, abbot of Däbrä Bizän and leader of the Sabbath party (↗Ewosṭateans). At this time, abbot ↗Śäräqä Bərhan was a close ally of ↗Dawit II. Another important prisoner was Waray ↗Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad b. ᶜAlī b. Ṣabraddīn, Prince of ᶜAdal, detained in D.Ḥ. during the reign of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl.

D.Ḥ. was destroyed by the armies of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī in 1532 (BassHist 326ff. [tr.]). The soldiers seized gold, silver and other riches, but also a number of manuscripts and they captured the *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* ↗Nägädä Iyäsus and killed him in 1535.

Even after it had been plundered, D.Ḥ. remained a functioning religious centre throughout the 19th and the 20th cent. It is still famous for its rich library. Two manuscripts are particularly well known for their marginal notes: the Gospels of Iyäsus Moʾa (ms. EMML 1832) and Krəstos Täsfanä (Addis Abäba, National Library ms. 28 [olim 5]), the latter being an illustrated manuscript, important for the history of Ethiopian art and one of the oldest dated (s. P̣āwlos Ṣādwā 1952). D.Ḥ. has also a rich collection of hagiographies of such saints as Iyäsus Moʾa, Giyorgis of Sägla, P̣änṭälewon and Aron (most of them microfilmed for the EMML project). The monastery possesses a number of other valuable artefacts and paraphernalia (e.g., ↗*Märäwəh*).

Src.: BassHist 326ff. (tr.); BeckHuntAlvar 249f., 580; EMML vol. 5, mss. 1762–68, 1823–27, 1830–44, 1929–31, 1933–37, 1939–60, 1963; Addis Abäba, National Library, ms. 28 (olim 5), *Gospel of Täsfanä Krəstos*; MANFRED KROPP (ed., tr.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, Louvain 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 13 (text); KurMoa 14ff., 19, 22–29, 35 (text), III (tr.); PerrZarY 7, 60, 109, 135, 167f; PerrEsk 353.

Lit.: DerDomTh 68–76, 124–37, 227–32 (Lit.); DerDom, s. index; P̣ĀWLOS ṢĀDWĀ, "Un manoscritto etiopico degli Evangeli", *RSE* 11, 1952, 9–28; SERGEW HABLE SELLASIE, "The Monastic Library of Dabra Hayq", in: *OrbAethChoj* 243–58; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Dabra Hayq", *JES* 8–1, 1970, 87–117; TadTChurch, s. index.

Marie-Laure Derat

Däbrä Kol

The monastery of D.K. (ደብረ፡ ኮል, 'Mount of the Apple') lies in Eritrea, in the Märagʷəz district of ↗Säraye province, south-west of Mändäfära (ᶜAddi Wəgri; s. map for Däbrä Bizän). It is also known as Ǝnda Abunä Buruk Amlak (Ǝnda Abba Buruk), since it was established on the site of the alleged martyrdom of the 14th-cent. monk ↗Buruk Amlak, a pupil of ↗Absadi and a follower of *abunä* Ewosṭatewos's rule. According to written traditions (*Gädlä Buruk Amlak*), after the foundation of ↗Däbrä Maryam (1374), Absadi's monastery in Qʷäḥayn district of Säraye, Buruk Amlak spent the final part of his life in ᶜAd Haywa.

The date of his death, which took place during the reign of *aṣe* Dawit II (r. 1382–1412), is uncertain, as is, consequently, the precise date of D.K.'s foundation. The tomb of the saint is still venerated in the monastery along with a spring of water that, according to local tradition, miraculously began to flow from the site where the saint was murdered.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Un santo eritreo: Buruk Amlāk", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 14, 1938, 3–50.

Lit.: LusStud 113ff.; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, here 11f.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Däbrä Libanos

D.L. (ደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ), originally known as Däbrä ᶜAsbo and renamed D.L. by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob in 1445 is a monastery located in Šäwa, ↗Sälale *awrağğa* (the locality formerly known as Gərarya), in the gorge near the river Zega Wädäb. This southern location has to be emphasized: the community was established between the pagan kingdom of ↗Damot and the Muslim sultanate of Šäwa, under the authority of ↗Ifat. According to the *Gädlä Täklä Haymanot*, this monastery was founded by *abunä* ↗Täklä Hay-

Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa: monks' dwellings; photo 1932 by Hans Anstein; courtesy of Basler Mission21

manot at the beginning of the 14th cent. After he had converted the *śəyyum* of Gərarya, Sämen Sägäd, to ↗Christianity, the latter gave him the land of ᶜAsbo, where he built a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In the earliest period, the monks probably lived in caves. At the beginning of the 15th cent., the Abbot Tewodros built a new church dedicated to the saint, which became the shrine of Täklä Haymanot and the abbots of the community.

According to the Vita of ↗Anorewos, one of the first disciples of Täklä Haymanot, the daily life was under the jurisdiction of a ↗*mäggabi*. Anorewos (most probably, the first *mäggabi*) decided to separate nuns and monks and to create a new office in the monastery: **ራድእ** (*rädəʾ*, pl. **አርድእት**, *ardəʾət*, lit. 'helper'). These *ardəʾət* (novices) performed domestic tasks in place of nuns to help monks. Anorewos held also the title of **ሊቀ፡ ዲያቆናት** (*liqä diyaqonat*, 'archdeacon'). Later, probably after the 15th cent., the abbot of D.L. received the title of ↗*əč̣č̣äge* and was seen as the head of Ethiopian monasticism.

The economic background of the D.L. community is not well documented. According to the Chronicle of Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, he granted lands and incomes to the monastery after 1445. However, we do not have any acts proving this, and there is no information concerning the land donations of other rulers. These land donations, as well as the attribution of a new name to the community, were part of a new policy of Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob towards D.L. after 1445. Before this date, it seems that the community was in opposition to royal power. The Vita of ↗Filəp̣p̣os, third abbot of D.L., who lived in the 14th cent., presents this saint as a martyr because of his opposition to *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I's matrimonial habits. Later, the monastic chronicle *Zena Däbrä Libanos* ('History of D.L.') alludes to a conflict between *aṣe* ↗Dawit II and the abbot ↗Yoḥannəs Käma. Finally, during the reign of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, ↗Əndrəyas, the head of the monastery, was put into jail and died there, perhaps because of his disagreement with the Emperor's policy concerning the observance of the ↗Sabbath. After his death, Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob himself named the new abbot of the community, ↗Märḥa (Yəmrəḥannä) Krəstos, and asked that two members of the community be present permanently at the royal court. From this time, relations between D.L. and the emperors changed completely. The abbot of the community became a privileged counsellor of the emperor, and he is named as the monastic head over the different monasteries, founded by the emperors such as ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq or ↗Atronsä Maryam.

The 15th cent. also appears as a period of great activity in the *scriptorium* of D.L. At this time, the *gädlat* of Täklä Haymanot and of Filəp̣p̣os and **መጽሐፈ፡ ፍልሰቱ፡ ለተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Mäṣḥafä fəlsätu lä-Täklä Haymanot*, 'The Book [of the History] of the Translation [of the Body] of Täklä Haymanot', s. Nosnitsin 2003) were written.

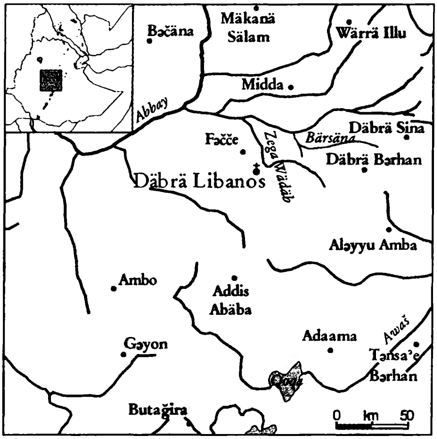
Despite the destruction of the monastery by the armies of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī in July 1532, the community of D.L. survived. *Əč̣č̣äge* ↗Yoḥannəs lost his life, accompanying *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos in the battle with ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid on 23 March 1559, but the time of

Gälawdewos and his successor *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl was a period of relief; attempts were made to elevate D.L. to the position of religious centre of the monarchy (cp. ↗Tädbabä Maryam). However, the situation deteriorated due to the massive migration of the ↗Oromo and increasing isolation of D.L. from the rest of the Empire. During the tenures of *əč̣č̣äge* Zäträ Wängel and *əč̣č̣äge* ↗Abrəham, the community moved to the region near Lake Ṭana (↗Ǝnfraz), following the shift of the political centre of the Empire in the same direction; subsequently, the "house of Täklä Haymanot" was established at Azäzo, in the vicinity of the royal court at Gondär (cp. ↗Azäzo Täklä Haymanot). The monks came back to the site of the old D.L. in the late 18th cent. only, to re-establish it and to re-discover the tomb of Täklä Haymanot.

The monastery's main church was rebuilt several times: in 1812 under ↗Wäsän Sägäd, in 1884 under ↗Yoḥannəs IV and in 1908 under *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. The late 19th cent. brought for D.L. not only revival and the special attention of the monarchs, but also control on the latter's part and the monastery's involvement in political matters. *Ǝč̣č̣äge* ↗Tewoflos, the partisan of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, was deposed after the latter's death, to be followed by *əč̣č̣äge* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase. He was a confessor of Mənilək II and ↗Bafäna, but his authority decreased, since the important office of ↗*liqä kahənat* of Šäwa was transferred from the see of the *əč̣č̣äge* to the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Matewos. The next abbot, the energetic ↗Wäldä Giyorgis, actively participated in the deposition of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu in 1916. In 1930 his successor *əč̣č̣äge* Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, on the special request of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (the future Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), was consecrated bishop by the Coptic Patriarch John XIX (who personally came to Addis Abäba in December 1929) as *pappas* ↗Säwiros.

The ascension of D.L.'s heads to the top of the ecclesiastical authority was interrupted by the Italian occupation. *Ǝč̣č̣äge* Gäbrä Giyorgis went into exile; however, after the Liberation, in 1951 he was consecrated the first Ethiopian patriarch, *abunä* ↗Basəlyos.

With the establishment of Addis Abäba, the sanctuary of Täklä Haymanot began to be frequented by the nobles. The monastic community is reported to have obtained special regulations from Mənilək II; one of the four telephone stations, established in Sälale before the Italian occupation, was in D.L. During the occupation, D.L. suffered destruction and death: General ↗Graziani ordered the massacre of the monks in May 1937. Thereafter, D.L. remained closed for some time; the treasures of the monastery were reportedly taken to Italy. The monastery was rebuilt by Ḫaylä Śəllase I and the work was completed in 1963.



Despite all the disruptions, the tomb of Täklä Haymanot is regularly visited by great numbers of pilgrims, especially on three of the Saint's annual feasts: 12 *Gənbot* (day of the translation of the body of the Saint), 24 *Taḫśaś* (his birthday) and 24 *Näḥase* (day of his death). Families often try to bury their deceased in the vicinity of the monastery, which is definitely one of the most venerated sacred places of Ethiopia.

Even though the economic base of the monastery suffered greatly in the course of the ↗Revolution of 1974 and subsequent events, D.L. seems to be the largest monastery of the country, counting in 1985/86 about 240 monks and a far larger number of disciples, supplicants etc., engaged in the elaborate monastic household. The compound also houses a nunnery. Following the old tradition, the monastery is run by the *mäggabi* and ↗*ṣäbate*, who preside over a council of twelve representatives delegated from the monks.

Src.: AmhChurchD vol. 4, 142–56; BassÉt 99–101, 104; BegCron 17; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (ed., tr.), *The Life and Miracles of Tâklâ Hâymânôt in the Version of Dabra Lîbânôs ...*, London 1906, 195–265; CARLO

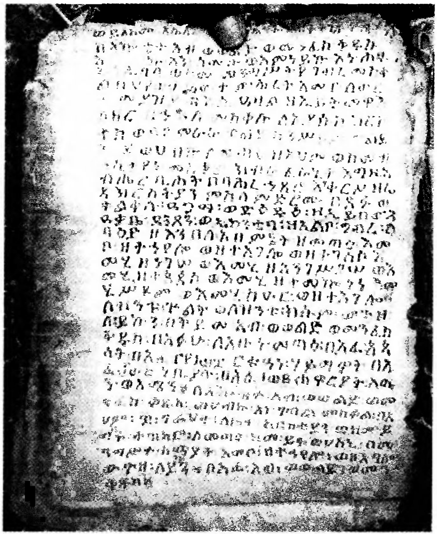
CONTI ROSSINI, "Il gadla Takla Haymanot secondo la redazione Waldebbana", *MRALm* ser. 5ᵃ, 2, 1894, 97–143; ID. (ed., tr.), *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum I. Acta S. Baṣalota Mikāᵓēl, S. Anorewos (seu Acta Sancti Honorii)*, Louvain 1905 (CSCO 28, 29 [SAe 11, 12]), 60f. (text); JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Éthiopie*, Paris 1909, 415ff., 419f., 428–31; CONCETTA FOTI, "La cronaca abbreviata dei re d'Abissinia in un manoscritto di Dabra Berhan di Gondar", *RSE* 1, 1941, 87–123, here 115f., 120f.; PerrZarY 89ff.; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Le *Vite* di 'Ìnbāqom e di Yoḥānnìs, abbati di Dabra Libānos di Scioa", *RSE* 14, 1959, 69–107, here 92, n. 98; STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 38f. (text); BORISSUS TURAIEV, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum. II. Acta S. Aronis et S. Philippi*, Louvain 1908 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]); ID., ዜና፡ ደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ. *Povestvovanie o Dabra-Libanosskom monastyre* (*'Zena Däbrä Libanos.* The History of the Däbrä Libanos Monastery'), St. Petersburg 1906 (Pamyatniki efiopskoy pismennosti 4).

Lit.: IAN CAMPBELL, "The Church of Saint Takla Haymanot at Däbrä Libanos", *The Sociology Ethnology Bulletin of Addis Abeba University* 1, 3, 1994, 4–11; ALULA PANKHURST, "Däbrä Libanos Pilgrimages Past and Present, the Mystery of the Bones and the Legend of Saint Täklä Haymanot", *ibid.* 14–26; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos, capi del monachismo etiopico secondo la 'lista rimata' ...", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 12, 1943, 226–53; 13, 1944, 137–82; 14, 1945, 143–71; MARIE-LAURE DERAT, "Une nouvelle étape dans l'élaboration de la légende hagiographique de Takla Haymanot", *Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Africaines* 9, 1998, 71–90; TadTChurch, s. index; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "Mäṣḥafä fəlsätu lä-abunä Täklä Haymanot: a Short Study", *Aethiopica* 6, 2003, 137–67; RUDOLF KRISS – HUBERT KRISS-HEINRICH, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, s. index.

Marie-Laure Derat

Däbrä Libanos

The monastery of D.L. (ደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ), occasionally known also as Däbrä Wärq, is located in the historical district of Anbäsät Gäläba, Šəmäzana, in the present day southern part of the province of ↗Akkälä Guzay, Eritrea, close to the border with ᶜAgamä, Təgray (s. map for ↗Däbrä Damo). Along with the nearby hamlet of Ham (not: Ḥam), or Aham, it is one of the earliest Christianized sites, if not one of the oldest settlements, in the region. Its foundation probably dates back to the 5th–6th cent. and is attributed to ↗Libanos, or Mäṭaᶜ. One of the saints of the Aksumite period not included with the ↗"Nine Saints", he was chiefly active in Säraye and Akkälä Guzay. According to the different recensions (and mss.) of his *Gädl* (Conti Rossini 1903; Getatchew Haile 1990; Bausi 2003), he is said to have come from Qʷəsṭənṭənya ('Costantinople') during the reign of kings ↗Ǝllä Gäbäz or Zägäbäz(ä Aksum) and/or ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl. From the latter's, apocryphal "feudal acts" transmitted in the "Golden Gospel" (↗*Wängelä wärq*) of D.L. claim donations (CRDLib 184f., nos. 1–5). In the same "Golden Gospel" the head of D.L. is referred to as *ᶜaqqabe säᶜatä Mäṭaᶜ* (*ibid.* 187–216, nos. 6–8, 10–11, 13–15, 17–18, 20, 22–23, 27, 33).



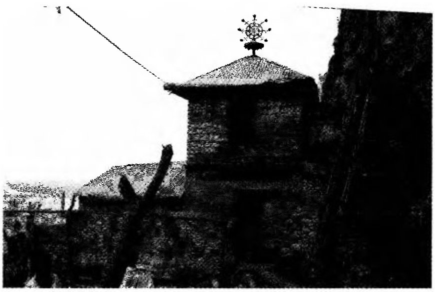
Document no. 7 from the Golden Gospel of Däbrä Libanos, ed. in CRDLib 189f.; photo courtesy of the author

D.L. is the first monastery for which reliable historical "feudal acts" are extant, its "Golden Gospel" could in turn date back to the 13th cent. (CRDLib; Conti Rossini 1916; cf. now Schneider in PICES 8): *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla and his wife Mäsqäl Kəbra gave privileges to D.L. not any later than the first decades of the 13th cent. (1209 and 1225, cf. CRDLib 187–91, nos. 6–7), while the latest reliable acts are donations by *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (1459). Extremely powerful in the 13th and 14th cent., as it appears from the lands and rights it enjoyed (donations by *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak, by Täsfanä Ǝgziᵓ and ↗Yaᶜəbikä Ǝgziᵓ [1319], heads of Ǝntərta, by Bəlen Saba, the wife of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon [1322], and by ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon himself [1323 and 1328]), it was still important in the 15th cent., when *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob drew inspiration from it for his reform of the baptismal ceremony (PerrZarY 43). D.L. was since resisting strong rivalry by the monasteries of the "order" established by *abba* ↗Ewosṭatewos, and progressively losing its influence. A confirmation of this is found in the Miracles of Libanos (Conti Rossini 1903; Bausi 2003), where main episodes that took place during the reigns of *aṣe* Säyfä Arᶜad, Dawit II and Yəsḥaq are reported, while only the latest recension of the text refers to events under *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob.

The names of several abbots down to the 14th cent. are reported in the "Golden Gospel" (CRDLib 219): Täsfa Ḥəywät or Zena Yoḥannəs, around 1209; Yərdəᵓannä Krəstos or Ṣägga Mäṭaᶜ, already in 1225 and up to 1268; Täkäśtä Bərhan or Śännay Mänfäs, in 1270; Asfəḥa or Efrem, 13th cent. to 1319; ᶜƎqbä Ǝgziᵓ or Krəstos Abuhu; Gäbrä Krəstos or Yərdəᵓannä Ǝgziᵓ, from 1322 to Säyfä Arᶜad's reign.

The old Aksumite church of D.L. (to be distinguished from the church of Ham) has been replaced in 1959/60 by a new one, within which a few elements of the ancient building have been reused (cf. Bausi 1997:13–41, Lit.). The most important relic of D.L. is the "golden" cross said to have belonged to *abba* Libanos himself. The library still houses a considerable number of mss. (84 at least in 1994), with a few illuminated 14th-cent. examples (Bausi 1997). The monastery, with administrative jurisdiction over the district of Anbäsät Gäläba until at least the early 20th cent., is still active as one of the most important religious centres of Akkälä Guzay (data of 1994).

↗Monasteries



Main entrance to the enclosure of the new church of Däbrä Libanos; the wooden decoration above the door probably taken from the old ruined church; photo 1994, courtesy of the author

Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]); BerTarik 14ff., 26–42; CRDLib; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Ricordi di un soggiorno in Eritrea* I, Asmara 1903, 23–41 [III. "Il Gadla Libânos"]; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Homily of Abba Eləyas, Bishop of Aksum, on Mäṭṭaᶜ", *ABoll* 108, 1990, 29–47.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36 here 26–32 (Lit.); ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea. Parte terza", *RSE* 41, 1997 [1998], 13–56 (Lit.); DAVID RICHARD BUXTON, "The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 92, 1947, 1–42, here 13f.; ID., *The Abyssinians*, London 1970; CRStor 156f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916, 394ff.; ID., "L'iscrizione etiopica di Ham", *Rendiconti della Regia Accademia d'Italia, classe di scienze morali* ... ser. 7ª, 1, 1939, 2–14; CrumLand 23–43; PerrZarY 43; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "L'Evangéliaire de Dabra Libanos de Ham", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 163; RAINER VOIGT, "Die Erythräisch-Orthodoxe Kirche", *OrChr* 83, 1999, 187–92 (Lit.); STEPHANOS PIERRE PÉTRIDÈS, "Une église ancienne disparaît", *L'Éthiopie. Revue mensuelle en langue française – Yäzareyitu Ityopya* 3, August 1962, 10–11 (ill.).

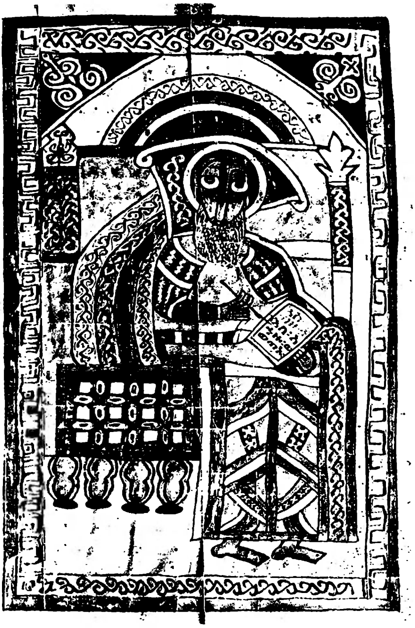
Alessandro Bausi

Däbrä Mäᶜar

D.M. (ደብረ፡ መዓር, lit. 'Mount of Honey', also Däbrä Mäᶜarä, Däbrä Maᶜara, Däbrä Maᶜəräyä) is a site with two rock-hewn churches on a mountain top, ca. 600 m above a wide valley on the ↗Dəgum plateau (↗Gärᶜalta). Formerly, there was a monastic community.

Little is known about the history of D.M., yet the place appears to have been important, particularly in view of the extent of the monastic cemetery. It includes a large double grotto (11 m x 4 m x 3.5 m and 5 m x 3 m x 1 m) with about 80 *cubiculi* hewn out of the walls on different levels. According to a local tradition, the founder of the main church was the 14th-cent. *abunä* Gäbra Mäsqäl of Gärᶜalta, whose relics are said to be preserved in D.M. He is also recognized as founder of the Maᵓaquddi church nearby. The second is a simple cave-church, presently serving as a sheepfold.

In the course of time, the churches of D.M. possibly owned different *tabot*-tablets and received different dedications. The notes in the 14th-cent. Gospel Book of D.M., kept in the treasury of the main church, mention the "Gabriel church of Däbrä Mäᶜära" (fol. 14v, 230v–231r). Currently, the *tabot* of the main church is dedicated to St. ↗George of Lydda, yet two other alabaster *tabots*, with other names, have recently been discovered in the burial cell



John the Evangelist; miniature from a Gospel Book, fol. 11^{v}; dated 1341; treasury of Däbrä Mäᶜar Giyorgis; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

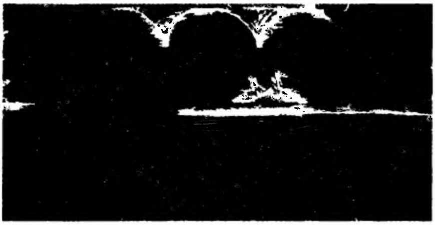
of Gäbrä Mäsqäl, situated in the main church. Teweldemedhin Josief (1970:54, nos. 25, 26) recorded the D.M. churches as Ǝnda Maryam and Ǝnda Giyorgis (cp. Sauter 1976, no. 1214); Pearce and Jäger (1974:115), describing only the main one, called it Däbrä Mäᶜar Giyorgis.

As follows from the notes preserved in the Gospel Book, among the benefactors of the monastery were *aṣe* ↗Dawit II, ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob and a certain *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Mäksimos (who was in charge of commemoration services for both emperors, fol. 14v). In the land charters attached to the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum*, Däbrä Mäᶜara and its abbot Näftalem are included in the list of monasteries and ecclesiastics endowed by *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl.

The main church (15.24 m x 8.8–7.7 m x 3.7–4.5 m) is considerably damaged due to advanced rock fragmentation. It is a three-aisled structure divided by eight uneven columns into five irregular bays. The easternmost bay, which forms the ↗*mäqdäs*, is the largest. The columns, with their flutings, reflect the shape of their classical counterparts. The largest, at the front of the sanctuary, measure 3.2–3.5 m in diameter. The aisles and the central nave open through low arches into the sanctuary. In the nave, above the lintels, runs a frieze of blind arcades. Four sections of the aisle ceilings are decorated with reliefs based on wooden models, three of them imitating a dome. A cell, cut high above the ground in the wall of the south aisle, houses a coffin with bones – reportedly the remains of Gäbrä Mäsqäl.

The inside of the church was once covered with paintings, fragments of which are still visible under subsequent layers of whitewash. Stylistically, they are very close to the better-preserved ensemble in ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon. Among the angels and figures of ecclesiastics depicted inside the arcade friezes, only *liqä pappasat* Matewos (Alexandrian Patriarch Matthew I, 1378–1409?) may be identified by a surviving inscription. It is also possible to see, as in Däbrä Ṣəyon, that the capitals, arches and ceilings were extensively covered with interlace patterns. In the northern aisle, close to the main entry, a representation of King David playing the harpsicord in the form of a ↗*bägäna* appears to be of a later date than the rest of the paintings, possibly from the 15th/16th cent.

The church is entered through a *pronaos* (3.8 m x 5.5 m) with three constructed walls, that on the east being the rock-face. The porch is covered by a wooden ceiling supported by two wooden pillars crowned by double-bracket capitals. The ceiling and capitals are painted with geometric patterns similar to those in the church. The walls bear four paintings of later date, one of them depicting a saint holding a large cross d astride a lion. This figure may represent the founder of the church, Gäbrä Mäsqäl; in fact, a poem in his honour (KinBibl 74f.)



Wooden lintel and capital, carved and painted; Däbrä Mäᶜar Giyorgis; vestibule of the church; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers praises him as "a second Elias", able to ride a lion without bridle.

D.M. possesses a unique collection of old manuscripts, ↗crosses, paintings on wood and a small wooden *mänbärä tabot* ('the throne of the *tabot*'). The most important object is the famous Gospel Book created, according to the scribal notes, in the "Year 525 of Grace" [1341/42 A.D.] (fol. 230v), during the reign of ↗^{c}Amdä Ṣəyon I (whose explicit mention was previously unknown, s. Fiaccadori 2003:200f., 245f.). According to other notes (fol. 4v, 231r), the manuscript was ordered by *abunä* Maḥṣäntä Krəstos and *abunä* Kəbur Mäsqäl. It is decorated with a complete set of ↗Canon Tables and eight full-page miniatures. These include the so-called short Christological cycle, with the ↗Crucifixion, in which Christ is depicted symbolically as a lamb (Balicka-Witakowska 1997:126f.), and the portraits of the ↗Evangelists. However, the folios with pictures of Luke, Marc and John, distinguished by colourful patterned backgrounds, originate from another manuscript.

One of the crosses, which can be classified as belonging to the "Lalibäla type", with a central Greek cross presented under a large arched canopy, has the unusual shape of a half-open fan. Among the paintings on wood, the 16th-cent. triptych with an early depiction of the Trinity on the central panel (ChojPaint 102, fig. 30) deserves particular attention.

Src.: interview with the local priests: *qes afä mäzmur* Gäbrä Mädhən Bärhe, *qäññ geta* Kasa Hadära, 3 December, 2000, Däbrä Mä^{c}ar; Gäbrä Ṣadəq Zärʾu, 13 November, 2002, Däbrä Mä^{c}ar; personal communication by Roger Schneider, December 20, 1990; CRAxum no. 44, 39 (text) = 47 (tr.); HuntLand 51f., no. 43.

Lit.: AfrZion 63–67; Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, *La Crucifixion sans Crucifié dans l'art éthiopien. Recherches sur la survie de l'iconographie chrétienne de l'Antiquité tardive*, Warszawa – Wiesbaden 1997 (NÆ 4), 126f. (Lit.), s. index; David Buxton, "The Rock-Hewn and Other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 103, 1971, 33–110, here 57, fig. 24, pl. 28a; ChojPaint 102, 147; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Πρόσοψις, non πρόοψις. Efeso, Gerusalemme, Aquileia (Nota a *IEph* 495, 1 s.)", *La parola del passato* 58, 2003 [2004], 182–249, here 200f., 245f. (Lit.); Otto A. Jäger – Ivy Pearce, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia*, Stuttgart ^{2}1974, 115, fig. 6, 7; KinBibl 74f., no. 66; Ruth Plant, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 44ff.; Roger Sauter, "Églises rupestres du Tigré", *AE* 10, 1976, 157–75, here 167; Osvaldo Rainieri, "Gabra Masqal di Garʾālta", in: *EncSan* vol. 1, 945; *abba* Teweldemedhin Josief, *The Monolithic Churches of Tigray*, Addis Ababa 1970, 45, 54.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

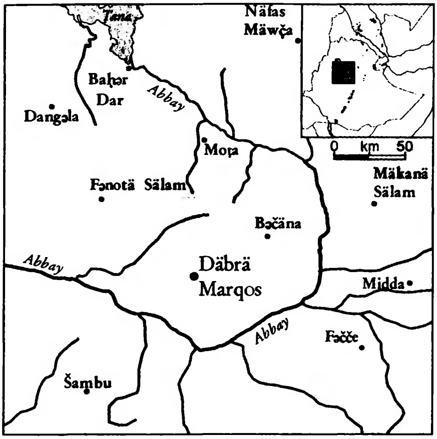
Däbrä Marqos

The town of D.M. (ደብረ፡ ማርቆስ, lit. 'Mount of St. Mark') is located 300 km north-west of Addis Abäba along the Addis Abäba–Gondär road at an elevation of 2,400 m A.S.L. The total municipal area of the town is about 2,720 ha. The minimum and maximum temperatures in the town average 14° C and 20° C, respectively.

D.M. was founded in 1853 by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Tädla G^{w}alu, who was at that time the ruler of Goǧǧam. The town was originally named Mänq^{w}ärär. *Nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot, who became the ruler of Goǧǧam in 1881, changed the name of the town to D.M. and then divided it into separate zones, i.e. areas in which specific social groups live: Kahən Säfär ('camp of the priests') around the church of St. Mark and inhabited by the priests serving there; Färäs Bet ('house of horses') at the western edge of the town was occupied by the domestic servants of Täklä Haymanot and the merchants who traded in horses and donkeys; Abun Säfär ('camp of the *abun*') which was occupied by *abunä* ↗Luqas, who was the bishop of the town. The area called Moṭa Säfär was inhabited by the people who had migrated to D.M. from the Moṭa *awraǧǧa*. Throughout the first half of the 20th cent., D.M., the town of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot, remained the most important town in Goǧǧam. During Ḫaylä Śəllase I's reign, it was the capital of the Goǧǧam governorate-general. Since 1991 it has become a part of the Amhara *kəlləl* and capital of Məsraq Goǧǧam Administrative Zone.

Currently, the central part of the town serves as a market-place. Most of the government administrative buildings are located within the compound of the former palace. The residential

A market scene in Däbrä Marqos; photo 1965, courtesy of the IES (no. 9D, 634)



areas are scattered throughout the town. The population of D.M. was estimated at 53,164 in 1991 and at 78,188 inhabitants in 2004 (s. CSA 2004). According to the census of 1994, the population was 49,297 in 9,617 housing units. All in all, D.M.'s growth rate together with the provision of infra-structural facilities such as education, health, housing and transportation and communications are still far below the expected level given the town's age of nearly 150 years.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *Results for Amhara Region*, vol. 1 (Parts 1–4), Addis Ababa 1995; CSA 2000; CSA 2004.

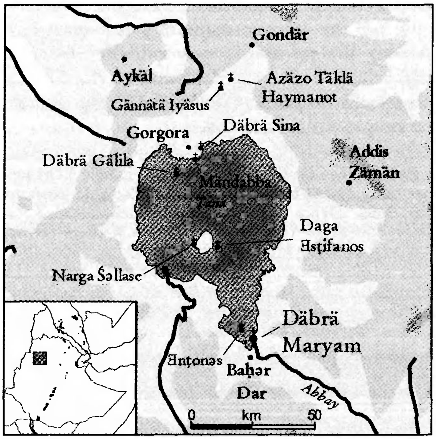
Lit.: PankHist II, 147f., 318–22; ALERNU KIRKOS, *A Study on Urban Development: the Case of Debre Markos Town*, Senior Essay, Department of Geography, Addis Ababa University 1991; GEORGI GALPERIN, *Ethiopia: Population, Resources, Economy*, Moscow 1981; MARINA OTTAWAY, *Urbanization in Ethiopia, a Text with Integrated Readings*, Addis Ababa 1976; MEKETE BELACHEW, "Spatial Aspects of Urbanization in Ethiopia: with Emphasis on the Primate Pattern of Urban Development", *EJDR* 12, 2, 1990.

Mekete Belachew

Däbrä Maryam

D.M. (ደብረ፡ ማርያም, lit. 'Mount of St. Mary') is a monastery located on an island which bears the same name, on the southern side of Lake ↗Ṭana, quite close to the shore.

The manuscripts of D.M.'s monastic library have been microfilmed (31 by Ernst Hammerschmidt; s. HamTana II; Hammerschmidt 1977, plates 132–35; also by EMML, not yet catalogued), but they contain only few notes concerning D.M.'s history. At an unknown date, D.M. on Lake Ṭana was identified with the monastery of D.M. in Dära (cp. ↗Därra), initially called Däbrä Ṣäqʷän, which was founded by *abba* ↗Tadewos of Ṣəlaləš during the reign of *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Səyon I (s. HamTana I, 60; Six 1975:21, passim). However, this suggestion, based upon the identification of ↗Dära of Bägemdər, on the southern side of Lake Ṭana, with Dära where Tadewos was active, is debatable (TadTChurch 188, n. 3; Cornuau 1994:14f., 30–33; DerDomTh 214–24). It seems to be a later historical "reconstruction", dating back, apparently, to the time of the revision of Tadewos's hagiography after 1515 (DerDomTh 214–24). The same confusing elements as those in the Acts of Tadewos can be found in the short undated Amharic text added to the D.M. Gospel book (ms. Ṭānāsee 59, fol. 96vb–97r, s. HamTana II, 52; cp. Six 1975:380–83) with the D.M. church's history, possibly an apocryphal chart. Furthermore, there is no mention of D.M. in the sources concerning Lake Ṭana during the 14th and 15th cent. Besides, most of the time D.M. church is mentioned in a text one cannot prove that the Lake Ṭana D.M. is meant (e.g., PerrZarY 27f.).



The claims of the D.M. monks connect them to the network of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa; its claims and the rewriting of the *Gädlä Tadewos* obscure the historic beginnings of the monastic establishment on the island. Only from the beginning of the 17th cent. there is a greater degree of certainty about D.M.'s history. At that time, according to the Jesuit Pedro Paez (in BecRASO II, 579), the monastery was related to the "network" of Däbrä Libanos. At the beginning of 1688, D.M. witnessed for several months the debate over Christ's Unction (↗*Qəbat*) between the opposed factions of monks who had retired to the island by order of *aṣe* Iyasu I so as to discuss and consult the Holy Books, but did not reach an agreement (GuiIohan 116f., 121–26).

The church of D.M. is believed to have been burnt down during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* and later rebuilt under *aṣe* Tewodros II (oral information collected by Hammerschmidt; s. HamTana I, 60, fig. 24; sketch in Angelini 1971:53). The present church is very small and much more recent. It was built in 1970s, but some red cut stones betray the presence of an earlier Gondärine architecture.

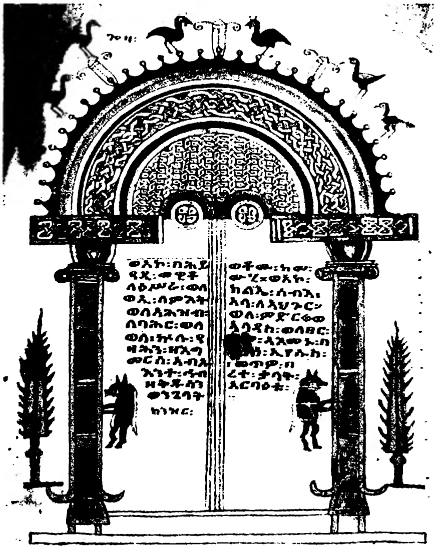
Src.: HamTana I, 58–62, fig. 24; HamTana II, 50–111, 167f. [table of D.M.'s *mämhəran*]; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Illuminierte Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz und Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee*, Graz 1977, pl. 132–35; VERONIKA SIX (ed., tr.), *Die Vita des Abuna Tādēwos von Dabra Māryām im Ṭānāsee*, Wiesbaden 1975 (VOHD, Supplementband 18), 21, 380–83, passim; BecRASO II, 579; GuiIohan 116f., 121–26; SANDRO ANGELINI, *The Historic Route: a Work-Plan for the Development of the Sites and Monuments, Ethiopia*, n.p. 1971 [Report of a UNESCO mission to Ethiopia], 53; PerrZarY 27f.
Lit.: TadTChurch 176, 186, 188 note 3; RODOLPHE CORNUAU, *Moines et monastères du Godjam et du lac Tana en Éthiopie aux XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles. Évangélisation et intégration dans l'empire salomonide*, mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Paris-I 1994, 14f., 30–33; DerDomTh 214–24 (Lit.); DerDom, s. index.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé

Däbrä Maryam

The monastery of D.M. (ደብረ፡ ማርያም, lit. 'Mount of St. Mary') lies in the Q^{w}äḥayn district of Säraye province (in present-day Eritrea, *zoba* Däbub), west of ^{c}Addi K̠^{w}ala (s. map for Däbrä Bizän). It is also known as Ǝnda Abunä Absadi, because it was founded in 1374 by the monk ↗Absadi, a 14th-cent. leader of the monastic movement of the ↗Ewosṭateans.

According to written traditions (*Gädlä Absadi*, s. Lusini 1996), Wägrä Kəsahe was the old name of the mountain where the monastery stands, near the confluence of the Märäb river with its tributary, the Obel. After Absadi's death, the monastery was headed by abbot Täwäldä Mädḫən, in charge from 1390 or 1391. Following the council summoned in April 1400 by *aṣe* Dawit II (r. 1382–1412), the community was persecuted for its loyalty to Ewosṭatewos's rule. A few years later, around 1403 or 1404, Dawit allowed the celebration of the Saturday-↗Sabbath, i.e., observance of rest on both Saturday and Sunday. According to the documents, after the new council of ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq (1450) and the subsequent end of the monastic schism, D.M. was generously granted land by *aṣe* Zärʾa Ya^{c}əqob (r. 1434–68).



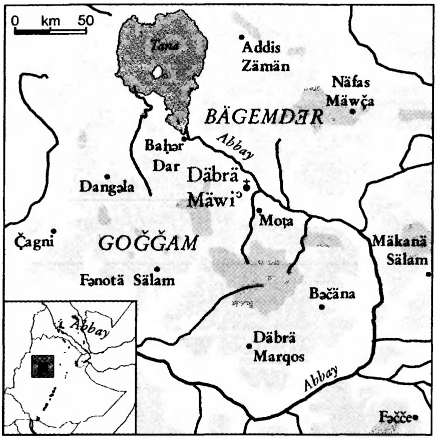
Canon table from the Gospel Book of Däbrä Maryam Q^{w}äḥayn, dated 1361; photo 1949 by David Buxton

Src.: GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI (ed.), *Il Gadla Absādi* (*Dabra Māryām, Sarāʿē*), Louvain 1996 (CSCO 557, 558 [SAe 103, 104]).
Lit.: DAVID BUXTON, *The Abyssinians*, London 1970, 138–41, pl. 68–75, 80, 125f.; KolTrad III, 9–49; LusStud 69–92; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, here 20ff.; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea", *ibid.* 38, 1994 [1996], 24–69; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Copisti e filologi dell'Etiopia medievale: lo *scriptorium* di Dabra Māryām del Sarāʾē (Eritrea)", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 230–38.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Däbrä Mäwiʾ

D.M. (ደብረ፡ መዊእ also መዊዕ Mäwi^{c}, lit. 'Mount of the Victor') or Däbrä Mäwiʾ Maryam mon-


0 km 50
Tana
Addis Zämän
Näfas Mäwča
BÄGEMDƏR
Abbay
Baḥər Dar
Däbrä Mäwi᾿
Dangəla
Moṭa
Čagni
GOĞĞAM
Mäkanä Sälam
Fənotä Sälam
Bəčäna
Däbrä Marqos
Abbay
Fəčče
Abbay

astery is situated in Goğğam, Baḥər Dar *awrağğa*, in the district of Yəlmanna Densa. It is said to have been founded by *qes* Täklä Mädḫən, who brought the *tabot* of Mary from Šäwa to D.M. in 1518 (yet, some other traditions put the foundation of D.M. in the 17th cent.). The abbots of D.M. still bear the title of ↗*gäbäz*.

Following the conversion of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos to Catholicism, learned churchmen gathered, in opposition to that, at D.M. under the leadership of *abba* Akalä Krəstos. Suddenly attacked by soldiers on 19 *Ṭəqəmt* 1616, more than 7,000 people are said to have been slain there. *Aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs proclaimed a yearly festival to honour these martyrs (*Bəzuḫan Maryam*, 'The Crowds of Mary'), celebrated on 21 *Mäskäräm*, he also constructed a memorial at Gənb Giyorgis.

In 1701 *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos pursued his enemy, *däğğazmač* Dərmən, into the church of D.M. which manifested its strength by protecting him twice from incineration. Tewoflos then vowed to Mary that he would rebuild the church in stone and plaster if his enemy was burned. His request was granted and Dərmən was killed, while the *tabot* of Mary rested in an olive-tree. The miracle was accompanied by thunder. The *tabot* received the epithet ገባሪተ፡ ኀይል (*gäbaritä ḫayl*, 'wonder-worker'). Monastic status was granted to D.M.; only the monks celebrated the liturgy.

During the Italian war of 1935–36 the church of D.M. was bombed and soon after restored again. It possesses many treasures. They include donations by *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul; some of them are associated with *aṣe* Mənilək I. A recent lack of manpower has caused decline in the physical state of the church.

Src.: ዜና፡ ተከሥተ፡ ብርሃን (*Zena Täkäśtä Bərhan*, 'The History of Täkäśtä Bərhan'), ms. in Dima Giyorgis Church; also IES, UNESCO microfilm series 10, no. 4; AmhChurchD vol. 4., 157f.; DombrChr, s. index.

Joachim Persoon

Däbrä Məśwaᶜ

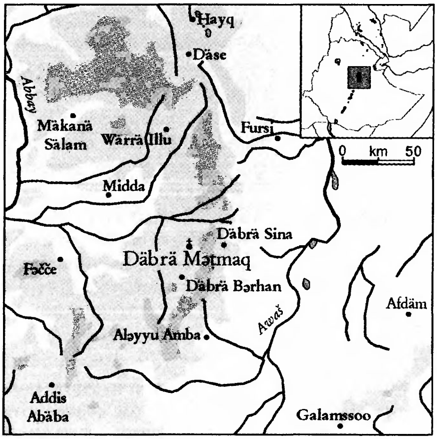
The church of D.M. (ደብረ፡ ምሥዋዕ, lit. 'Mount of Altar, or Sacrifice') was founded at the end of the 15th cent. by *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər (according to his Chronicle, s. PerrEsk 358). The location of this place is unknown. We only know, from the same Chronicle, that the ecclesiastical head of D.M. held the title of መክብብ (*mäkbəb*), just as the one in ↗Atronsä Maryam.

Src.: PerrEsk 358.
Lit.: DerDom, s. index.

Marie-Laure Derat

Däbrä Məṭmaq

D.M. (ደብረ፡ ምጥማቅ, or Däbrä Məṭmaq Maryam) is a royal church and monastery located in ↗Tägulät, Šäwa shore, which was founded by *aṣe* ↗Zär᾿a Yaᶜəqob. According to the Chronicle of the Emperor (PerrZarY 55ff., 88) and the Miracles of St. Mary (CerMaria 124f.), the building of D.M. was inspired by the destruction of an Egyptian monastery called "Məṭmäq" (Gəᶜəz for Arabic *maġṭis/miġṭas* 'baptistery'), famous for its miracles of Mary. This monastery was a station for Ethiopian pil-


Ḥayq
Däse
Abbay
Mäkanä Sälam
Wärrä Illu
Fursi
0 km 50
Midda
Däbrä Sina
Däbrä Məṭmaq
Fəčče
Däbrä Bərhan
Afdäm
Awaš
Aləyyu Amba
Addis Abäba
Galamssoo

grims on their way to the Holy Land. In 1441, John, the Patriarch of Alexandria sent a message to Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob telling him of the destruction of Məṭmaq. We can assume that the building of D.M. did not begin before this date.

The exact ecclesiastical hierarchy of D.M. is unknown. However, the monastery was affiliated to the community of ↗Däbrä Libanos and the abbot of Däbrä Libanos was also the abbot of D.M. It received ↗*gʷəlt* lands in the region of Tägulät.

This monastery and church became famous because of their close ties to Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob. According to the *Mäṣḥafä ↗milad*, which is attributed to the Emperor, on 21 *Taḫśaś* 1445, he celebrated the feast of Mary in his church at D.M. There he learnt that ↗Aḥmad Badlāy, *sulṭān* of ᶜAdal, was leading a revolt of the Muslim sultanates against the Christian empire. During the service, a hand moved from an icon of Mary, pointing to Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob. This miracle was interpreted as a sign of the Emperor's victory over Badlāy (Wendt 1962:13f.). This victory took place on 26 December 1445. After the battle, the Emperor sent his trophies to D.M., where his triumph had been foretold.

On 21 *Yäkkatit* 1450, Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob gathered a council at this church to discuss the orthodoxy of the ↗Sabbath. *Abunä* ↗Gäbrəʾel and *abunä* Mikaʾel were present. The Emperor persuaded the Metropolitans to recognize the Saturday Sabbath as orthodox and to write a letter to the Ethiopian clergy to confirm this decision. With this council, Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob brought an end to the controversy around the question of the observance of the Sabbath.

The monastery was still active during the reign of *aṣe* Bäʾədä Maryam (1468–78). After this date, there is no information concerning this community.

↗Barsbāy

Src.: CerMaria 124f.; PerrZarY 55ff., 65, 88, 115f.; ColSyn XIII, 307f., 317–21; CRRicBerhan vol. 2, 86 (tr.); KURT WENDT, *Das Maṣḥafa Milād (Liber nativitatis) und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē (Liber trinitatis) des Kaisers Zar'a Yāᶜqob*, vol. 1, Louvain 1962 (CSCO 221, 22 [SAe 41, 42]), 13f. (tr.).
Lit.: CerPal 353; DerDomTh 571, 642f. (Lit.); DerDom, s. index.

Marie-Laure Derat

Däbrä Məṭmaq Maryam

The church of D.M.M. (ደብረ፡ ምጥማቅ፡ ማርያም), located to the south of the Royal Castles' compound in ↗Gondär (s. CrumLand 80), was built by *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis I, the last Gondärine king to found a church on his own (Guidi 1926:416). Construction began in November 1782 and was overseen by *ras* Ayädars (BlunChr 269f.). The name of the church (meaning, lit., 'mount [church] of the baptistery') was chiefly reminiscent of the homonymous Egyptian monastery, in which several of the miracles of Mary took place, but also of the church ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq in Tägulat, Šäwa, founded by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob. In August 1783, Täklä Giyorgis assigned the lands and established the clergy (CrumLand 148), according to the royal chronicle and the records kept in a D.M.M.'s manuscript (BlunChr 296, 301; ms. *Täʾammərä Iyäsus* of D.M.M.). He also richly endowed the church with liturgical items (BlunChr 298-301). At the time of the foundation, he decided to bestow the title of ↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* on the head of the D.M.M. priests (a function "which had been raised above all the official grades") and chose him amongst the "monks of Däbrä Libanos". The *qes aṣe* Käbte, reputedly a learned monk, was then appointed to this post (BlunChr 296f.). The royal foundation of D.M., in the monastic "network" of Däbrä Libanos, also enjoyed the privilege of being a place of ↗asylum (ibid. 449f.).

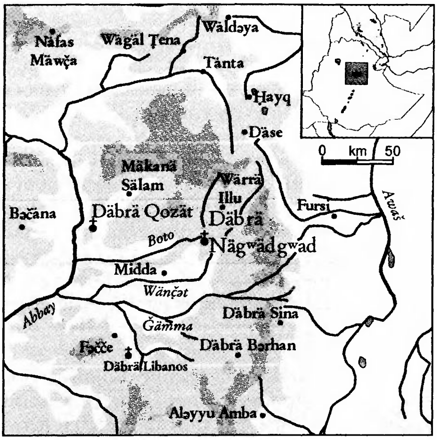
A list of the books and items of the church, in Amharic, was copied for the mission Dakar–Djibouti in 1932 (ms. Paris, BN éth. 630).

Src.: BlunChr 47f., 65, 67ff., 173 (text) = 269f., 296f., 298–301, 449f. (tr.); ms. *Täʾammərä Iyäsus* of D.M.M. = ms. Illinois/IES 88.XII.17–18; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Due nuovi manoscritti della 'cronaca abbreviata' di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 6ᵃ, 2, 1926, 357–421, here 416; *Guida* 356f., map; StrGriaule 200f., ms. éth. 630 [Griaule 322], fol. 16v.
Lit.: CrumLand 80, 145, 148, 297, n. 5, 12.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé

Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad

D.N. (ደብረ፡ ነጐድጓድ, lit. 'Mount of Thunder), is the name of the royal church and monastery founded by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob some time before 1450 in the district of Dähaya, in ancient Amhara. According to the sources, it served as a sanctuary (መቅደስ, *mäqdäs*), a church and a great monastery (መካን, *mäkan*) all at the same time. As such, the institution was not only run by court ecclesiastics (ካህናተ፡ ደብተራ, *kahənatä däbtära*), but also by the abbot of the most influential monastery of the time, ↗Däbrä Libanos of



Šäwa. At the Emperor's initiative, Däbrä Libanos became the "mother house" of D.N. Among the court ecclesiastics appointed by Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, we can distinguish a chief of the priests (↗*Liqä kahənat*), named Minas, and a teacher (*mämhər*), named Fəre Kahən.

The monastery's land holdings appear to have been considerable, and were granted by Zärʾa Yaʿəqob with an hereditary status, in part for the commemoration of the monarchs. Later, *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam released the church from all taxes.

Zärʾa Yaʿəqob showed a strong affection for D.N. After his 1450 victory over the ʿAdal *sulṭān* ↗Aḥmad Badlāy b. Saʿdaddīn he donated the trophies of this victory to the church. Moreover, he made the church a royal necropolis, transferring the body of his father *aṣe* ↗Dawit II there and burying his mother Əgziʾ Kəbra and the *mämhər* of Bäʾədä Maryam, Täklä Iyäsus, at the same site. Zärʾä Yaʿəqob himself was buried at D.N., though later his remains were translated to the monastery of ↗Daga Əsṭifanos.

After the reign of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, the monastery became a place of pilgrimage and place of residence for his successors until it was destroyed by the army of *imām* Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī on 3 November 1531. Brielli (1945) located its ruins in Wällo (ancient Amhara) between Legambo and Lägä Hida.

The toponym D.N. is also linked to many other churches and monasteries, including one of the churches on Lake Ḥayq (↗Däbrä Ḥayq Əsṭifanos).

Src.: BassHist 307, 310, 313f.; BégChron 13f.; MANFRED KROPP (ed., tr.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, Louvain 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 8, 13 (text) = 8, 13 (tr.); STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 60; PerrZarY 52ff., 65, 83–87, 116–19, 172; PerrEsk 354f.

Lit.: DOMENICO BRIELLI, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo", in: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), *Studi etiopici*, Roma 1945, 78–110, here 82; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Aperçu préliminaire sur le Maṣḥafa Ṭēfut de Gechen Amba", *AE* 1, 1955, 89–108, here 103; CerMaria 118; DerDomTh 638ff.; GETATCHEW HAILE, "A Study of the Issues Raised in Two Homilies of Emperor Zär'a Yaʿəqob", *ZDMG* 131, 1, 1981, 85–118, here 90.

Marie-Laure Derat

Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Əsṭifanos

Däbrä Qozät

D.Q. (ደብረ፡ ቆዛት) is a monastery located on the slopes of the highland in Wäläqa (ancient province of Amhara), now Čaqata (Boräna, Wällo, today Amhara *kəlləl*; s. map for Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad). According to the Acts of ↗Iyäsus Moʾa, D.Q. was founded prior to the 15th cent., for *abba* ↗Gäbrä Əndrəyas of D.Q. is introduced as a disciple of the first abbot of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Əsṭifanos. However, Gäbrä Əndrəyas was apparently not the founder of D.Q., his Acts giving the name of a Gäbrä Krəstos as the head of the monastic community, whom Gäbrä Əndrəyas succeeded. According to the local tradition, the monastery was founded in the reign of Dəl Näʿad (↗Dəlnaʿod), that is, even before the rise of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty.

The ↗Oromo, who settled in the region during the 17th cent., posed a continuous threat to D.Q. and the monastery eventually declined. But it re-emerged in the 19th cent., during the second Christianization of the region. *Aṣe* Mənilək II rebuilt the monastery in 1895/96 (ms. EMML 654, fol. 39r). A few years later (1913), *ras* Mikaʾel presented the community with a copy of the Acts of Gäbrä Əndrəyas, thus restoring back its identity (EMML 654, fol. 35v).

Nowadays, D.Q. has a still active, but very small community, and the monks keep the cult of Gäbrä Əndrəyas, reading a miracle of the saint at the beginning of each liturgical office.

Src.: EMML vol. 2, 404, no. 654; BORIS TURAIEV (ed.), *Monumenta Aethiopiae hagiologica*, vol. 2, Petropoli 1902, 80–91 ["Vita et Miracula Gabra-Endreyas"]; KurMoa 35 (text) = 28 (tr.).

Lit.: MARIE-LAURE DERAT, "Gäbrä 'Endreyas de Däbrä Qozät et les généalogies monastiques du XV^e^ au XIX^e^ siècle: réécritures et réemplois ", *AE* 17, 2001, 229–55; DerDom, s. index.

Marie-Laure Derat

Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam

D.Ṣ.Q. (ደብረ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ቍስቋም) was one of the principal churches of ↗Gondär. It was founded by *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) over a period of some 13 years. She began the process in 1733, dedicated the *tabot* in April 1740, completed the building around 1743, and completed the church's endowment sometime after 1746. D.Ṣ.Q. was richly endowed with lands that supported 260 clergy, making it the largest clerical establishment in Gondär. The lands for the clergy were in Bağäna (in today's ↗Armačəho), in ↗Bäläsa and in Ǝbənnat. Yet other lands supported the church's services and material fabric. Its establishment served as a model for later establishments in Təgray and Goğğam.

In 1866 the church was sacked by *aṣe* Tewodros, who removed many of its manuscripts and special communion vessels to ↗Mäqdäla, and from Mäqdäla the manuscripts and vessels were taken by the British expeditionary force in 1868. Many are now in the ↗British Library, London. In the 1880s Sudanese Mahdists sacked D.Ṣ.Q. further, so that today's church, while it maintains the same church yard and basic building of the days of Məntəwwab, is a pale reflection of its days of glory. In 1941 D.Ṣ.Q. was badly damaged by air raids. It has been recently restored.

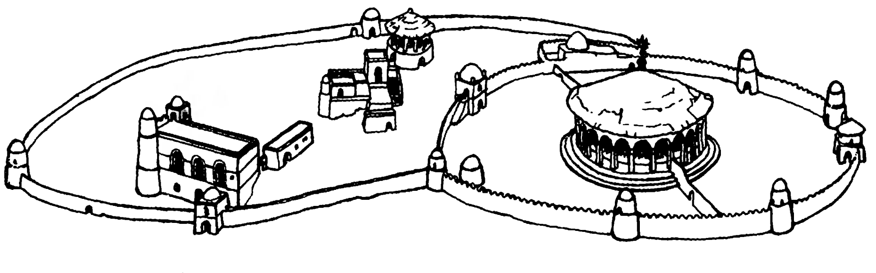
Src.: Guilyas 95–114 (tr.), IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Due nuovi manoscritti della 'Cronaca abbreviata di Abissinia'", *RRALm* ser. 6^a^, 2, 1893, 357–421, esp. 412f.

Lit.: CrumLand 107ff.; DONALD CRUMMEY – SHUMET SISHAGNE, "Land Tenure and the Social Accumulation of Wealth in Eighteenth-Century Ethiopia: Evidence from the Qwesqwam Land Register", *IJAHS* 24, 2, 1991, 241–58; DONALD CRUMMEY, "The Lands of the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qʷesqʷam, Gondär", *JES* 26, 2, 1993, 53–62; JEAN DORESSE, *Au pays de la Reine de Saba. L'Éthiopie: Antique et moderne*, Paris 1956, 117 (ill.); OTTO JÄGER, "Ethiopian Manuscript Paintings", *EthObs* 4, 11, 1960, 354–91, here 370–76; ALESSANDRO AUGUSTO MONTI DELLA CORTE, *I Castelli di Gondar*, Roma 1938.

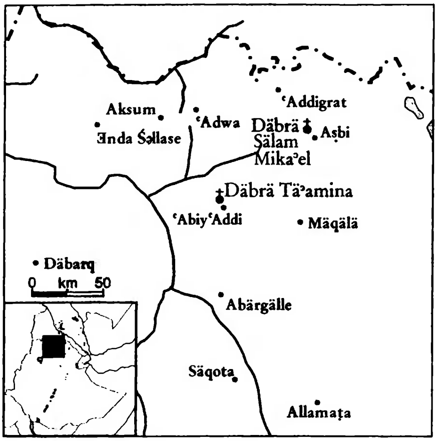
Donald Crummey

Däbrä Sälam Mika'el

The church D.S.M. (ደብረ፡ ሰላም፡ ሚካኤል, lit. 'Mount of Peace [dedicated to the archangel] Michael') is situated in a cave (ca. 15 m x 12 m x 7.5 m) some 7–8 km north-west of Aṣbi (Aṣbi Dära, Kələttä Awləᶜalo, Təgray). It is an oriented basilica of Aksumite type (dimensions: 8.8 x 7.5 m), partly constructed and partly rock-cut. The building consists of two bays closed from the west by a constructed vestibule and from the east by a semicircular apse flanked by two side rooms. The walls between the horizontal beams, containing clearly protruding transversal "monkey-heads", are filled with blocks of dressed stone instead of the traditional rubble in mud-mortar. The north wall is cut out of the rock. A wooden stepped podium rises well above ground level. The windows, in two rows, have wooden frames and are filled with interwoven wooden and stone tracery. Some of them are supplied with shutters. Two doors, to the west and south, are also framed. The latter,



Drawing of the Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam complex. On the right the church, on the left the residence of Bərhan Mogäsa, with a circular chapel serving as an oratory; both are surrounded by a wall with entrance-towers in Gondärine style, from Doresse 1956:117



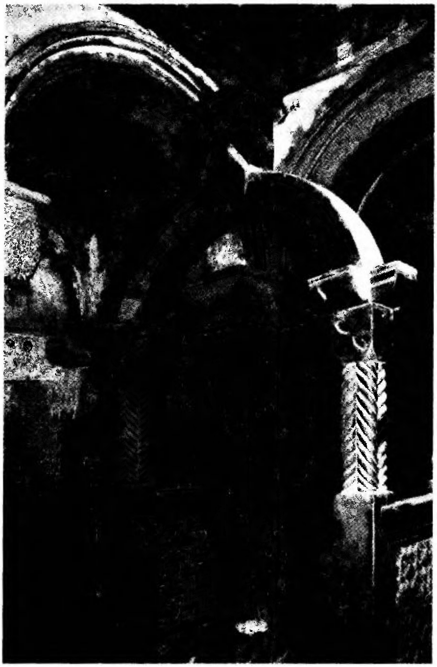
once serving as the main entrance, is accessed through a portico built of alternating wood and stone layers. The western entrance is accessible indirectly via a vestibule opening to the south.

The bays are bounded by arches supported both by free-standing and engaged pillars, crowned with bracket capitals bearing imposts. Corresponding blind arches in bold relief decorate the walls of the aisles and the western wall. The ceilings, the dome of the apse and the Aksumite frieze of squared metopes, which passes round the nave walls above the arches, are cut from the rock. The ceiling of the central nave is higher than those of the aisles. A carved wooden ceiling covers the vestibule.

In the central nave, a wooden chancel stands before the bay closest to the sanctuary. The screening panels, about 1.5 m high, are decorated with carvings consisting of interwoven geometrical patterns, the motif of crosses being dominant. Entry is through a central arch supported by two short columns with double braked capitals, and topped by a large cross.

The cave is closed off by a squared wall measuring approximately 12.5 x 15 m. From a functional viewpoint, this entire area between the outer built wall and the church itself is treated like the *qəne maḫlet* in the round churches and is accessible to the community, while the church itself plays the rôle of the ↗*mäqdäs*. In the cave, on the west side of the church, a stream of holy water empties into a hewn basin. The inner church was dated by Buxton (1971:77) to the 14th cent., but an alleged 10th-cent. document (renewed in the 15th cent.) preserved in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* (CRAxum nos. 5, 14) may suggest it was constructed much earlier (s. here other documents of the 16th/17th and 19th cent., ibid., nos. 53 [54], 82). A local tradition has it that king ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl was first buried at D.S.M., and only later was his body taken to ↗Däbrä Damo (Fiaccadori 1992:441, 444).

The interior of the church is decorated with wall-paintings, some being badly damaged. The cupola preserves a fragment of the *Maiestas Domini* (the enthroned Christ holding a codex, sitting on a *mandorla* borne by the Four Celestial Creatures, is accompanied by the *collegium apostolicum*). The Entry into Jerusalem occupies the lower zone of the north-east corner in the north aisle (Christ on a grey mule, the apostles, people carrying the palm-branches and spreading garments). The second *Maiestas Domini* (Christ on a throne inside a *mandorla* encircled by the Four Celestial Creatures, flanked by two large crosses) appears in the north aisle, under a


Däbrä Sälam Mikaʾel; wooden chancel in front of the entry to the *mäqdäs*; 13th cent. (?); photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

blind arcade decorating the north wall. St. Mary with Child, flanked by two angels, is depicted on the lower register of the east wall of the south aisle. Standing figures (over 40 are still more or less discernible) presented in rows, singly or in groups of three or four, appear on the walls, around the pillars and on the pilasters. All are depicted frontally, wearing a long-sleeved, *pallium*-like tunic, or sometimes a cloak and holding either a codex or with hands raised in prayer. The angels, probably numerous in the original programme, are presently limited to six. Two persons riding an elephant are depicted on the western wall of the north aisle. Different kinds of birds and crosses of "fleur-de-lis" type enclosed in a circle enrich the decoration.

The poor condition of the paintings and a total absence of inscriptions make it difficult to identify all the figures and to interpret the ideological message of the programme. Only the conjunction of the *Maiestas* and the Entry into Jerusalem, clearly rendered as the *Adventus Domini,* may suggest the earthly and celestial triumph of Christ. The standing figures spread around the church could be the prophets, but neither their appearance nor attributes are distinctive enough to permit precise identification. According to Lepage (1976), the entire ensemble of paintings may be interpreted as a vision of the Celestial Jerusalem. Stylistic characteristics – the use of sharp, black outlines; figures with stocky bodies clothed in simplified conventional dress; round heads whose eye-sockets and nose are marked with a single line; eyebrows indicated by two connected lines; narrow moustache; a black circle around the hairline and beard – reflect those of some Coptic paintings dated to the second half of the 12th cent., as, for instance, in the chapel of St. John the Baptist of St. Mercury church in Old Cairo and in Dayr Anbā Bišūy in Wādī n-Naṭrūn.

A painting of St. Mary *Hodigitria* in the Second Gondär style decorates the inside of one of the window-shutters on the south side. A list of 44 manuscripts belonging to the church was compiled in 1974 by the Oxford expedition. In 2000 and 2004 photographs were taken of fragments from a painted liturgical fan (↗*Märäwəḥ*), of the 15th/16th cent., and a triptych (late 17th cent.) stored in the treasury.

Src.: CRAxum 20f., 24, 44, 58 (text) = 22f., 27f., 53, 70 (tr.); HuntLand 31, 35, 56, 72; *abba* TEWELDE MEDHIN JOSEPH, "Introduction générale aux églises monolithes du Tigrai", in: *PICES* 3, 83–98, here 97; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Bâli", *La Parola del Passato* 47, 1992, 439-58, here 441, 444.

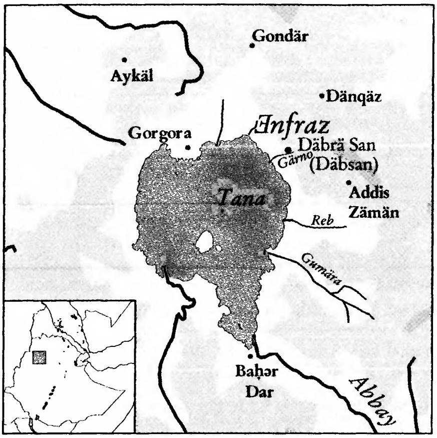
Däbrä Sälam Mika'el: south-east corner of the church; wall construction showing interspersed layers of horizontal beams and plastered stonework with "monkey heads"; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Lit.: DAVID BUXTON – RUTH PLANT, "Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province", *EthObs* 13, 3, 1970, 157–268, here 217; DAVID BUXTON, "The Rock-Hewn and Other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 103, 1971, 33–100, here 76f., fig. 32 and pl. XXXIV; OTTO DALE, "The Rock-Hewn Churches of Tigre", *EthObs* 11, 2, 1968, 121–51, here 148–51; GEORG GERSTER, *Churches in Rock*, London 1970, 121–24, figs. 143–54; ID., "Die Michaelskirche von Debra Selam", *Neue Zürcher Zeitung. Das Wochenende* 78/79, 1966 (ill.); JEAN GIRE – ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Etude des églises rupestres du Tigre: premiers résultats de la mission 1970", *Abbay* 1, 1970, 73–79, here 73f., figs. 1–2; CLAUDE LEPAGE – JEAN GIRE, "Dieu et les Quatre Animaux Célestes dans l'ancienne peinture éthiopienne", *ibid.* 7, 1976, 70–112, here 84–88, 96–101, figs. 11–24 (ill.); IVY PEARCE, "Pearce's Pilgrimage to the Rock–Hewn Churches of Tigre", *EthObs* 11, 2, 1968, 77–120, here 114–20; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 109f. [no. 51]; OTTO A. JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia*, Stuttgart ^{2}1974, 132-35; BENT JUEL–JENSEN – GEOFFREY ROWELL (eds.), *Rock–Hewn Churches of Eastern Tigray. Oxford Expedition to Ethiopia 1974*, Oxford 1975, 17, 65ff., figs. 23–27, 52f. (ill.); GERTRUD VAN LOON, *The Gate of Heaven. Wall Paintings with Old Testament Scenes in the Altar Room and the Ḫūrus of Coptic Churches,* Istanbul 1999, 185–201; MAHMOUD ZIBAWI, *Orients chrétiens: entre Byzance et l'Islam*, Paris 1995, figs. 167, plates 53ff., 58a, 74f. (ill.).

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Däbrä San

D.S. (ደብረ፡ ሳን) is the name of an ancient monastery and a locality in ↗Ənfraz, Bägemdər. It is located on top of a mountain (2,100 m A.S.L.) on the Gärno (Arno) river, in former Gondär-Zuriya *awrağğa* (North Gondär Zone). The actual name of place is in all probability Däbsan (ደብሳን) or Dəbsan (ድብሳን), D.S. being a folk



etymology introduced in hagiographic literature (s. Conti Rossini 1938:445, n. 2).

According to written traditions, the monastery of D.S. was founded by the monk ↗Gäbrä Iyäsus some years after the death of his spiritual father ↗Ewostatewos (1352). The 16th-17th-cent. Acts of Gäbrä Iyäsus describe the region of D.S., called ↗Wäyna Däga and celebrated for its fertility, as occupied by ↗Betä Ǝsra^{ɔ}el settlements. During the first phase of the spread of the ↗Ewosṭateans, the foundation of D.S. represented their westernmost boundary. In the second phase, during the 15th cent., they extended Ewosṭatewos's rule down to Goǧǧam, as is the case for the monastery of ↗Däbrä Wärq, established by the Ewosṭatean monk Śärṣä Peṭros.

During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos the site became one of the strongholds of Catholicism. From 1626 to 1633 it was here that the Catholic Patriarch Afonso ↗Mendes had his residence (BecRASO VIII, 180f.). The ruins of what once possibly was his palace can still be seen there (Anfray 1980–81:9ff.).

Src.: BecRASO IV, 9; VIII, 180f.; XII, 258.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note di agiografia etiopica (^{c}Abiya Egzi^{ɔ}, 'Arkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus')", *RSO* 17, 1938, 404–52, here 439–52; LusStud 115ff.; HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie)*, Paris 2003, 181–84, s. index; FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Vestiges gondariens", *RSE* 28, 1980–81, 5–22, plates (ill.).

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Däbrä Ṣärabi

The monastery of D.Ṣ. (ደብረ፡ ጸራቢ, lit. 'Mount of the Carpenter') lies in the Ṣəra^{c} province of eastern Təgray. According to the 16th-cent. Acts of ↗Ananya, this community was established by ↗Ewosṭatewos himself, who stayed there from 1300 to 1307. His first successor was Bäkimos, who gave the monastic habit to ↗Filəppos of Däbrä Bizän. Ananya was initiated into the monastic life at D.Ṣ. by the abbot Ṗawlos, whom he succeeded after the latter's death. We also know of Iyosäyas, who was Ananya's successor.

Src.: GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Il Gadla Anānyā", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 13, 1990, 149–91; ID., "Miracoli di Anānyā", *ibid.* 14, 1991–92, 171–74; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Atti di Anania, santo monaco etiopico del XVI secolo", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 104, 1990, 65–91; ID., "Il testo etiopico dell'«Effigie di Anania»", *Quaderni Utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 165–66; LusStud 94ff.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Däbrä Ṣəge

The monastery of D.Ṣ. (ደብረ፡ ጽጌ, lit. 'Mount of the Flower') lies in Eritrea's Märag^{w}əz district of the Säraye province, south-east of ↗Mändäfära (^{c}Addi Wəgri), in the historical region of Täk̠äla (s. map for Däbrä Bizän). It is also known as Ǝnda Abunä Yonas La^{c}əlay, since it was founded in 1455 by the monk ↗Yonas, ↗Ewosṭatewos's disciple. It is not to be confused with another monastery established by the same Yonas in 1489, ↗Däbrä Dəḫuḫan, known also as Ǝnda Abunä Yonas Taḥtay, in the Q^{w}äḥayn district of Säraye province. To this day D.Ṣ. and Däbrä Dəḫuḫan share a single abbot for both communities. According to the documents, D.Ṣ. was granted land by *aṣe* ↗Zär^{ɔ}a Ya^{c}əqob. The church of the monastery is outstanding because of its antiquity and accounting for its basilica plan.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Gli Atti di Abbā Yonās", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 12, 1903, 177–201, 239–55.

Lit.: LusStud 118–22; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, here 12ff.; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Dehuhān e Dabra Ṣege, Sarā'e, Eritrea)", *ibid.* 42, 1994 [1998], 5–55.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Däbrä Ṣəge Qəddus Ura^{ɔ}el

D.Ṣ. (ደብረ፡ ጽጌ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ኡራኤል, also Däbrä Ṣəge) is one of Addis Abäba's earliest and most important churches. Its history begins with the Ura^{ɔ}el church, founded at ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo north of Mənilək II's palace, while the churches of

↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam and ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel were founded east and west of the palace, respectively (Archangels Raguel and Uriel were both considered patrons of the Šäwan dynasty). A few years later, the Uriel church was moved to the capital.

The year of the D.Ṣ.'s foundation at its present location in Addis Abäba (to the south-east of the former Asmära Road) seems to be 1885. This date is confirmed by the documents of the municipality of Addis Abäba (s. Johnson 1974:183; before 1886 according to Garretson 1974:343). Richard Pankhurst, stating that 1884–85 were the years in which the construction of the churches of Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam and Raguʾel was begun, remarks that a third church – dedicated to Uriel – was built somewhat later by *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase. Still others say that it was established in 1886, the year of the foundation of ↗Addis Abäba. The wall-paintings were reputedly done by *aläqa* ↗Elyas.

Before the foundation of the church, the area belonged to the minor chief Ṭefa Aduña from Mänz, supposedly a relative of *aṣe* Mənilək on his mother's side. When the *tabot* of Uriel was brought from Ǝnṭoṭṭo, it was first placed in Ṭefa Aduña's smaller house, *əlfəñ*, while a larger one was given to the clergy who came to serve the church. The smaller house remained the temporary dwelling of the *tabot* until a large church was later constructed by *ras* Darge. Ṭefa Aduña received a tract of land in compensation for the loss of his old residence.

Construction of the church was completed in 1895. Gäbrä Śəllase, Mənilək's chronicler, states that construction work was finished in the rainy season (GSMen 372), immediately before the campaign of ᶜAdwa. *Ras* Darge distributed plots of land among the clergy around the church. He also made his loyal servant *däǧǧazmač* Layäh the ↗*gäbäz* of the church. Moreover, *ras* Darge is said to have given *ətege* ↗Zäwditu a piece of land, on which she built her house. Consequently, this area was sometimes called Zäwditu Säfär (or Nəgəśt Säfär) and the road between palace and church was named Zäwditu Mängäd.

Soon after its establishment, Uraʾel church came to be known as D.Ṣ. As indicated above, Zäwditu had a residence in the Uraʾel ↗*aṭbiya* which she greatly favoured, especially on Sundays. However, after the death of Mənilək in 1913, she became a victim of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu's whims. While exiled to Fale in Mullo district (Šäwa), she is said to have prayed to Uriel for help; some three years later, *ləǧ* Iyasu was deposed and she was brought back from Fale by *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis to be crowned Empress of Ethiopia. Once in power, she had the D.Ṣ. church rebuilt with stone walls and a roof covered with corrugated iron, giving it its present appearance. The church is square with three concentric walls, dividing the space inside into three compartments. There is also a small chapel within the church, which was used by Zäwditu for private prayer. The handles and hinges of the doors of the church are said to have been imported by the famous Indian merchant of the early 20th cent. Muḥammad ᶜAlī.

Src.: ADDIS ABABA MUNICIPALITY (ed.), *Mirror of Addis Ababa*, Addis Abäba 1942 A.M. [1949/50 A.D.]; GSMen 218, 223, 249, 297, 307 n. 4, 372, 454 n. 2.

Lit.: BAHRU ZÄWDE, "Early Safars of Addis Ababa: Patterns of Evolution", in: *CentAddis* 55; HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "The Establishment of Churches in Addis Ababa", *ibid.* 57–78; PETER P. GARRETSON, *History of Addis Ababa from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1974, 343; MARTIN E. JOHNSON, *The Evolution of the Morphology of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Los Angeles, CA 1974, 183; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Menelik and the Foundation of Addis Ababa", *JAH* 2, 1, 1961, 103–18.

Mersha Alehegne

Däbrä Ṣəyon

History of the monastery of Däbrä Ṣəyon

The monastery of D.Ṣ. (ደብረ፡ ጽዮን, lit. 'Mount of Zion') in the ↗Gärᶜalta province of eastern Təgray (s. map for Gärᶜalta) was probably established by the monk ↗Abrəham at the end of the 14th cent., during the reign of *aṣe* ↗DawitII. Since the Vita of Abrəham is still unpublished, we have little information about the history of this monastery. We do know, however, that Dawit plays an important role in that hagiographical text. A land charter of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, dating to around 1530 and preserved in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum* (CRAxum no. 44), refers to D.Ṣ. together with at least six other Təgrayan monasteries ([Däbrä] Halleluya, Däbrä Aysäma, Däbrä Bänkʷäl, Däbrä Bäkʷər, Däbrä Bärbäre and Däbrä Mäᶜara), to whom the Emperor awarded the renewal of previous *gʷəlt* grants. According to the same document, at that time the abbot of D.Ṣ. was Täklä Giyorgis and all the monasteries mentioned were in poor conditions.

Judging from the notes in the 14th-cent. Gospel Book (fols. 4v, 5v) which is still kept in the house of the ↗*gäbäz* of the monastery, D.Ṣ. was richly endowed with land and other gifts during the time of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I.

Src.: CRAxum 39ff. (text) = 46ff. (tr.); HuntLand 51f.; HuntGeogr 120 [which erroneously places D.Ṣ. in Wäldəbba].

Lit.: ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes éthiopiennes", *JES* 16, 1983, 105–13, here 106–10 [2. "Sur la chronologie des règnes de Dawit, Téwodros et Yeshaq"].

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Churches of Däbrä Ṣəyon

There are two churches on the site of D.Ṣ. of Gärᶜalta, hewn just below the summit of the mountain. The smaller one, dedicated to the founder of the monastery, *abunä* Abrəham, is presently out of use. It is a simple, small, square cave, divided by four circular columns into three aisles. An arched opening connects the main room with an oval sanctuary ended at the east by a semi-circular niche. Beneath the compound, about 9 m down the face of the cliff, there are several caves which until recently were used by the monks.

The main church, with *tabots* dedicated to Kidanä Məḥrät and St. Mary, is rectangular in shape. From the west, south and east it is surrounded by a large ambulatory, leaving only the northern façade, with a door and windows, exposed. Two more doors (west and south) offer indirect access via ambulatory. Part of the church's exterior wall reflects an imitation of misunderstood Aksumite wall-structure.

The interior (21 m x 10 m x 7.3 m) is divided by six cruciform pillars into three naves and four bays. A hewn, narrow narthex is situated at the west end. The nave and the aisles are not clearly differentiated. The entire eastern bay serves as the sanctuary (↗*mäqdäs*). It is not raised and can be entered under high arches from the nave and the aisles alike. A system of arches connects the free-standing and engaged pillars. Ten ceiling sections are cut in form of domes, those above the sanctuary surprisingly reposing on pendentives. The walls of the aisles and the eastern wall of the *mäqdäs* are decorated with large blind arches and smaller arches arranged in two or three rows. Aksumite friezes are visible here and there on the walls. The central and southern parts of *mäqdäs* each contain a monolithic altar. In the eastern part of the corridor surrounding the church there is the entry to two hermit cells. The larger one, a circular shallow-domed room (3 m x 3 m), decorated with low relief, geometrical and figural (St. Mary, two archangels, an ecclesiastic before an altar) is believed to be the oratory of *abunä* Abrəham.

The interior of the church is covered by paintings executed during at least three different periods. The earliest set, spread around the church is most probably contemporary with the foundation of the church; the second, of the first bay and its pillars, probably dates from the end of the 15th cent.; the paintings of the narthex are difficult to locate in time.

The earliest set might have come from the same workshop which decorated ↗Däbrä Mäᶜar. The paintings are badly damaged. Still recognizable, within the small arcades of the south and north aisles, are figures of saints and martyrs particularly venerated in the Coptic Church (among them John of Senhut, ↗Arkälädəs, Awsanyos, Minas of Däbrä Məṭmäq). The walls of the sanctuary bay are occupied by a

Maiestas Domini; wall painting, main church of Däbrä Ṣəyon, eastern wall of the *mäqdäs*; 14th cent.; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers large *Maiestas Domini* and St. Mary with the Child. Another thematic group represents the ↗equestrian saints: ↗Gälawdewos and ↗Tewodros are depicted in the second bay of the north aisle, Mercury on the western wall and Mar Behnam in the narthex. In the third bay of the northern aisle appears a short Passion cycle composed of the ↗Crucifixion, the Entombment and the *Anastasis*. The four ↗Evangelists on the ceiling of the first bay of the northern aisle and an elaborated, ↗*haräg*-like interlacing ornament which covers other sections of the ceilings and the arches belong to the same early period.

The second set of the murals is devoted exclusively to monastic subjects. The central theme appears to be the life of ↗Samuel of Waldəbba depicted by four large paintings (one destroyed). In addition, pairs of famous monks placed in four registers covers all sides of the pillars and pilasters. A couple of them are repainted in the style of ↗Gʷəḥ Yəmᶜata murals. Narrative scenes and some of the monks' figures are accompanied by dedicatory notes, prayers and invocations on behalf of D.S. community.

A 14th-cent. Gospel Book, decorated with unfinished ↗Canon Tables and archaic portraits of standing evangelists and a very well-preserved liturgical fan (↗*märäwəh*) are housed in the D.Ṣ. treasury.

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "The Liturgical Fan and Some Recently Discovered Ethiopian Examples", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 57, 2, 2004, 19–46, here 27f., figs. 25A-C; DAVID BUXTON, "The Rock-Hewn and other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 103, 1971, 1–99, here 59f., fig. 16, pl. 28b–d; ID. – RUTH PLANT, "Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province", *EthObs* 13, 3, 1971, 157–267, here 171, 176f., 179, 194ff.; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Note on the Early Iconography of St. George and Related Equestrian Saints in Ethiopia", *JES* 13, 2, 1975, 39–54, here 43, 49; Choj-Paint 183f, 490, figs. 69, 234a–b; ROBERT COWLEY, "The Study of Geez Manuscripts in Tigré Province" *JES* 9, 1, 1971, 21–26, here 24; OTTO DALE, "The Rock-hewn Churches of Tigre", *EthObs* 11, 2, 1968, 121–51, here 122-25; GEORG GERSTER, *Churches in Rock*: *Early Christian Art in Ethiopia*, London 1970, 81, 83f, pl. 44–53; KinBibl 60f.; IVY PEARCE, "Pearce's Pilgrimage to the Rock hewn Churches of Tigray", *EthObs* 11, 2, 1968, 77–120, here 84–87; OTTO JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia*, Stuttgart ^{2}1974, 114f., pl. 1–2; ROGER SAUTER, "Églises rupestres au Tigré", *AE* 10, 1976, 157–75, here 168.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Däbrä Ṣəyon ↗ Tulluu Guddoo

Däbrä Ṣəyon

D.S. (ደብረ፡ ጽዮን, 'Mount Zion') is one of the central elements in the Ethiopian version of the millenarian doctrine (↗*Dagəm məṣᵓatu läkrəstos*; ↗Eschatology), accepted by the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. The first detailed exposition of this doctrine can be found in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məsṭir* of Giyorgis of Gasəč̣č̣a (YaqMist I, 204), while in the collections of the miracles of Mary, e.g., ms. EMML 5492, fol. 24b (19th–20th cent.), a clearer version of it can be found: "Listen, O my brothers, to this ... mystery which our holy fathers have told us, which they have found written in the Holy Scriptures. They said: When Our Lord comes at his second coming ... the dead will rise. Our Lord will sit on the throne of His glory at Mount Zion to judge the whole world. Heavenly Jerusalem will descend with all the saints and martyrs and be set on top of Mount Zion, (at) Jerusalem, facing the Mount of Olives. Between them, there is a very deep valley, called the Field of Josaphat. There is a church there, built on the tomb of Our Lady the Twofold Virgin Mary ... at the last day, it will become like a ship and bring across (the sea of fire) Christians who had observed the holy day(s) of Our Lady the Twofold Virgin Mary, and had been merciful to the poor and the wretched in her name. She will make them merry with her in the Kingdom of Heaven and make them inherit eternal life".

Aṣe ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob was an ardent proponent of the thousand-year reign of Christ with the Righteous (ጻድቃን, *ṣadqan*). The Emperor and the Church authorities maintained that this thousand-year reign before the end of the world would be a thousand-year repose and banquet on D.S. (ምሳሕ፡ በደብረ፡ ጽዮን) for the Just (e.g., Wendt 1963:37–44). This position may reflect the popularity the idea earned among the Ethiopian clergy; hagiographic writings frequently mention the immediate entrance to "the banquet on D.Ṣ." as one of the rewards promised by God to saints and their followers (s., e.g., Guidi 1895:28).

The doctrine sparked a controversy (to which the diffusion of D.Ṣ. as a proper name in the 15th cent. is also related; ↗*Däbr*). The ↗Zämikaᵓelites and the ↗Stephanites openly refused to accept such teaching (Getatchew Haile 1991:32; cp. Taddesse Tamrat 1966:110, no. 6). Risking their lives, they maintained that the reign of Christ had begun with his first coming. In the words of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, they said: "There is no one thousand years for the saints other than these times. And the banquet is the body and blood of Christ" (አልቦ፡ ዘ፲፻ዓመት፡ ዘቅዱሳን፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ዝንቱ፡ አዝማን። ወምሳህኒ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ወደሙ፡ ለክርስቶስ; Wendt 1963:40). But the Emperor had calculated and affirmed that the present Christian era would end in 1500 A.M. (ibid., 42, 100f.), for the new era, known as the eighth millennium, was to begin. According to tradition, the world was created 5500 years before the birth of Christ, making the eighth millennium start in 1501 A.M. [1508/9 A.D.]. Since nothing unusual happened at that time, the teaching was no longer related to a fixed time, but still remained a component of the faith of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The liturgy has prayers to the Lord that he may make the faithful partakers of the banquet.

↗Zion

Src.: EMML 5492, fol. 24b; GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zärʾa Yaʿəqob* (*Ṭomärä täsbeʾt*), Louvain 1991 (CSCO 523, 522 [SAe 95, 96]), 32; KURT WENDT, *Das Maṣḥafa Milād* (*Liber Navitatis*), *und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē* (*Liber Trinitas*) *des Kaisers Zarʾa Yāʿqob*, vol. 1, Louvain 1962 (CSCO 221, 222 [SAe 41, 42]); vol. 2, Louvain 1963 (CSCO 235, 236 [SAe 43, 44, 100f.]); YaqMist I, 204; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Il 'Gadla 'Aragâwî'", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 2–1, 1894, 54–96, here 79.

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, "Le millénarisme, article de foi dans l'Église Éthiopienne", *RSE* 25, 1971–72 [1974], 31–43; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Some Notes on the Fifteenth Century Stefanite 'Heresy' in the Ethiopian Church", *RSE* 22, 1966, 103–15, here 110.

Getatchew Haile

Däbrä Sina

Several places in north-east Šäwa are named after Mount Sinai (Gəʿəz, Amh. ደብረ፡ ሲና, e.g., Ex 19:11). One of them is a small town, and another D.S. is a site just about 20 km south-east from the first one and about 196 km north-east of Addis Abäba. Local Christian tradition asserts that the site was named D.S. by Christian settlers in very early times.

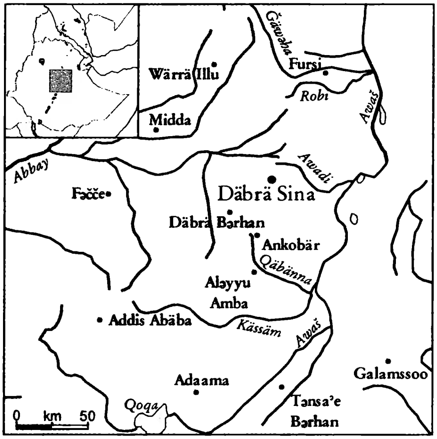
Before the Italian Occupation of 1936 the area of D.S. was known under three appellations, namely Ṭid Amba, Wanzit and Fasil Amba. The area between the rivers Robi and ↗Awadi used to be administered from a political centre known as Wäyra Amba about 10 km to the left of the main road, north of the present D.S.

As all available sources confirm, the current D.S. town was founded by the Italians in 1936. When the whole region had become an important platform for the vigorous and multiethnic patriotic movement, the Italians moved their administration centre from Wäyra Amba to the more strategic location of Fasil Amba. It was the inhabitants of Wäyra Amba, Argaga Ençinne and Šola Meda, on the suburbs of D.S. town, who seriously attacked the Italian force under Pietro ↗Badoglio on 29 April 1936. After a few days, however, Badoglio and his force passed through the area on their march to capture Addis Abäba.

D.S. was founded as a village town under the mountain ↗Ṭarma Bär (at the eastern edge of the Šäwan plateau) which could be reached from the south after passing through the three tunnels built by the Italians. Travellers from the north could also reach there after their gradual ascent through the ragged terrain and over ridges of Asfačäw, Çira Meda, ↗Armanya and ↗Šola Meda. Near the tunnels on the mountain Ṭarma Bär the Italians "set up a monument to commemorate their conquest of the mountain".

In this newly founded strategic town of D.S. (on the site of the previous Fasil Amba), a few Italians and one battalion of the ↗*askari* were left, to turn the administrative activities and to crush the patriotic resistance movement which was getting stronger from the direction of ↗Yəfat under *däǧǧazmač* Täsämma Ǝrgäṭe (1895–1972), *däǧǧazmač* (then *ləǧ*) Käffäläw Wäldä Ṣadəq (d. 1964) and *wähni azzaž* ↗Ayyälä Ḫayle.

After the liberation the area of Mänz and Gəšše was lumped together with that of Yəfat in



1941, to form a larger *awrağğa*, its capital D.S. having the first elementary school in 1942. D.S. played a key administrative role in this region until 1958, when the Mänz–Yəfat *awrağğa* was deemed too large and subsequently divided into two independent administrative zones (Mänz–Gəšše and Yəfat–Ṭəmmuga *awrağğas*). As a result D.S. became part of Yəfat and was reduced to an administrative centre of the sub-district (*wäräda*) known as Fasil Amba until 1968. Between the years 1968 and 1991 D.S. revived as the administrative capital of Mafud district, housing the first-rate comprehensive Senior Secondary School of the Yəfat–Ṭəmmuga *awrağğa* which was opened in 1972.

D.S. is still one of the least developed towns in the country with most of its ancient historical features still intact to a large extent.

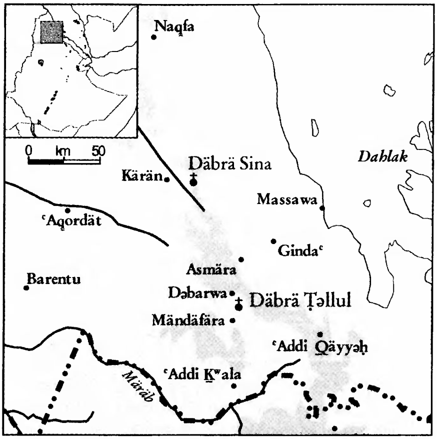
Lit.: AHMED HASSEN OMER, *A Historical Survey of the Ethnic Relations in Yefat and Temmuga, Northeast Shäwa (1889–1974)*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1994, 2ff., 85–98, 100, 139; ID., *Aspects of the History of Efrata-Yille (Shoa Region) with Particular Reference to the Twentieth Century*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1987, 1, 4; ID., “Italian Local Politics in Northern Shäwa and its Consequences, 1936–1941”, *JES* 27, 2, 1995, 1–7; CrawItin 64f., 132f.; MULUGETA ZER’A, *The Foundation, Growth and Development of Dabra Sina Town until 1974*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1985, 3; PAUL BERNARD HENZE, *Ethiopian Journeys: Travels in Ethiopia, 1969–1972*, London 1977, 42; PIETRO BADOGLIO, *The War in Abyssinia*, London 1937, 161f.; TadTChurch 120, 161f.; TADDÄSSÄ ZAWÄLDE, የአባላሽኝ፡ ዘመን (*Yäʾabballašəñ zämän*, ‘A Period of Devouring One Another’), Addis Abäba 1955 A.M. [1962/63 A.D.], 49ff., 70, 90–101.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Däbrä Sina

The monastery of D.S. (ደብረ፡ ሲና, lit. ‘Mount Sinai’) lies in Eritrea’s Sänḥit region, north of the main route connecting Asmära to Käränn, between the villages of ᶜAd Täkälezan and ᶜAddi Bärᶜəd, on the mountain massif of Säläba, overlooking the ↗ᶜAnsäba valley. Not far from the convent, in the Aratu region, Aksumite ruins have been detected. The local people also call these ruins Däbrä Sihat, a name which probably reflects an Ethiopic adaptation of the Arabic name Šihat (or Šayhat, from Coptic Šihēt), indicating the Egyptian desert of Scetis (in Ethiopic also called Asqeṭəs).

According to local traditions, D.S. was established by a monk Yoḥanni (possibly a name of Coptic origin), who came from Egypt with his followers in the reign of ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl, the successor of ↗Kaleb Ella Aṣbəḥa, and most likely his historical son ↗WᶜZB, who reigned from 534 to 548 approximately (↗Ǝsraʾel).



Near D.S. a rock is venerated as the place where the Holy Family escaped from the hands of Herod’s soldiers during their flight to Egypt, a tradition also transmitted in the 20th cent. ↗*Dərsanä Uraʾel*.

The traditional school of D.S. played a role in Ethiopian intellectual history. In the 15th cent. a monk from this monastery, Nabyud, composed an apocalyptic and exhortatory book (Beylot 1976). Towards the end of the 19th cent. various men of letters acquired their traditional education at D.S., e.g., ↗Täklä Maryam Wäldä Sämharay, the author of many grammatical works, and Aśrätä Maryam, the author of a hagiographic history of the monastery (*Zena Däbrä Sina*, s. Aśrata Māryām 1910).

Src.: AŚRATA MĀRYĀM, *Storia del convento di Debra Sina*, ed. by IGNAZIO GUIDI, Roma 1910; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, “L’homélie en l’honneur de l’archange Ouriel (Dersāna Urā’ēl)”, *AE* 1, 1955, 61–88, here 69ff., 81ff.; ROBERT BEYLOT, *Abbā Nabyud de Dabra Sihat. Visions et conseils ascetiques*, Louvain 1976 (CSCO 377, 378 [SAe 70, 71]); FESSEḤA GIYORGIS, *Storia d’Etiopia*, ed. by YAQOB BEYENE, Napoli 1987, 30f., 185f.

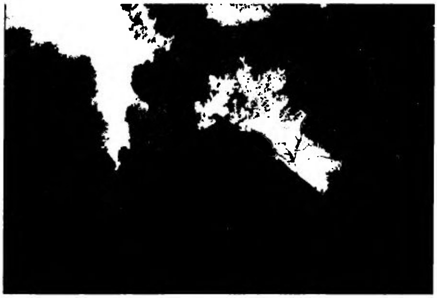
Lit.: CRStor 158 226; MARCEL COHEN – ROGER SCHNEIDER, “Le troisième chapitre de la grammaire par Abbā Takla Māryām W. S. (en traduction)”, *RSE* 13, 1954 [1955], 31–55; TadTChurch 33; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, “Aethiopica minima”, *Quaderni Utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145-64, here 146 and n. 2 (Lit.); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, “L’Église axoumite et ses traditions historiographiques”, in: BERNARD POUDERON – YVES-MARIE DUVAL (eds.), *L’historio-graphie de l’église* *des premiers siècles*, Paris 2001 (Théologie historique 114), 541–57.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

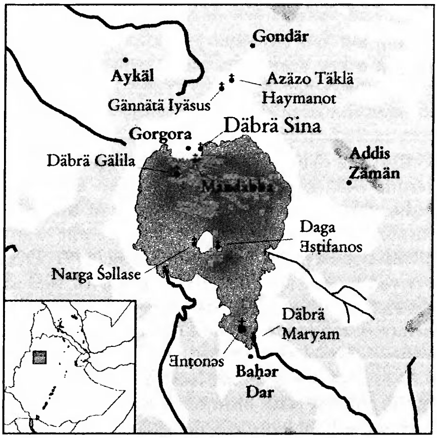
Däbrä Sina

D.S. (ደብረ፡ ሲና, lit. 'Mount Sinai'), located on the shore of Lake Ṭana near ↗Gorgora, is said to have been founded by *abunä* Ṭomas during the reign of *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I (1314–44). The present church, circular in plan, is dated to the 17th cent.

It preserves an almost complete scheme of wall paintings. An inscription added to the picture of the Virgin Mary (western wall) mentions a certain Mäläkotawit as a donor of the paintings. Her true identity and the date of the painting have yet to be established. Cheesman, for example, identifies Mäläkotawit as the eldest daughter of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos (ChTana 196f.); however, Staude and also Chojnacki believe she was the third wife of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I. Additionally, two other princesses with the same name who were alive during the reign of Iyasu were identified by Bosc-Tiessé and Wion (1998). It must be noted, however, that the Mäläkotawit inscription was written by a later hand, while the original hand accompanies the portrait of a royal couple depicted on the southern plinth. Unfortunately, the names of the figures are difficult to decipher. Although the exact dating of the paintings is thus not possible, their style allows us to identify them as belonging to the early period of the first Gondärine school. This style is characterized by carefully modelled faces with cheeks and chins shadowed with a red wash, minutely rendered details drawn with black lines and a soft play of colours dominated by white, red, beige and yellow.



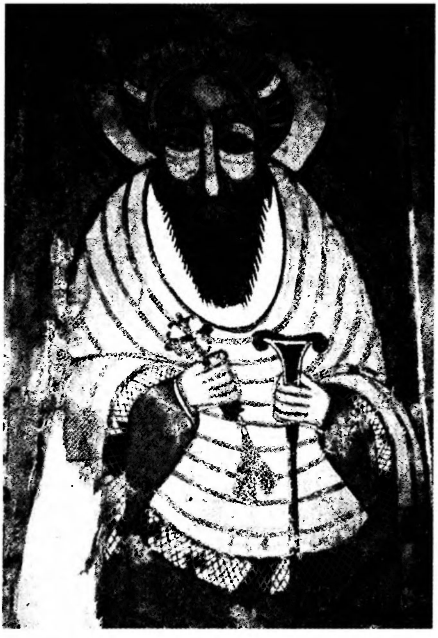
Däbrä Sina, Church of St. Mary; early 17th cent.; view towards south; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers



The paintings cover all the walls and the tambour of the ↗*mäqdäs*. They are partially damaged, but most of them are still recognizable. The paintings on the plinths suffered most through time and only two of the original paintings there are preserved (the group on the western plinth: the Virgin Mary as the Queen of Heaven, the mounted St. George and St. Michael; two episodes from the legend of the Archangel, were added in the 19th cent.). Almost all the scenes and figures were labelled with texts which have faded a great deal throughout the course of time.

Four thematic groups may be distinguished: 1) O.T.: the Sacrifice of Abraham, the Three Youths in the furnace, Jonah, Daniel, Manasseh, the king of Judah, and four kings of Israel: David, Solomon, Hezekiah and Josiah accompanied by prophets and court attendants; 2) N.T.: the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents, Christ's baptism, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Sermon on the Mount, Christ's temptation, the Transfiguration, the Crucifixion, the Descent into Hell, the Ascension, the Last Judgement and the *Maiestas Domini* with 24 Heavenly Priests; 3) saints and martyrs: the Decollation of John the Baptist and the martyrdoms of Paul, Peter, Stephen, Cyriacus and Julitta; Egyptian desert fathers and monks: Anthony the Great, Shenute, Bishoi, Pachomius, Poemen, Abib, Afer, Palamon, Onophrius, Latson and Serapion; equestrian saints: George, Basil, Mercurius, Claudius, Justus, Theodore and two others difficult to identify; Ethiopian saints: Täklä Haymanot, Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, Samuʾel of Wäldəbba, Ǝwosṭatewos, the Nine [Syrian] saints and two ecclesiastics connected to the church by names Ṭomas and Efrom; 4) Mariological scenes: the Virgin ↗Mary with the Child (twice: western wall and eastern plinth), the Covenant of Mercy (↗*Kidanä məḥrät*), the Apparition of the Virgin Mary at Məṭmäq and the Virgin Mary among the angels.

Some scenes display unusual iconography, e.g. the Sacrifice of Abraham with Sarah, the Nativity with the Priest Simeon, the Annunciation with Gabriel represented as an old man. On the western tambour are depicted 18 (22?) naked and haloed young men in half figure. Only a few of their names can be read. The same scene (also painted on the tambour) appears in the Ǝsṭifanos church on ↗Kəbran and also in ↗Qoma Fasilädäs (36 figures, s. Wion 2001). The wooden frames of the doors and windows of the *mäqdäs* and the beams holding up the roof are carved in various scroll patterns. In the church, a group of manuscripts is preserved from the 17th and 18th cent., among them an illuminated ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* and ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel*, two triptychs and a silver processional cross of the 19th cent.



Däbrä Sina Gorgora; *abba* Ǝwosṭatewos; cloth mural, western wall; first half of the 17th cent.; photo courtesy of the author

↗Painting

Lit.: ChTana 196f.; WILHELM STAUDE, “Une peinture éthiopienne datée dans l’église de Betä-Lehem (région de Gaynt), province Begemder”, *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 156, 1959, 72–74; ID., “Étude sur la décoration picturale des églises Abbā Antonios de Gondar et Dabra Sinā de Gorgora”, *AE* 3, 1959, 185–235; OTTO ARNOLD JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia: a Guide*, Stuttgart – London ²1974, 62–65; GUY ANNEQUIN, “Le lac Tana et ses îles. Trésors méconnus d’une thébaide à l’abandon”, *Les dossiers d’archéologie* 8, 1975, 92–93; ChojPaint 135ff., 345ff.; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI – PAUL HENZE, “A Rich Heritage – Still Inadequately Explored”, in: PAUL HENZE (ed.), *Aspects of Ethiopian Art from Ancient Axum to the 20th Century*, London 1993, 9–16; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ – ANAÏS WION, “Inventaire des peintures datées du XVIIᵉ au début du XIXᵉ siècles: questions sur l’art gondarien (Éthiopie)”, in: CLAUDE HÉLÈNE PERROT – FRANÇOIS-XAVIER FAUVELLE (eds.), *Autres sources, nouveaux regards sur l’histoire africaine*, Paris 1998 (Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Africaines 9), 233f.; ANAÏS WION, “Un nouvel ensemble de peintures murales du premier style gondarien: le monastère de Qoma Fasilädäs”, *AE* 17, 2001, 277–306.

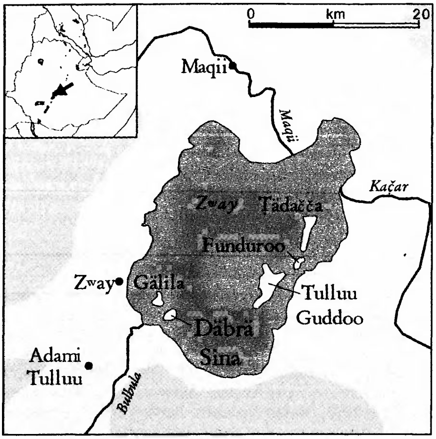
Ill.: GIOTTO DAINELLI, *La regione del lago Tana*, Milano 1939, figs. 111, 112; EWALD HEIN – BRIGITTE KLEIDT, *Ethiopia – Christian Africa: Art, Churches and Culture*, Ratingen 1999, figs. 203–12; MARIO DI SALVO, *Churches of Ethiopia. The Monastery of Nārgā Śellāsē*, Milano 1999, figs. 87f., 127, 149, 151.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Däbrä Sina

D.S. (ደብረ፡ ሲና, lit. ‘Mount Sinai’) the southernmost of the five inhabited islands of Lake ↗Zʷay, is a round volcanic upthrust, rising some 30 m and located approximately 1,500 m A.S.L. from the south-western shore of the lake. Like the other Zʷay isles, D.S. was one of the southernmost outposts of Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Christianity, which gradually lost connection with the highlands in the course of the 16th–17th cent. However, when *nəguś* Mənilək came to conquer the Zʷay area in 1880s, he was surprised to find the inhabitants, including those of D.S., still calling themselves Christians, even though they were in desperate need of priests and had ceased to perform almost all the religious services.

Later, the residents of D.S. gradually left the island for the nearby lands granted to them by Mənilək. Now thickly forested, D.S. has traces



of former cultivation and pasturage, but has been uninhabited since 1960, except for a few nuns, who have houses around a small church dedicated to the Virgin. This church, originally a small thatched round-shape house, was replaced in the late 1990s by a solid round masonry structure, financed by descendants of former inhabitants of the island who moved to the nearby town of Zʷay. Services are held occasionally by clergy from the mainland.

Src.: GueCopMen 336f.

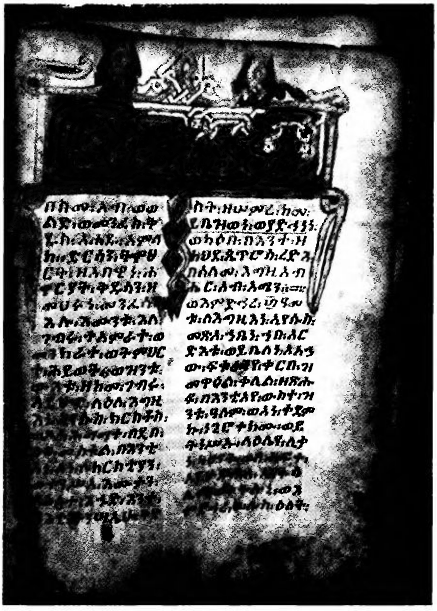
Lit.: VSAe II, 647–77; PAUL BERNARD HENZE, "Lake Zway and its Islands", *EthObs* 16, 2, 1973, 76–88; ID., *Ethiopian Journeys: Travels in Ethiopia, 1969–1972*, London 1977, 109–12; ID., "Lake Zway – Southern Christian Outpost and Repository of Medieval Christian Art", in: *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*, London 1989, 30–40 (Lit.).

Paul B. Henze

Däbrä Täʾamina

D.T. (ደብረ፡ ተአሚና, or ደብረ፡ ትጉሃን, Däbrä Təguhan, lit. 'Mount of the Vigilants') is a little-known monastery in Təgray, in the district of Qʷälla Tämben (s. map for Däbrä Sälam Mikaʾel). According to Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke (KinBibl nos. 110, 147; repeated by Raineri), it was founded – at an unknown date – either by Mäsqäl Bezanä (also Krəstos Bezanä), or by Tadewos of D.T., one of his spiritual sons. The only sources on D.T. are: two manuscripts from the monastery, *Gädlä Mäsqäl Bezanä* (unpublished) and *Gädlä Tadewos* (cf. de Santis 1942); another copy of the *Gädlä Tadewos* at the IES, mf. 118; some information in the manuscript of *Gädlä əččäge Yoḥannəs*, IES, ms. 38, fol. 210 (cf. KinBibl 84), nothing being found, however, in the translation of the published recension of the same text (cf. Ricci 1971). Neither D.T. nor the two saints seem to be mentioned in the published recensions of the ↗*Sənkəssar*.

D.T's rock-cut church (ca. 16 m x 10 m x 5 m) is dedicated to St. Mary. The sanctuary, delimited by four L-formed pillars, is encircled by an elongated ambulatory passing on the west side the constructed *pronaos* with three doors. The ceiling in the southern and eastern part of the ambulatory is in the form of shallow domes. The external walls of the sanctuary are covered by wall-paintings from the beginning of the 20th cent. On the northern wall the founders of the monastery protecting two supplicants are depicted. The church owns an interesting collection of manuscripts, crosses and church paraphernalia. One of the staff crosses made of bronze and decorated with engravings representing St. Mary with the Child can be dated to the time of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (1434–68). From the same period an iron hand cross decorated



Däbrä Täʾamina, *Gəbra ḥəmamat*, fol. 137r; 14th cent.; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers with brass inlay seems to originate. Among the manuscripts, the 14th-cent. ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat* deserves special attention. So does the 15th-cent. Gospel Book which preserves only two portraits of writing ↗Evangelists and two pages of illuminated ↗Canons tables.

Lit.: DAVID BUXTON – RUTH PLANT, "Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province", *EthObs* 13, 3, 1970, 157–267, here 238, no. 45; DAVID BUXTON, "The Rock-Hewn and Other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 103, 1971, 33–100, here 67; KinBibl 84, 91, nos. 110, 147; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Masqal Bēzāna", "Taddeo di Taʾaminā", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 448, 1127; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 151; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Le *Vite* di ʿEnbāqom e di Yoḥannēs abbati di Dabra Libānos di Scioa. Parte II: La *Vita* di Yoḥannēs", *RSE* 24, 1969–70 [1971], 134–232; AmhChurchD vol. 4, 178; RICCARDO DE SANTIS, "Il Gadla Tādēwos di Dabra Bārtārwā. Un contributo allo studio della letteratura agiografica etiopica", *Annali Lateranensi* 6, 1942, 9–116 [reviewed by CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *RSE* 3, 1943, 335–40, here 340].

Alessandro Bausi – Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

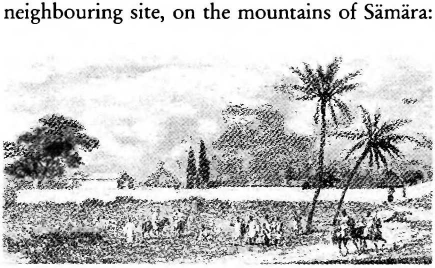
Däbrä Tabor

D.T. (ደብረ፡ ታቦር) is a town in Bägemdər (11°51'N, 39°46'E, 2,945 m A.S.L.) named after the biblical Mount Tabor. It was founded sometime in the first decade of the 19th cent., and was the headquarters, or capital, for most of the rulers of the Oromo ↗Yäǧǧu dynasty, and later of ↗Tewodros II and ↗Yoḥannəs IV. The settlement was founded by the Yäǧǧu chief *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa, who is said to have chosen it at the behest of a monk. The latter reputedly told him that he should abandon his earlier capital, at nearby Ləbo, and seek out a place where a female leopard had just lain down. There, after killing the feline beast, Gugsa Märsa is said to have cleared the forest and established the town (GueCopMen 201f.). Be that as it may, the site he chose was convenient. Well watered, with several dozen natural springs, it had a healthy highland climate, and enjoyed good communications with many parts of the empire. The town served *ras* Gugsa thereafter as his capital for the rest of his life – and it was at D.T. that he was buried in the church of Iyäsus (↗Däbrä Tabor Iyäsus) which he had built on a mountain overlooking Lake Ṭana in the distance.

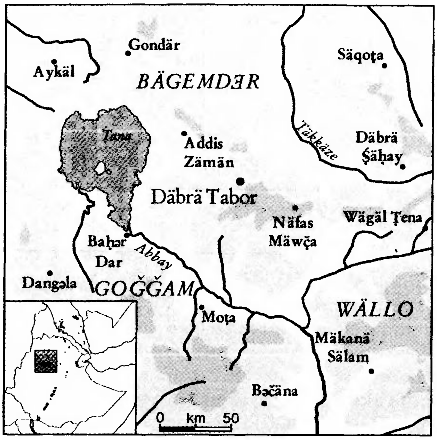
The settlement was subsequently inherited as their capital by Gugsa Märsa's successors *ras* Yəmam, *ras* ↗Dori Gugsa and *ras* ↗Ali Alula. The French Saint Simonian missionaries Edmond Combes and Maurice Tamisier (1838, vol. 2, 54ff.), the first travellers to visit the town, describe it, in 1835, as essentially a military camp, "inhabited by soldiers", whose "life of carelessness", they claim, attracted "a large concourse of dancers and courtesans". The settlement was then dominated, they say, by Ali Alula's palace (↗*Gəbbi*). Surrounded by a "vast" courtyard, it contained a large audience chamber with two divans, many "fine weapons" on the walls, and three recesses for Ali Alula's favourite horses (*ibid.* 61, 83). The town, according to a somewhat later French traveller, Arnauld d'↗Abbadie, comprised 1,600 to 1,700 houses, which, on the assumption of six inhabitants per house, would suggest a population of well over 10,000 inhabitants, much more than that of most settlements of the time (AbbSéjour vol. 2, 190).

D.T. was captured and partly burnt down, in June 1853, by *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa, the future *aṣe* Tewodros II, who, having defeated his father-in-law Ali Alula, made it his capital, as well as by extension the abode of the *abun*. There the Emperor built a new church, dedicated to Mädḫane ʿAläm ('Saviour of the World'); and it was at D.T. that his son ↗ʿAlämayyähu was born. Tewodros allocated ↗Gafat, a settlement an hour's walk from D.T., to his missionary and other foreign artisans; and it became the site of the first casting of cannon in Ethiopia, as well as that of Tewodros's earliest road-building activities. However, as a result of the arrival of the British expeditionary force led by Robert Napier, the Emperor felt obliged to abandon D.T. in favour of the mountain fortress of ↗Mäqdäla, in October 1867.

D.T. was later chosen as one of his centres by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, who built his palace on a new neighbouring site, on the mountains of Sämära:



Sämära, the residence of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV in Däbrä Tabor; from Rohlfs 1883:194



it was there for example that he crowned *ras* Adal of Goǧǧam as *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot. Yoḥannəs was responsible for the erection of a new palace, with three adjacent large thatched round buildings, as well as the rectangular church of Ḫəruy Giyorgis, which was built with the help of the Italian craftsman Giacomo ↗Naretti. Yoḥannəs, in the early 1880s, however, moved, with the *abun*, to Təgray, and D.T. lost much of its earlier importance.

The death of Yoḥannəs, in 1889, and the rise of Mənilək, king of Šäwa, spelt the continued decline of D.T. The town nonetheless remained the local capital of Bägemdər. It was the headquarters, in the early 20th cent., of *ras* ↗Gugsa Wäle, the sometime husband of Mənilək's daughter Zäwditu, later Empress. Sometimes referred to as the "second Gugsa" – an allusion to the earlier ↗Gugsa Märsa – he moved his palace to yet another D.T. site, and repaired the earlier church buildings.

The town today has an airport, and is conveniently linked by road (built by Italians and later rebuilt with the help of China) with Gondär, Baḥər Dar, Däse and the Addis Abäba–Asmära highway.

Src.: EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, Paris 1838, vol. 2, 54–90; AbbSéjour vol. 2, 189f.; ChTana 390, s. index; GueCopMen 201f., s. index; GERHARD ROHLFS, *Meine Mission nach Abessinien, auf Befehl Sr. Maj. des deutschen Kaisers im Winter 1880/1881 unternommen*, Leipzig 1883, 194f. (ill.).

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Däbrä Tabor (Ethiopia)", *BSOAS* 70, 1977, 235–66 (Lit.); PankHist I, 265–73, II, s. index; *Guida* 391.

Richard Pankhurst

Däbrä Tabor Iyäsus

D.T.I. (ደብረ፡ ታቦር፡ ኢየሱስ) is one of the principal churches of ↗Däbrä Tabor. Situated on a hilltop above the town, D.T.I. was reportedly founded as a sanctuary by the 14th-cent. *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arʿad (Heyer 1981:23) when the fist monastic communities were established on the Lake Ṭana islands. In fact, D.T.I. was founded much later, by *ras* ↗Ali Gʷangul or, more probably, in the 19th cent. by *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa, the ↗Yäǧǧu dynasty greatest ruler, as his burial place (↗Graves). His tomb, a square tower with an egg-shaped dome (↗*ənqulal gəmb*; s. CrumLand 158f.), still exists in the compound.

Gugsa Märsa richly endowed D.T.I. His distant descendant, *ras* ↗Gugsa Wäle, was active in its further development by reconstructing the church (PankHist II, 349) and sponsoring *aläqa* Bərhanu to paint its inner walls.

D.T.I. is a circular stone church with the centrally placed squared ↗*mäqdäs* and with a spacious compound encircled by a stone wall. The paintings are arranged according to the scheme established in the 17th cent.: the Trinity, St. Mary and St. George killing the dragon are depicted on the west wall; Mariological scenes, including the miracles of Child Jesus and of St. Mary (mostly illustrating ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*) e.g., "the one who eats people" (በላዔ፡ ሰብእ, *Bälaʾe säbʾə*) and the metamorphosis of the five camels into five stones decorate the south wall; Christological scenes, with the Passions in the centre, cover the eastern, the ↗equestrian saints the northern wall. The murals, partly destroyed by birds who had pecked at the colours, were repainted in 1979 by a certain Muse and the painting class of the Däbrä Tabor Church School.

In the ↗*ʿəqa bet* of D.T.I., illuminated manuscripts of *aläqa* ↗Ǝngəda have been preserved, among them an illuminated *Täʾammərä Maryam*.

Lit.: CrumMis 95; CrumLand 158f. (ill.); FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche in Däbrä Tabor*, Erlangen 1981 (Oikonomia 13); RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Däbrä Tabor (Ethiopia)", *BSOAS* 70, 1977, 235–66; PankHist I, 266; II, 349; SYLVIA PANKHURST, *Ethiopia: a Cultural History*, Essex 1955, pl. CCV (ill.).

Friedrich Heyer

Däbrä Ṭəllul

The monastery of D.Ṭ. (ደብረ፡ ጥሉል, possibly from ደብረ፡ ጽሉል, lit. 'Mount of the Possessed') lies in the Gʷala district of Säraye province (*zoba* Däbub in present Eritrea), south-east of Dəbarwa, in the locality called Däqqi Bäḵʷəri (s. maps for Däbrä Bizän and Däbrä Sina in Eritrea). It is also known as Ǝnda Abbona (Ǝndabbona) or Däbrä Abunä Abranyos, since it was founded in the second half of 17th cent. by the monk ↗Abranyos.

Until 1974, the *gädäm* had considerable land property (*rəsti* and *gulti*) out of its own borders, but after the ↗Revolution most of it was expropriated. Among the remaining *gulti* is ʿAddi Aṭāl (close to May Ṣäʿada in ↗ʿAddi Ḵʷala area).

Today D.Ṭ. is the most influential monastery in the ↗Mändäfära area. It has dozens of nuns (at the foot of the mountain), monks and students (in the main monastery), and a number of economic activities inside it. The library has a few valuable illuminated manuscripts (Guida 234f.). The church on the very top of the mountain was built in the early 20th cent. by the Italians. The alleged tomb of the founder, Abranyos, is still venerated in a separate building next to the church, along with a rudimentary pulpit (made up of two stone slabs between the church and the tomb) from which the Saint is said to have preached.

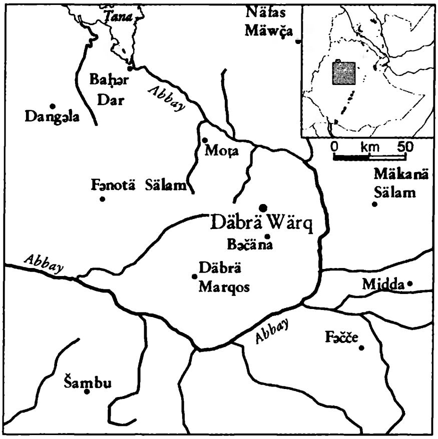
Src.: OSVALDO RAINERI, *Atti di* abuna *Abrānyos, santo eritreo* (*1633–1718*), Roma 1983 (= *MRALm* ser. 8ª, 26, 1983, fasc. 4), 435–530 (text) = 562–622 (tr.); Guida 234f.
Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI — GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, here 9ff.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Däbrä Wärq

The monastery of D.W. (ደብረ፡ ወርቅ, lit. 'Mount of Gold', 'Golden Mountain') is located in eastern ↗Goğğam, on top of a hill in the town by the same name. According to different sources, its church is devoted to either the Archangel Michael (s. BecRASO XI, 128: early 17th cent.) or the Virgin Mary (d'Abbadie 1873:574). Today it is often referred to as Däbrä Wärq Maryam.

D.W. is said to have been founded by the holy monk ↗Śärṣä P̣eṭros, whose Acts, preserved in the monastery, are still unpublished (KinBibl no. 139); it seems, however, that he was a disciple of *mämhər* Täklä Maryam of ↗Märṭulä Maryam and a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam. Equally unpublished local documents give contradictory indications as to the chronology of his life, though within the 15th cent. (TadTChurch 202f.) – when the satellite monastery of ↗Getesemane Maryam would also have been founded. More intriguing, a lost Gəʿəz inscription of Dayr al-Abyaḍ (Sūhāğ, ↗Egypt) recorded Ethiopian pilgrims from Goğğam, in particular a "Śärṣä Yoḥannəs from Däbrä Wärq", passing by on their way to the Holy Land on 8 *Säne* 222 A.M. (de Bock 1901:54, fig. 65, cp. Conti Rossini 1923:461f.), possibly equal to 2 June 1038 or 1114 (Chaîne 1925:191f., discarding Conti Rossini's 1563). This could suggest a much earlier chronology for the monastic settlement, which also boasts connection with the legendary ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa (Fiaccadori 1985:77; 1984–85:234f.).



D.W. was later an important centre for the ↗Ewosṭateans: although the sources are not perfectly eloquent (s. Cohen 1923:160f.), a local ↗*Sənkəssar* with a special entry on *abba* ↗Filəp̣p̣os, founder of the Ewosṭatean monastery of ↗Däbrä Bizän (Schneider 1978:135), may shed light on that. In fact, from both the writings of the Jesuits and the participation of monks from D.W. in the Gondär synod of 1688 (GuiIohan 123; Paez in BecRASO II, 579) the place appears to be a 17th-cent. ↗*Qəbat* stronghold.

According to James ↗Bruce (BruNile vol. 4, 308), or rather his undisclosed sources, *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos had the church rebuilt after it was destroyed by the Muslim, i.e. when ↗Nūr b. Muğāhid fought against him. In the 17th cent., D.W. was frequently camped at by emperors Susənyos and Iyasu I (PerChron 53, 108, 123, 172; GuiIohan 68, 70, 106, 163). Next to the church, a square tower still shows Gondärine masonry (Anfray 1988:22).

Before being translated to Atronsä Maryam, *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər was buried first at D.W. (PerrEsk 341, 343; BassÉt 13). An illuminated Gospel book from his time is still kept there, with images of the ↗Evangelists attributed to the Venetian painter Niccolò ↗Brancaleone – like the side panels added to the famous 18th-cent. "Greek" icon (possibly of Syrian origin) called **ሥዕለ፡ ወይኑት** (*Śəʿəlä wäynut*, 'Image of Wäynut [= Purple?]'), also part of the treasury of the church (Kriss – Kriss-Ḥeinrich 1975:66; ChojPaint 385–89, 439, figs. 179f.). This icon was reportedly brought from Egypt by *aṣe* ↗Dawit II and presented to the monastery by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (Spencer 1972:83ff., ill.).

The church of D.W. – seen by the Jesuits as one of the most important in early 17th-cent. Ethiopia (BecRASO XI, 128) – still keeps a few other richly ornamented books, among them a 15th-cent. Psalter with 26 full-page miniatures (ChojPaint 186, fig. 71; Leroy 1967:52, pl. XVI; Balicka-Witakowska 1984-86, figs. 33-38) and a copy of the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* in the first Gondärine style (ChojPaint 270, fig. 111; AfrZion 97f., no. 12). A few manuscripts from D.W.'s library have been microfilmed by the UNESCO and University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign teams and deposited into the IES library (s. CrumLand 329f.)

Decorated with a series of 18th- to 20th-cent. murals unfolding a version of the history of the monastery (Annequin 1990, vol. 2, 102–05, 116–19, 124f.; Bell 2004, pl. 14[b1]), the church also preserves a 16th-cent. helmet and a contemporary mail shirt. Both associated with *abba* Śärṣä Ṗeṭros and *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob in local tradition, these items are reproduced in the Gondärine wall-paintings: the Emperor, who had captured them in battle against the Muslims, is shown presenting them to the Saint. Actually, they are likely to have belonged to a Portuguese soldier of Cristovão da ↗Gama's military expedition of 1541–43 (Bell 2004:152f., 156).

Src.: WLADIMIR DE BOCK, *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Egypte chrétienne*, St. Pétersbourg 1901, 54, fig. 65; BruNile vol. 4, 308; BassÉt 13 (text) = 103 (tr.); KinBibl 90, no. 139; PerChron 53, 108, 123, 172 (tr.), cp. 341, 355, 359 [notes]; PerrEsk 341, 343 (text) = 355, 359 (tr.); GuiIohan 68, 70, 106, 123, 163 (tr.); BecRASO II, 579; XI, 128; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Géodésie d'Éthiopie, ou triangulation d'une partie de la Haute-Éthiopie*, Paris 1873, 573f.; MARCEL COHEN, "Dabra Warq", in: *Mélanges René Basset. Études nord-africaines et orientales*, Paris 1923 (Publication de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines 10), vol. 1, 143–62; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Aethiopica", *RSO* 9, 1923, 365–81, 449–68, here 461f. [20. "Iscrizione etiopica a Deyr el-Abyaḍ"]; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gondar Dynasty*, London 1967, 52, pl. XVI; GUY ANNEQUIN, *Aux sources du Nil bleu, enluminures et peintures chrétiennes du XIe au XVIIe siècle*, Genève 1990, vol. 2, 102–05, 116–19, 124f.

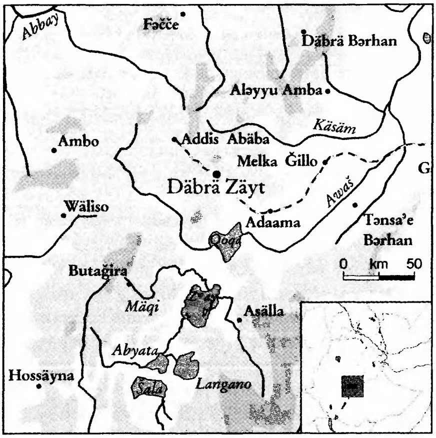
Lit.: *AfrZion* 97f., no. 12; FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Les monuments gondariens des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Une vue d'ensemble", *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 9–45, here 22; EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "Un psautier éthiopien illustré inconnu", *Orientalia Suecana* 33–35, 1984–86, 17–48, here 21f., 29ff., figs. 33–38; STEPHEN BELL, "A Military Helmet and Mail Shirt at Däbrä Wärq, Goǧǧam: Two Historic Objects of Probable Earlier Portuguese Provenance", in: MANUEL JOÃO RAMOS – ISABEL BOAVIDA (eds.), *The Indigenous and the Foreign in Christian Ethiopian Art. On Portuguese-Ethiopian Contacts in the 16th-17th Centuries*, Aldershot 2004, 152–60 (Lit.); MARIUS CHAÎNE, *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1925, 191f.; TadChurch 202f.; ChojPaint 186, 270, 387f., 439, figs. 71, 111, 179f.; CrumLand 87, 157, 329f.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Etiopia, Cipro e Armenia: la «Vita» di ʾÊwostʾâtêwos, santo abissino del secolo XIV" (I), *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 32, 1985, 73–78, here 77; (II), *Felix Ravenna* 127–28, 1984–85, 217–39, here 234f. (Lit.); RUDOLF KRISS – HUBERT KRISS-HEINRICH, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende Äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, 66f.; DIANA SPENCER, "In Search of St. Luke Ikons in Ethiopia", *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 67–95, here 83ff. (ill.); ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes sur Filpos de Dabra Bizan et ses successeurs", *AE* 11, 1978, 135–39, here 135.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Däbrä Zäyt

D.Z. (ደብረ፡ ዘይት, lit. 'Mount of Olives'; also Bišoftuu, Oromo sp. Bishoftuu) is a town located at 1,900 m A.S.L. about 48 km south-west of Addis Abäba on the main road to Adaamaa/Nazret, in the Oromiyaa *kəlləl* of the Eastern Šäwa zone. There are five crater lakes in the area of D.Z., four of them constitute a major part of the topography of the town: Bišoftuu, Hooraa Arsid, Hooraa Guuda and Kuriflu.

Generally, it is believed that the town was established in 1888, when it assumed its original name of Bišoftuu. The most important factor behind the development of D.Z. was the construction of the Addis Abäba–Djibouti ↗Railway in 1917. As the railway passed through the town, it created easy access to commercial activities and facilitated domestic and foreign trade. It also improved the communications and transportation systems, such as



motor-cars, traction-engines, bicycles, telephones and telegraphy, which resulted in the further growth of commercial activities, as well as in the gradual attraction of governmental and non-governmental institutions.

During the Italian invasion, services such as hotels, bars, restaurants etc. developed. The expansion of the town started at the end of the 1950s when the Swedes established an airbase and when veterinary laboratories were opened, which remained under French management until the Revolution. As a result, new facilities such as apartments and recreation centres, which catered largely for the military personnel posted in the town, were introduced. After the Italian war Ḫaylä Śəllase I and Crown Prince Asfa Wäsän used their farm in D.Z., which had been turned by the Italians into the Azienda Agraria di Biscioftù, as a weekend residence. Many wealthy residents of Addis Abäba have second residences in D.Z. However, the town has never been an important administrative centre.

D.Z. has grown dramatically throughout the final decades of the 20th cent. In 1970 it had a population of 27,627. By 1984 this had grown to 55,655. The 1994 Census indicated the total population of D.Z. to be 73,372. Out of this population, over 70 % spoke Amharic as their mother-tongue, while a further 20 % spoke Oromiffa. In 2004 the population was estimated to have grown to 119,393.

In spite of urban growth, traditional Oromo cults continue to thrive and attract pilgrims. D.Z. is the starting-point for the climb to the top of Mount ↗Zəqʷala, where on the 25 *Mäggabit* pilgrims take part in the pilgrimage of Saint Abbo (↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus).

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE, *Report on a Survey of Shoa Province*, Addis Ababa 1966; ID., *Survey of Major Towns in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1968; CSA 1984; CSA 1971; CSA 1998; CSA 2004; EMAtlas; MesfAtlas²; *Guida* 427; F. MAZZARINI et al., "Geology of the Debre Zeyt Area (Ethiopia)", *Acta Vulcanologica* 11, 1999, 131–41 (with map).

Lit.: ALAIN GASCON, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie. Les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanisation contemporaine", in: BENOÎT ANTHEAUME – FLORENCE PINTON (eds.), *Tropiques. Lieux et liens*, Paris 1989, 435–44; GasEth; MesfGeogr.

Mekete Belachew – Alain Gascon

Dabrimēla ↗Sāho

Däbsan ↗Däbrä San

Däbtära

The term D. (ደብተራ; from the Greek διφθέρα 'skin or leather [used as a tent]'; LesCDic 122) means 'tabernacle [Heb 9:11], sanctuary, [royal] tent, camp' and by extension and commonly refers to a group of unordained clergy. The D. are the most educated clerics and may be described as "lay ecclesiastics". They occupy an intermediate position between the clergy and the laymen. They are not ordained, but no service can be held without them.

They are choristers (sometimes called አወዳሽ, *awäddaš*, 'who glorifies, performs canonical hours', from አወደሰ, *awäddäsä*, s. KaneDic 1565), poets, dancers, scribes, painters, herbalists, wizards. Special knowledge is required for the role, but not special holiness. Recruitment is informal. There are no rites of ordination, nor is there any point at which a person becomes or ceases to be a D.

They are not set off from the populace by special insignia. Some wear turbans like the priests, but others dress like laymen (those D. who held more prestigious posts may be seen with fly-whisks or wearing a *bärnos* cloak).

Becoming a D. entails a course of study beyond that minimally required for priests. They receive some instruction in the Bible, especially the Psalter. They are trained in the study of Amharic and Gəʿəz, but their attainments in the latter are apt to vary widely. They undergo instruction in ↗*qəne*, ↗*zema* and ↗*aqʷaqʷam* and at least in theory in the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* and canon law (↗Ethiopian

Däbtära copying a manuscript page: *märigeta* Fänti Ǝndaläw; photo 2002, courtesy of Anne Parsons

Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church). In addition, knowledge is acquired of writing, preparation of magical formulae and the use of herbs. Women are excluded from the priesthood, but in rare instances they may perform the duties of D.

The D. is the subject of marked ambivalence. They are feared for their magical powers and resorting to ruses and deceitfulness, but respected for their learning. They are the masters of sophisticated poems, but also of magical spells. They are known for their skilful use of language (ቃለ፡ ደብተራ, *qalä däbtära*, lit. 'the speech/language of D.', the argot used by D., KaneDic 1786) and for interspersing their Amharic with Gəʿəz.

The D. writes amulets to keep away sickness and evil spirits. He knows formulas that can protect one from bullets, help a student in his or her studies and attract a mate. He can bring rain or plague and stop them as well. He performs divination using books, brews and interpreting leaves, and writes on paper. He is an expert on knowledge of plants and herbs that can heal. He can also perform sacrifices.

Src.: KaneDic 1565, 1786; LesCDic 122.

Lit.: LevWax 71, 171ff.; JACQUES MERCIER, *Art that Heals. The Image as Medicine in Ethiopia*, New York 1997; ID., *Asrès, le magicien éthiopien: souvenirs 1895–1985*, Paris 1988; ID., "Le magicien en apôtre pervers ou comment un lettré éthiopien (*däbtära*) légitimait sa pratique de la vaticination (*tenqwäla*)", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 485–90; ID., "Les däbtära et le vocabulaire de la magie et de la médecine", *Abbay* 7, 1976, 113–34; MAXIME RODINSON, *Magie, médecine et possession en Éthiopie (à Gondar)*, Paris – La Haye 1967, 26f.; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, "The Musician and Transmission of Religious Tradition: the Multiple Roles of the Ethiopian *Däbtära*", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, 3, 1992, 242–60; BERNARD VÉLAT, "Chantres, poètes, professeurs: Les Dabtara éthiopiens", *Les cahiers coptes* 5, 1954, 21–29; UllBibl, s. index.

Steven Kaplan

Musical performance of *däbtära*

Foremost among the esoteric knowledge acquired and transmitted by the D. is that related to musical performance. Following his mastery of reading and writing in Gəʿəz, and memorization of the ↗Psalter, the student D. begins to study sections of the liturgy as an oral tradition during the night-time hours. Following the young D.'s mastery of the central body of Ethiopian Christian liturgical music, most particularly the Hymnary (↗*Dəggʷa*), he will select a church or monastery outside his natal parish for advanced musical studies.

The most ambitious and promising D. have traditionally studied at one of the major ↗*zema bet*, the foremost being, since the 16th cent., the Betä Ləḥem monastery south of the town of ↗Däbrä Tabor. It takes at least four years to achieve a grasp of *zema* and its use in the liturgical setting, with additional time devoted to mastering the signs (↗*Mələkkət*) of the indigenous Ethiopian system of musical notation and copying the D.'s own personal copy of the *Dəggʷa*. While many D. seek employment in a church once they have completed the chant school, it is traditional for an individual to specialize in at least one area of liturgical music, such as *aqʷaqʷam*, *qəne* or ↗*mäwaśəʾt*.

By the mid-20th cent., the drive to systematize education according to Western models resulted in a movement away from the traditional education of D. in rural monasteries and the centralization of church music education in Addis Abäba at the newly founded Theological College. With the loss of church lands and tax revenues in post-revolutionary Ethiopia, increasing numbers of highly literate D. accepted outside employment in government agencies and the business sector.

Lit.: IMBAKOM KALEWELD, *Traditional Ethiopian Church Education*, tr. by MENGHESTU LEMMA, New York 1970; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY – PETER JEFFERY (eds.), *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: an Anthology*, 3 vols., Madison, WI 1993, 1994, 1997.

Kay Kaufman Shelemay

Daçe

The D. language (also Dacʾe, Dache, Dace or Gerese) belongs to the ↗Ometo sub-branch of Omotic (according to some scholars, a member of the Cushitic family corresponding to "West Cushitic", cf. Lamberti 1994). Its speakers (number unknown), usually referred to as the ↗Gäräse, live in the former province of ↗Gamo Gofa in and around the district of Gardula, in a territory delimited by other Ometo-speaking groups such as Dorze (in the north), Kačama (in the north-west), Koyra (in the west) and Zayse (in the south) and in the east by the non-Ometo Burği. Within Ometo, D. is part of the Northern branch together with ↗Wälaytta, Zala, Dawro, Konta, Malo, Gofa and Gamo, to the last of which D. seems to be particularly close. Linguistically, it represents a bridge between Gamo and Zayse (East Ometo) assuming thus a peculiar intermediate position between North and East Ometo (closer to North than to East Ometo).

As far as the structure of the language is concerned, D. is predominantly an inflectional language. It is not yet completely clear whether it is a tone language, probably it is a "tonal accent language", as Gamo and other Omotic and Cushitic languages are. D. seems in fact to present an interaction of accent and tone within the phrase, which renders the prosodic analysis of the system difficult. The usual syllable structure of D. consists of Consonant-Vowel and Consonant-Vowel-Consonant. The vowel system has the canonical five vowels (*i*, *e*, *a*, *o* and *u*), wherein vowel length is phonologically relevant; the vowel phonemes are thus altogether ten; there are also voiceless vowels, but it is dubious whether they are phonologically relevant. The consonant system consists of five points of articulation (labial, coronal, palatal, velar and glottal) and eight manners of articulation (stops, fricatives, affricates, ejectives, nasals, vibrant, lateral and glides). Consonant gemination is, as in other Ethiopian languages, phonologically relevant. Word stems are often biradical, but triradicals are also very numerous, especially if they contain a sonorant as second radical.

Morphologically, D. nouns have all three categories: two genders (masc. and fem.), two numbers (sg. and pl.) and nine cases (absolutive, subject case, genitive, dative, directive, locative, instrumental, ablative and vocative). The feminine form is unmarked, so that nouns referring to inanimate objects are thus as a rule feminine. Plural marking is characterized, as is usual in Ometo languages, by a suffix with a dental. Case marking takes place by means of morphemes suffixed to the end of the whole noun phrase (if the head noun does not have the last place in the noun phrase, it always appears in its absolutive case). Adjectives (with the exception of demonstratives) remain as a rule uninflected. The verb system exhibits a complicated inflexional system with a great richness of paradigms and forms. Verbs are exclusively inflected and derived by means of suffixes. Syntactically, D. has a basic Subject-Object-Verb structure; within the noun phrase modifiers always precede their head noun, while the definite article (*-za* 'the') is suffixed to the noun it refers to. In possessive constructions the genitive always precedes its head noun. Relative clauses as a rule precede their head noun, but they can also follow it. In verb phrases auxiliaries follow their main verb.

Verbs have four different conjugation rows: affirmative positive, affirmative negative and interrogative positive and interrogative negative. The first has three tenses (past, present, future), for the last three only two tense forms are found (past and present/future). This is an example of a verbal paradigm for the affirmative positive conjugation of the D. verb *beʾ* ('to see'):

Person	Past tense	Present	Future
1. sg.	*beʾ-a-dis*	*beʾ-ays*	*beʾ-an-dis*
2. sg.	*beʾ-a-dasa*	*beʾ-aasa*	*beʾ-an-dasa*
3. masc. sg.	*beʾ-i-des*	*beʾ-ees*^{e}	*beʾ-an-des*
3. fem. sg.	*beʾ-a-dus*	*beʾ-aws*^{u}	*beʾ-an-dus*
1. pl.	*beʾ-i-dos*	*beʾ-oos*^{o}	*beʾ-an-dos*
2. pl.	*beʾ-i-deta*	*beʾ-eet*^{a}	*beʾ-an-deta*
3. pl.	*beʾ-i-da*	*beʾ-ettes*	*beʾ-an-da*

Language samples: *bizzo* ('one'), *namʾa* ('two'), *hayttso* ('three'), *waattse* / *haattse* ('water'), *budo* / *tama* ('fire'), *ʾawa* ('sun'), *ʾagina* ('moon'), *suutts*^{i} ('blood'), *ʾintsʾare* ('tongue'), *ʾačče* ('tooth'). Personal pronouns: 1st pers. sg. *ta*(*a-n*^{i}) ('I'), 2nd pers. sg. *ne*(*e-n*^{i}) ('thou'), 3rd pers. fem. sg. *ʾizaa* ('she', inflecting stem *ʾizi-*), 3rd pers. masc. sg. *ʾizi* ('he', inflecting stem *ʾiza-*), 1st pers. pl. *nu*(*u-n*^{i}) (we), 2nd pers. pl. *hinte*(*e-n*^{i}) / *hutuni* ('you'), 3rd pers. pl. *ʾizeeta* / *ʾesuni* ('they'); polite forms: direct form *hutuni* ('You', singular and plural), indirect form *ʾesuni* ('He/They').

D. possesses several demonstrative forms which vary according to the gender, number and case of the head noun, only some of them are indicated here:

	masc.	fem.	pl.
this (subj.)	*hay/hayssi*	*hanna*	*hayti*
this (abs.)	*ha/hayssa*	*hanni*	*ha/hayta*
that (subj.)	*heessi/seekk'*	*hinna/seekk'*	*heyti/seekk'*
that (abs.)	*heessa/seekk'*	*hinno/seekk'*	*heyta/seekk'*

The copula is: *-ko* (is/are).

Src.: author's own data.
Lit.: MARCELLO LAMBERTI, "Sulla classificazione dell'Omotico", in: VERMONDO BRUGNATELLI (ed.), *Sem Cam Iafet. Atti della 7ª Giornata di Studi camito-semitici e indoeuropei, Milano 1° Giugno 1993*, Milano 1994, 99–126.

Marcello Lamberti

Dafaa Ǧammoo

Qes D.Ǧ. (Oromo: Dafaa Jammoo; b. 13 August 1913, Dafaa Ǧammoo, Western Wälläga; d. 27 February 2002, Aʾira) was the first Ethiopian Lutheran pastor, one of the founders of the Mekane Iyesus Church and a productive Oromo writer. In 1928 he was employed by German Lutherans from the ↗Hermannsburger Mission and trained as a teacher and evangelist. Confirmed as first communicant in 1935, he maintained and defended the mission station during the Italian occupation. After the return of the missionaries in 1939, D.Ǧ. was ordained as a Lutheran pastor in 1941 and became the president of a number of evangelical congregations which organized themselves as a national church in 1949 (Gimbii Board). When in 1959 the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Iyesus was constituted, the Gimbii congregations formed the main body as the new "Western Wälläga Synod". D.Ǧ. served as Synod President until 1971 and after that as Superintendent of the Aʾira District until his retirement in 1978.

D.Ǧ. wrote a considerable number of manuscripts on linguistic, cultural and religious matters, all in ↗Oromiffa. His works include poems and short stories, with which he influenced the development of modern Oromo literature. Some of them are still unpublished and circulate locally in several copies.

Src.: DAFAA ǦAMMOO, ሁርሳ (*Huursaa*, 'The Huursaa River [at Ayra]'), Addis Abäba, 14 *Gənbot* 1969 A.M. [1977 A.D.]; ID., አዳ፡ ኦሮሞ፡ ወለጋ (*Aadaa Oromoo Wallaggaa*, 'Culture of the Wallagga-Oromo'), Addis Abäba 1974; ID., ጉምቢ፡ ኦዱ (*Gumbii oduu*, 'Reservoir of Stories'), vol. 1, Addis Abäba 1975; ID., ኩሳ፡ ሰገሌ፡ ኦሮሞ (*Kuusaa sagalee Oromoo*, 'Dictionary of the Oromo Language'), Addis Abäba 1980; ID., ሰፉ፡ ብየ፡ ኬሳ (*Saffuu biya keesaa*, 'Cultural Values of the Country'), Addis Abäba 1983; ID., አመለ፡ ዋቄፈና፡ ሰበ፡ ኦሮሞ (*Amala waaqeeffannaa saba Oromoo*, 'Worship Customs of the Oromo People'), Addis Abäba 1994; ID., ጉምቢ፡ ኦዱ (*Gumbii oduu*, 'Reservoir of Stories') vol. 2, 1982; ID., ሜ፡ ወለጋን፡ ሁበና (*Me Wallaggaan hubanna*!, 'Let us Understand Wällägga!'), n.d., mimeographed; ID., ዮ፡ ያደተኒ፡ ነመ፡ ድንዜቀ (*Yo yaadatani nama dinzeeqa*, 'Think of it and Marvel!'); ID., ሴና፡ ጌርመን፡ ሄርማንስቡርግ፡ ሚሲዮን (*Seenaa German Hermannsburg missiyoon*, 'History of the German Hermannsburg Mission'); ID., ሴና፡ ቄስ፡ ደፋ፡ ጃሞ (*Seenaa Qes Dafaa Ǧammoo*, 'History of Qes Dafaa Ǧammoo').
Lit.: DIETRICH WASSMANN, *Der Durchbruch des Evangeliums im Gallaland*, Hermannsburg 1948, 42–60; ERNST BAUEROCHSE, *Zum Hirten berufen*, Hermannsburg 1959; ID. (ed.), *Ein Leben für das Evangelium, Pastor Dafaa Jammoo zum Gedenken*, Hermannsburg 2002; KUMERA GEMTESA, *Qes Daffa Djammo, the Man and his Ministry*, Addis Ababa 1990, mimeographed.

Ernst Bauerochse

Dafaa Ǧammoo on the 11th General Assembly of the Mäkanä Iyäsus Church in Addis Abäba; photo 1980, courtesy of Johannes Launhardt

Däga

D. (ደጋ) is one of the ecological zones of Ethiopia (along with ↗*wäyna däga*, ↗*qʷälla*, *bäräha* and *qur*) which lies at altitudes ranging from 2,300 m to 3,300 m A.S.L. The mean annual temperature is between 10° C and 15° C. The

Ethiopian highlands within the D. zone occupy a major part of the country that slopes downwards towards the west and south.

The country's varying climatic zones significantly affect the cultivation of crops, among other factors. In general, most of the production of cereals, grain crops and pulses is concentrated in the highland areas of the country where the climate is temperate and which enjoy D. and *wäyna däga* climates. Wheat, ↗barley and ↗*ṭef* are the dominant food crops grown in these zones. The word D. does not only designate a level of vegetation, but also a good place to live, to resist invasions and an "étage de prestige, de commandement" (cp. Gallais 1995).

↗Agriculture; ↗Climate; ↗Geography; ↗Ecological zones

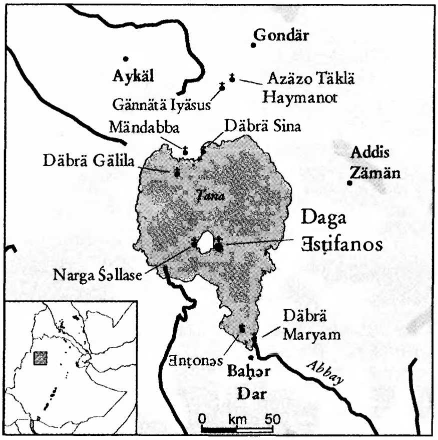
Lit.: ABEBE ZEGEYE – SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG (eds.), *Ethiopia in Change: Peasantry, Nationalism and Democracy*, London 1994; EMAtlas; GEORGI LVOVICH GALPERIN, *Ethiopia: Population, Resources, Economy*, Moscow 1981; MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (ed.), *Geography of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1981; JEAN GALLAIS, "Perception et interprétation amharique de la montagne", in: PAUL CLAVAL SINGARAVELOU (ed.), *Ethnogéographies*, Paris 1995, 93–199; MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *Suffering under God's Environment. A Vertical Study of the Predicament of Peasants in North-Central Ethiopia*, Bern 1991.

Mekete Belachew

Daga Ǝsṭifanos

D.Ǝ. (ዳጋ፡ እስጢፋኖስ, also Däbrä Daga Ǝsṭifanos) is the monastery dedicated to the proto-martyr St. Stephen. It is located on the small conic island of Daga, at the centre of Lake ↗Ṭana on the main island's eastern side, ↗Däq. Thanks to the microfilming projects on its important library (67 mss. microfilmed by Hammerschmidt and catalogued by Six [SixTana III], around 40 microfilmed by the EMML project, not yet catalogued; and, additionally, 28 mss. kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France), we can construct a broad outline of D.Ǝ.'s history and follow the hagiographic and historiographic activities of the monks (Six in MisAethKur 251f.; Bosc-Tiessé 2001:215–20).

D.Ǝ. is usually considered the first monastery on Lake Ṭana's islands. But the alleged foundation of D.Ǝ. by the saint ↗Ḫirutä Amlak, who is said to have been sent there by his spiritual father *abba* ↗Iyäsus Moʾa, appears today to be a historical reconstruction connected with the attempts of the "networks" of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos and ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa to take possession of this monastery (Bosc-Tiessé 2001:50f., 54–60; cp. SixTana 208f.; Six in MisAethKur, 250f.).



One can assume that the island was probably already inhabited by some hermits at the end of the 13th cent. or at the beginning of the 14th cent. (cp. Wajnberg 1936:32–37). But there is no other information on the monastery's history before the 15th cent. In any case, monastic life at D.Ǝ. expands during the 15th cent., as attested by royal grants, burials and artistic realizations. *Aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq gave the lands of Ləǧome and Zäǧor to the monastery as *gʷəlt*. During the reign of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, *mämhər* Yəsḥaq ordered the monk-painter ↗Fəre Ṣəyon to create an altar-panel which reflects the new theological trends of the court (Heldman 1994:24, 165–71). It certainly goes together with the set of canvas paintings meant for the walls, as shown by the extant fragments of these paintings, executed in the same style (Bosc-Tiessé 2001:40–48).

During the same century, D.Ǝ. seems to have become a burial-place for emperors, but the major part of the sources which characterize D.Ǝ. as a "royal necropolis" consists of late texts or texts written at Daga, conflicting mutually and with external documents (Bosc-Tiessé 2003). At least since the beginning of the 19th cent., the alleged royal remains were kept inside the ↗*ʿəqa bet*. However, the translation of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob's body to the island by *aṣe* ↗Naʿod, with items that the former had deposited at ↗Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad, is attested (PerrEsk 365).

Daga Ǝsṭifanos; church building; photo 2001, courtesy of the author

During the second half of the 16th cent., the monastery was still used as a mausoleum, not for the emperors themselves, but for the members of the royal family, as recorded in the local *Sənkəssar* (BN, ms. d'Abbadie 66–66bis.; Bosc-Tiessé 2001:89).

At that time, the monastery seems to have been especially prosperous. Between 1563 and 1574, *mämhər* Gäbrä Krəstos restored the church with financial support from *käntiba* Gäbrä Mikaʾel. Two canvases show that a part of the murals may have been renewed at this point (Bosc-Tiessé 2001:85–89). *Aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl asked the monastery for support in the wars against the Muslims and, in return, gave it lands on Däq as *gʷəlt*, precious items and books.

In addition, he deposited there the trophies taken from the defeated enemy (Perruchon 1896:274). The young Zädəngəl (r. 1603–04), before becoming emperor, was brought up at the monastery and was later buried there (Perruchon 1896:358, 362).

In the 17th cent., the monastery benefited much from the emperors' favours. At the end of 1646, *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, following the imprisonment of his brother Gälawdewos (BassÉt 135), who was the direct pretender to the throne, gave land in Dərdəra as *gʷəlt* shared between Daga and ↗Kəbran (Perruchon 1898:87f.). This *gʷəlt*-right was renewed by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs in 1677 (ms. Kebrān 41, fol. 3^{rb}, cp. HamTana I, 181). Also in 1646, Fasilädäs decided to rebuild the church (Perruchon 1898:87f.) and probably to renew the murals. The buildings were finished between 1651 and 1653 (Bosc-Tiessé 2001:91ff.), but the church burnt down again in 1714 (s. BN, ms. Éth. 104, fol. 63r; Bosc-Tiessé 2001:215–24, 513). At that time, Fasilädäs gave the land of Zəbəd as *gʷəlt* to the priests, whereby the ↗*märigeta* of D.Ǝ., *abba* Yaʿəqob, was granted a personal *gʷəlt* in Zəbəd or in Bäd (cp. Perruchon 1898:89; DombrChr 202). Fasilädäs's body, first buried at Azäzo, would have been exhumed later and reburied in D.Ǝ. (Perruchon 1898:92).

Aṣe ↗Iyasu I also often visited D.Ǝ. from 1684 onwards (GuiIohan 68, 110, 127, 140f.). *Mämhər* Askal, who succeeded Arku as head of the monastery in autumn 1684, was close to the Emperor. Iyasu I often stayed at Askal's, at Ləǧome, on the south-eastern shore of the lake, even though Iyasu had to intervene against him in a conflict with other monks of Daga when they begged for his arbitration in 1705 (Bosc-Tiessé 2001:201f.). When ↗Bərhan Mogäsa founded the church of ↗Narga Śəllase nearby, she endowed it some of the lands traditionally attributed to D.Ǝ., which caused recurrent conflicts (Bosc-Tiessé 2001:295–99). In this context, *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis gave D.Ǝ. the right of ↗asylum in July 1782 (BlunChr 264f.; Bosc-Tiessé 2001:306–09). Today, monastic life is still important in D.Ǝ.

Src.: JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie. Le règne de Sarsa Dengel ou Malak Sagad (1563–1597)", *RevSem* 4, 1896, 177–85, 273–78, here 274; ID., "Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie. Règnes de Yaʿqob et Za-Dengel (1597–1607)", *ibid.* 355–63, here 358, 362; ID., "Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie. Le règne de Fasiladas ou Alam Sagad (1632–1667)", *ibid.* 6, 1898, 84–92, here 87ff., 92; ISAAK WAJNBERG, *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerana 'Egzī'*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), 32–37; CRAbb; SixTana III; HamTana I, 180ff., ms. Ṭānāsee 41 [= Kebrān 41]; Paris, BN ms. d'Abbadie 66–66bis [s. ColSyn XI, XIII; GuiSyn I, II]; ZotBNat 211ff., no. 141 [Éth. 104], fol. 63r; DombrChr 202; GuiIohan 68, 110, 127, 140f.; PerrEsk 365; BlunChr 264f.

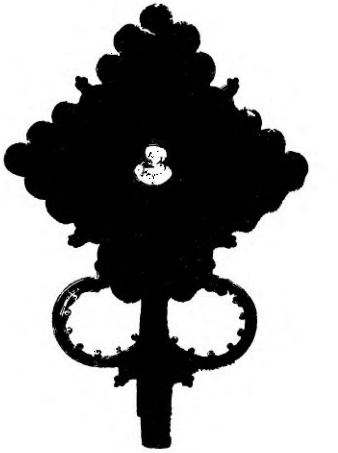
Lit.: ChTana; VERONIKA SIX, "Kurzer Abriss zur Geschichte und Bedeutung des Klosters Daga Ǝsṭifanos im Ṭanasee", in: *MiscAethKur* 241–52, here 250ff.; ID., "The 'rim' Documents of Lake Ṭana Manuscripts", in: ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANNI DORE – IRMA TADDIA (eds.), *Materiale antropologico e storico sul "rim" in Etiopia ed Eritrea*, Torino 2001, 123–39; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, *Art, église et royauté en Éthiopie aux XVIIᵉ et XVIIIᵉ siècles: écriture de l'histoire et "fabrique" des images dans les églises du lac Ṭānā*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris-I 2001, 40–48, 50f., 54–60, 85–89, 201f., 215–24, 295–99, 306–09, 513 (Lit.); ID., "Tombes et nécropoles royales: le cas de Daga", paper presented at the seminar *Death in Ethiopia* at the Centre de Recherches Africaines, Paris 2003; ID., "Notes sur l'histoire et l'art des églises du lac Tana. Rapport de mission (27 décembre 1997–28 janvier 1998)", *AE* 16, 2000, 207–70, here 263–66; MARILYN HELDMAN, *The Marian Icons of* *the Painter Frē Ṣeyon. A Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6), 24, 165–71.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé

The art of Daga Ǝsṭifanos

The monastery church of D.E. was rebuilt several times. The present, octagonal building, reconstructed after a fire in about 1880, replaces the church erected at the beginning of the 17th cent.

Two fragments of monumental painting from that time are preserved: one on the door of the ↗*mäqdäs*, portraying an archangel, and a second, framed and kept separately, representing the Virgin Mary on a crescent with the Child and two angels. Both paintings stylistically belong to the first Gondärine school. Two other fragments – a *Maiestas Domini* surrounded by seven archangels and scenes from the life and martyrdom of St. Stephen, painted on cloth which was previously glued on a wall – are attributed to ↗Fəre Ṣəyon. A painted panel signed by this artist, with the *Galaktotrophousa* guarded by Michael and Gabriel and, in the lower register, St. Stephen flanked by St. Paul and St. Peter, is kept in the church treasury. Also preserved is a triptych dated to the turn of the 15th and 16th cent., with the Holy Trinity surrounded by the symbols of the ↗Evangelists and Heavenly Priests and with Christological scenes on its wings.



Daga Ǝsṭifanos; shafted cross of Däbrä Nägʷädgʷäd; 15th cent.; photo 2001 by Roger Schneider; courtesy of the author

The monastery houses a large collection of crowns and crosses. The most precious seems to be a processional bronze cross with a cavity for relics, decorated with the figures of the Crucified Christ, the *Maiestas Domini* in high relief and open-work ornamentation with inlaid gold and glass. It was a gift of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob to the monastery of ↗Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad. Among the manuscripts there is an illuminated Gospel book dated to the end of the 15th cent. with two miniatures of the Evangelists and richly ornamented frontispiece pages.

Lit.: ChTana 136–45; JULES LEROY – STEPHEN WRIGHT – OTTO ARNOLD JÄGER, *Éthiopie. Manuscrits à peinture*, Paris 1961, 25, 27; ChojPaint 102ff., 237f., 419f.; EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "Is Näwa Bägʿu an Ethiopian Cross?", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 105–24, here 105ff.; GUY ANNEQUIN, "Le lac Tana et ses îles. Trésors méconnus d'une Thébaïde à l'abandon", *Les dossiers de l'archéologie* 8, 1975, 80–115, here 102–05; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, "Notes sur l'histoire et l'art des églises du lac Tana. Rapport de mission (27 décembre 1997–28 janvier 1998)", *AE* 16, 2000, 207–70, here 263–66.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

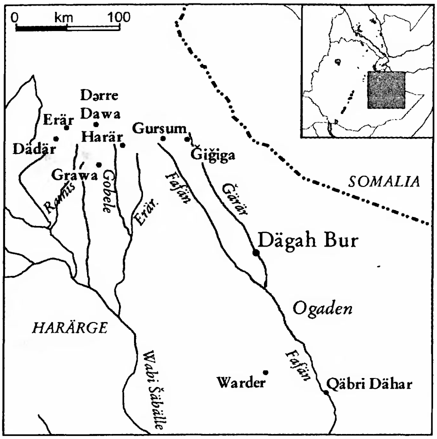
Dägah Bur

D.B. (ደጋህ፡ ቡር, Somali sp. Dhagaxbuur) is located at the elevation of 1,106 m A.S.L. on the Ǧärer river, which flows from the highlands of ↗Harär downwards into the steppes of the ↗Ogaden. The name of the town (from Somali *ḍagaḥ*, 'stone') recalls the rocky scenery of the surrounding areas. Some time after 1936, the Italians built the bridge on the Ǧiǧiga – Beled Weyn – Mogadishu route which connected the capitals of Ethiopia and Somalia. It was here that, at the beginning of the 20th cent., the troops of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel (the first Ethiopian governor of Harär) met on their advance to the south the strong resistance of the dervishes of *sayyid* ↗Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Ḥassan.

The British only gave D.B. back to Ethiopia in 1948, along with the "Reserved Areas".

In order to hold back the Somali of the Ogaden clans, the Ethiopians installed one of their strongest garrisons in the city, along with that of Gode. The area saw violent battles during the Ethiopian–Somali wars of 1964 and 1977/78. The *maquisards* of the Western Somalia Liberation Front fought against the Ethiopian army until in 1988 the treaty on boundaries was signed by the two countries.

With the disintegration of the Somali State, many refugees found a shelter in Somali *kəlləl*.



In 2000 they suffered from a grave famine that affected all the Ogaden.

Today D.B. is the capital of the zone and of the *wäräda* of the same name. The population counts to 32,617 inhabitants (2000 Census), as opposed to the 2,000 inhabitants of 1938 (Guida). To the south of the town, in Šilabo, works to exploit a natural gas pocket have recently started.

Lit.: LEE VINCENT CASSANELLI, *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People, 1600–1900*, Philadelphia 1982; ALAIN GASCON, "Ogadén/Ogaadeen", "Somalie", "Somaliland", in: YVES LACOSTE (ed.), *Dictionnaire de Géopolitique*, Paris 1995, 1148, 1410–17, 1417–18; ID., "Les Somali. Nomadisme, migrations et déplacements forcés", in: LUC CAMBRÉZY – VÉRONIQUE LASSAILLY-JACOB (eds.), *Populations réfugiées. De l'exil au retour*, Paris 2001, 77–94; *Guida*, s. index; RICHARD HOGG, "Changing Mandates in Ethiopian Ogaden. The Impact of Somali 'Refugees and Returnee' on the UNHCR", in: TIM ALLEN (ed.), *In Search of Cool Ground. War, Flight and Homecoming in Northeast Africa*, Trenton – Asmara 1996, 153–63; JULIUS HOLT, "Looking beyond the Towns. Facts and Conjectures about Rural Returnees in the Ogaden and 'Somaliland'", *ibid.*, 143–52; IAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *A Modern History of Somalia. Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, Harlow 1982.

Alain Gascon

Dägälhan

D. (ደገልሃን, also Degälḥan, Delḥan), an 16th-cent. Ethiopian aristocrat, married *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl's sister Amätä Wəṭən, and was made a governor of the frontier province of ↗Bale with the title of *ras*. His main task was to neutralize raids by the Muslims of ↗ᶜAdal.

In 1527 D. led a punitive expedition and was victorious, but when *imām* ↗Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī attacked him with his stirruped cavalry (s. ↗*Mäläsay*), D.'s troops fled. D. was probably the first Ethiopian leader who appreciated the significance of these new Muslim shock-forces and during the *imām*'s conquest of ↗Däwaro in 1531, he warned the Emperor of the inability of Ethiopian troops to withstand them. As depicted in the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist 179f.), he served Ləbnä Dəngəl loyally and defended him from the Muslims. The time and circumstances of D.'s death are obscure, but his son, Täklä Haymanot, also fought bravely against the Muslims, survived the ↗*ǧihād* and was active until the reign of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl (Kropp 1988:53, 61f.).

Src.: MANFRED KROPP, *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, Louvain 1988 (CSCO 503, SA 83), 6f., 13, 25, 53, 61f.; BassÉt I, 97; BassHist 36, 103, 155, 161, 178ff., 192, passim; BegCron 15; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Di due frammenti relativi alla storia di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 2^{a}, 8, 1893, 579–605, here 582; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Le règne de Lebna Dengel", *RevSem* 1, 1893, 274–86, here 275, 280; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Storia di Lebna Dengel, re d'Etiopia, sino alle prime lotte contro Ahmad ben Ibrahim", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 3, 1894, 617–40, here 9f., 20; DombrChr 159, 315.

Lit.: TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄKᵂƎRIYA, የግራኝ፡ አህመድ፡ ወረራ (*Yägrañ Ahmäd wärära*, 'Ahmad Grañ's War'), Addis Abäba 1966 A.M. [1973/74 A.D.], 283–87; TSTarik 3, 62; MORDECHAI ABIR, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea*, London 1980; ASA JOHNSON DAVIS, "The Sixteenth Century Jihad in Ethiopia and the Impact on its Culture", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 2, 4, 1963, 567–92, here 572; MOHAMMED HASSEN, *The Oromo of Ethiopia, 1500–1850: with Special Emphasis on the Gibe Region*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies 1983, 3.

Sevir Chernetsov

Däǧän

D. (ደጀን, older variants: *ǧädän*, *žedan*) is neither a title nor a military rank, but a temporary grade given to an officer who acted on the march as commander of the rearguard, and, by extension, of a military unit engaged in its defense. The traditional Ethiopian ↗army, formidable in its assault, was rather vulnerable on the march, especially while going through narrow mountain passes when it was returning from a successful campaign with captured slaves, cattle and booty. This weakness was well known, both to the local people eager to take revenge and to rescue their kinsmen and property, and to the soldiers themselves. Therefore, on the march the most experienced and trusted officers were usually appointed as D. They brought up the rear, helped those who weakened and those who fell behind and repelled enemy attacks. The first case of this term's use is dated to 1567, as is recorded in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl.

Src.: CRHist 40 (text); GuiVoc 688; KaneDic 1827, 1871; KWKDic 1114; PerChron I, 109.

Sevir Chernetsov

Dägano ↗Həgano

Dagəm məṣ'atu läkrəstos

D.m. (ዳግም፡ ምጽአቱ፡ ለክርስቶስ, 'the second coming of Christ') belongs to one of the "Five Pillars of Mystery" (↗*Amməstu aʿəmadä məśṭir*) in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, the Resurrection of the Dead. It is called ዳግም (*dagəm*, 'second') because the human birth of Christ is known as the first coming. The teachings of the D.m. are found in Mt 24:25 (cf. also 1 Cor 15:51f.; 1 Thes 4:16f.). The Book of ↗Enoch can be interpreted as the detailed teachings about the D.m., particularly it says that the Lord will return on a Sunday.

The Ethiopian Church accepts and teaches the fundamental dogmas in the Nicaean Creed, in which the D.m. is referred to. St. ↗Yared wrote about the D.m. in the ↗*Dəgg^{w}a*, ↗*Ṣomä dəgg^{w}a* and *Mäzmur*. The ↗*Fəkkare Iyäsus* gives prophetic warning about the D.m. The author prophetically writes about things that happen before the D.m.: a big star with a tail will be seen on the sky and there will be a battle between two kingdoms, Gog and Magog, in the north. Since the D.m. (as well as the Resurrection of the Dead and the Ascension of Christ) is mentioned in the ↗Anaphora, it is mentioned at every liturgy. The Anaphora of Jacob of Serug 88–92 reads as follows: "Because thou didst say, Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. Thou also didst say, The horn will be blown three times to awaken the dead". Church fathers such as ↗Athanasius also teach about the D.m.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church celebrates the D.m. twice a year. The first celebration takes place on the fourth Sunday of Easter Lent, which is known as the festival of the Mount of Olives (Däbrä Zäyt). In addition, if one of the extra five days placed at the end of the year and in *Ṗag^{w}əmen* happens to be a Sunday, then it is celebrated as the D.m.

↗Eschatology

Src.: AUGUST DILLMANN, *Das Buch Henoch*, Leipzig 1853; SIEGBERT UHLIG, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, Gütersloh 1984 (Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit 5, 6); KARL GUTBROD – REINHOLD KÜCKLICH – THEODOR SCHLATTER (ed.), *Calwer Bibellexikon*, Stuttgart 1979; ምሥጢረ፡ ሥላሴ (*Məśṭirä śəllase*, 'The Mystery of the Trinity'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, ፍካሬ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ወትንቢተ፡ ነቢያት (*Fəkkare Iyäsus wätənbitä näbiyat*, 'The Explanations of Jesus and the Prophecies of the Prophets'), Addis Abäba 1966 A.M. [1973/74 A.D.]; የመጽሐፍ፡ ቅዱስ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት (*Yämäṣḥaf qəddus mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Amharic Bible Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1972 A.M. [1979/80 A.D.].

Lit.: ʿAŚRAT GÄBRÄMARYAM, ትምህርተ፡ መለኮት (*Təmhərtä mäläkot*, 'The Doctrine of the Divinity'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1991 A.D.]; AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU — JOACHIM MOTOVU (ed.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 31–33; *liqä səlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋህዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነትና፡ ትምህርት (*Yä'iṭyopya ortodoks täwahədo betä krəstiyan əmnätənna təmhərt*, 'The Faith and the Teaching of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwahədo Church'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; MARCOS DAOUD, *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Cairo 1959.

Merawi Tebege

Däggafi

D. (ደጋፊ, lit. 'supporter') is a name for a servant who accompanies by foot a lady or cleric riding a horse or mule. His duty was to run beside them and see that the rider did not fall off. Usually noblemen were not assigned a D. However, after a good dinner, a careful host – after seeing his guest up to the gates himself – often ordered one or two servants to accompany the guest as D., a courtesy which sometimes was not altogether unnecessary.

Ṣäḥafe tə'əzaz Gäbrä Śəllase accompanied by two *däggafi*; early 20th cent.; courtesy of Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg

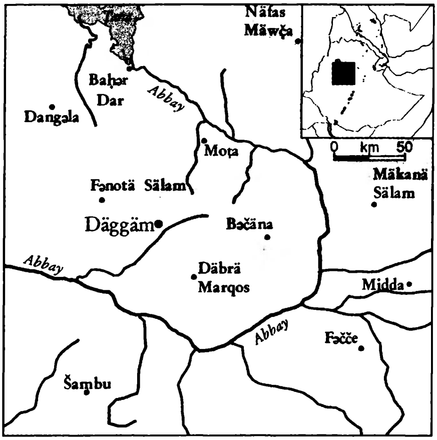
At the royal court of ↗Gondär D. was made a court title, and in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas a certain D. Wäldä Ab is mentioned (s. Guilyas 245). Nevertheless, D. was more a function than an office, which was usually carried out by any servant who was ordered to do so.

Src.: KaneDic II, 1837; Guilyas 245.

Sevir Chernetsov

Däggäm

D. (**ደገም**, also Däggämo) was a village in the vicinity of Dämbäçа in southern Goǧǧam. The locality is mentioned in passing in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos.



A military unit from the place seems to have been prominent in the early 17th cent.

Lit.: PerChron vol. 1, 257; BTafA 1016, s. index; HuntGeogr 176, 226.

Richard Pankhurst

Däǧǧazmač

D. (Amh. **ደጃዝማች**, also *däǧǧ azmač*, short form *däǧǧač*; Tgn. *däggäzmati*, short form *däggiyat*) was one of the highest military titles of traditional Ethiopia.

The prestige and rank of the bearer varied little in the course of the centuries until the title was reduced to a merely honorary one after 1941. Besides, those appointed by the provincial lords (↗*nəguś* or ↗*ras*) did not enjoy the same authority outside their jurisdiction as the imperial ones. Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl (MahZekr 642f.) ranks it second to *ras* in his undocumented protocol of ranks, but there have also been cases where a D. could eventually be more prestigious and influential (particularly if he governed a powerful region, such as ↗Bägemdər) than an ordinary *ras* (cp. the case of D. ↗Gərmame). The provinces governed by such D. were known as **የነጋሪት፡ አገር** (*yänägarit agär*, 'the country of the drum of mobilization', the ↗*nägarit* being one of the articles of honour the D. was privileged to possess) or **የደጃዝማች፡ አገር** (*yädäǧǧazmač agär*, 'the country of a D.'). These regions enjoyed a special prestige and, hence, no one less in rank than the D. was allowed to govern them.

The term is made up of two words: *däǧǧ* and ↗*azmač*. The second component, which was used independently as a title, was the most important one. It signifies both the function (e.g. military leadership) and the position (i.e. one who causes to direct) of the bearer. Between the 16th and the 19th cent., it was often combined with regional offices as *bägemdər azmač*, *goǧǧam azmač*, *mäqet azmač* etc. The sources do not agree on the origin of the first component. Some sources conjecture that it was a derivative from an Amharic term for 'rear' (↗*Däǧän*). Hence, D. would signify rear-guard commander, in contrast to ↗*fitawrari*, commander of the vanguard, *qäññazmač*, commander of the right, and *grazmač*, commander of the left wing. However, this proposition is apparently based on logic rather than on any linguistic or historical evidence. A likely explanation is from the root *d*–g, signifying outside (of the palace or the capital), 'door, threshold' (cp. Gə^{c}əz **ዴዴ**, *dede*, Amh. **ደጅ**, *däǧǧ*, Tgn. **ደገ**, *dägä*), hence 'vanguard' or 'commander of the ruler's door'.

Under normal circumstances, the military commanders (D., *ras*, *fitawrari* etc.) were separate from the court officials and their contact was regulated mainly through the office of the *ligaba* (↗*Gəbbi*). When exactly the office of D. (*däǧǧazmačənnät*) was instituted is equally unclear. Tradition alleges that D. and a few other military titles were introduced in the reign of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II. The official did, at any rate, gain prominence from the second half of the 15th cent. onward. As a replica of his imperial lord, the D. had three basic responsibilities: governor of a province, chief judge of his particular governorate and commander-in-chief of the men at arms under his jurisdiction. His court and camp were constructed in the same form as those of the sovereign and his ceremonial march was in no way different. He could appoint officers with similar titles up to a *fitawrari*. He could pass verdicts in matters of administrative, civil, criminal and, to some extent, religious cases. The death sentence was in principle reserved for the sovereign, though some high officials (including a D.) were granted a rope at the time of their appointment as a special symbol of authority to punish criminals by hanging.

Src.: DillmZarY 75, no. 1; GuiVoc 1953, 687; KWKDic 346; KaneDic I, 1617f., 1826f.; MahZekr 642f.; LesEtDic 123, 639; TSTarik 2, 144.

Bairu Tafla

Dagmawi Mənilək

In 1909 A.D. [1901 A.M.], while assistant to Francesco ↗Gallina at the Regio Istituto Orientale in Naples, ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus published a biography of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II in Amharic, entitled D.M. (**ዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ**, *Dagmawi Mənilək nəguśä nägäśt zäʾityopya*). Printed in Rome at the Casa editrice italiana, the book, with 123 pages and of small format (12 x 16.5 cm), opens with a preface by his mentor, Gallina, and an introduction in which Afäwärq praises the use of Amharic instead of Gə^{c}əz. The narration does not include the battle of ↗^{c}Adwa, but after the text the edict of 10 *Gənbot* 1901 A.M. [18 May 1909] is added. Provided with an index, the book was dedicated by the editor to Yoḥannəs, the author's first son, who had just been born. It was on this son's initiative that the work would be re-edited in June 1967.

From 1883 to 1894 Afäwärq was a confidant of *aṣe* Mənilək II and was direct witness of important political events affecting Ethio-Italian relations, before being exiled because of his Italian sympathies. It is thus as collector of memories that he told the story of the Emperor, praising his achievements, rather than – as was his claim – as biographer or historiographer, and even less as historian. The criticism against D.M. of being incomplete or inexact are hence without foundation. Equally unfounded is that the author sought the Emperor's favour, since by 1909 Mənilək no longer exercized power. Indeed, the work faced hostility since it unmasked prominent contemporary groups and individuals.

By means of its tone, its style – vivid and pictorial, but a little obscure and peculiar – and its recourse to accounts of personal witnesses, it represents an innovation in Ethiopian historical literature (↗Historiography). It constitutes one of the rare direct Ethiopian sources on the first part of the reign of Mənilək. Often quoted for this reason, it remains nonetheless an isolated work, without having exercized much direct influence over historiography.

Src.: AFÄWÄRQ GÄBRÄ IYÄSUS, **ዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ** (*Dagmawi Mənilək nəguśä nägäśt zäʾityopya*, 'Mənilək the Second, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), Rome 1901 A.M. [1909 A.D.], Asmara ^{2}1967; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Il Dāgmāwi Mìnilìk di Afawårq Gabra Iyasus," *RSE* 17, 1961, 11–44 [tr. 16–44]; ID., *ibid.*, 19, 1963, 119–49 [tr.].

Lit.: ALAIN ROUAUD, *Afä-Wärq, un intellectuel éthiopien témoin de son temps, 1868–1947*, Paris 1991, 250–57, *passim*; THOMAS LEIPER KANE, "History of Menelik II of Afeworq Gebre-Yesus – an Ethiopian Evaluation", in: *OrbAethChoj* 89–96.

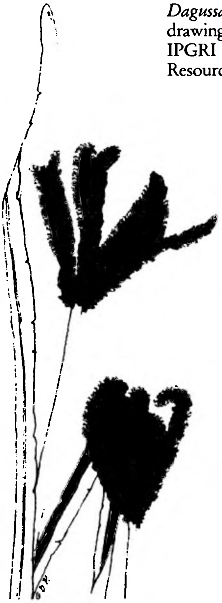
Alain Rouaud

Dagussa

D. (**ዳጉሳ** or **ዳጕሳ** *dagʷəssa*) is the Amharic name for the minor cereal crop known as the African finger millet. It is a widely cultivated cereal belonging to the grass family (*Poaceae*). Botanically, D. is known by the name *Eleusine coracana*. It is mostly significant in the highlands of Ethiopia and Uganda.

D. is probably an Ethiopian domesticate, as it features among the oldest archaeological records (its grains were found in excavations of ancient sites). As it was also rather early recorded in India, it is possible that it was taken there together with other crops (sorghum, pearl millet, cow-pea) and cotton from Africa (cf. Vavilov 1951; Harlan 1969; Hancock 1992). In modern times D.'s importance has declined while other indigenous and introduced cereals have gained popularity (↗Plants, cultivated). The crop is still cultivated in many locales as a companion crop for minor uses.

Botanical and agronomic descriptions for the crop are available in many books and taxonomic accounts. In the wild, the species is encountered as an escape on roadsides. It is tolerant to drought and dependable under poor conditions. The plant is an annual that grows up to a height of about 0.5–1 m and has the appearance of a tall tufted grass. The head is branched into 5–7 spikes (fingers), usually 5–10 cm long, with



Dagussa plant (*Eleusine coracana*); drawing 1985, courtesy of the IPGRI (International Plant Genetic Resources Institute), Rome, Italy

numerous spikelets, which appear like fingers emerging from the hand. The dull red grains are rich in carbohydrates as well as calcium and iron and are known to store very well. ↗Bread, porridge and gruel can be made of D. flour alone, or in admixture with other cereals. The grains are used also in the making of various traditional beverages, including the famous *ṭälla* and *aräqi / katikala* (↗Drinks).

At present, D. is grown mainly in the northwestern parts of the country in the *q^{w}älla* and *wäyna däga* ecological zones (↗Climate) at altitudes ranging from 1,000–2,000 m A.S.L. The crop is said to show less diversity as compared with other indigenous cereals.

Lit.: JAMES F. HANCOCK, *Plant Evolution and the Origin of Crop Species*, Englewood Cliffs 1992, 305; JACK RODNEY HARLAN, "Ethiopia: A Centre of Diversity", *Economic Botany* 23, 1969, 309–14; ID., *Crops and Man*, Madison 1975, ^{2}1992; ALBERT FREDERICK HILL, *Economic Botany; a Textbook of Useful Plants and Plant Products*, New York – London 1937, ^{2}1952; JOHN WILLIAM PURSEGLOVE, *Tropical Crops: Monocotyledons*, London 1972, 607; IRVIN ELDIE SIEGENTHALER, *Useful Plants of Ethiopia*, Alemayya 1962/63 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.], 31; INGA HEDBERG – SUE EDWARDS (eds.), *Flora of Ethiopia and Eritrea*, vol. 7: *Poaceae (Gramineae)*, Addis Ababa – Uppsala 1995; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Médecine et plantes d'Éthiopie*, vol. 2, Napoli 1973; NIKOLAI I. VAVILOV, *The Origin, Variation, Immunity and Breeding of Cultivated Plants* ..., tr. by K. STARR CHESTER, Waltham, MA 1951 (Chronica Botannica 13).

Zemede Asfaw

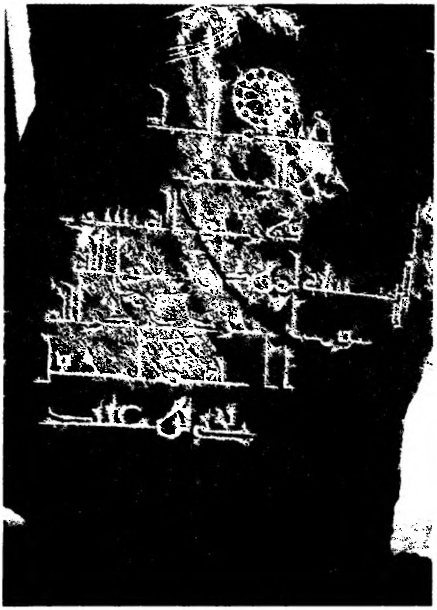
Dahlak islands

History of the Dahlak islands until 1945

The D. (دهلك) islands are an archipelago of ca. 125 flat islands, islets, rocks and coral reefs with deeply indented coasts in the Red Sea off the port of ↗Massawa, extending ca. 350 km. Their centre lies at about 40°10' E, 15°45' N. The most important islands are Dahlak (al-)Kabīr, Nokra (with the seat of administration), Nūra, Dohol, Raka (Baka), Daraka and Hāwāṭib.

So far the etymology of the name remains obscure (cf. Basset 1893:85–88). Al-Hamdānī (d. 945, ed. 1884–91), al-Ǧawālīqī (d. 1114; ed. 1942:66) and Yāqūt (d. 1229; ed. 1924, vol. 2, 634) read *dahlak*, while the latter also gives *dahlik*. According to Yāqūt (ed. 1924, vol. 3, 34; see also Ibn ad-Dayba^{c} 1971:185, n. 4), followed by al-Ǧawālīqī, *dahlak* is a foreign word which became Arabicized. Al-Akwa^{c} (1990:93, n. 1) remarks that in his *Mu^{c}ǧam mā ista^{c}ǧama*, al-Bakrī (d. 1094) gives *dalhak* – with metathesis of *h* and *l* – while in Piamenta (1990:159) the word *dahlak* is said to mean 'big merchant'. The broken plural *dahālik* also occurs as a place name (al-Hamdānī 1884–91, s. index; cp. Wright 1859:226 c–d). In the *dīwān* of the poet Kuṯayyir ^{c}Azza, *al-dahālik* evidently indicates the D. islands. The Ethiopian sources give *daḫlak* (ዳኅላክ, DillmLex 1422), *dahlaka*, *dalĕk*, *dālĕk^{h}* (Ricci 1954:116, n. 41) and *dälk*, *dahluk* (Acts of ↗Filəp̣p̣os of Däbrä Bizan, Conti Rossini 1900:106). Finally, the Arabic stelae read *dahlakā/dāhlakā/ad-dahlakāy*, but never a form derived from *dahlīk*.

In Pharaonic times, the D. may have been known as "the islands of the inhabitants of Uten" (CRStor 48) and in classical times the islands were called Elaía (Ptolemy, Artemidoros, Strabo) and Aliaeu (Pliny the Elder), both perhaps names of a tribe in the region of ^{c}Asīr in Western Arabia, between the Ḥiǧāz and Yemen. The ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* speaks also of Alalaios, a group of small islands off the port of ↗Adulis, which produced tortoise-shells. The Greek/Latin names are not found in the Arabic sources. Schneider (1983,



Ancient Muslim gravestone with *kūfī* inscriptions, from the Dahlak islands; from Schneider 1983, pl. II

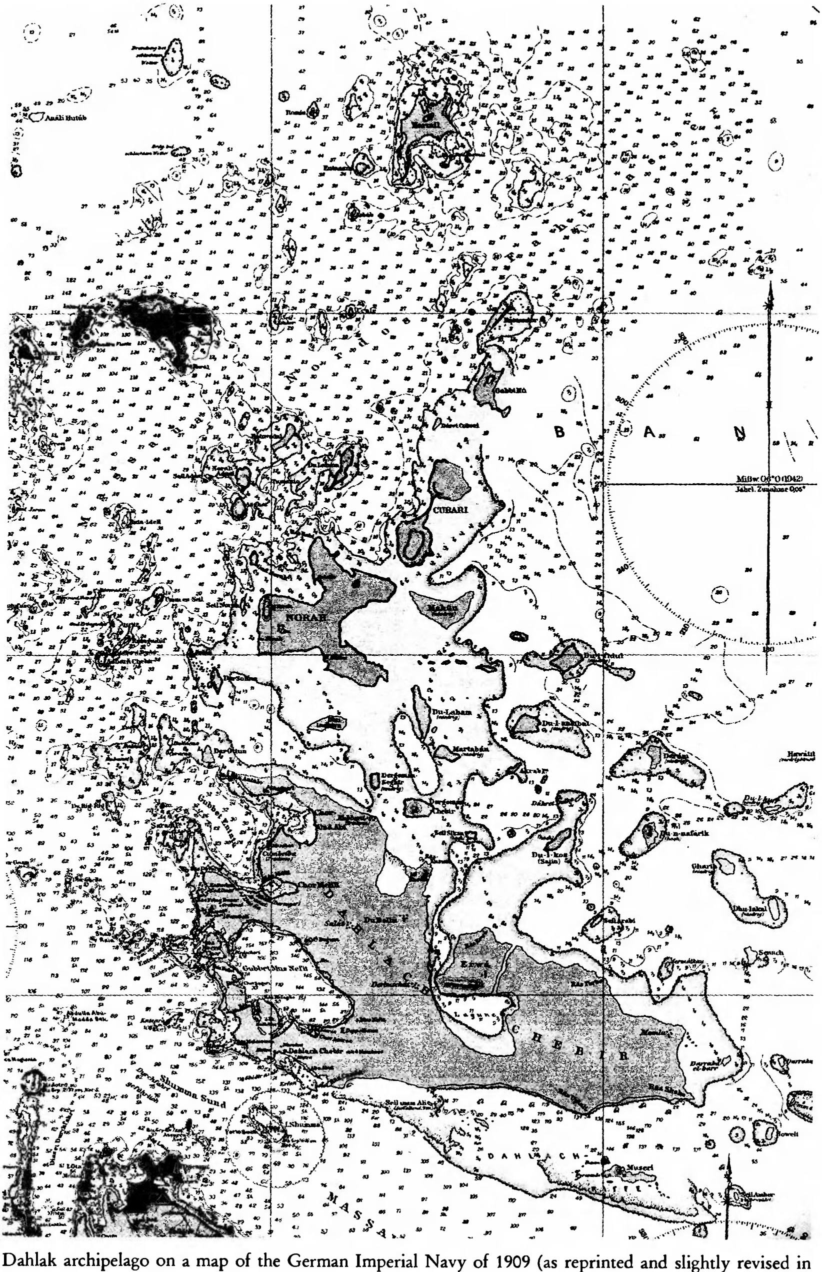
vol. 1, 9–15) gives a list of Arab and European authors who mention or describe the islands.

Rainfall and vegetation on the islands are scanty and living conditions harsh. There are natural and carved-out cisterns, the latter attributed to the Furs, or Persians (CRStor 295).

Relations between Abyssinia and the D. islands are attested between the 4th and 7th cent. A.D. After Abyssinian pirates had sacked Jedda in 702 (Wüstenfeld 1857–61, vol. 2, 44), the D. islands were occupied by the Muslims. They thus became a bridge-head of ↗Islam in North-East Africa. The Umayyad Caliph ᶜAbdalmalik b. Marwān (r. 685–705) used the islands as a prison (*ḥabs,* Ibn al-Muǧāwir 1951-54:110). Under Caliph ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbdulᶜazīz (ᶜUmar II, r. 717–20), Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, governor of Ḫurāsān, was in 717–18 sentenced to be exiled in D., but was then permitted to remain in the prison of Aleppo (Basset 1893:18). The poet ᶜAbdallāh al-Aḥwaṣ al-Anṣārī (655–728) was an exile in D. four or five years for having written satirical verses against Caliph Sulaymān b. ᶜAbdalmalik (r. 715–17). Caliph Yazīd II b. ᶜAbdalmalik (r. 720–24) permitted him to leave what he called 'the land of thorns' (*arḍ aš-šawk*). The same caliph sent the religious scholar (*faqīh*) ᶜArrāk b. Malik into exile in D. This fate also fell on the sons of ᶜAbdalǧabbār b. ᶜAbdarraḥmān, the governor of Ḫurāsān, who had been put to death in 759/60 by the ᶜAbbāsid Caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 754–75). Exiles to D. are also mentioned by Ṭabarī (1879–1901, vol. 2, 1777). Hārūn ar-Rašīd (r. 786–809) is said to have asked the famous Muslim jurist Mālik b. Anas (715–95) whether he should attack the people of D. (al-Maqrīzī 1959, vol. 2, 202). This perhaps is to be put in relation with the revolt in Yemen against ar-Rašīd's governor Ḥammād al-Barbarī. The islanders may have taken advantage of that rebellion in order to liberate themselves from Yemenite tutelage.

In the 9th cent., the D. islands, along with the settlements on the African coast, were under the Christian ruler of Abyssinia (cf. al-Yaᶜqūbī 1892:319; 1937:159). Around 900 the king of ↗Aksum concluded a treaty of friendship with Ibrāhīm b. Ziyād (d. 902), the Ziyādid ruler of Zabīd in Yemen. The historian ᶜUmāra al-Yamanī (d. 1174) relates that the Ziyādid Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, Abū l-Ǧayš (r. 911–81) entertained good relations with the Abyssinian king and with the ruler of the D. islands, from whom he received black slaves, ambergris, leopard-skins and other objects (Kay 1892; cp. Ibn Ḥawqal 1964:122f.). Isḥāq even extended his rule over the islands, on which he imposed a tribute, consisting, among other items, of 500 Abyssinian and 500 Nubian female slaves. ᶜUmāra also seems to allude to pearl-fishing near the islands (s. Kay 1892; Derenbourg 1897–1904). Never a real political power of their own, the islands served as a transit station for goods travelling from Abyssinia to Yemen and profited from the thriving trade, which consisted mainly of Abyssinian slaves, who were highly valued in the Muslim world (cf. CRStor 297).

The necropolis of D. contains 260 + 7 stelae (Schneider 1983, vol. 1, 431), of which 56 undated and 33 dated stelae represent the period between 864 and 1010. They reflect Ismāᶜīlī influence, which was spreading in South Arabia at this time. In general, the names of the deceased refer to various tribes in Arabia, or to Mecca, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Byzantium, thus showing that D. was an international trading


Anali Hutub
NORAH
CUBARI
Dahlak Chebir
Shumma Sund
L a g u n e
C H E B I R
D A H L A C H
M A S S A
B A N
Du-Laham
Martabân
Museri
Howeit
Mißw. 06°0 (1942)
Jährl. Zunahme 0,05°

Dahlak archipelago on a map of the German Imperial Navy of 1909 (as reprinted and slightly revised in 1943); collection of Alberto Valle post between Egypt and India. Stele no. 85, dated 980 A.D., is that of the daughter of Ḥafṣ b. ᶜUmar al-Yamanī, who died in ↗Əndärta in 1001.

In the 11th cent. D. played a role in the fighting between the ↗Naǧāḥids, a dynasty of Abyssinian slaves who ruled in Yemen from Zabīd (1022–1158), and the Ṣulayḥids, who ruled in Yemen from Sanᶜaᵓ (1047–1138). Like the Ziyādids (818–1018) before them, the Naǧāḥids imported soldier-slaves from Abyssinia. In 1061 Naǧāḥ, the founder of the Naǧāḥids, was killed. His sons, driven out from Zabīd by the Ismaᶜīlī Ṣulayḥid ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad (r. 1047–81), fled to the D. islands, which became the base of Naǧāḥid power. In 1081 Saᶜīd b. Naǧāḥ attacked Zabīd. According to ᶜUmāra (Kay 1892:83, 112), ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad counter-attacked Saᶜīd with 5,000 Abyssinian lancers, but according to Basset (1893:20), they fought for Saᶜīd. ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad was killed and Saᶜīd entered Zabīd. Through a local chief, ᶜAlī's grand-son ᶜAlī b. Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī (r. 1075 or 1086 to ca. 1091, cf. Bosworth 1996:102) had persuaded Saᶜīd to attack him. Saᶜīd is said to have launched an attack with 20,000 Abyssinian foot-soldiers, but they were dispersed and Saᶜīd again fled to D. In 1086 he re-established Naǧāḥid rule in Zabīd. He was killed in 1089 and succeeded by his brother Ǧayyāš b. Naǧāḥ.

Around 1075, D. again became a place of refuge, this time for the Egyptian ᶜAbdūn, who had deceitfully tried to become metropolitan bishop of Abyssinia. When the rightful metropolitan arrived, ᶜAbdūn fled to D., where he was imprisoned by the Muslim ruler. His possessions were confiscated and he himself sent to Cairo, where he was condemned and executed, probably in 1086 (Renaudot 1713:453; cp. TadTChurch 47, n. 3).

Inscriptions on tombstones (Schneider 1983, vol. 1) show that the islands, during the 12th and 13th cent., were important for the transit trade between Egypt and India. Among the deceased of this period are individuals who originated not only from Arabia, Syria and Iraq, but also from present-day Georgia, the south-west coast of the Caspian Sea, Marrakesh, Sousse and Valencia. They probably were artisans and merchants in transit, who had to pay levy-tax on D. The commercial activities of a certain Joseph Lebdi, who travelled between Cairo and India and called several times at D., are documented for 1097–98 (s. Goitein quoted by Schneider 1983, vol. 1, 34, n. 138).

Between (before 1093 or) ca. 1140–1249 the islands were ruled by a line of *sulṭān*s. In this period the title *sulṭān* was still limited to holders of real political and military power. Ṭuġril *beg* (r. 1038–63), founder of the Great Seljuk Sultanate in Iraq and Persia, was the first to receive this title from the ᶜAbbāsid caliph. Outside the islands, the rulers of D. were indicated as *ṣāḥib/malik* or *mutamallik* (*ǧazāᵓir*) *dahlak* (al-Qalqašandī, quoted by Schneider 1983, vol. 1, 37, n. 147). The titles of the D. rulers show resemblance to those used by Nūraddīn Maḥmūd b. Zanǧī of Aleppo (1147–74; cf. Wiet 1951–52:92): "defender of Islam, defender of the marches of Islam, glory of Islam and the Muslims, beauty of the sultans, standard of the champions of the faith, revivifier of justice in the worlds". These titles have a Sunnī character. In 1125–26 the *amīr* al-Muwaffaq, commander of the military slaves in Egypt, came with one hundred men to D. in order to arrest Ibn Naǧīb.

The first stele on which the title *sulṭān* is found dates from 1093 (s. below 1.). The epitaph reads: "*al-sulṭān al-mubārak*, client [*mawlā*] of ᶜAlī b. Aḥmad, died in 1093". Schneider (1983, vol. 1, 369; cf. Schneider 1983:167f.) translates: "Le sultan al-Mubarak". But Wiet (1951–52:90) has already remarked that *al-mubārak* may also be interpreted as an adjective, meaning "the blessed". In that case it is not sure that this *sulṭān* belonged to the Banū Sadād. On the other hand, as Wiet remarks (1951–52:91), the relative *al-mubārakī* (s. below no. 5) may be an indication that this *sulṭān* did belong to the line of *sulṭāns* of D. between (some date before 1093 or) 1147 and 1249 (s. below nos. 1–9; Schneider 1983, vol. 2, "Tableaux généalogiques", no. 13). In epitaphs of other *sulṭān*s, such as that of *sulṭān* Bahāᵓaddīn Abū l-Faḍl al-Mālik (s. below no. 4, stele no. 225), it is said: "this is the tomb of ... *sulṭān* Bahāᵓaddīn" etc. In 1119–20 the *daᶜī*, or *Šīᶜī* propagandist, Ibn Ḥāǧib ad-Dawla, met in D. with the *dāᶜī* Muḥammad b. Abī l-ᶜArab of Aden (Kay 1992:57).

The genealogical table is not complete. Most of the *sulṭān*s do not have their own stelae, their names are mostly found in the epitaphs of other people.

1. Sulṭān al-Mubārak or "the blessed sultan", d. 1093.
2. Abū s-Sadād al-Muwaffaq (I) b. Yaḥyā b. Abī s-Sadad al-Muwaffaq al-Mubārakī, Nāṣiraddīn. His name is found on stele no. 226 in the epitaph of his daughter Zaynalmulk. According to Wiet (1951–52:91), he died in 542 H. [1147/48 A.D.].
3. Yaḥyā (I) b. Abī s-Sadād al-Muwaffaq. He is mentioned on stele no. 223 in the epitaph of his client Umm ᶜAbdallāh. According to Wiet (1951–52:91), he died in 563 H. [1167 A.D.].
4. Abū l-Faḍl al-Mālik b. Yaḥyā b. Abī s-Sadād al-Muwaffaq, Bahaʾaddīn. He died in 567 H. [1172 A.D.] (stele no. 225).
5. Abū s-Sadād (II) al-Muwaffaq b. Yaḥyā b. Abī s-Sadād al-Muwaffaq al-Mubārakī. He is mentioned on stele no. 219 in the epitaph of his client Umm Yūsuf Fātiḥa (who died in 1133) and on stele no. 224 in the epitaph of his daughter Sitt al-Mulk (who died in 1171). According to Wiet (1951–52:91), he died in 1193.
6. ? b. Yaḥyā (II) b. al-Malik b. Yaḥyā b. Abī s-Sadād al-Muwaffaq. On the fractured stele no. 233 the date of death is illegible. Schneider (1983, vol. 1, 399) remarks that this may also be the tomb of a parent or of a client of the sultan.
7. Abū ᶜAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Mālik b. Abī s-Sadād; d. 1230 (stele no. 242).
8. Fāḍil b. Sulaymān b. Abī s-Sadād b. Yaḥyā b. Abī s-Sadād al-Muwaffaq. He is mentioned on stele no. 246 in the epitaph of his daughter (?) Qamula (?), who died in 1240.
9. Abū s-Sadād (III), mentioned by Schneider's "Tableaux généalogiques", no. 13, as descendant of Abū s-Sadād II. According to Wiet (1951–52:91), his full name is Abū s-Sadād b. Abī s-Sadād al-Muwaffaq b. Yaḥyā al-Muwaffaq. He died in 647 H. [1249 A.D.].

The Egyptian poet Ibn Qalāqis (d. 1172; cp. EI^2, "Ibn Ḳalāḳis"), who had suffered shipwreck in the Red Sea and sought shelter on D., was badly received by Mālik b. Sadād (above no. 4), whom he calls "Mālik, guardian of Hell" (i.e. D.), with a play of words on Mālik, according to tradition the guardian of Hell (s. al-Buḫārī 1903, vol. 1, 449; Ibn al-Daybaᶜ 1971:185 n. 4). The Sunnī character of the titles given above may refer to the fact that the *sulṭāns* were looking for investiture from Nūraddīn of Aleppo, at a time when the power of the *Šīᶜī* Fāṭimids, probably their overlords, was in decline (Wiet 1951–52:91). During the reign of the Ayyūbid Tūrān ŠāhI b. Ayyūb over the Yemen (1174–81), D. was independent from both Abyssinia and the Yemen. But such periods of independence, which may have reached out to coastal settlements on the African mainland, including ↗Massawa, were short-lived. The islands intermittently fell under Abyssinian or Fāṭimid, later Yemenite, suzerainty.

In 1171 A.D. the Spanish Jewish traveller ↗Benjamin of Tudela travelled from ᶜAyḏāb to Aswān. D. and some settlements on the African coast, he writes, were ruled by Muslims.

Of the 12th cent., only a few stelae are known. This may be an indication that commercial activities had diminished. Stele no. 239 contains the epitaph of Rizqallāh b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Ḥabašī al-Qirwāšī (d. 1214), a Muslim of Abyssinia, called *nāḫuḏā*, the Persian word for ship-owner or "manager" in charge of passengers and goods (Goitein quoted by Schneider 1983, vol. 1, 408).

In 1265–66 the Mamlūk *sulṭān* ↗Barsbāy wanted to interfere in Red Sea trade, but the islanders managed to continue their lucrative activities. Ibn Saᶜīd al-Maġribī (d. 1286; s. EI^2) relates that the ruler of the islands was an Abyssinian Muslim who tried to defend his independence against the rulers of the Yemen. The Abyssinians called the *sulṭān* of D. *šumä baḥər* 'prefect of the sea', to distinguish him from the ↗*baḥər nägaš*, a high-ranking Abyssinian official. The ruler of D. had a *nāʾib*, or deputy, in Massawa, the port which still in the 16th cent. was linked to the D. islands (de Barros 1777, vol. 8, ch. 1).

There are no stelae of the 14th cent. Abū l-Fidāʾ (d. 1331) relates that the ruler of D. was "managed" by an Abyssinian Muslim. In 1385 the ruler of D. sent an elephant, a giraffe, an ostrich and other wild animals as presents to Yemen, and in 1392–93 to Egypt, together with male and female slaves, who probably came from Abyssinia.

In the 15th cent. *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob tried to establish Abyssinian influence over the lowlands along the Red Sea. This led in 1464–65 to the pillage of Massawa and of the D. archipelago, during which the local *qāḍī* was killed (s. KolTrad).

In 1513 d'Albuquerque, the Portuguese governor of India, sent captain João ↗Gomes from Qamarān island (cp. EI^2, "Ḳamarān") to D. and Massawa in order to reconnoitre. The *šayḫ* of D., probably *sulṭān* Aḥmad's father Ismāᶜīl, who was a vassal of the *sulṭān* of Aden, said that there were no merchants on the islands, only fighters. In 1517 Lopo Soares de Alvergaria, then governor of India, sent João de Silveira to take possession of Massawa and D. Even though Aḥmad b. Ismāᶜīl submitted to him and made a great show of friendship, de Silveira preferred to stay at "Darua", near ↗Ḥərgigo, on the mainland. Five Portuguese, who had been assured they would be safe, were ambushed on D. (al-Kabīr) and killed, probably by Aḥmad b. Ismāᶜīl, who was described by the Armenian ↗Mateus as a man to be mistrusted. In 1520 Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, successor of Lopo Soares, left Goa on a punitive expedition against D. On board were the Armenian Mateus and the ambassador Rodrigo da ↗Lima. Massawa was occupied, while on D. houses and huts were destroyed. In 1526 *sulṭān* Aḥmad submitted to Hector de Silveira and committed himself to pay 3,000 *parados* annually. Some time later he joined ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī and received Ḏuḫunu/Dahono [Ḥərgigo] as appanage (Schneider 1983a, vol. 1, 45ff.). On stele no. 255, Aḥmad b. Ismāᶜīl, the last ruler on Schneider's list, is called "fighter for the faith" (*muǧāhid*), warrior on the frontier (*murābiṭ*), the *sulṭān* of Islam in the march of the well-protected D. (*sulṭān al-islām bi-ṯaġr Dahlak al-maḥrūs*). He died on 16 *Šawwāl* 946 H. [24 February 1540 A.D.] i.e. before the Portuguese attack against D. of 1541 and the battle of Sälf (in the region of Särd) in the same year between *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos and *gärad* Ǝsman (BassEt I, 332f.). Aḥmad b. Ismāᶜīl's successor was appointed governor of Ḥərgigo, but this led to a second Portuguese attack in 1541, in which D. was destroyed and a mass evacuation of the islanders took place. When Estevão da ↗Gama arrived in Massawa in 1541, the local ruler, a Muslim, also ruled D.

With Ḫadim Süleyman *paša*'s naval expedition of 1538 against Gujarat began the rarely asserted Ottoman suzerainty over the D. islands.

In the second half of the 19th cent., the islands temporarily came under Egypt, but they remained a backwater. In 1889 the Italians occupied Eritrea and established a vice-residency on the island of Nokra. The census of 1931 gave a total of 2,275 inhabitants, composed of 1,475 Təgre, 475 Arabs and 325 ᶜAfar. After the end of the Italo-Ethiopian war in 1941, the D. islands came under British care-taker rule until 1952, when Ethiopian sovereignty was established.

Src.: ᶜABŪ L-FARAĞ AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ, *Kitāb al-Aġānī*, Cairo 1931, 4, 248ff.; ABŪ L-QĀSIM MUḤAMMAD B. ḤAWQAL, *Configuration de la terre*, tr. by JOHANNES HENDRIK KRAMERS – GASTON WIET, vol. 1, Paris 1964, 24, 122f.; AḤMAD B. ABĪ YAᶜQŪB AL-YAᶜQŪBĪ, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. by MICHAEL JAN DE GOEJE, Leiden 1892 (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 7), 319; AḤMAD B. ᶜALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Kitāb al-ḫiṭaṭ al-maqrīzīya*, Cairo 1959, vol. 2, 202; AL-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD AL-ḤAMDĀNĪ, *Geographie der arabischen Halbinsel* (*Ṣifat Ǧazirat al-ʿArab*) [*von*] *al-Hamdânî* ..., ed., tr. by DAVID HEINRICH MÜLLER, Leiden 1884–91; JOÃO DE BARROS, *Da Asia*, Lisboa 1777, vols. 2, 8; MADELEINE SCHNEIDER, *Stèles funéraires musulmanes des îles Dahlak* (*Mer Rouge*) ..., 2 vols., Le Caire 1983a (Textes Arabes et Études Islamiques, 19/1, 3); ID., "Notes d'epigraphie arabe Nord-Yemenite", *JA* 271, 3–4, 1983b, 227–61; BassÉt I, 332f.; HARTWIG DERENBOURG, *ʿOumâra du Yemen: sa vie et son oevre*, 2 vols., Paris 1897, 1904; IBN AD-DAYBAᶜ, *Qurrat al-ʿuyūn bi-aḫbār al-yaman al-maymūn*, ed. MUḤAMMAD B. ᶜALĪ AL-AKWAᶜ, n.p. ^{2}1988; IBN AL-MUĞĀWIR, *Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis*, ed. by OSKAR LÖFGREN, vol. 1, Leiden 1951, 110; HENRY CASSELS KAY (ed., tr.), *Yaman. Kitāb ta'rīḫ al-Yaman*, London 1892, 57, 83, 112; KolTrad A 25, A 32 n. 5; MaqIlmam; MAWHŪB B. AḤMAD AL-ĞAWĀLĪQĪ, *Al-muʿarrab min al-kalām al-aʿǧamī*, ed. by AḤMAD MUḤAMMAD ŠĀKIR, n.p. 1942, 83, 112; MOSHE PIAMENTA, *A Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*, vol. 1, Leiden 1990, 159; MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀᶜĪL AL-BUḪĀRĪ, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-adab al-mufrad. Les traditions islamiques traduites de l'arabe*, ed., tr. by OCTAVE VICTOR HOUDAS – WILLIAM MARÇAIS, 4 vols., Paris 1903–14 (Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, 4 ser., vols. 3–4), vol. 1, 449; GIOVANNI OMAN, *La necropoli islamica di Dahlak Kebir* (*Mar Rosso*), Napoli 1987; JOSEPH TOUSSAINT REINAUD – WILLIAM MCGUCKIN DE SLANE (ed., tr.), *Géographie d'Aboulfeda*, Paris 1848, ii, 1, 126, 371; EUSÈBE RENAUDOT, *Historia patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum a D. Marco usque ad finem saeculi XIII*..., Paris 1713 [repr. Brussels 1969], 453; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Le Vite di Ĕnbāqom e di Yoḥannĕs abbati di Dabra Libānos di Scioa", *RSE* 13, 1954, 91–120; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il *Gadla Filpos* ed il *Gadla Yohannes* di Dabra Bizan", *MRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 8, 1900 [1901], 62–170; UmMasGaud 30f.; WILLIAM WRIGHT, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, ..., vol. 1, London – Edinburgh 1859, 226 c–d; YĀQŪT B. ABDALLĀH AL-ḤAMAWĪ, *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch* ... (*Kitāb muʿǧam al-buldān*), ed., tr. by FERDINAND WÜSTENFELD, 6 vols., Leipzig 1866–73 [repr. 1924], vol. 2, 44, 634, vol. 3, 34.

Lit.: GEORGE ANNESLEY, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt in the Years 1802–1806*, vol. 2, London 1811, 28–40; RENÉ BASSET, "Les inscriptions de l'île de Dahlak", *JA* sér. 9, vol. 1, 1893, 77–111; CLIFFORD EDMUND BOSWORTH, *The New Islamic Dynasties: a Chronological and Genealogical Manual*, New York 1996, 102; JOHN CROWFOOT, "Some Red Sea Ports", *Geographical Journal* 37, 1911, 547–48; CRStor 45, 48, 211–14, 295, 297; DillmLex 1422; SHLOMO D. GOITEIN, "From the Mediterranean to India: Documents on the Trade to India, South Arabia and East Africa from the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", *Speculum* 29, 1954, 181–97; TadTChurch 47, n. 3; GASTON WIET, "Roitelets de Dahlak", *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 34, 1951–52, 90–95; FERDINAND WÜSTENFELD, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, 4 vols., Leipzig 1857–61, vol. 2, 44.

Emeri van Donzel – Ronald E. Kon

Dahlak ethnography

Today, out of the entire D. archipelago, four islands are inhabited, with a total population of ca. 2,500, most of them officially recorded as ↗Tәgre (the original inhabitants calling themselves Dahālík), specialized in fishing and fish trade. Most of the inhabitants, ca. 1,500, live on D. al-Kabīr, a former *Därg* military base. Traditional pearl fishery is still practised on that island, until the early 20th cent. mostly traded by the ↗Banyan. Also other goods were traded by them, like shark skins and fins for the China market, tortoise-shell, cowrie shells and mother-of-pearl (cp. Pankhurst 1979).

Haka na Dahālík ('Language of the people of D.', s. below), mainly spoken on D. al-Kabīr, is influenced in its vocabulary by Arabic and ᶜAfar, which points to the political and migration history of the archipelago (e.g., Egyptian Mamluks fled to D. in the 16th cent, but also Arabs from the Arabian Peninsula and several Persians settled on D., s. Dapper 1652:663).

All men are at least bilingual (ᶜAfar, Arabic). Both continental Tәgre speakers and the Dahālík themselves traditionally style this language as a mixture of Tәgre, Arabic and ᶜAfar. Modern research shows, however, that the situation is more complex. In 2000 it has been reported that pure monolinguals do not understand continental Tәgre (Simeone-Senelle 2000:169). Munzinger in 1853 similarly noted that the language spoken on D. could hardly be understood by Tәgre in Massawa (Munzinger 1856:298). The lingua franca was then Yemenite Arabic. Interestingly, already the 17th cent. Dutch geographer Olfert Dapper, whose reports on "Abyßina" and surrounding areas are of considerable value, notes that the language of D. differs "to some degree" from the language spoken at the coast (Dapper 1652:663).

Apart from fishing, the population of D. also lives of salt trade. Large deposits of salt were discovered before World War II and again in the 1960s during drillings for oil. Oil-bearing layers had already been identified by 1917; exploratory drillings of 1935–40, especially in the surroundings of the village of Darbuset, eastern D. al-Kabīr, were stopped by the war.

The D. islands were declared a national park due to the considerable variety of the sea fauna and flora, which makes diving attractive. After 1993, the construction of a tourism resort started, but has been stopped after the deterioration of the relations with Yemen in 1995; tourism has been developed only on a small scale. Modern migration from the continent to D. remained relatively small, continental Tәgre and ᶜAfar being the most important migrant groups.

Lit.: OLFERT DAPPER, *Umbständliche und Eigentliche Beschreibung von Africa, Und denen darzu gehörigen Königreichen und Landschaften, als Egypten, Barbarien, libyen, Biledulgerid, dem Lande der Negros, Guinea, Ethiopien, Abyßina, und den Africanischen Insuln ...*, Amsterdam 1652, 662f.; WERNER MUNZINGER, "Briefe vom Rothen Meere", *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde*, Neue Folge 1, 1856, 289–305, here 298; GIANNI ROGHI – FRANCESCO BASCHIERI, *Dahlak: with the Italian National Underwater Expedition in the Red Sea*, tr. by PRISCILLA HASTINGS, ed. by ELEANOR BROCHETT, New York 1957; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The 'Banyan' or Indian Presence at Massawa, the Dahlak Islands and the Horn of Africa", in: C. MEHAUD (ed.), *Mouvements de populations dans l'Océan Indien. Actes du quatrième congrès de l'Association Historique Internationale de l'Océan Indien [...] tenu à Saint-Denis de la Réunion ... septembre 1972*, Paris 1979, 107–28; DANILO A. JELENC, *Mineral Occurrences of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1966, passim; MARIE-CLAUDE SIMEONE-SENELLE, "Les langues en Erythrée", *Chroniques yéménites* 8, 2000 [2001], 167–73, here 169.

Wolbert Smidt

Haka na Dahālík

Haka na Dahālík (short form Haka Dahālík or simply Dahālík, lit. '[Language of] the people of D.') is the term used by the native speakers when they refer to their own language. This mother tongue of about 2,500 speakers is spoken exclusively on the largest island of the archipelago of D., D. al-Kabīr, and two smaller islands. Up to the 1996 French survey on the island, Dahālík had totally escaped linguistic investigation and was defined as Tәgre without attention to its linguistic specifics. Dahālík belongs to the ↗Ethio-Semitic group. Its exact position within this group remains to be assessed. It is close to Tәgre and Tәgrәñña, but many linguistic features, as well as the degree of mutual non-intelligibility between Tәgre and Dahālík speakers have suggested that Dahālík would be set apart as an original unit within the Northern Ethio-Semitic group. The discussion of this hypothesis is still open, as it had not yet been confirmed or disputed by other linguists. On the island, Dahālík is in contact with ᶜAfar, Arabic and, to a lesser extent, Təgre. The prevalent situation is that of bi-/multi-lingualism. Standard Arabic is the only language taught in primary schools.

The phonemic system includes five vowels (*a, i, e, o, u*) and *ə* in unstressed syllables; the status of long vowels has to be specified. There are 24 consonants, as in continental Təgre. Č̣ is the only ejective, which occurs in a few (loan?) items; the prevailing articulation of *ṭ* and *ṣ* is as velarized obstruents, as in Arabic. /*Q*/ is commonly articulated as a uvular: voiced in intervocalic position, voiceless in front of a consonant. Vocalic harmony is a widespread phenomenon. Assimilation of the apico-alveolars and bilabials to the first consonant of the suffix is regular.

The nouns have two genders and two numbers. Gender opposition for adjectives is very often marked by vocalic apophony. Broken plurals are wide-spread, but external plurals with suffixes are rare. The independent pronouns are: *ana* 'I', *enta, enti* 'you' (masc., fem.), *itu* 'he', *ita* 'she', *neḥna* 'we', *intum, intun* 'you' (masc., fem.), *itun, itan* 'they' (masc., fem.). The verb morphology is based on aspectual opposition with two simple paradigms, enlarged by composed conjugations with two auxiliaries *(h)elle* and *kōna.* In the perfect and the imperfect, the verbal personal markers are the same as in Təgre, except for the imperfect 3rd pers. masc. sg. (no marker) and 3rd pers. masc./fem. pl. (no personal marker, number marker only). In the imperfect, a few irregular verbs have the marker *i-* for 3rd pers. masc., as in Təgrəñña: *ibil* 'he says', *ibilu* 'they say'. Word order in the sentence is Subject–Object–Verb. There is a definite article *ya-*; the order in the phrase is (article +) qualified + qualifier: *ya-aw-awlet* 'the girl's father', *bisíd-da (/bisit-da/) ᶜab-báy* <woman-this (fem.) / old (fem. sg.)> 'this old woman'.

The ten-word list for D. is: *ḥente* 'one', *kile* 'two', *salas* 'three', *ᵓisat* 'fire', *may* 'water', *aḥya* 'sun', *warɛḥ*, *qammaret*, *qamar* 'moon', *dam* 'blood', *lisan* 'tongue', *sin* 'tooth'.

Lit.: MARIE-CLAUDE SIMEONE-SENELLE, "La situation linguistique dans le sud de l'Erythrée", in: H. EKKEHARD WOLFF – ORIN D. GENSLER (eds.), *Proceedings of the Second World Congress of African Linguistics, Leipzig 1997*, Köln 2000, 261–76; EAD., "Les langues en Erythrée", *Chroniques Yéménites* 8, 2000 [2001], 167–73; EAD., "Some characteristics of Dahalik, a newly discovered Afro-Semitic language spoken in Eritrea", in: *PICES* 15, in preparation; EAD., "La détermination du nom en dahalik, langue afro-sémitique parlée en Erythrée", in: ALESSANDRO MENGOZZI et al. (eds.), *The Proceedings of the XIth Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic Linguistics, Bergamo 5–7 June 2003*, in preparation.

Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle

Dainelli, Giotto

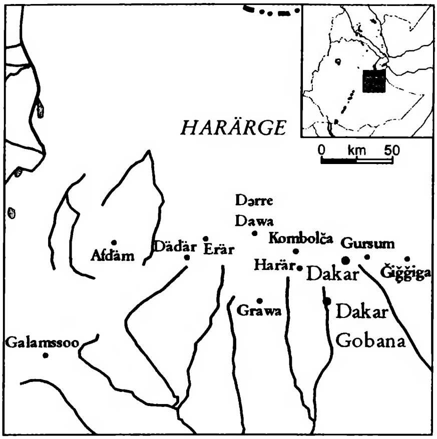
Professor D. (b. 19 May 1878, d. 1968) was a distinguished Italian geographer, geologist, palaeontologist and explorer. Part of his vast world-wide scientific research was devoted to Eritrea and Ethiopia, the destinations of two of his main expeditions. The first one, in the years 1905/06, led him to Eritrea. D. was accompanied by his fellow scholar, the geographer Olinto Marinelli. The achievements thereof were reported in the priceless book *Risultati scientifici di un viaggio nella Colonia Eritrea* (1912). The other expedition was carried out in north-western Ethiopia in the year 1937 and was concerned with research on physical geography, anthropology, economics, chemistry, biology, ornithology, botany and limnology. The results were summed up in a serial publication in seven volumes under the title *Missione di studi al Lago Tana* (1938). Among others, the series contains the following works: Lidio Cipriani, *Ricerche antropologiche sulle genti* (Roma 1940), Vinigi Lorenzo Grottanelli, *Relazioni preliminari* (Roma 1938) and *Ricerche geografiche ed economiche sulle popolazioni* (Roma 1939), Vinigi Lorenzo Grottanelli – Claudia Massari, *I Baria, i Cunama e i Beni Amer* (Roma 1943).

Lit.: ILARIA LUZZANA CARACI, "Dainelli, Giotto", in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 31, Roma 1985, 693–94 (Lit.).

Lanfranco Ricci

Dakar

There are two places called D. (دكر). One, Dakar Gobana, was located on a slope south-east of Harär in immediate vicinity of the town near the road to ↗Ǧiǧǧiga, where today is an oil refinery (Paulitschke 1888:297; Robecchi-Bricchetti 1896:215; WagFath 82). It is said that some ruins are still visible there. Dakar Gobana was the place where the legendary *amīr* Ḥabbūba



is supposed to have defeated the Christian Čanbalul (?; Wagner 1976:201, note 46). It is also mentioned as a village (*qarya*) in the ↗*Fatḥ madīnat Harar* by Yaḥyā b. Naṣrallāh, year 1234/5 (WagFath 80).

Another D. according to a marginal note on a manuscript of ᶜArabfaqīh's *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* was located about 65 km east-northeast of Harär near the modern town Fiyambiro (Cerulli 1931:39). Huntingford (HuntGeogr 101f.) suggests that it may have been the fortified rocky hill "Čenahasan" (?) or "Jenasēnē" in this region.

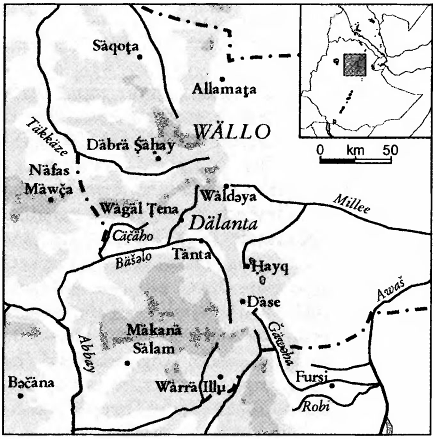
This second D. became the capital of the ↗Walašmaᶜ rulers when they returned from Yemen and transferred the centre of their sultanate from ↗Ifat to ↗ᶜAdal, which was not so much exposed to Christian attacks. Al-Maqrīzī (MaqIlmam² 20) mentions D. as the residence of the Walašmaᶜ *sulṭān* ↗Aḥmad Badlāy b. Saᶜdaddīn. In 1479 D. was destroyed by *aṣe* Ǝskəndər when he fought against ᶜAdal (PerrEsk 342). In 1520 the Walašmaᶜ *sulṭān* ↗Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Āzar transferred the capital of ᶜAdal from D. to Harär (Cerulli 1931:42). The *Storia dei re* reports that shortly before ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid's death in 1568, the Oromo devastated many places, among which was also D. (Cerulli 1931:57). This is the last time that D. occurs in the sources.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 42, 53 (text) = 50, 57 (tr.), s. 39 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 139, 152 (text) = 148, 158 (tr.), s. 135]; MaqIlmam² 20; PerrEsk 342 (text) = 357 (tr.); WagFath 80, 82.
Lit.: PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 297; LUIGI ROBECCHI-BRICCHETTI, *Nell'Harrar*, Milano ³1896, 215; EWALD WAGNER, "Die Chronologie der frühen muslimischen Herrscher Äthiopiens nach den Harariner Emirslisten", in: BRIGITTA BENZING – OTTO BOECHER – GUENTER MAYER (eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit. Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik, Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, 1, Meisenheim 1976, 186–204, here 201; HuntGeogr 101f.

Ewald Wagner

Dälanta

D. (ደላንታ) is a wide highland plateau on the northern side of the Bäšəlo river in North Wällo, between ↗Dawənt to the east and ↗Yäǧǧu to the west. From the 17th cent. onwards D. had been a buffer zone between Bägemdər, Wällo and Yäǧǧu regions. In modern Ethiopia, D. was first paired with ↗Wadla with a single designation as Wadla-Dälanta *awrağğa*, before being linked with Dawənt as a *wäräda*, the main town of which is Wägäl Ṭena.



Src.: CLEMENTS ROBERT MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 284f.
Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, "Čäčäho and the Politics of the Northern Wällo-Bägémder Border", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 1–9.

Eloi Ficquet

Dallol ↗ᶜAfar Depression

Dama ↗Military units

Dämä Krəstos

D.K. (ደም፡ ክርስቶስ) was the 14th *wag šum* to appear in the official list of the regional rulers of ↗Wag and ↗Lasta for the years ca. 1720s–30s.

He assumed the office in the first quarter of the 18th cent. and was a contemporary of *aṣe* Bäkaffa and *aṣe* Iyasu II. His father, *wag šum* Aśär I was deposed by the son of one of his sisters, ↗Arʾayo, who took the office by force in ca. 1697. D.K. was unable to succeed his father and a local power struggle for the office of the *wag šum* emerged between *wag šum* Arʾayo and the descendants of *wag šum* Aśär I.

Oral sources indicate that D.K. was in rebellion against his nephew and later removed Arʾayo and acceded to his legitimate office. Power remained in the hands of D.K. until the advent to power of *aṣe* Iyasu II. He was succeeded by his son, *wag šum* ↗Tewodros, who is mentioned in 1740 as paying tribute to the court of *aṣe* Iyasu II.

Lit.: WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, ca. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Dämära

D. (ደመራ, from the root meaning 'to add, join') is a stack of upright poles or bundled twigs, which is erected then set ablaze on the eve of the Feast of the Invention of the True Cross of 17 *Mäskäräm* (s. ↗*Mäsqäl*). The ritual of the burning of the stack is called "D." as well.

The big D. is usually built in the centre of a town, on an open public area, in the vicinity of the church and sometimes under the auspices of its clergy. For the D., long straight twigs are cut and their upper ends are decorated with *mäsqäl*-flowers (*Delphinium dasycaulon*, but also others); this happens in a vivid and joyful atmosphere, which marks the entire week before the holiday. The twigs are brought to the place where the D. is erected. The D. is built under the supervision of a few old and respected people (*šəmagəllewočč*). The construction requires precision, lest the D. pyre, which may be around 12 metres high, fall and the feast be marred. As soon as the D. is constructed and embellished with *mäsqäl*-flowers, the top being decorated with the cross, the priests celebrate the liturgy and walk around the D. three times. The senior ecclesiastic blesses the D. The D. is left till the twilight, when the people gather to set it ablaze. This happens in the presence of the senior ecclesiastics, dignitaries and state officials (in Addis Abäba, the D. ceremony on Mäsqäl Square was usually attended by the Patriarch and the emperor himself). One of them (e.g., the governor or local chief) sets fire to the D. with a *čəbbo*-torch, amid common jubilation. While it is burning down, the people watch carefully; it is said that the direction of the D. fall points to the parts of the country where tribulations may be expected. The people take the ashes to draw on the forehead the sign of the Cross; they go home to burn piles of dry wood – small "D." of their neighbourhoods – and to participate in festive meal, dancing and singing.

We know that the *Mäsqäl* feast dates back into the first half of the 15th cent.; however, it is not known how old the D. ritual is. It certainly existed before the 19th cent., as European travel reports started to mention the "bonfires" in connection with the Christian feast of *Mäsqäl*. The Ethiopian Orthodox tradition derives the symbolic interpretation of the D.-ceremony from the narratives about the Finding of the True

Blessing the *dämära* at Hossäyna market, Hadiyya; photo 1999, courtesy of Dirk Bustorf

Cross by the Empress Helena; it is said that D. are kindled in commemoration of the bonfires Helena ordered be lit in Palestine to let the people of Constantinople know that the True Cross had been found (Hyatt 1928:165); otherwise, it is said that the D. symbolizes a bundle of burning twigs, the smoke of which came to the place where the Cross was hidden.

The ritual burning of bundled poles or twigs as the focus of a festival, similar to the *Mäsqäl*, is widespread among different ethnic groups of Ethiopia, and presents a complex set of indigenous cultural elements and Christian Highland influence, from both medieval and modern times. The feast is usually called by a name clearly deriving from the word *Mäsqäl*. It is generally celebrated in the period close to 10–27 *Mäskäräm*; cp. *Mäskäla* of the ↗Dorze on 15–17 September (VSAe III, 206f.), with the burning down of the big stack, *Maskarro* of Ǝnnarya and *Mašqarro* of Šeko (Lange 1982:46, 162f.), *Maskala* of Wälaytta with the setting ablaze of the *gulia*-bonfire (Petros F. Tekle 1961), etc. The festivities usually include ritual slaughter of cattle, and meat consumption. Previously, the Gurage celebrated their *Mäsqäl* at the beginning of the rainy season in June–July, with every adult male contributing his *Mäsqäl*-pole to the common *mʷəqʸər* – the equivalent of the D. (the role of the lighter of the bonfire implied a dominant position in the political hierarchy). Under the imperial authority, the feast was moved and styled in order to coincide with the nation-wide *Mäsqäl*. Among the agriculturalist groups of Ethiopia, the ritual of the D. might have been a reflection of an ancient pre-Christian celebration to mark the beginning of the dry season, the renewal of the procreative power of nature and a new period in economic and social activities of the people (cp. VSAe III, 206f., Shack 1968:460, n.1).

Src.: GuiVoc 649; MANSFIELD PARKINS, *Life in Abyssinia*, London 1853, vol. 2, 82f.; AmhChurchD vol. 4, 117–20; LesCDic 135; KaneDic 1721f.

Lit.: WERNER J. LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61), 46, 162f.; HARRY MIDDLETON HYATT, *The Church of Abyssinia*, London 1928, 165; PankSoc 192f.; PETROS F. TEKLE, "The Masqala", *University College of Addis Ababa. Ethnological Society Bulletin* 2, 1, 1961, 59–70; VSAe III, 206f.; WILLIAM SHACK, "The Mäsqäl Pole: Religious Conflict and Social Change in Gurageland", *Africa* 38, 4, 1968, 457–68.

Mersha Alehegne – Denis Nosnitsin

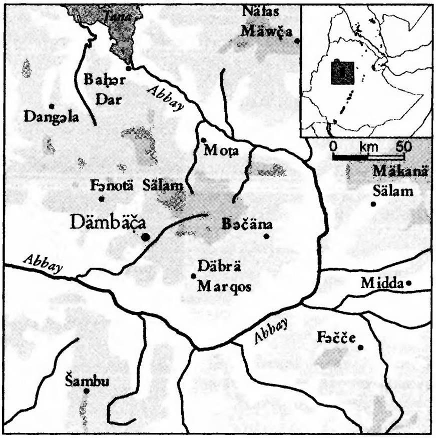
Dämbäč̣a

D. (**ደምበጫ**, also Dänbäč̣a) is a town in ↗Damot, situated about 40 km north-west of Däbrä Marqos, Goǧǧam (for a while the capital of D. *wäräda*, Qʷälla Däga Damot *awraǧǧa*). It probably developed as an urban settlement due to its location in a commanding position on the slope of a ridge extending from the ↗Č̣oqqe Mountains and along the great western caravan route from Gondär to ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya. Another factor may have been the safety provided by its renowned church, which the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yosab made a sanctuary in the late 18th cent. The town appears to have gained importance in the early decades of the 19th cent. with the rise of *däǧǧazmač* Zäwde Səlṭan (d. 1809), who established his residence there. According to one tradition, he also raised the status of the church to a large ↗*däbr* with generous endowments. The church would subsequently serve him as a sanctuary from his enemies and as a resting place for his remains.

Däǧǧazmač ↗Goššu Zäwde also resided there frequently over his long period of rule over Goǧǧam and Damot, thereby enhancing the standing of D. Its market was important for the beewax that the surrounding regions produced.

The development of the Addis Abäba–Djibouti Railway and the consequent diversion to Šäwa of the trade of south-western Ethiopia and eastern Goǧǧam seems to have played a major part in the decline of D. as a market place in the 20th cent.

In 1999 the town of D. had ca. 11,500 inhabitants; currently it is the administrative centre of D.



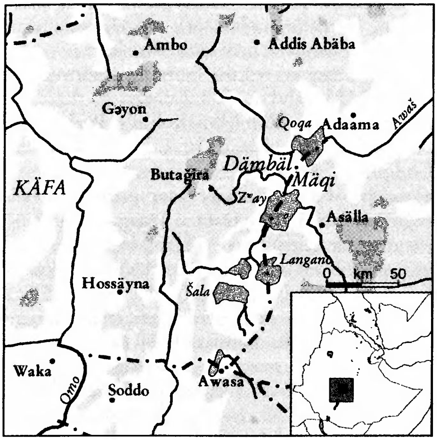
(former) *awrağğa*, a part of Məʿərab Goğğam Administrative Zone within the Amhara *kəlləl*.

Src.: AbbGeogr vol. 1, 54, 57, 109, 152, 158; AbbSéjour 232, 241; CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, "Abyssinia – Being a Continuation of Routes in that Country", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 14, 1844, 1–76; GUSTAVO BIANCHI, *Alla terra dei Galla. Narrazione della spedizione Bianchi in Africa nel 1879–80*, Milano 1884, 467; JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Éthiopie (1901–1903)*, Paris 1908, vol. 1, 94; CSA 2000; BlunChr 193f.
Lit.: HuntGeogr 202; PankHist 149, 323.

Girma Getahun

Dämbäl Mäqi

D.M. (ዴምበል፡ መቂ) is an area north-west of Lake ↗Zʷay around the Mäqi river, one of its main tributaries. The word *dämbäl* might be a corruption of Oromo *dambali* ('deep [of water], overflowing'), D.M. thus meaning 'the deep [place on the] Mäqi', or it may simply refer to Lake Zʷay itself, which is often referred to as Dämbäl. The name D.M. also refers to a small lake and a chain of mountains in the area. There was also a small town called ↗Mäqi (also Ponte Macchi) on the road to the south in the 1970s.



During ↗Mənilək's 1880 campaign against the ↗Arsi Oromo, he, together with the troops of the recently baptized *ras* ↗Mikaʾel, undertook numerous successful raids along the Zʷay coast, including at D.M. Mənilək returned there at least twice: in December 1886, when he camped on the shores of the Mäqi (s. GueCopMen I, 336), and in December 1895, when a major epidemic among horses and mules of the expedition broke out (ibid. II, 414).

Src.: GueCopMen 167, 336, 414 n. 3; TilDic 14.
Lit.: *Guida* 555; AbbGeogr vol. 1, 290, 305; BTafA 763, 902.

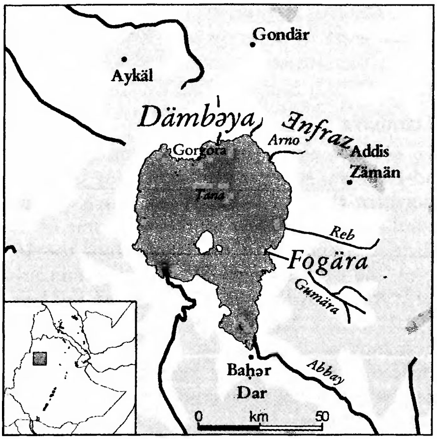
Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Dämbəya

D. (ዴምብያ, also Dämbiya; in Arabic sources: ad-Danbīya) is a vast plain bordering upon the northern shore of Lake ↗Ṭana, a rich agricultural district (in a few sources the name of the district is applied to the lake). Until the 16th cent. the population of D. was predominantly of ↗Agäw stock; later it constituted the large Fälaša (↗Betä Əsraʾel) population of the region, concentrated in particular around Gondär. A dialect of ↗Kəmantənay known as Dämbəñña or just as Dämbəya was reportedly spoken in D. till the 19th cent.

Since early times D. seems to have hosted trade routes connecting coastal areas with the interior of the African continent. *Aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I may have obtained some territorial gains in D.; some ↗*čäwa* were settled in D., perhaps from the 14th cent. on. Hagiographies of 14th-cent. monks (e.g., ↗Yafqərännä Əgziʾ, ↗Zäyoḥannəs) attest to the spread of Christianity into the region, which, however, was politically dominated by local rulers. *Aṣe* ↗Dawit II is reported to have appointed over D. a Fälaša governor from Səmen.

Some time in 1534 ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ) chose D. for his residence, impressed by the fertility of the region. Afterwards, D. increasingly attracted the attention of the Ethiopian emperors, who, in resisting the ↗Oromo invasion, for security reasons had to move their "winter residences" further and further to the north. *Aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl regularly visited D., and used to launch from there his expeditions to the south, against the Oromo, or, to the north, against the Fälaša of Səmen, and to the north-east. After *aṣe* ↗Zäəngəl was killed in 1604 by rebellious regiments at ↗Barča, in D., *aṣe* ↗Susənyos set up his "winter residence" there at ↗Gorgora, in 1614 (although this location, infested with malaria, appears less than ideal). His son *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs completed the process by establishing in 1636 a genuine permanent capital city at ↗Gondär, also in D. Thus the status of the region changed radically. D. became not simply a granary for the growing city, but a capital district, and soon its governor with his traditional title of



↗*käntiba* became a sort of mayor of Gondär. The royal capital became the greatest consumer of goods, both imported and local. It was also the base where Ethiopian emperors and their armies returned after annual campaigns along with their booty, slaves being the most valuable and convertible items. This attracted to D. in general and Gondär in particular Muslim long-distance traders (mainly from ↗Sinnār), and in the capital a special quarter for them (Ǝslam Bet) was established, together with a quarter for artisans (Kayla Meda, or Fälaša Meda).

During the ↗Gondärine kingdom period, the capital district of D. prospered, whereas the territory under Christian monarchs' control diminished considerably. Probably to compensate for this, the Gondärine kings sought to concentrate in D. all famous sacred places of Ethiopia. In Azäzo, at the former Jesuit residence ↗Gännätä Iyäsus, "new Däbrä Libanos" was established, with the *tabot* of St. Mary from the old ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa (↗Azäzo Täklä Haymanot). In Gondär itself such famous churches as ↗Däbrä Bərhan and ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Q^{w}əsq^{w}am were erected. The capital district of D. became not only the most important political and economic core of the Christian kingdom, but also a centre of ecclesiastical learning, art and culture. Due to the presence of the royal court, army and leading clergy, ↗Amharic, which had been spreading rapidly in D. since the middle of the 16th cent., became the predominant language; its local Gondärine variant was long considered the "superior" dialect of Amharic. For the same reasons, during the 17th–18th cent. D. became noted for its security, and the expression "safe as in D." was the best praise for any province in the country.

This situation changed with the appearance of *ras* ↗Mika'el Səḥul in D. in 1767 and the beginning of the so-called ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, which put an end to the real power of Gondärine kings. However, the former political and religious importance preserved a degree of significance to this region; in the 1820s it afforded a base for the short-time rise of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Maru. It was precisely this hegemony of both the district and the capital city that *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II wanted to liquidate by burning down Gondär in 1864. The next emperor, *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, was not greatly interested in this region (↗Çəlga becoming its major settlement), and D. became an ordinary Ethiopian provincial district.

The Italians seized the Gorgora peninsula on 14 April 1936, and in 1938 inaugurated there, on the Vetta Mussolini ('Mussolini's Peak'), the Faro della Conquista ('The Lighthouse of the Conquest'). After the Liberation, D. became an *awraǧǧa* of Gondär/Bägemdər province, with the capital in Q^{w}älla Däbba. During the 1950–60s malaria remained a problem; in 1953–54 the government even had to order the evacuation of the district and the Q^{w}älla Däbba market. Since malaria seems to have been eradicated, tourism could benefit the population of the region. A boat service connects Gorgora to the monasteries of lake Ṭana and Baḥər Dar; the ↗Däbrä Sina church is still in good condition, but the ↗Maryam Gəmb church collapsed after the 1995 rains. According to the 1994 Census, the population of the region (after 1991 a *wäräda* of the Səmen Gondär zone, Amhara *kəlləl*) reached 226,000, while the population of Q^{w}älla Däba increased from 6,837 in 1984 to 11,716.

Src.: CSA 2000; BassHist 431 (Lit.), s. index; BeckHuntAlm, s. index; BassÉt 73ff.; CRHist; GuiIohan, GuiYas; PerChron 101, 112, 124 (text), s. index; BruNile, vol. 2, 585ff.; MELESSA GHIORGHIS, "Gondar Yesterday and Today", *EthObs* 12, 3, 1969, 164–76; VINIGI LORENZO GROTTANELLI et al., *Missione di studio al Lago Tana*, vol. 2, Roma 1939; Guida 359; CSA 1984.

Lit.: AbPrince s. index; MARC AUBERT – LUIGI CANTAMESSA, *Éthiopie. Berceau de l'humanité*, Génève ^{3}2000; CrumLand 73–93; TadTChurch, s. index; FREDERICK J. SIMOONS, *Northwest Ethiopia: Peoples and Economy*, Madison 1960, s. index; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *Southern Ethiopia and the Christian Kingdom, 1508–1708, with Special Reference to the Galla Migrations and their Consequences*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1971; AbbGeogr 189, 251, 320, 360, 370, 382;

BTafA 902, PankHist I, s. index (Lit); PankBord, s. index; RubTew, s. index.

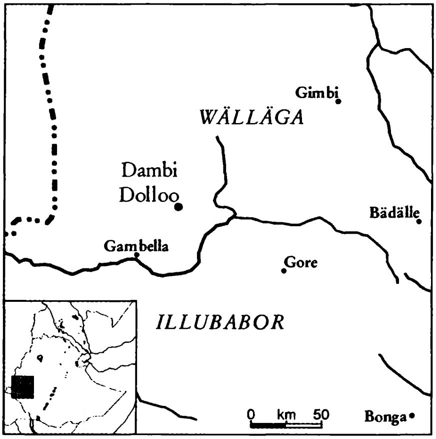
Tsegaye Tegenu – Alain Gascon – Sevir Chernetsov – Denis Nosnitsin

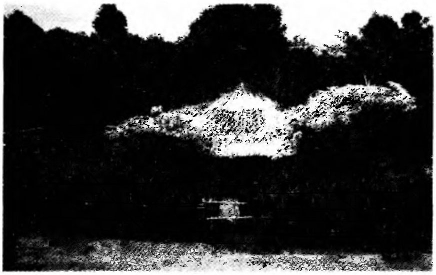
Dambi Dolloo

D.D. (Amh. sp. ደምቢ፡ ዶሎ Dämbi Dolo) is an administrative and trade centre on the western edge of the north Ethiopian highland at 1,821 m A.S.L. The town, earlier known as Sayyoo (under the name of the ↗Mäčča Oromo subgroup inhabiting the territory in and around it), was renamed during the period of Italian administration (↗Africa Orientale Italiana). The name D.D. probably refers to *dambi* or *dimbi* (*Ficus Thonningii*), a sycamore species holy for the Oromo.

It is the area where Oromo migration towards the west came to a standstill in the 18th cent. Between 1886 and 1908, D.D. belonged to the territories controlled by *mooti* ↗Gootee Tulluu, after he, with *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's help, defeated the Sayyoo "strong man" Barayuu. In the 1930s it grew to a great commercial centre. From there, ↗coffee, agricultural products, wax and skins (earlier also gold) were exported to the Sudan; imported goods, in the first place, textiles, were sold on further into the country. Numerous foreign companies (especially Greek) were resident in D.D. In 1938 the population was estimated at 8,000 inhabitants (*Guida* 509).

D.D. is also an important early centre of western Christian missions (mostly Protestant). The Protestant mission school in D.D. was the major cradle of pan-Oromo nationalism; many Oromo Liberation Front (O.L.F.) leaders were educated here. In 1991-92, D.D. was the only district controlled and governed by the O.L.F.





Anfillo courtyard in Šabal near Dambi Dolloo; photo 2001, courtesy of Günther Schlee

In the administrative system of the Ethiopian Empire, the town was the capital of Qelləm *awrağğa* (Wälläga province). Currently, it belongs to Säyyo *wäräda* of East Wälläga Zone, *kəlləl* Oromiyaa. The town counts over 26,000 inhabitants (26,356 in 2000) and is growing rapidly. There is an international airport at D.D. In recent years it has been developing into a tourist centre (on the way to Gambella). Among its main attractions are the old gold mines in the vicinity of the town.

↗Anfillo

Src.: *Guida* 509; CSA 2000.

Hermann Amborn

Damian of Alexandria

D. (ደምያኖስ, Dəmyanos), an anti-Chalcedonian 35th archbishop of Alexandria (578 [577]–607 [606] A.D.) and saint, was a leader of a group of bishops and Church writers (Orlandi 1989) and the originator of a triadological concept which was predominant in Egypt until the late first millennium. Arguing against the so-called "tritheist" doctrine, where the three hypostases of the Divinity were considered as three separate beings, D. elaborated a diametrically opposite doctrine of his own, where the unity of the three hypostases was treated as an identity, with the only real distinction being of three "characteristic properties" which make the difference between the hypostases of the same nature (like "unborn", "born" and "proceeded"). D.'s teaching immediately caused (588) a rupture with the monophysite Severianist Patriarchate of Antioch. D. managed, however, to obtain support from the side of the Julianists (581). The last mention of Damianism as a separate Christian sect was made by a Muslim author in the 10th cent. (Dodge 1970:814, cp. note 400).

Despite the absence of D.'s works in Ethiopia, he is commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* (on 18 *Säne*), and his thought influenced the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in many ways: first of all, in the 15th cent., under the pressure of the followers of ↗Giyorgis of Sägla, but also in the ↗*karra* doctrine (cp. discussion in Lourié 1999:329–34). For instance, the following is a specimen taken from the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məṣṭir* by Giyorgis of Sägla, where the trinitarian doctrine is entirely within the Damianist framework: "We have found, as to the Father, that He is called 'Father', being the Holy Spirit according to His hypostasis and His essence. And we have found, as to the Son, that he is called 'Son', being the Holy Spirit according to His hypostasis and the community of essence [calque from Gr. ὁμοουσιότης] with the Father. But we have found no father of the Paraklete, to call Him 'Son', nor son, to call Him 'Father'. Therefore, He is always called 'Holy Spirit', as was demonstrated by us, and the Holy Spirit is Holy Spirit, as was demonstrated by us, because 'spirit' means the Godhead impalpable and the power invisible" (YaqMist II, 268).

↗Theology; ↗Julianism

Src.: BudSaint 1011ff.; RIFAAT Y. EBIED – ALBERT VAN ROEY – LIONEL R. WICKHAM, *Petri Callinicensis patriarchae Antiocheni. Tractatus contra Damianum*, 4 vols., Turnhout – Leuven 1994/96/98/2004 (Corpus Christianorum, Ser. Graeca 29, 32, 35, 54); GuiSyn I, 629-33; BAYARD DODGE (ed.), *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm. A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, 2 vols., New York – London 1970, vol. 2, 814; YaqMist II, 268 (text) = 149f. (tr.).

Lit.: CASPAR DETLEF GUSTAV MÜLLER, "Damian, Papst und Patriarch von Alexandrien", *OrChr* 70, 1986, 118–42; TITO ORLANDI, "La patrologia copta", in: ANTONIO QUACQUARELLI (ed.), *Complementi interdisciplinari di Patrologia*, Roma 1989, 479–502; VASILIY LOURIÉ, "Bogoslovie 'egiptstvuyuschih umom': monofizicheskaya triadologiya mezhdu triteizmom i damianizmom" ('The Theology of 'Those Égyptisants by Intellect': Monophysite Triadology between Tritheism and Damianism'), *Hristianskiy Vostok* new ser. 1 [7], 1999, 479–89 (Lit.); ID., "Avva Georgiy iz Sagly i istoriya yulianizma v Efiopii" ('Abba Giyorgis of Sagla and the History of Julianism in Ethiopia'), *ibid.* 317–58; PHILIPPE BLAUDEAU, "Le voyage de Damien d'Alexandrie vers Antioche puis Constantinople (579–80), motivations et objectifs", *OrChrP* 63, 1997, 333–61.

Basil Lourié

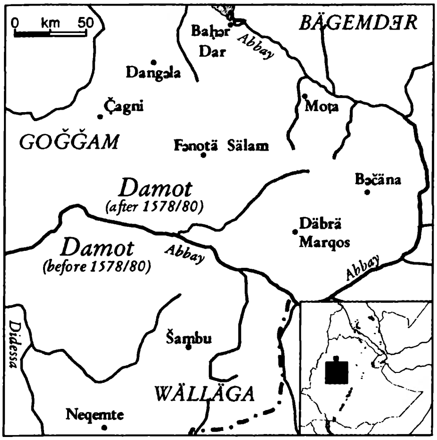
Dammohoytá ↗ᶜAdoyammára and ᶜAsahyammára

Damot

The kingdom of D. (ዳሞት) seems to have been in existence at least as early as the 10th cent. in the region immediately south of the ↗Abbay in present-day Wällägä and western Šäwa. Its bounds are uncertain, but they may have stretched as far west as the Didessa River and as far south as Wällamo. One of several states inhabited by non-Christian Sidama on and to the south of the Šäwan plateau, D.'s inhabitants may have had queens as well as kings for rulers. For instance, in the mid-10th cent., a queen of the "Banū l-Ham(u)wīya" led her people against the overlordship of the late Aksumite Christian kingdom, destroying churches, killing the king and many of his subjects, and threatening the kingdom's survival (↗Ǝsato). She restored her people's independence and thereafter ruled over a large and powerful kingdom that apparently included former Christian lands. Yet, the identity of the queen and the reference of this episode to D. are both uncertain (but note an alternative rendering of "Banu d-[D]amūta" for country and people). The earliest unambiguous reference to the "kingdom of Damot" occurs in 13th cent. ↗Zagʷe records.

From the 10th to the 13th cent., D. was the dominant power on the Šäwan plateau, defeating at least one Zagʷe attack from the north-east and reducing Muslim principalities as far east as Ifat to vassalage. In the early to mid-13th cent., a famed legendary ruler named ↗Motälämi (TadTChurch 121) led his subjects in devastating campaigns against Christian settlements in Šäwa. Later hagiographic legends maintain that the Šäwan saint ↗Täklä Haymanot evangelized in D. and converted Motälämi to Christianity, but such traditions are not reliable.

In the late 13th cent., ↗Yəkunno Amlak drove D. overlords from the Šäwan plateau, but it was *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I in the early 14th cent. who began subjugating the kingdom. Thereafter, Christianity and ↗Amhara culture slowly diffused among the population. By the 16th cent., D. had become an integral province of the empire of Ethiopia, and its governor carried the same title as the governor of Šäwa – ↗*ṣäḥafe lam*. During the mid-16th cent., the now partly Christianized population joined with their Amhara and Təgray



countrymen in fighting against the Muslim invasion of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī.

About 1578–80, the ↗Mäčča Oromo branch attacked D. as they pursued their conquest of the Šäwan plateau. Unable to repulse the Mäčča, most of the people of D. submitted to their conquerors, who absorbed them into Mäčča society and made D. their new homeland. Some, however, including many who had become Christian, fled across the Abbay into ↗Goğğam. There, in the early 17th cent., they re-established their homeland in the plains between Goğğam on the east and Agäw lands on the west. Thereafter, D. once again became one of the major provinces of the Christian empire, and its inhabitants, composed of the population from old D., other peoples such as the ↗Gafat who had similarly fled before the Oromo, and various Mäčča groups who were permitted to settle on the north bank of the Abbay, accepted Amhara culture, adopted the Amharic language, and converted to Christianity.

Throughout the 17th and 18th cent., D. allied itself with Goğğam and ↗Q^{w}ara in pursuit of influence and power in Gondär. The province's military forces, especially its cavalry composed of ↗Ğawe Oromo were renowned for their fighting abilities. In 1704, as a reward for their service in his campaigns, *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I settled the Ğawe on the north bank of the Abbay in D. to serve as a bulwark against incursions by their Mäčča kinsmen.

Two Oromo, Tulluu and ↗Wäräñña, were among D.'s most prominent leaders. *Däğğazmač* Tulluu, governor of D. and son-in-law of *aṣe* Iyasu I, led his armies in Iyasu's unrelenting raids into Oromo lands south of the Abbay. Tulluu rallied his forces behind Iyasu in the struggle with Iyasu's son, the future Emperor ↗Täklä Haymanot I, over the throne in 1706. Tulluu helped negotiate Iyasu's retirement and Täklä Haymanot's accession, but Täklä Haymanot immediately exiled and blinded him in an attempt to quell discontent in D. and Goğğam over the arrangement.

Having helped enthrone *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II in 1730, D.'s leaders insisted that *däğğazmač* Wäräñña, not the court's nominee, be appointed their governor. Two years later, armies from D. and Goğğam under Wäräñña's command rescued the court from certain defeat at the hands of rebels who had laid siege to Gondär, ushering in four decades of Q^{w}aran rule. In early 1768, the D., again insisting that they be governed by one of their own, refused to accept *ətege* Bərhan Mogäsa's (Məntəwwab's) brother, Əšäte, as their overlord, a stance that contributed to Əšäte's death and to the end of Q^{w}aran dominance in Gondär. In 1779, they secured the enthronement of ↗Täklä Giyorgis I in place of ↗Solomon II as emperor. In the mid-20th cent., D. was incorporated into the Province of Goğğam as an *awrağğa*, after 1974 known also as Q^{w}älla Däga Damot.

Src.: BassÉt 165f.; BégCron 79f.; GuiIohan 21, 37f., 103f., 164, 221–24, 233ff. (tr.), 261; GuiIyas 45ff., 56, 79, 122–25, 138f., 231, 237ff. (tr.); BlunChr 231 (tr.).

Lit.: TadTChurch 5f., 38f., 120–23, 135, 160–73; ChTana, s. index, maps; MHasOr 27, 35f.; ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 3, 1943, 272–85 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80]; TrIslam 52–60; TSEHAI BERHANE SELASSIE, "The Question of Damot and Wälamo", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 37–46.

LaVerle B. Berry

Damot ↗Military units

Damot ↗Awŋi

Däm^{w}am^{w}it

D. (also Däm^{w}ät) is a female deity of the autochthonous folk-religion of the *Säbat Bet* ↗Gurage. D. has some symbolic relation to a certain type of snake and to the leopard. Like the other deities (or spirits) of Gurage, ↗Waq and ↗Bożżä, D. has an ambiguous nature: to people who observe the rules of the socio-religious order, she guarantees health and fertility, while her enemies have to suffer of certain diseases, e.g., the ritual illness of *zit*. The one who suffers of *zit* (eventually connected with liver or kidney problems) is seen as being possessed and ritually polluted, and is to be isolated from society.

Due to her life-giving power D. is associated with blood. In songs of praise she is called "the red" or the "bloody one". Her irascibility is expressed by referring to her "bloodshot eyes".

The deity is said to protect especially the women and the weak and to punish hard the sexual harassment of girls dedicated to her. D.'s function as a healer is shown, e.g., by association with the ↗*kosso* tree and its red blossom.

As Shack (1966:198) states, in the Gurage religious system "men and women are placed in a cross-sexual ritual relationship" with their accordant deities. The cult of D. is mainly a cult of women and can be seen as the structural antagonist of the predominantly male cult of Waq.

The internal structure of the D. cult is based on the *m^w^əyät* female age-organization and the male ritual representative of D., *Yäwäy dämam* ('Master of Honey') at Yäbiṭara, ↗Čaha.

Unmarried Gurage women – if following the old custom – belong to the *m^w^əyät* association from ↗circumcision till marriage. After marriage the relation to the association is weakened but not given up (but cp. Gabreyesus Hailemariam 1991:143). In the first month of membership in the *m^w^əyät* association the young girls are secluded and ritual knowledge is conveyed to them, including the secret "language" Fedwät, which is produced by the replacement or modification of a number of words (cp. Leslau 1964:16–30). Part of the ritual activities is allegedly related to an altered state of consciousness. The local *m^w^əyät* associations are led by male ritual specialists of ↗Fuga origin.

A selected group of *m^w^əyät* members does not marry, but dedicate life to D. Members wander around in small groups, carrying a croched ritual stick (*zänzäna*) which is considered as symbolic "husband". In the villages they visit they receive food and shelter from *m^w^əyät* members.

The *Yäwäy dämam*, and the shrine of D. he guards, is protected from ritual pollution by a set of taboos, similar to those surrounding other spirit intermediaries in southern Ethiopia. In contrast to the role women play in the D. cult it is not allowed to women, with the exception of *Yäwäy dämam's* wives, to enter his compound or to see his face for they are considered to be ritually impure. At the annual *Sänčä* festival *m^w^əyät* groups from all over Gurage gather at Yäbiṭara. The festival is characterized by rampant dancing and singing of chants of praise dedicated to D. (*wäywät*). The *Yäwäy dämam* receives a tribute of honey, grain, coffee or male sheep which is collected by the *m^w^əyät* leaders for the sake of D. At other occasions, sacrifices for D. are held at the waterside, where the blood of the slaughtered animals is led into the water.

The symbolic power of the *Yäwäy dämam* extends into the field of traditional politics and legal practice, therefore he attends meetings of the pan-Gurage assembly *Yäğoka*. According to Shack (1969:153) the *Yäwäy dämam* also plays a role during the installation rite of clan chiefs.

In the 1994 census a number of 731 people in Gurage declared that they follow a "traditional religion". A further differentiation could not be expressed in the census. In areas dominated by Christianity the *m^w^əyät* associations are considerably weakened; in Muslim areas of *Säbat Bet* Gurage their importance continued to a certain degree.

Src.: CSA 1996, 220.

Lit.: ShGurage 2, 53, 93, 110, 126f., 132–35, 159, 167f., 172ff., 175, 185ff., 196; WILLIAM A. SHACK – HABTE-MARIAM MARCOS, *Gods and Heroes: Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1974, 60–71; WORKU NIDA, "Descriptive Account of the Dammuamuit Cult of the Gurage", in: *Proceedings of the 2^nd^ National Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa, in preparation; GABREYESUS HAILEMARIAM, *The Guragué and their Culture*, New York 1991, 100, 140–45, 186; JEAN-FRANÇOIS PRUNET – BERHANU CHAMORA, "A History of the Thunder-God Cult in Central Ethiopia, with a Text Analysis", *Langues Orientales Anciennes Philologie et Linguistique* 5–6, 1995, 60; WOLF LESLAU, *Ethiopian Argots*, London – The Hague – Paris 1964 (Janua Linguarum, Studia memoriae Nicolai van Wijk dedicata, series practica 17), 14–30.

Dirk Bustorf

Dan

D. was one of the sons of the Biblical patriarch Jacob, and gave his name to one of the twelve tribes of Israel. Following the destruction of the northern kingdom of Israel, D. was one of the ten tribes that went into exile and became known as the Ten Lost Tribes. To this day, attempts are made to associate different groups and tribes with one of several of these tribes. Since the time of ↗Eldad Ha-Dani, there have been claims that the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel were descendants of the tribe of D. In 1488, the noted rabbi and Talmudic scholar Obadiah of Bertinoro, wrote that the Jews from the land of ↗Prester John claimed to be from the tribe of D. The Egyptian Talmudist and legal authority ↗David Ben Abi Zimra based his affirmation on Betä Ǝsraʾel's Jewishness on the belief that they were descendants of D. This view was cited again by the Sephardi Chief Rabbi of Israel, Ovadiah Yosef, when in 1973 he declared the Betä Ǝsraʾel were Jews.

Lit.: MENACHEM ELON, "The Ethiopian Jews: A Case Study in the Functioning of the Jewish Legal System", *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* 16, 1986–87, 553–63; STEVEN KAPLAN, "History, *Halakha* and Identity: the Beta Israel and World Jewry", *Israel Social Science Research* 10, 2, 1995, 13–24.

Steven Kaplan

Danakil ↗ᶜAfar; ↗Dänkäl; ↗Dankáli

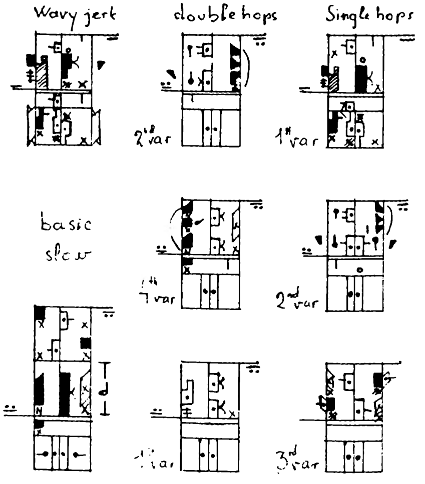
Dances

Dances, secular

Function and organizational structure

The majority of Ethiopian D. are performed by both men and women as entertainment at wedding celebrations and other festivities for family and friends, or on holidays such as ↗*Mäsqäl* and ↗*Ṭəmqät*. Some fulfil other functions related to courting and working and as displays of patriotism. D. can be performed individually or in pairs, or performed in alternation like the **እስታሌላይ** (*əstalelay*, a Təgray pair-D.). The Təgray pair-D. is performed with the Təgray circle-D.

Gurage steps



Some dance foot motifs, notated by Labanotion; from Tibor Vadasy 1973:220

The two-part division of the D., designated sections A and B, generally corresponds to an open-ended, cyclical, binary musical form. Most D. are in double metre, save the Təgray D., which are in triple metre. D. is accompanied by singing, hand-clapping and instrumental accompaniment, notably through various types of drums.

The accompanying *zäfän* (secular ↗songs) are responsive, consisting of a solo statement followed by a choral response. Although section A is always shorter in duration than B, each can last from about half a minute or less to several minutes until the cycle is repeated. Section A functions as a warm-up or rest period, sets the mood, and acts as a tension release after the climax is achieved in section B.

Basic foot motifs include stepping and/or stamping in place and various "walking" rhythmic patterns. The second longer section contains the D. proper. Compared with section A, section B has accelerated tempo, denser rhythmic patterns, greater dynamic level, an increased number of D. motifs and more energy expended executing D. movements. These changes can occur gradually or quite abruptly.

The basic D. formation consists of a circle from a dozen to over a hundred dancers and singers. Within the circle, there are solo dancers numbering from one to five individuals, or soloists grouped in twos, threes or fours, or solo dancers in multiple two- to four-line formation. Circle-dances focus on the group during the first section and highlight the soloists during the second section, where an outer circle of performers singing in chorus with instrumental accompaniment cheers on the soloists, who display their D. skills and virtuosity. This duality displayed within the AB format and the use of contrast exemplified by the group-versus-solo performance are dominant features of the D.

Ǝskəsta

A major feature of the D. is known as **እስክስታ** (*əskəsta*). The word is said to be derived from the Amharic **እስክስ** (*əskəs*, 'to do something smoothly'; s. Yasuko Endo 2001). This meaning is demonstrated by the symbolic imagery of moving water as replicated in the D. movements in the upper-shoulder region of the body, of water flowing, rippling and falling (waterfall).

Dance of ʿAfar warriors; early 20th century; photo by Arnold Holtz; from the collection of André Evalet

Ǝskəsta has been variously defined as a D. genre, a specific D., or D. style identified by its most prominent feature, the shoulder movements of the dancer. It is actually a D. technique with variations in the manner the shoulders are shaken. This "shaking shoulder" motif serves as the pivotal point of the technique itself. Shoulder movements involve direction (vertical, horizontal, diagonal), manner of movement (jerking, shaking, twisting) and points between which shoulders are able to move (direction, shoulder position). There are gradients and varying combinations of direction and position, as in the "jerking *əskəsta*". When the technique is extended, it affects other body parts, such as the chest or even the entire body. Technically, *əskəsta* is always supported by different body and foot movements such as bending, jumping, small springing action and knee flexions. *Ǝskəsta* is favoured by solo dancers to display their virtuosity, to stage a competition and to create and perform new solo parts in combination with other D. techniques.

Ǝskəsta can function as the most important component of a D. consisting solely of it, though it is used in conjunction with foot movements to support it, as in the D. of Goǧǧam and Gondär. Alternatively, it can serve as an accompaniment to another D. movement where body or foot movements are equal or more important than *əskəsta*, as in some of the Gurage or Mənǧar dances. It also can serve as the finale, as in the Təgray and Oromo D.

In Amhara D., both partners or soloists perform different *əskəsta* techniques simultaneously and change technique at will. However, in Wällo dances, both partners perform the same *əskəsta* techniques simultaneously and change technique only when given a signal by the D. leader. Emphasis on *əskəsta* varies from slight, in which the basic character of the D. does not require *əskəsta*, as in Gurage D., to a primary emphasis, as in Amhara D.

Goǧǧam D. are identified by various movement patterns, of which the three major ones are the **ድረባ** (*dərräba*, 'twice'), involving a ratio of two to one, that is two shoulder movements per one foot movement (beat); the **ዝናብ** (*zənab*, 'rain') where the shoulders move up and down imitating the motion of falling rain, and the **እንቅጥቅጥ** (*ənqəṭqqəṭ*, 'shake'), involving a number of short, sharply executed shoulder shakes per one foot movement (Yasuko Endo 2001).

Dancers from the Gondär region perform the greatest number of different *əskəsta* variations and are known for their consummate skill in their execution. Dancers from the Mənǧar region prefer more foot motifs than the Goǧǧam and Gondär dancers. But the Gurage use the most foot motifs, so much so that it is these foot motifs rather than *əskəsta* that define the character of Gurage D. (s. Tibor Vadasy 1971:194).

Some distinctive characteristics of Dances

Though the Gurage sing during the first D. section, this ceases in the second section, where the vocalists emit a continuing, guttural breathing, in-out technique corresponding rhythmically with the foot motifs.

Both the Gurage D. and the Oromo *ragada* dance are the most energetic and violent in the B section, with angular jerking and kicking movements that affect the entire body. There are no pauses during this section, lasting between ten and thirty seconds. However, in the Amhara and Təgray D., there are pauses and the entire *əskəsta* is performed at an even higher energy level often lasting several minutes. When Oromo dancers pause between the two sections, the solo partners make an elastic bow towards each other. During the bow, the head is bent forward and sways from left to right or right to left. This is very typical, and basic to the *šagoye*, an Oromo couples' dance from Harär.

Some dances, like the *hota*, a war D. from Wällo, do not consist of an established D. formation, but simply of a mass of men pressed together who move and sing together in rhythm. Often, after the *əskəsta*, the closed mass of men opens up and they run away searching for another locale or "enemy." As part of the D., this running takes place at the beginning and at the end of the sequence.

The Hamär ç̣urra (spring D., "to leap high") takes place at night and appears to illustrate male and female courting. Two dozen male dancers form a semi-circle where half the men step forward out of the semi-circle. They then perform, individually, feats of high leaps with twists and turns of their bodies, and move their heads rhythmically in different directions. The remaining men in the circle clap independently. Later, all dancers leap and clap in unison. This established, the women rush en masse towards the men and the D. terminates the very moment they reach the men. The women are chased away and the entire sequence begins again. This D. is defined by the alternation of chaos and order; the dissolution of order takes place at the very moment it has been achieved.

Special props are often integral to the performance, such as the drum, stick, sword and *šämma*. Drums play a decisive role in the Təgray circle D. As leaders, two to five drummers give the basic rhythmic patterns and signal when to begin *əskəsta* and when to repeat the D. sequence. The Wällo *hota* and Oromo *ičisa* men's war D. do not allow anyone to participate unless he is in possession of a stick, probably symbolic of weapons used in battle. In the *šire* (Təgray sword D.), two to four men run 20 to 30 m out of the circle each holding a sword in one hand and its sheath in the other. Though they dance with sword in hand, it is never used to initiate an attack on a partner. The *awrus* (Təgray pigeon D.) ostensibly enacts a duel between a pigeon and an eagle, but symbolically represents the enticement of a man by a woman or two women. The woman uses the shawl of her *šämma* as wings to imitate a pigeon's flight and by the man to imitate an eagle's outstretched wings.

State of dance studies

A major attempt to study and document Ethiopian D. on a systematic basis was instigated in 1964 by the Hungarian government in collaboration with the Ethiopian Ministry of Information. In order to establish an organizational framework for study and for archiving materials, scholars and specialists with expertise in the performing arts were enlisted to travel throughout the country to collect and document music and dance. Under the aegis of the Yared School of Music and the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies, these materials eventually were to be made available to interested scholars and dance practitioners. Ethiopians who worked on the project included Ṣäggaye Däbalqe, former Director of the Music Division of Ethiopian Radio and Television, and Iyoʾel Yoḥannəs, Director of the Hagär Fəqr Tiyatər (Patriotic Association).

Two Hungarian scholars, György Martin and Bálint Sárosi, along with members of the Addis Abäba radio staff, participated in a preliminary expedition in 1965, collecting materials from seventeen regions in eight provinces, resulting in a broad overview of D. Approximately 3,000 metres of film and several hundred still photographs, as well as tape-recordings of music were collected (Bálint Sárosi 1970). Another Hungarian scholar and dance specialist who taught dance at the Yared School of Music was Tibor Vadasy who subsequently continued the research and collecting, but focused his attention on detailed analysis of specific dances of ethnic groups from various regions. Published during the early 1970s, his three articles on secular dance were the most detailed analyses of dance of that time (Tibor Vadasy 1970, 1971, 1973).

Publications containing terminology used in descriptions of dance genres and specific D. were not standardized but idiosyncratic using either a descriptive title (*awrus* or pigeon dance), a title by ethnic group (Oromo dance), by geographical location (Gondär or Wällo dance), D. formation (Təgray pair dance), D. technique (shaking *əskəsta*), by sex (*hota*, a men's dance), function (Mənǧar threshing dance), event (Gurage funeral dance), or in combination (s. Tse Kimberlin 1986).

Descriptions of D. are indeed problematic. For instance, Amharic terms often were used to describe D. of non-Amharic-speaking groups. Translation of indigenous words into English caused difficulty when no English equivalents were forthcoming. For example, the Amhara do not have an indigenous word for "music" and do not perceive the words "song" and "dance" as separate entities. Thus, *zäfän* could mean song, secular song, D. and/or music. Descriptions of D. movements often contained subjective words that could not be quantified such as harsh, soft, lively, and quick. Vadasy sought a more objective description of D. movement by utilizing Labanotation, a universally applicable notation system of nonverbal symbolism used to record movement. Based on the universal laws of kinetics, this system enabled him to reconstruct the simplest to the most complex movements (Laban 1928; Hutchinson 1954).

For information on secular D. after 1980, see Timkehet Teffera (1999) for aspects of D. accompanying Amhara wedding songs, with comments about D. and movement patterns among the Qottu, Harari, Wälaytta, Wällamo, Dorze, Gurage, Təgrəñña speakers and Oromo.

Although publications by other authors are acknowledged, the core of secular D. studies is discussed on the basis of Vadasy (1970, 1971, 1973) and Tse Kimberlin (1986).

Lit.: YASUKO ENDO, *Dance and Society*, Kyoto 2001, 182–92; ANN HUTCHINSON, *Labanotation: the System for Recording Movement*, London 1954; RUDOLF LABAN, *Principles of Dance and Movement Notation*, London 1928; CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, "Dance in Ethiopia", in: *International Encyclopaedia of Dance*, New York 1986; GYÖRGY MARTIN, "Dance Types in Ethiopia", *International Folk Music Council* 19, 1967; MINISTRY OF INFORMATION (ed.), *Music, Dance, and Drama*, Addis Ababa 1968 (Patterns of Progress in Ethiopia 9); BÁLINT SÁROSI, "Melodic Patterns in the Folk Music of the Ethiopian Peoples", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 280–87; IVO STRECKER – JEAN LYDALL, *Musik der Hamar, Südäthiopien. [Recordings and Commentary]*, Berlin 1980 (Museum Collection Berlin [West], 6); TIBOR VADASY, "Ethiopian Folk-Dance", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 119–46; ID., "Ethiopian Folk-Dance II: Tegré and Guragé", *ibid.* 9, 2, 1971, 191–217, here 194; ID., "Ethiopian Folk-Dance III: Wällo and Galla", *ibid.* 11, 1, 1973, 213–31 (ill.); TIMKEHET TEFFERA, *Musik zu Hochzeiten bei den Amara im Zentralen Hochland Äthiopiens*, Berlin 1999.

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Dances, religious ↗Aqʷaqʷam; ↗Däbtära; ↗Dəggʷa; ↗Qəddase; ↗Zema

Danəʾel

Ḥaṣ́ani D. (ዳንኤል) is known from two Gəᶜəz inscriptions on an ancient stone throne base still lying in a field at ↗Aksum, May Qoḥo. A third one, on a stone slab nearby, most probably a part of the same throne, may also be related to D. (s. DAE I, 59f.; IV, nos. 12ff.). These texts, dating roughly between the 7th and the 12th cent., are later than the throne is; they are crudely inscribed and mostly illegible, both reading and interpretation being mere matter of speculation (cp. RIE nos. 193 [I, II], 194; Schneider 1984:163).

Despite such an extreme uncertainty, the evidence on *ḥaṣ́ani* D. is of considerable importance. The inscriptions seem to show him battling victoriously in several areas of northern Ethiopia, thus rendering the king of Aksum his vassal. D. appears to have possibly defeated another *ḥaṣ́ani*, Karuray, to have fought the ↗Barya both near "Käsäla" (↗Kassala) and in ↗Wälqayt, and – as a final triumph – to have "subjected the king of Aksum and made him cease ruling Aksum".

No date can be set for these events (9th–12th cent. is the most general and likely estimate), but it is not impossible that *ḥaṣ́ani* D. was one of the rulers who controlled Ethiopia from ↗Kuᶜbar, a mysterious new capital city mentioned by Arabic writers from al-↗Yaᶜqūbī (fl. ca. 872–91) onwards. This city and the relevant kingdom might have had some later connection with the ↗Zagʷe dynasty (ca. 1137–1270) and its capital Roḥa (or Adäfa), later called ↗Lalibäla. If *ḥaṣ́ani* D. was an Agäw conqueror of Aksum, he might be considered as one of the Zagʷe's forerunners.

A striking feature is that *ḥaṣ́ani* D. refers to himself thrice as the "son of Däbrä Fərem" (yet readable, in one case, however: "Däbrä Afrem"?). Däbrä Fərem may not be D.'s patronymic, as once supposed, but rather points to the religious institution D. was affiliated to (as a monk? cp. "son of Däbrä Libanos", etc.), ↗*däbr* styling in fact a monastery or a church, *Fərem* being the eponymous holy person. If so, Fərem could be a hypocoristic form of the name Fəremnaṭos (Frumentius), evangeliser of the 4th cent.-Aksum, later better known as *abunä* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan, and refer to the ancient church of ↗Fəremona, 6 km from ᶜAdwa, to the south of the way to Aksum, where the Portuguese fortress was to be much later (s. Fiaccadori 1990).

As to the title of D., the Gəᶜəz word ሐፃኒ (*ḥaṣ́ani*) literally means 'tutor, guardian [of the children]', but its exact significance here, and the position of D. therefore, are unclear; it might have meant something like a 'guardian [of the state]' (an etymology from *ḥaṣ́ani* has been suggested for ↗*aṣe* and for *əč̣č̣ä*, s. Cerulli 1943:274ff., Fiaccadori 1990:328 respectively). It is nonetheless the same title born by King ↗Lalibäla, the Zagʷe ruler, in two land grants as they are preserved in the "Golden Gospel" of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana (in two other land charters, however, he is presented as *nəguś*: CRDLib nos. 6, 7), and mentioned in the account of *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's campaign (*ḥaṣ́ane* Sägärat, s. MarAmdS 52f.). The title appears in non-Ethiopian sources: the 10th-cent. Arab author ↗Ibn Ḥawqal has it in the form *ḥaḍāni* as applying to the king of Abyssinia (the one killed by the queen of the Banī l-Hamwīya, s. ↗Ǝsato). It is possible that *ḥaṣ́ani* was a court title given to local governors (or rulers); and *ḥaṣ́ani* D. had became stronger than his (over)lord, the *nəguś* of Aksum – a situation known from other periods of Ethiopian history.

Src.: CRDLib 184ff., nos. 6–7; DAE II, 59f. ["Thron Nr. 23"]; IV, 42–48, nos. 12–14; RIE 278-84, nos. 193, 194; LesCDic 226; MarAmdS 52f.

Lit.: ARTHUR KINLOCH IRVINE, "Däbrä-Férém", in: *DicEthBio* 45; ID., "Dan'él", *ibid.* 46; ID., "Karuray", *ibid.* 98; ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94, here 274ff. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80, here 259ff.]; MHAksum 232, 262; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Epigraphica Aethiopica", *Quaderni Utinensi* 8 [15–16], 1990 [1996], 325–33, here 327ff., 333 ["II. *Dabra Ferēm*"] (Lit.); ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Review Article on Yuri M. Kobischanov, *Axum*, The Pennsylvania State University Press 1979", *JES* 17, 1984, 148–81, here 163; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, *Ancient Ethiopia*, London 1998, 127f.

Stuart Munro-Hay – Denis Nosnitsin

Danəʾel

D. (**ዳንኤል**, Ar.: Danyāl) was a metropolitan of Ethiopia consecrated by Coptic Patriarch Philotheus (979–1003). The biography of this Patriarch in the *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* preserves a copy of a letter from a king of Ethiopia to King George II of ↗Nubia (r. ca. 969). The story relates how the "king of Abyssinia" sent to the king of Nubia to tell him how a "queen of Banū l-Hamwīya" had attacked his land (s. ↗Ǝsato). The Ethiopian king considered that the situation reflected divine retribution for Ethiopia's bad treatment of an earlier metropolitan, Peṭros, in the time of Patriarch Cosmas III (923–34), after which the Alexandrian patriarchs had refused to send another bishop to Ethiopia. The king begged George to assist him in persuading Philotheus to send a new metropolitan so that "God may remove his wrath from us". Philotheus agreed, and selected a monk from Dayr Anbā Maqār, called D., to renew the metropolitanate in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian ↗*Sənkəssar* (12 *Ḫ̮ədar*) repeats a version of the same story, but does not mention the foreign queen.

Src.: BudSaint 233f.; SawHist vol. 2, part 2, 171f.

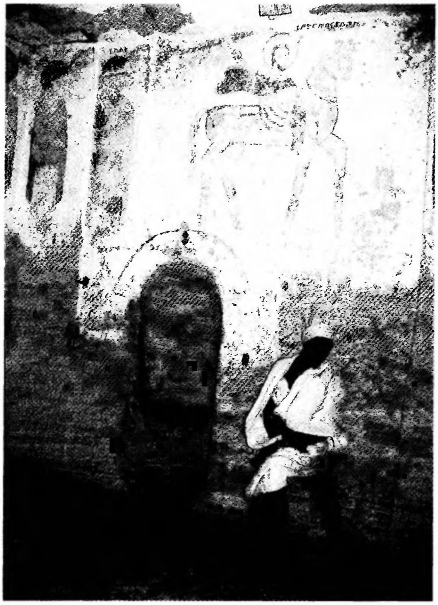
Lit.: SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Dān'ēl (fl. late tenth century)", in: *CE* vol. 3, 1002 (Lit.); MHAlex 133f. (Lit.).

Stuart Munro-Hay

Danəʾel of Däbrä Maryam

The monk D. (**ዳንኤል**) of Däbrä Maryam (Təgray) was active in the second half of 13th cent. He is remembered as an abbot of the monastery of Däbrä Maryam on Mount ↗Qorqor, in the ↗Gärᶜalta province of eastern Təgray, where a frescoed chapel is dedicated to him. According to his *Gädl*, D. came from the Mänbärta province of eastern Təgray, "from the lineage of the *däqiqä afqäre* who were called *laᶜelāy mogarya*". He was initiated into the monastic life by ᶜƎbnä Sänbät, abbot of the same monastery of Däbrä Maryam in the last decades of the ↗Zagʷe period, toward the middle of the 13th cent.

D. was the spiritual father of ↗Ewosṭatewos of Däbrä Ṣärabi, the Təgrayan monk who led a dissident monastic movement during the reign of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I. According to a frequent topos of hagiographic literature Ewosṭatewos was D.'s nephew. Advocating the independence of regular clergy from civil authorities and promoting the celebration of the Sabbaths, i.e., the observance of rest on both Saturday and Sunday, Ewosṭatewos made proselytes in northern Ethiopia. His meeting with D. is described in the Acts of both saints and must have occurred around 1280, when D. was already abbot of Däbrä Maryam.



Interior of Danəʾel's chapel: view towards north-east; niche in the eastern wall; wall-paintings: Abraham, Isaac, St. Theodore the Oriental; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

The information on this encounter, the personal name ʿƎbnä Sänbät and a long inscription on a *mänbärä tabot* in ↗Lalibäla, alluding to a controversy on the Saturday's rest, allow one to state that the question of the Sabbaths' observance, characteristic of Ewosṭatewos' teaching, dates to at least a century before the teaching of the latter and that eastern Təgray was the site in which the controversy took shape.

A copy of the Acts of D. is transmitted in a 18th/19th-cent. manuscript from Däbrä Maryam (Addis Abäba, IES mf. 194), but the text is still unpublished.

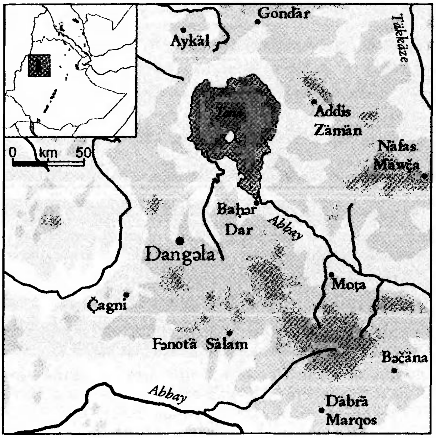
Lit.: STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Note on the Early Iconography of St. George and Related Equestrian Saints in Ethiopia", *JES* 13, 2, 1975, 39–55; LusStud 7, 27, 54f., 70, 98; GEORG GERSTER, *Kirchen im Fels*, Berlin 1976, 83, fig. 42f. (ill.); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "A New Source for the History of Garʿāltā. The Life of Dān'ēl of Dabra Māryām on Mount Qorqor (KRZ 36)", *Quaderni Utinensi* 8 [15–16], 1990 [1996], 345–52; ID., "Historical Elements in the Gadla Dān'ēl", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 1275–81; KapMon 47f.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Danəʾel of Tämben ↗Ṣäʿada Ǝmba, ↗Mädḫaninä Ǝgziʾ

Dangəla

D. (ዳንግላ, 10° 16' N, 36° 51' E) is a town in ↗Agäw Mədər, Goǧǧam (currently it is the capital of D. *wäräda* in the Agäw-Awi Administrative Zone) and the name of an Agäw group living there. The town is found 85 km south-west from Baḥər Dar, on the main Addis Abäba – Däbrä Marqos – Baḥər Dar – Gondär road. This is one of the settlements whose emergence accompanied political and commercial developments in Goǧǧam in the 18th and early 19th cent.



The topography of the D. *wäräda* is characterized by a gently elevated plateau gradually decreasing in elevation from the south to north and north-west. The town of D. is situated on land with an average elevation of 2,200 m A.S.L. The D. *wäräda* in general and the D. town in particular have a *wäyna däga* (temperate) climate, with the exception of some areas bordering the Beni Šangul-Gumuz region, which have a *qʷälla* (hot) type of climate.

Agäw elders explain the name D. as deriving from Agäwəñña (↗Awŋi) words *dang* and *ila*. Dang is believed to be a descendant of the first seven founding fathers of D., viz. Ankaša/Hankaša, Banǧa, Azana, Mätäkkäl, Zigam, Čara, and Kʷakura, from elder to younger. One day Dang's brother wanted his company to go hunting. Coming to Dang's house, he asked Dang's wife, *Dang zukama*? ('Is Dang in the house?') Dang's wife replied, *Dang ila* ('Dang is not here'). From then the area where Dang's house was located came to be called Dang-ila. Later, the name of that particular place (the present day D. town) became used also for the region.

According to the Chronicle of *aṣe* Susənyos, *ras* ↗Śəʿəlä Krəstos defeated in D. the Mäčča Oromo, who attacked this and the neighbouring areas; in 1625 D. was raided by Susənyos himself. The vicinity of Gondär promoted slave-trade, and D. became an important slave-hunting area, where the Agäw-captives were sold to the Muslim traders from Sinnār. In the early 19th cent., "Old D." (which probably was the direct precursor of the D. town today divided into "Old D." and "New D." by the river Qesawəsta) was known as a slave trading market and a weekly Saturday market serving as a contact point between agriculturists and craftsmen. The vicinity of Gondär encouraged also the spread of the Amharic language and Christianity; the place was granted as a fief to the court church Gəmǧa Bet Maryam (hence Qäsawəst, lit. 'its [the church's] clergy').

The British authorities established one of their consulates in D. before the march of the Italians into the town in 1936. Apart from its early commercial importance, several factors prompted Britain select this town as the seat of the consulate. Among these are the hospitable climate, and

Britain's desire to control the area drained by the Blue Nile and its tributaries, and also to build a dam at the outlet of lake ↗Ṭana. Following the conquest of the Sudan, consulate policy included diverting south-western and western Ethiopian trade to the British colony there.

The coming of the Italians in 1936 and their five years stay at D. were marked by important changes in the social, economic and political spheres. Having occupied the surrounding provinces, the Italians built a formidable fort at D. and made the former British consulate their military and administrative headquarters, to control and govern the nearby provinces such as Agäw Mədər, Mäčča and Ačäfär. They used the town as a springboard to launch several offensives and campaigns against the patriotic resistance in the above-mentioned districts.

After the Liberation, D. town became the administrative centre of Agäw Mədər *awrağğa* and of the D. *wäräda*. Watered by the Bäläs, Gälgəl Abbay, Ašär, Kilətti, and other rivers, D. *wäräda* brings forth such agricultural products as *ṭef*, millet, maize, nug, barley, peas, chickpeas, potatoes and onions. Domestic animals (including sheep, goats and cattle) and pack animals (donkeys, mules and horses) are bred by the population of the *wäräda*. A variety of trees grows in the *wäyna däga* climatic zone of D., such as juniper, *Millettia ferruginea*, sycamore, olive tree, acacia, and many others. These trees, however, are being replaced by eucalyptus.

Amhara are the dominant ethnic group, constituting 88.1 % and 90.9 % of the total population of the town in 1984 and 1994 Census respectively. The second ethnic group is Agäw (7.7 %) while the share of remaining ethnic groups was only 1.4 % in 1994. The majority of the inhabitants of the town are followers of Orthodox Christianity, with Muslim minorities and a few Protestants. Amharic is the dominant language spoken in the town, followed by Awŋi.

Src.: PerChron 250ff. (text); *Guida* 370ff.; GuiIyas 12, 65, 89, 234, 241 (tr.); ChTana; TEFERI MEKONNEN, *A History of Dangila* (*c. 1900–1956*), B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1999; WASIHUN TÄFFÄRA, *The History of Dangila Senior Secondary School 1975 – 1990*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1993; CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, *The Sources of the Nile*; *being a General Survey of the Basin of that River, and of its Head-streams*; *with the History of the Nilotic Discovery*, London 1860.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note sugli Agau. ii. Appunti sulla lingua awiyā del Danghelā", *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 18, 1905, 103–94; BZHist; ḤADDIS ᶜALÄMAYYÄHU, ትዝታ (*Təzzəta*, 'Remembrance'), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1992/93 A.D.]; KTMast; HuntGeogr, s. index.

Mersha Alehegne

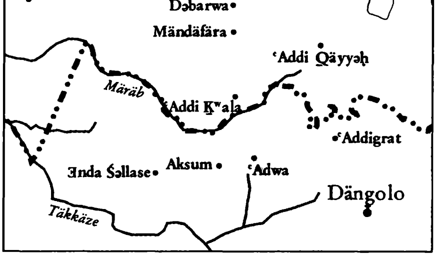
Dängolo

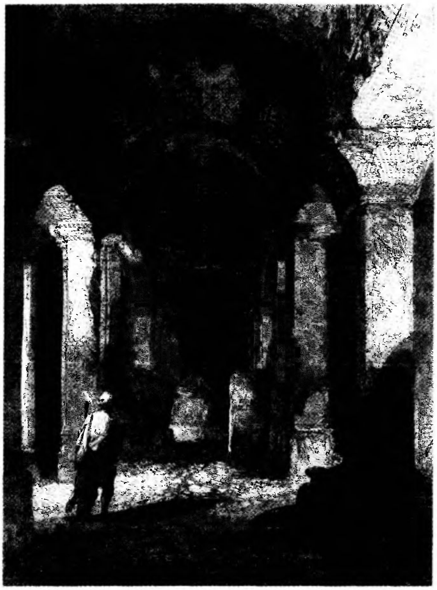
D. (ደንጎሎ, also Dängälo) is the name of a few small settlements in Təgray and Eritrea.

D. in Kələttä Awləᶜalo, Təgray, first appears in 19th-cent. literature due to its ancient rock-hewn church Čerqos Maryam (e.g. LefAbyss vol. 3, 426) – in fact, the first monolithic church to become known in Europe. This cruciform basilica, widely known as Wəqro Čerqos (cp. Plant 1985:9ff.; from Tgn. *wəqro*, 'carved in stone'), lies near the entrance of a mountain pass separating the historic districts of Ḥaramat and of Ṣəraᶜ, close to the ancient trade route leading from the north to the south. The new settlement ↗Wəqro nearby derives its name from the Čerqos church.

According to local tradition, first recorded by Munzinger and by the archaeologist Rassam, the church was founded in the 4th cent. by ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa; Plant (1985:91) places its foundation in the late 6th or 7th cent. Yet, the building is much more recent. It is remarkable for its barrel-vault, a feature which is very rarely observed in Ethiopia (DAE I, 181); and the Aksumite detail acting as the frieze above the columns. From the Napier military expedition of 1867/68, which passed by D., we have a detailed sketch of it.

The church has three aisles, each of them having a separate *tabot*. The nave and apse host *tabots* of St. Čerqos (or Qirqos) and of St. Mary





Central nave of the rock-hewn church of Dängolo, view from the *qəne mahlet* towards the *mäqdäs*; from *The Illustrated London News*, July 18, 1868, 61.

(hence the church's alternative names Maryam Wəq̱ro, Maryam Qirqos), the north aisle is dedicated to St. Michael, the south aisle to St. Gabriel.

Another D. (Ital. "Dongollo"), in Eritrea, acquired some economic importance in the 20th cent. due to its mineral springs. This spa, also called Dängolo La^{c}əlay ('Upper D.'), lies north-east of Ginda^{c} on the road to Massawa in the slopes of the highlands, 966 m A.S.L., near the small plain of Säbarguma. Under the Italian administration, modern facilities were constructed, so that the mineral water of D. became one of the most prominent bottled waters of Eritrea, the term "D." being sometimes used almost as a synonym for 'mineral water'. Its most important competitor is the nearby spa of Säbarguma, of similar importance. In colonial times sisal was also cultivated in D.

A third D., at the foot of the slopes in the lowlands is called D. Taḥtay ('Lower D.'), first developed in the 1930s as the main factory for the Säbarguma mineral water concession. Today it is the seat of Eritrea's Ministry of Defence.

Src.: LefAbyss vol. 3, 426, pl. 52 (Atlas); *The Illustrated London News*, 18 July 1868, 49, 51ff., 61 (ill.); *Guida* 191, 194.
Lit.: DAE I, 181; CRStor 311; SerHist 40; ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 237f., 257, no. 13 (Lit.); RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 91ff.; KilHDic 168f.

Wolbert Smidt

Däng^{w}ära

The D. (Amh. ደንጐራ, also ደንጎራ, *dängora*, Oromo *dongoraa*) is a 1.5 m-high sharp-pointed digging stick made in hard wood (acacia or olive trees), sometimes fitted with an iron tip. To weight it, a bored stone (around 4 kg) is slipped down the upper part. Two men hold it and drive it into the soil in successive blows to a depth of 20–25 cm. They lever up a lump of earth and turn it over, thus tilling 60 m^{2} per hour. The overturned soil is crushed down with a hoe, a hammer, or by hand, as is customary once a plough has been drawn.

This tool is used in Harär among the Somali, the Qottuu and Ittuu Oromo, as well as in Arsi but the Ethiopian plough has supplanted it on flat fields. With a D. it is possible to till narrow terraces, slopes and gardens and to avoid the need to own or rent a pair of oxen. It is wrongly considered by some Ethiopian and European scholars as a 'primitive' tool and sometimes it is confused with a tall forked digging-stick, used by ↗ ənsät farmers (the Gurage *wänäd/wänät*), or for a planting-stick (*hordaa*), used by western Oromo.

↗ Agriculture

Lit.: ROBERT DE BRUN, *Voyage en Éthiopie méridionale, pays Galla, Changalla et Dankali (1905–1906)*, n.d.; JOHN DESMOND CLARK, "The Use of the Bored Stone in Abyssinia", *Man* 44, 1944, 31–32; ALAIN GASCON, "Le *däng^{w}ära*, pieu à labourer d'Éthiopie", *Journal d'agriculture traditionnelle et de botanique appliquée*, n° spécial, 24, 2–3, 1977, 111–24; VSAe II; FAOAgr; FREDDY MAES, "Production agricole des hauts plateaux", in: XAVIER VAN DER STAPPEN (ed.), *Æthiopia. Pays, histoire, populations, croyances, art & artisanat*, Bruxelles 1996, 36–52; HENRI DE MONFREID, *Vers les hautes terres hostiles d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1933; ShGurage; STANISLAW STANLEY, "Ensete in the Ethiopian Economy", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 4, 1, 1966, 30–37; FREDERICK JOHN SIMOONS, "The Forked Digging Stick of the Gurage", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 84, 2, 1959, 302–03; GIOVANNI VITALI – ENRICO BARTOLOZZI, *Strumenti agricoli indigeni dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*, Firenze 1939 (Relazioni e Monografie Agrarie Coloniali 52).

Alain Gascon

Danish Ethiopian Mission

The D.E.M. (Dansk Ethioper Mission) is the youngest of the Scandinavian societies for Christian mission in Ethiopia. It was founded in April 1948 by Johan Sonne Lindblom, a Danish Folk High School teacher and Lutheran pastor from Bornholm. On 21 March 1949, Lindblom obtained permission from *aṣe* ↗Ḥaylä Śəllase I to erect mission schools at Dodola and Ebano in Bale, Harär province.

During the short interval immediately following the revolution of 1974, when the missionaries were forbidden to work in Ethiopia, the society operated an orphanage for Ethiopian refugee children in Jerusalem for a year.

Since 1969 the D.E.M. has closely co-operated with the local ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Iyesus; six Danish missionaries are at present active in Addis Abäba (in technological programs and education), and in Awasa (in the Sidama Literacy Project, Bible translation, and in construction and medical administration). Since 2000, the D.E.M. has had its centre and offices at Christiansfeld, sharing the building with other Danish Lutheran missionary societies (Ydre Missions Bygning).

↗Denmark, relations with

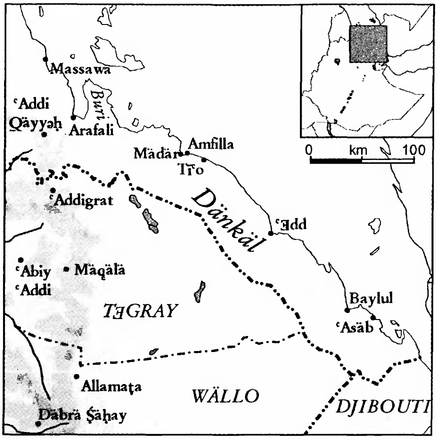
Lit.: JOHAN SONNE LINDBLOM, *Ild i Bjerget*, København 1970.

Kirsten Stoffregen Pedersen

Dänkäl

Until 1995 D. (ደንከል) was the administrative name of the southern coastal district of Eritrea, south of the Gulf of Zula and historically linked to the ᶜAfar ↗Dankáli. During the Italian period, the name "Dancália" (*settentrionale* and *meridionale*) was applied to the area mainly inhabited by the ᶜAfar, i.e. from the ↗Buri Peninsula to French Somaliland and to the Ethiopian foothills. The brunt of the modern D. district corresponds to the former *Dancália settentrionale esterna* under the *commissariato di Assab*, which had a representative in ↗Tīᶜo.

Under the ↗British Military Administration the so-called Red Sea Division included the coastal region and the Sämhar Plain. The former Italian division, whose administrative border was the town of Arafali (Iḍāfalo) and the eastern edge of Akkälä Guzay inhabited by the ↗Sāho, was restored during the period of federation with Ethiopia. The Ethiopian government changed the administrative name into "District [*awraǧǧa*] of ᶜAsäb" when Eritrea became a province of the Empire in 1962. A new division of the north in 1987, disregarding the former Eritrean borders, included the former Wällo district of Awsa in a new ᶜAsäb Region. In the independent Eritrea D. was replaced in 1995 by the new administrative region Däbubawi Qäyyəḥ Baḥri.



The D. coast is extremely arid and thinly populated (around 7,000 inhabitants). Miᶜdír (administrative name Mädär), on the Bay of ↗Amfilla, and ↗Baylul are both historical towns, while Tīᶜo and ᶜAsäb were established by the Italians. The Arraᶜtá hills (nicknamed Alpi Dancale or Danachile) consist of a narrow mountainous coastal strip, behind Tīᶜo, and the southern coastal plain of Gālí Māḥa (between Sāroytá and ᶜÍddi [ᶜƎdd]), north of Mabḍá and Bîḍu.

As the name of an ᶜAfar subgroup, the Tgn. term D. originally referred to the Dankáli, but later was used for all the ᶜAfar.

↗ᶜAfar

Lit.: KilHDic 157f.; DIDIER MORIN, *Poésie traditionnelle des Afars*, Paris 1997 (Langues et cultures africaines, 21), 7; IBN SAᶜID, *Géographie d'Abulféda*, tr. by STANISLAS GUYARD, Paris 1883, vol. 2, 128.

Didier Morin

Dankáli

D. (Arab. plural Danākil; the ᶜAfar D. as a collective noun has no plural) is the name traditionally given by the Arabs to the ↗ᶜAfar. It designates the ᶜAfar-speaking tribes that are predominantly located in the desert north of ↗Baylūl, with whom Arab sailors have been historically in contact. Among the Sāho, the ᶜAfar are known as Dankál.

The D. consist of four main sub-clans: Dawuddó (those of Mädär/Miᶜdír and of the island of Sarᶜabbáy are supposed to be historical chiefs of the coast before the Dammohoytá domination, ↗ᶜAdoyammára and ᶜAsahyammára), ᶜUmarto, Fadilto (chiefs of Baylūl who took over the "first" inhabitants, the Ánᶜa and the Ġôḏáw) and Sumâᶜiltó.

Ibn Saᶜīd in the 13th cent. mentions the "Dankal" from the neighbourhood of ↗Sawākin up to the Bāb al-Mandab (he may be confusing the D. and the Ankâla tribes, the latter still present in the ↗Buri peninsula). During the reign of *aṣe* Bäʾədä Maryam in the 15th cent., "the king of D." is mentioned as a neutral tributary during an Ethiopian raid against the ↗Dobaʾa.

As the name of a political entity, D. – "Deuchali" – appears for the first time on ↗Fra Mauro's map from 1460. In the 17th cent., when ↗Mendez passed through Baylūl, this port was still the capital of the "Reino de Dancali".

At the end of the 17th cent. the kingdom was threatened by the local Dammohoytá. They had founded the sultanate of Bîḏu around 1650 and took over Buri a century later. They still occupy the majority of the peninsula. The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos may refer to these events when it reports on Kámil, King of D.; after fighting against his nephew Seḥem (ᶜAfar form of Arabic Šaḥīm), he was defeated and expelled. He then showed allegiance to Susənyos, asking for his protection (the Emperor welcomed him but also demanded tribute). Kámil was apparently the father of Seḥem b. Kámil al-Dankáli, the "master of Baylūl", who received the envoy of the *imām* of Yemen to *aṣe* Fasilädäs, in September 1647. The *Sīrat al-Ḥabaša* provides the last written indication of D. power in Baylūl (van Donzel 1986).

The D. Fādilto maintained the power in Baylūl until the middle of the 19th cent., but were replaced first by the Nassár and then by the Afᶜara, supported by the Mōdaytó of Áwsa, whose *sulṭān* pretended to control the port.

↗ᶜAdoyammára and ᶜAsahyammára

Src.: IBN SAᶜĪD, *Géographie d'Abulféda*, tr. by STANISLAS GUYARD, Paris 1883, vol. 2, passim; PerChron; DonHaySirat, s. index.

Lit.: DIDIER MORIN, "The Kingdom of Danakil, Ethiopia and Yaman (Baylûl revisited)", in: *Äthiopien und seine Nachbarn. Ethiopia and its Neighbours* (Orbis Aethiopicus 3), Frankfurt am Main 1997, 53–57.

Didier Morin

Dañña

D. (Amh.: ዳኛ, Tgn.: *danya*, 'judge, magistrate') is a title that usually denotes all judges from the highest to the lowest ranks, including leading members of traditional councils of elders, both in the past and at present. The term appears as early as in the first half of the 16th cent., in land charters of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (CRAxum no. 31, cp. nos. 52, 56). By then, D. is attested as a title for the office of the "keeper, overseer" or "guardian" bestowed by the abbot of the congregation in the Ewosṭatean monasteries (↗Ewosṭateans), e.g., ↗Däbrä Ṣärabi and ↗Däbrä Bizän (BeckHuntAlvar 89 and n. 2, 556).

A alternative term to D., ↗*wämbär*, describes a member of the bench of the judiciary. Exceptions were the Chief Justice (↗*Afä nəguś*) and Vice-Chief Justice or presiding judges (ምክትል፡ አፈ፡ ንጉሥ, *məkəttəl afä nəguś*) of the Supreme Imperial Court until 1974, and ራስ፡ ወምበር (*ras wämbär*) as a senior judge of the same court prior to 1936. Today, judges assigned to the hierarchy or courts are simply referred to as D. with slight variations of spelling in different parts of the country.

The governors of all administrative divisions (levels) would sit in the court of their administrative boundary, with two other judges to adjudicate cases.

D. were formerly designated by either the local or the regional governors as their own *wämbär*. Later, however, they were appointed by the central government. The judge designated for the lowest court is referred to as አጥቢያ፡ ዳኛ (*aṭbiya dañña*; in Amharic ↗*aṭbiya* means 'parish' or 'locality'). Local governors were empowered to set up the lowest court at *aṭbiya* level to adjudicate minor cases. Such courts were operating widely in Ethiopia before the Italian occupation. After an interruption of a number of years, the *aṭbiya dañña* court was re-established by Proclamation no. 90 of 1947. It was, however, by implication abolished by the ↗Civil Procedure Code of 1965.

Local judges were not government employees. They were grant-land holders, *balä gʷəlt*

(↗*Gʷəlt*), or ↗*mälkäñña*, or their representatives. These judges often held office because of their hereditary title. In rare cases, they were chosen from among the landowners of the locality by the governor of the district. Local judges were authorized by the proclamation to handle cases of small claims. Two assessors sat with the local judge when he could not effect a compromise in criminal cases. In civil cases, local judges had original jurisdiction over disputes involving 25 *bərr* or less and in criminal cases over offences punishable with a fine below 25 *bərr*. Appeals from their decisions went to the subdistrict courts.

↗Customary law; ↗Law and Judiciary

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 89 and n. 2, 556; CRAxum no. 31, cp. nos. 52, 56; HuntLand nos. 30, 51, 55, p. 106; LesCDic 139, 146; THMDic 1131f.; Proclamation no. 90 of 1947; WOLF LESLAU, *Documents tigrigna (éthiopien septentrional). Grammaire et textes*, Paris 1941, 229–34 ["Juge: *dayna*"].

Lit.: ABERRA JEMBERE, *An Introduction to the Legal History of Ethiopia, 1434–1974*, Münster – Hamburg – London 2000, 217, 478, 516; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Le *Vite* di ʿĚnbāqom e di Yoḥannĕs, abbati di Dabra Libānos di Scioa", *RSE* 22, 1965 [1967], 75–102, here 92f., n. 173; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni Utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–64, here 147 and n. 3 (Lit.)

Aberra Jembere – Red.

Daññaččäw Wärqu

D.W. (**ዳኛቸው፡ ወርቁ**; b. 24 February 1936, Däbrä Sina, d. 1 December 1994, Addis Abäba) was a playwright, novelist, poet, university lecturer and translator. Due to his excellent achievements in his elementary education at Abbəyyä school, he was sent to the then famous secondary school at Addis Abäba, Kotäbe. Upon completing his secondary education he joined the Teachers Training School in Addis Abäba and, upon graduation, he joined the Mädḫane ʿAläm Secondary School at Harär, where he taught for several years.

He graduated from the Arts Faculty of Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (↗Addis Ababa University). After teaching at the Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature for several years, he continued his education and became the first Ethiopian to earn a Masters Degree in Fine Arts from Iowa State University, which also awarded him, years later, with the title of Honorary Fellow of the International Writers Workshop Association of Iowa University.

Returning to Ethiopia, he resumed teaching at Addis Ababa University and later joined the Ethiopian Standards Institute, where he acted as language expert. From that time on he devoted much of his time to creative writing.

D.W.'s talent became evident early – after the success of his first stage work, *Säqäqänəš əsat*, in 1955. However, it was *Adäfrəs* (1969/70) which brought him the highest public appreciation. D.W. published two novels, two plays, a collection of poems and numerous short stories in Amharic and English that appeared in various magazines and newspapers.

D.W.'s academic works are *Yäṣəḥuf ṭəbäb mämmäriya* (1984/85), one of the most profound works that introduced various Amharic styles, and, in co-authorship with Amsalu Aklilu, *Yäʾamarəñña fäliṭočč*, a dictionary of Amharic idiomatic expressions. He also participated in the creation of a dictionary of geographical terms, *Yäʾamarəñña yäğiʾografi mäzgäbä qalat*.

One of his novels, *The Thirteenth Sun*, written in English, was translated into Russian and German because of its high literary standard.

His sudden death was a shock to many Ethiopian readers.

↗Amharic literature

Src.: DAÑÑAČČÄW WÄRQU, **ሰቀቀንሽ፡ እሳት** (*Säqäqänəš əsat*, 'Your Love is Like Fire in me'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955 A.D.], ms.; ID., **አደፍርስ** (*Adäfrəs*, 'Adäfres, or Disturber'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.]; ID., **እምቧ፡ በሉ፡ ሰዎች** (*Ǝmbʷa bälu säwočč*, 'Ye Men Bellow!'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.]; ID., **ሰው፡ አለ፡ ብዬ** (*Säw allä bəyye*, 'I Thought there were Honest People'), Addis Abäba 1950 A.M. [1957 A.D.]; ID., **ትበልጭ** (*Təbälč̣*, 'You [fem.] are Better'), Addis Abäba 1965, ms.; ID., **የጽሑፍ፡ ጥበብ፡ መመሪያ** (*Yäṣəḥuf ṭəbäb mämmäriya*, 'A Guide to Writing Skills'), Addis Abäba 1977 A.M. [1984/85 A.D.]; ID. et al. (eds.), **የአማርኛ፡ የጂኦግራፊ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት** (*Yäʾamarəñña yäğiʾografi mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Amharic Dictionary of Geographical Terms'), Addis Abäba 1986; DANIACHEW WORKU, *The Thirteenth Sun*, London 1973, Lawrenceville ²2000; ID., *Die dreizehnte Sonne*, tr. by KARIN VON SCHWEDER-SCHREINER, Olten 1980; AMSALU AKLILU – DAÑÑAČČÄW WÄRQU, **የአማርኛ፡ ፈሊጦች** (*Yäʾamarəñña fäliṭočč*, 'Amharic Idioms'), Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.].

Lit.: DEBEBE SEIFU, *Ethiopian Literature in English*, Addis Abäba 1980, ms.; FÄQADÄ AZZÄZÄ, **የገለጻና፡ የምልልስ፡ ፋይዳ፡ በአደፍርስ፡ የመጀመሪያ፡ ምዕራፍ** (*Yägäläṣanna yäməlləlləs fayda bäʾadäfrəs yämäğämmäriya məʿəraf*, 'The Significance of Description and Dialogue in the First Chapter of *Adäfrəs*'), *Ethiopian Journal of Languages and Literature* 8, 1991 A.M. [1998 A.D.], 1–24; MolLit; SAHLE SELASSE BERHANE MARIAM, "The Novels of Daniachew Worku", *The Ethiopian Herald*, 27 October 1974; TEKLU MINAS, *Daniachew Worku's Writings*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1983; TÄKLU MINAS, **የደራሲ፡ ዳኛቸው፡**

ወርቁ፡ በዛብህ፡ ዜና፡ ሕይወትና፡ ዕረፍት (*Yädärasi Daññaččäw Wärqu bäzzabbəh zena ḥəywätənna ʿəräft*, 'The Story of the Life and Death of the Writer Daññaččäw Wärqu Bäzabbəh'), in: *A Special Issue of the School Magazine Devoted to the 50th Jubilee Celebration of Abbəyyä School on 26–27 Gənbot*, Abbəyyä 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.], 24–44; ROBERT M. WREN, "The Ethiopian Volcano: Ambiguity and Meaning in Daniachew's 'The Thirteenth Sun'", *World Literature Written in English* 15, 1, 1976, 29–41.

Amsalu Aklilu

Dänqäz

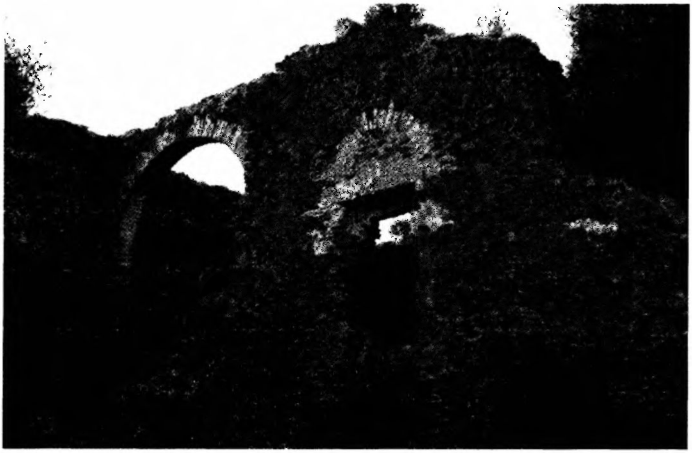
Situated 30 km south-east of Gondär, D. (ደንቀዝ; s. map for Däbrä San for location) was the site of *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl's court as early as 1604, but became important only when *aṣe* ↗Susənyos established himself there in 1617–18. The settlement is referred to in the latter's Chronicle as the monarch's ↗*kätäma* and as his *mädina*, or principal place of residence. It was said by the Portuguese Jesuit missionary Manoel de ↗Almeida to have had "as many as eight or nine thousand hearths", which would imply a population of over 50,000 people (BeckHuntAlm 188).

Susənyos's palace was built, according to the chronicler, by a ↗*Banyan* architect called Abdäl Kerim and an Egyptian head-workman called Sädäqa Nəsräni (PerChron 290 [text] = 224 [tr.]). The building was described by Almeida as "a wonder ... and something that had never been seen nor yet imagined" in the country and "would have value and been reckoned a handsome building anywhere" (BeckHuntAlm 188). It was made, he says, of "stone and lime", and had a large subterranean water-tank. The palace was, he explains, one of the first Jesuit-sponsored buildings to be erected with mortar, the use of which had been introduced by a *Banyan*, presumably in Portuguese employ, only a few years earlier, in 1621. There was also a fine basilican royal church, the foundation stone of which was laid by the ↗Jesuits in 1628. Remains of this building, like those of the palace, can be seen to this day.

During its efflorescence, D. was an important place in Ethiopian history: it was at this capital that Susənyos in 1626 announced his adherence to the Roman Catholic faith and there, six years later, that he abdicated in favour of his son *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, who then proceeded to establish a new capital, at Gondär.

Src.: EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat* ..., Paris 1838, 31f.; BeckHuntAlm 187ff.; PerChron 290 (text) = 224 (tr.), 567 (tr.), index.

Lit.: HuntGeogr 285; PankHist I (Lit.); FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Monuments gondariens des XVII et XVIII siècles: une vue d'ensemble", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 9–45, here 34–37; PHILIP CARAMAN, *The Lost Empire: the Story of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, London 1985, s. index; LAVERLE BERRY, "Ethiopian and Jesuit Monumental Stone Architecture in the Lake Ṭana Basin: a Preliminary Assessment", in: MANUEL JOÃO RAMOS – ISABEL BOAVIDA (eds.), *The Indigenous and the Foreign in Christian Ethiopian Art on Portuguese-Ethiopian Contacts in the 16th–17th Centuries*, Aldershot 2004, 16–29, here 23ff.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "A Tale of Four Cities: Late-16th and Early-17th Ethiopian Capitals and their Turkish, Portuguese and Indian Connections", in: *ibid.*, 3–15, s. index; ID., "Dänqäz: an Early Seventeenth Century



Jesuit basilica at Dänqäz, constructed in the late 1620s; south façade with window and arch; photo 2000, courtesy of LaVerle Berry

Ethiopian Capital, and its Portuguese-Indian Connections", *Mare Erythraeum* 3, 1999, 57–65; HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie)*, Paris 2003, 181–84, s. index.

Richard Pankhurst

Däq

D. (ዴቅ) is the largest volcanic island of Lake ↗Ṭana (about 16 km in circumference, 5 km in diameter), situated in its centre. During the dry season, D. is connected to the Narga (↗Narga Śəllase) isle, lying at its western shore. D. is almost entirely flat, the highest land in the centre rises no more than 10 m above the lake. Richly forested, mostly by fig-trees (*bäläs*), and covered by many species of flowers, the island was obliged to contribute hundreds of jars of ↗honey to the royal court. Devoid of wild animals and birds the place is a hatchery for different kinds of mosquitoes, some of them malaria-carriers. A small number of people live on the island in a few dispersed villages. Most of the land once belonged to the ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos monastery. The main crops cultivated are dwarf millet *dagussa* and *ṭef*, and in limited quantities cotton and coffee.

From the 14th cent. D. served as a deportation destination. As late as 1693, *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I sent people there from ↗Šire as punishment for not defending the monasteries of ↗Waldəbba from the ↗Šanqəlla's plundering raids. According to Rassam (1869, vol. 1, 315), the island was invaded by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, who took revenge on its inhabitants for supporting his enemies.

Among the five churches of the island – dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Jesus, St. George, St. John and Arsima Sämaᶜətat – the latter is the best preserved. A circular church, built from rock and mud, it is presently limited to the ↗*mäqdäs* part. The wall-paintings are only visible in the west wall. These date back to the middle of the 18th cent. and are assigned by Cheesman (ChTana 119–45) to the same artist who worked in the Church of the Trinity on the adjacent island ↗Zäge. They seem to follow the iconographical program established at the beginning of the 17th cent. (cp. ↗Däbrä Sina), with the addition of scenes concerning the patron saint of the church, the Armenian virgin Rhipsimē, killed together with her 26 fellow martyrs (*sämaᶜətat*) by order of King Tiridates. In the church several artefacts are preserved: an important manuscript with miniatures dating to the end of the 14th cent. and originally belonging to a Gospel Book, two crosses and a crown of bronze traditionally connected with *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak, as well as a triptych with scenes representing the life and the martyrdom of St. Rhipsime, painted in the second Gondärine style. Jäger and Pearce (1974:70) mention a triptych of the 16th cent. kept in the church of St. George. During the last ten years, extensive restoration works have been carried out in the church of St. Mary (*Kotä Maryam*). This central tripartite building, dating to the second half of the 16th cent., still shows in the walls of the *mäqdäs* traces of paintings representing the early phase of the first Gondärine style.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il convento di Tsana in Abissinia e le sue Laudi alla Vergine", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 19, 1910, 581-621; HORMUZD RASSAM, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia*, London 1869, vol. 1, 315; JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Éthiopie 1901–1903*, Paris 1908, vol. 1, 130f.; ChTana 119–45; JULES LEROY – STEPHEN WRIGHT – OTTO JÄGER, *Éthiopie. Manuscrits à peinture*, Paris 1961, pl. 23–27; OTTO JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia: a Guide*, Stuttgart ^{2}1974, 70; GUY ANNEQUIN, "Le lac Tana et ses îles. Trésors méconnus d'une thébaide à l'abandon", *Les dossiers d'archéologie* 8, 1975, 98–101; MARIO DI SALVO – STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI – OSVALDO RAINERI (eds.), *Churches of Ethiopia: the Monastery of Nārgā Šellāsē*, Milano 1999, 55, 80, 98ff., 148f., figs. 81ff., 89, 118, 146, 153; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, "L'histoire et l'art des églises du lac Ṭana", *AE* 16, 2000, 207–70, here 208, 261f.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Däqqämḥare

The village of D. (ዴቀምሓሬ), also Däqqi Mäḥari (ዴቂ፡ መሓሪ), Decamharè or Decà Maharè in Italian sources (probably following Təgre pronunciation Däqamḥare or Däqa Mäḥare, connected to the plural form ዴቃ; cp. ዴቃ፡ ሰርየ in the same region), is located in Eritrea, 42 km north of Asmära at the edge of the ↗Ḥamasen plateau in Dämbäzan (15°86' N, 38°80' E). As such, it is called also D. Dämbäzan in order to distinguish it from the town of ↗D. Ǝggäla (south from Asmära), which is also occasionally referred too in the literature as Däqqi Mäḥari.

D. is one of the northernmost archaeological sites of the ↗Aksumite culture period documented in the Horn of Africa. Ceramic artefacts (↗Pottery) and architectural rubble are evident on the surface of the site. However, little is known about the latter's functions and extent of occupation. In 1906 Richard G. ↗Sundström was in D. and copied here a Greek stone inscription issued by the Aksumite king ↗Sembrouthes, who set it up as a memorial of his visit to that place "in the year 24" of his reign (Littmann 1907:170; DAE no. 3 [RIE 275]), i.e., according to recent researches, sometime before or around 200 A.D. (s. Fiaccadori 2004). The inscription, which is an important mark of the territorial extension achieved then by the kingdom of ↗Aksum, is now located in the collections of the National Archaelogical Museum of Eritrea (Asmära).

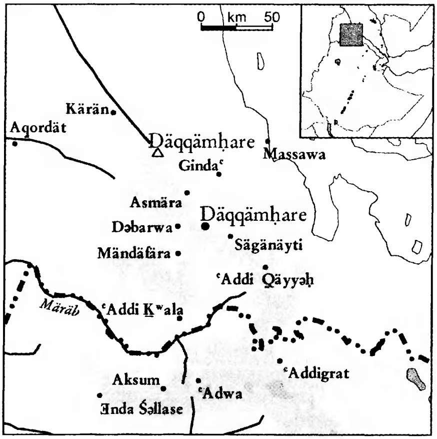
Lit.: ENNO LITTMANN, "Preliminary Report of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia", *ZA* 20, 1907, 151–82, here 170; DAE IV, 3f.; YURI M. KOBISHCHANOV, *Axum*, ed. by J.W. MICHELS, tr. by LORRAINE T. KAPITANOFF, University Park, PA 1979, 255; MHAksum 73f.; RIE 275 (Lit.); GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'Gran Re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 49, 2004 [2005], 103–57 (Lit.).

Matthew C. Curtis – Gianfrancesco Lusini

Däqqämḥare

D. (**ደቀምሓሬ**), is a small city in northern Akkälä Guzay, Eritrea, south-east of Asmära, after the historical district also called Däqqämḥare Ǝggäla to avoid confusion with ↗Däqqämḥare in the district of Dämbäzan. It is Decamerè in Ital. sources, this spelling with "a" being probably influenced by the forms Decamharè and Decà Maharè indicating the homonymous village in Dämbäzan. The place-name is derived from Däqqi Mäḥari/Amḥari ('Sons of Mäḥari/Amḥari'), a descent group of ↗Təgrəñña speakers of Ǝggäla in possession of this area. Having been a small agricultural settlement (15th cent.?), D. is virtually unknown in pre-20th cent. sources. It lies on the road from Asmära to Sägänäyti. In D. this is joining a second road, connecting D. via May Ḥabar with the main road to Massawa at ↗Näfasit (the D.-Näfasit road, built in ca. 1935 in preparation of the Italian invasion, being the ancient caravan route of ʿAddi Rəʾəso).

Situated in a plain in the proximity of Asmära with a favourable climate and where important roads cross, D. developed into an important settlement during the late colonial period. An increasing number of Italian nationals moved there during the 1930s, where a new European town was built in 1936–38 (by 1938, out of 12,800 inhabitants it had over 6,000 permanent and 4,600 temporary Italian residents). In 1936 it was the main supply base for the fascist invasion of Ethiopia. Lying close to the major airforce base and aerodrome of ↗Guraʿ, also most of its staff were housed in D.



D. was the seat of the colonial administration of the district (*Residenza*), hosting banks, hotels, restaurants, a cinema, factories, agricultural concessions, as well as a fluctuating commerce. Its dynamic development ceased after World War II. In 1962 the population was only about 6,000. During the campaigns of the Ethiopian central government against the Eritrean People's Liberation Front of 1977–78 and 1991, the town was heavily affected. After Eritrea's independence D. started again to flourish, the government encouraging the establishment of Eritrean companies in D. following the policy of decentralization. It is the administrative centre of the *nəʾus awrağğa* of D., before the administrative reform of 1995 one of four sub-provinces of Akkälä Guzay.

D. is not to be confused with the Däqqi Mäḥari, who were like the Däqqi Täsfa (↗Adkämä Məlgaʾ) an important subgroup of Təgrəñña speakers in Säraye.

Lit.: *Guida* 286f.; PankHist; KilHDic 153ff. ["Dekemhare", "Dekemhare Front"].

Wolbert Smidt

Däqqi

D. (**ደቂ**, lit. 'children' but also 'people', BassDic 772; Gəʿəz: **ደቅ**, *däqq*) is usually followed by an individual's name or a place name, e.g. *Däqqi Akkälä Guzay* ('the people of Akkälä Guzay'). It has two primary uses: as a term referring to a specific group of descendants and as a description of a more loosely linked group of people. The term is used within the ↗Təgrəñña-speaking population. The specific descent group is defined by the context within which the term is used, i.e. by the name put as apical "ancestor" for the group, either implying an extended family, a lineage, or a descent group. In its next capacity, D. is used as a metaphorical kinship term, as in *däqqi käbäsa* ('the people of the highland'), thus embracing the whole Təgrəñña speaking people.

↗Däqqi Minab; ↗Däqqi Täššəm

Lit.: KolTrad III; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, "Land Tenure on the Eritrean Plateau", *Africa* 16, 1, 1946, 1–21; NadEr; KJETIL TRONVOLL, *Mai Weini. A Highland Village in Eritrea*, Lawrenceville – Asmara 1998.

Kjetil Tronvoll

Däqqi Minab

The D.M. (ደቂ፡ ሚናብ) are a ↗Təgrəñña-speaking descent group who claim common ancestry from a certain Minab (Benjamin). Most people of the highlands trace their lineage up to but not beyond that of Čaluq, Maluq and Faluq, who are the great-grandsons of Minab, the apical ancestor of the D.M.

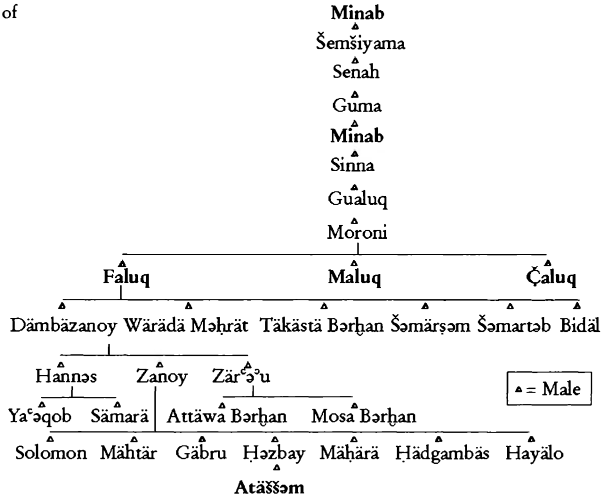
While Čaluq and Maluq are traditionally claimed as the ancestors of the present-day people of ↗Akkälä Guzay and ↗Säraye (*zoba* Däbub in the modern state of Eritrea), Faluq and his sons Dämbäzanoy, Wärädä Məḥrät, Täḵästä Bərḫan, Šəmärṣəm and Šəmärṭəb and their descendants are remembered as the founding fathers of the inhabitants of the present-day Dämbäzan region (today consisting of the communities of ↗ʿAd Täkälezan, Gäbru, Dəgdəg etc.), where Faluq's descendants had *rəst* rights.

From there they spread to ↗Karnäšəm, ↗Däqqi Taššəm, ↗Käbäsa Čəwa (today consisting of Sälaʿə Daʿəro, ʿAddi Gombällo and some other villages), to some parts of ↗Loggo Čəwa (in Zawəlkälkälti, including such places as ʿAddi Zawəl, ʿAddi Hallo, ʿAddi Səldayət, ʿAddi Gäbray etc.; in Ṣəlləma-↗Dəbarwa, ʿAddi Loggo and others), and to ↗Šäwʿattä ʿAnsäba, Lamza, ↗Säḥarti and ↗Wäqärti in Ḥamasen (now largely part of the *zoba* Maʿəkäl). D.M. are even said to have left their mark in some areas of Akkälä Guzay.

The generation-kinship diagram shows the apical ancestor, Minab, and his descendants (cp. ↗Genealogy).

Src.: ሐረግ፡ ትውልዲ፡ ደቂ፡ ተሸም (*Ḥaräg təwləddi Däqqi Täššəm*, 'The Pedigree of the Däqqi Täššəm'), ms., St. George Church, Ṣäʿazzäga; ሕጊ፡ ሃብተ፡ ሱሉስ፡ ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ (*Ḥəggi Habtä Sullus Gäbrä Ḵrəstos*, 'The Law of Habtä Sullus and Gäbrä Ḵrəstos'), ms., ʿAddi Qʷänṣi;

Legendary genealogy of the Däqqi Minab


Minab
Šemšiyama
Senah
Guma
Minab
Sinna
Gualuq
Moroni
Faluq
Maluq
Čaluq
Dämbäzanoy
Wärädä Məḥrät
Täkästä Bərḫan
Šəmärṣəm
Šəmartəb
Bidäl
Hannəs
Zanoy
Zärʿəʾu
Yaʿəqob
Sämarä
Attäwa Bərḫan
Mosa Bərḫan
Solomon
Mähtär
Gäbru
Ḥəzbay
Mäḥärä
Ḥädgambäs
Hayälo
Atäššəm
▵ = Male

ሕጊ፡ ሎጎ፡ ጭዋ (*Ḥəggi Loggo Çəwa*, 'The Law of Loggo Çəwa'), ms. in the author's possession; ታሪኽ፡ ሂወት፡ ራእሲ፡ ኃይለ፡ መለኮት፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል (*Tarik̠ hiwät ra'əsi Ḫaylä Mäläkot Wäldä Mika'el*, 'A Biography of *Ras* Ḫaylä Mäläkot Wäldä Mika'el'), ms., private collection of *blatta* Täsfaṣen Därräs of Hazzäga, Asmära; GÄBRÄ MIKAʾEL GURMU, ታሪኽ፡ መረብ፡ ምላሽ (*Tarik̠ Märäb Məllaš*, 'History of Märäb Məllaš'), ms., private collection, Asmära 1951; interviews with *abba* TÄKLÄ HAYMANOT ḪAYLÄ, age 76, Asmära; *baššay* BÄRAK̠I ZÄMUY, age 81, Hazzäga; *blatta* SÄMÄRÄ ḤABTU, age 70, Hazzäga.

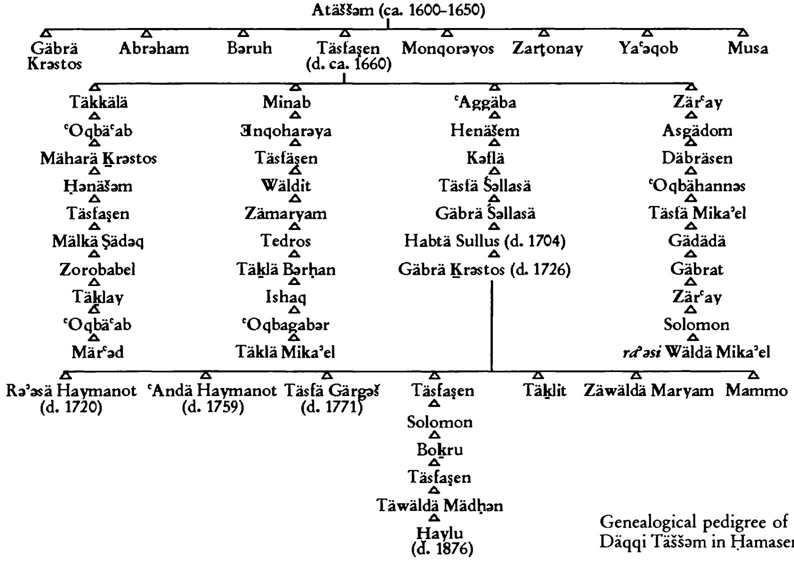
Lit.: GÄBRÄ IYÄSUS ABBAY, መሰረት፡ ዓሌት፡ ህዝቢ፡ መረብ፡ ምላሽ (*Mäsärät ᶜalet həzbi Märäb Məllaš*, 'The Origins of the People of Märäb Məllaš'), Asmara 1965; KilHDic 159; KolTrad II; ᶜANDOM GÄBRÄ MIKAʾEL, *A Biography of Däǧǧazmač Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən of Hamasen 1805 – 1876*, Senior Essay, Department of History, Ḫaylä Śəllase 1st University, Addis Abäba 1973; NadEr; RUFFILLO PERINI (GABRÈ NEGÙS), *Di qua dal Marèb (Marèb-mellàsc')*, Firenze 1905; YAQOB BEYENE, "Diritto consuetudinario di Habsellus", *RSE* 43, 1999 [2001], 153–210.

Abbebe Kifleyesus

Däqqi Täššəm

The D.T. (ደቂ፡ ተሽም, also Aytäšum, or Atäššəm) are a ↗Təgrəñña-speaking descent group (↗*Däqqi*) who call themselves and their region by the same name. Their ᶜAddi Qʷänṣi-based customary law is also known as *Ḥəggi Däqqi Täššəm* or ↗*Ḥəggi Habtä Sullus Gäbrä K̠rəstos*.

Atäššəm (ca. 1600–50) was the son of Ḥəzbay and father of Täsfaṣen, Gäbrä K̠rəstos, Abrəham, Bəruh, Monqoreyos, Zarṭonay and Musa. Täsfaṣen, the son of Atäššəm, was the founder of two well-known lineages in D.T., namely, Täkkälä and ᶜAggäba, or Täkkälä ᶜAggäba, centred around ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga and Minab, and Zärᶜay, or Minabä Zärᶜay, centred around ↗Hazzäga. Both Hazzäga and Ṣäᶜazzäga, among others, are homes to the descendants of Täsfaṣen Atäššəm, who founded these two hereditary ruling houses of ↗Ḥamasen. Täsfaṣen's eldest sons Minab and Zärᶜay remained in Hazzäga, while his youngest sons Täkkälä and ᶜAggäba moved to Ṣäᶜazzäga. After the death of Täsfaṣen Atäššəm (ca. 1660), Täkkälä, ᶜAggäba, Minab and Zärᶜay all rose to power and retained a claim to the governorship of Ḥamasen. Over the years, the successors of these siblings engaged in constant power struggles and confrontations for rule over Ḥamasen in general and D.T. in particular. At one point *däǧǧač* ↗ Hab Śəllus (Habtä Sullus), the great-great-grandson of Ḥənäšəm ᶜAggäba, and his son Gäbrä K̠rəstos expanded the power of the house of Ṣäᶜazzäga over D.T. and most of Ḥamasen


Atäššəm (ca. 1600–1650)
Gäbrä Krəstos
Abrəham
Bəruh
Täsfaṣen (d. ca. 1660)
Monqorəyos
Zarṭonay
Yaᶜəqob
Musa
Täkkälä
ᶜOqbäᶜab
Mäharä K̠rəstos
Ḥənäšəm
Täsfaṣen
Mälkä Ṣädəq
Zorobabel
Täk̠lay
ᶜOqbäᶜab
Märᶜəd
Minab
Ǝnqoharəya
Täsfäṣen
Wäldit
Zämaryam
Tedros
Täk̠lä Bərḫan
Ishaq
ᶜOqbagabər
Täklä Mika'el
ᶜAggäba
Henäšem
Kəflä
Täsfä Śəllasä
Gäbrä Śəllasä
Habtä Sullus (d. 1704)
Gäbrä K̠rəstos (d. 1726)
Zärᶜay
Asgädom
Däbräsen
ᶜOqbähannəs
Täsfä Mika'el
Gädädä
Gäbrat
Zärᶜay
Solomon
raʾəsi Wäldä Mika'el
Rəʾəsä Haymanot (d. 1720)
ᶜAndä Haymanot (d. 1759)
Täsfä Gärgəš (d. 1771)
Täsfaṣen
Solomon
Bokru
Täsfaṣen
Täwäldä Mädḫən
Haylu (d. 1876)
Täk̠lit
Zäwäldä Maryam
Mammo

Genealogical pedigree of the Däqqi Täššəm in Ḥamasen and other parts of the highlands in Eritrea. But the zenith of the power of Ṣäᶜazzäga came under the rule of *baḥri nägaśi* Solomon Täsfaṣen, the grandson of *däǧǧač* Gäbrä Ḵrəstos Habtä Sullus and great-grandfather of *aytä* Täwäldä Mädḫən, father of *däǧǧač* Ḫaylu (s. kinship diagram). Such a rule was contested by *käntiba* Zärᶜay and his son *aytä* Solomon of Hazzäga, both descendants of Zärᶜay, the son of Täsfaṣen Atäššem. This eventually culminated in the well-known feud between Hazzäga and Säᶜazzäga under the leadership of *raᵓəsi* Wäldä Mikaᵓel Solomon and *däǧǧazmač* Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən, respectively, and resulted in the death of the latter at the battle of Wäkki Dəbba on 17 July 1876 (s. KolTrad).

Nowadays, in the state of Eritrea, D.T. refers to the following Ḥamasen-based villages located in *zoba* Maᵓəkäl: Gäǧərät, Godayəf, Qušät, Ṣäᵓəda Kərstəyan, ᶜAddi Sogdo, Bet Mäḵaᶜə, Wäkki Dəbba, Daᶜəro Qawlos, ᶜAddi Musa, Ṣäᶜəda Ǝmba, Ṣäᶜazzäga, ᶜAddi Gäbru, ᶜAddi Täḵlay, ᶜAddi Qʷänṣi, Hazzäga, ᶜAddi Däbbänä, Šəm Ǧəmnuq, ᶜAddäsfäda, ᶜAddi Habtäsullus, ᶜAddi Šəmagəllä, ᶜAddi Märᶜawi, ᶜAddi Yaᶜəqob, ᶜAddi Abeto, ᶜAddi Bidäl and ᶜAmäṣi.

↗Däqqi Minab

Src.: GÄBRÄ MIKAᵓEL GURMU, ታሪኽ፡ መረብ፡ ምላሽ (*Tariḵ Märäb Məllaš*, 'History of Märäb Məllaš'), ms., Asmära 1951 [private collection]; ሓረግ፡ ትውልዲ፡ ደቂ፡ ተሸም (*Ḥaräg təwləddi Däqqi Täššəm*, 'Pedigree of Generations of Däqqi Täššəm'), St. George Church, Ṣäᶜazzäga; ሕጊ፡ ሃብተ፡ ሱሉስ፡ ገብረ፡ ኽርስቶስ (*Ḥəggi Habtä Sullus Gäbrä Ḵrəstos*, 'The Law of Habtä Sullus and Gäbrä Ḵrəstos'), ᶜAddi Qʷänṣi; ሕጊ፡ ሎጎ፡ ጭዋ (*Ḥəggi Loggo Čəwa*, 'The Law of *Loggo Čəwa*') [in the author's possession]; ታሪኽ፡ ሂወት፡ ራእሲ፡ ኃይለ፡ መለኮት፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል (*Tariḵ hiwwät raᵓəsi Ḫaylä Mäläkot Wäldä Mikaᵓel*, 'A Biography of *Raᵓəsi* Ḫaylä Mäläkot Wäldä Mikaᵓel') [private collection of *blatta* Täsfaṣen Därräs of Hazzäga, Asmära]; interviews: with *abba* TÄWÄLDÄ BƎRHAN ᶜANDÄ MÄSQÄL (age 72), Asmära; *däǧǧazmač* GÄBRÄ YOHANNƎS TÄSFÄ MARYAM (age 82), Asmära; *ato* ṢÄGGAY TÄḴLÄᵓAB (age 68), ᶜAddi Täḵlay; *wäyzaro* ǦÄMMÄR ᶜANDÄ HAYMANOT (age 73), Ṣäᶜəda Krəstyan.

Lit.: GÄBRÄ IYÄSUS ABBAY, መሰረት፡ ዓሌት፡ ህዝቢ፡ መረብ፡ ምላሽ (*Mäsärät ᶜalet həzbi Märäb Məllaš*, 'The Origins of the People of Märäb Məllaš'), Asmära 1965; KilDic; KolTrad II; ᶜANDOM GÄBRÄ MIKAᵓEL, *A Biography of Däǧǧazmač Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən of Ḥamasen 1805–1876*, Senior Essay, Department of History, Ḫaylä Śəllase 1st University, Addis Abäba 1973; NadEr; RUFFILLO PERINI (GABRÈ NEGÙS), *Di qua dal Marèb* (*Marèb-Mellàsc*'), Firenze 1905; YAQOB BEYENE, "Diritto consuetudinario di Habsellus", *RSE* 43, 1999, 153–210.

Abbebe Kifleyesus

Dära

D. (ዳራ, Arab. Dārah or Dāra; also Dara) was a region south-east of ↗Däwaro and west of ↗Bale belonging to the Muslim belt or "Muslim fringe" (*aṭ-ṭirāz al-Islāmī*). According to the learned informants of the Egyptian courtier Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ᶜUmarī (d. 749 H. [1349 A.D.]) in the first half of the 14th cent., D. was the weakest and smallest of the seven Muslim trading states (Ifat, Däwaro, Arabäbnī [Arᵓen], Hadiyya, Šarḫa and Bale). It was only a three days' journey in length by three days in breadth, with an army of no more than 2,000 cavalry and infantry. Its inhabitants were described as Ḥanafites. Like in the neighbouring small principality of Bale in the west, their commerce was based only on barter. Repeated in full by the Egyptian encyclopaedist al-Qalqašandī (d. 845 H. [1418 A.D.]), al-ᶜUmarī's statement was shortened by the historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 845 H. [1442 A.D.]). In the 16th cent. the region is mentioned in ᶜArab Faqīh's ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, stating that, after the battle of Zalla (July/August 1532), ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī sent the *ǧarād* Ǧūšah, the father of Bišāra b. Ǧūsah, to block the outlet of Bale at Dāra.

Src.: UmMasFuat IV, 16, 23; UmMasGaud 1, 18f., 38; AL-QALQAŠANDĪ, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā fī ṣināᶜat al-inšāᵓ*, I–XIV, Cairo 1913–18, V, 329; MaqIlmam 13, (Arabic text) = 10f., 15 (Latin tr.); MaqIlmam^2 8; BassHist 291, 343f. (text) = 387, 459f. (tr.); SihFutuh 296.

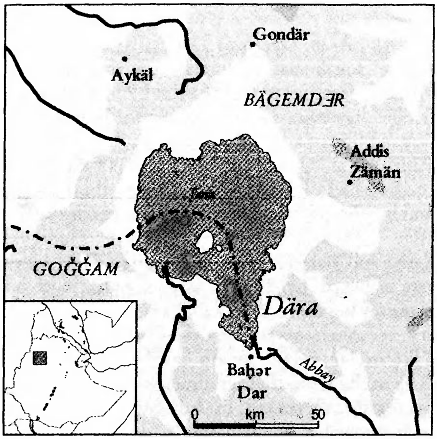
Lit.: TrIslam 64 (map), 73; TadTChurch 142, 188, n. 3; BrHad 73 (map 4), 74f. (map 5), 92; PankBord 73f., 222.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Dära

D. (ዳራ, in Gəᶜəz sources also ዳርኃ, Därḫa, and ዳርሓ, Därḥa) is a region in Bägemdər, located on the south-eastern shores of Lake Ṭana, immediately north of where the Abbay flows out of the lake. It extends north as far approximately as ↗Ṭana Qirqos and is bounded by the regions of Andabet to the east and Fogära to the north.

Traditions from Ṭana Qirqos seem to indicate that Christianity reached D. early, possibly during ↗Zägʷe rule. When *abba* ↗Zäyoḥannəs came to the Lake Ṭana region in the mid-14th cent. to evangelize, he (probably very consciously) made his first stop in D., where the people were already Christians. It was from D. that Zäyoḥannəs moved to settle on ↗Kəbran, and



that Christian influence began to spread to the south-western shores of the lake and into northern Goǧǧam.

In political terms, D. only began to play a more important role from the 16th cent. onwards, when the Christian kingdom's centre of gravity moved from Šäwa to the Lake Ṭana region. As an example, after the decisive battle of ↗Wäyna Däga (21 February 1543), the Christians of D. decimated fleeing contingents of Grañ's defeated army (↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī). Monarchs from Śärṣä Dəngəl (r. 1563–97) to Iyasu I (r. 1682–1706) often traversed the area, as we learn from their chronicles, and the same probably holds true for later rulers about whose travels we are less well informed. Yet politically, D. was always eclipsed by ↗Dämbəya north and north-east of Lake Ṭana, where, from Minas (r. 1559–63) onwards, a number of royal residences and, ultimately, the new capital of ↗Gondär were established.

The main settlement of D. today is Wärota (in Gəʿəz sources Qʷärața), where *aṣe* Fasilädäs (r. 1632–67) already had a church built in honour of the female martyr and saint ↗Wälättä Peṭros, buried on nearby ↗Rema island. Historical settlements and areas in D. that repeatedly appear in the chronicles include Ǧäfǧäfa, Tamre and Wäräb.

Src.: ChTana; DombrChr 201; CRHist 53 (text) = 61f. (tr.), 117f. (text) = 134 (tr.), 137f. (text) = 156f. (tr.); PerChron ch. 22, 31, 47, 58, 66, 79; GuiIohan 68 (text) = 67 (tr.), 178 (text) = 186 (tr.), 209 (text) = 221 (tr.); GueCopMen 305; BassHist I, 343f.

Lit.: DombrChr 320, 334 (s.v. Qʷarāḍā); HamTana I, 59 n. 76, 74; HuntGeogr s. index (s.v. Därḥa and Dära); TadTChurch 190–96; MahZekr.

Michael Kleiner

Darägot

D. (ዳረጎት, also Daharagot, d. ca. 1610) was a military leader and regional governor of the second half of the 16th cent. He held a pre-eminent position, at least since during the reign of *aṣe* Minas (r. 1559–63). Minas's young son and successor, ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, prudently married D. to his cousin Wälättä Dəngəl in 1567 and appointed him governor of ↗Wag. Thus, he secured the important support of D. and his brother, Wäldä Giyorgis, against rebellious war-lords who seriously endangered Śärṣä Dəngəl's position at that time. All of this transpired during the beginning of D.'s long loyal service to the sovereign. In 1572 he repelled an ↗Oromo invasion in his province of Wag and in 1578 the Emperor used him, already promoted to the office of governor (*nägaš*) of Goǧǧam, against *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq, a rebellious figure in Təgray. In November 1579 D. was sent to Səmen against the local Betä Ǝsraʾəl hereditary ruler ↗Rädaʾi and then again in 1585 against another Fälaša chief called ↗Gʷäšən.

An able general and loyal governor-general, D. was frequently promoted and deployed in the most endangered areas, where his service was needed. When the Turks were threatening ↗Dəbarwa in 1587, D. was made ↗*baḥər nägaš* of Təgray and sent there. Throughout his career D. was successful and victorious in all his assignments. He lived a long life and was still alive in 1607 at the beginning of ↗Susənyos's reign. However, D.'s three sons (Tewodros, Zärʾa Yoḥannəs and Läbasi) were less fortunate and died in their rebellion against the "renegade-king" Susənyos.

Src.: BegCron 37; CRHist 42, 91; PerChron 88, 129, 242; BassÉt II 111.

Sevir Chernetsov

Därara ↗Military units

Därasa ↗Gideʾo

Däräsge

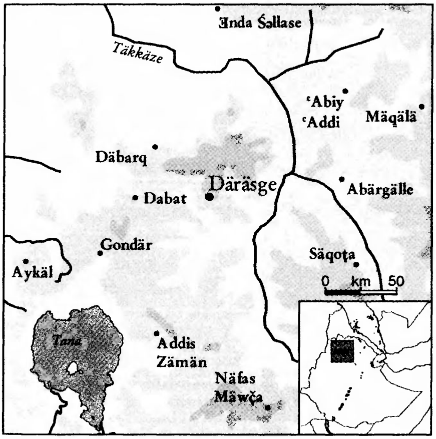
D. (ደራስጌ) is located in the ↗Səmen mountains at 13° 02' N and 38° 11' E. It is about one-and-a-half day's walk from ↗Däbarq, the capital of

Wägära, and lies within Ǧan Amora *wäräda*, former Səmen *awrağğa* (now North Gondär Zone, Amhara *kəlləl*).

D. served as a capital for *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, the dominant ruler in northern Ethiopia — the provinces of Səmen, Təgray, and the central highland districts of today's Eritrea — from 1830 to 1855.

By 1840 Wəbe had full control of Səmen and Təgray as far north as ↗Märäb Məllaš and was planning to crown himself as *nəguśä nägäśt*, but lacked two key elements. The first was a bishop. In 1841, following special efforts by Wəbe, *abunä* ↗Sälama arrived in ᶜAdwa. To meet the second need, a major church and a residence, Wəbe began to construct a church in D. to host his coronation. In 1849, in a letter to Walter ↗Plowden, the British envoy, Wəbe pleaded for workmen who were knowledgeable in construction. The English translation (RubActa I, 157) reads as follows: "Dejaj Oobey greeting to Mr. Plowden. If you can find five or three workmen if possible at Massowah, if not by sending to your country, builders, or masons, bring them for me. If they wish for lands or appointments, I will give them plenty, if they wish for wages, I would give them wages. And take care of them." Plowden, however, did not succeed in securing the requested workmen.

Some time around 1852 Wəbe founded the church of ↗Däräsge Maryam. He used D. as his capital, although it never took on the characteristics of a town, being too spread out and lacking a centre.



While Wəbe was preparing to crown himself, *däğğazmač* Kaśa of Qʷara (later ↗Tewodros II), was threatening to displace him. In 1855, Kaśa marched to Səmen to meet the combined army of Təgray and Səmen under Wəbe at D. Wəbe was wounded in battle, was later captured by Kaśa. Two days later, on 11 February 1855, the victorious Kaśa was crowned as *nəguśä nägäśt* Tewodros by *abunä* Sälama in the church of Därasge Maryam.

At the battle of D. on 9 February 1855, Kaśa also captured Wəbe's daughter *wäyzaro* ↗Ṭəru Wärq and her two brothers. In 1862 Kaśa married Ṭəru Wärq in a church ceremony. She remained his wife until his death at Mäqdäla.

Src.: CRNuov; ZanLitTheod; RubActa I, 157, no. 120; RubInd 136, 216.

Lit.: CrumMis 97, 98; ill. facing 18, 110.

Donald Crummey – Mulatu Wubneh

Däräsge Maryam

D.M. (ደረስጌ፡ ማርያም, 13°01,432' N, 38°05,99' E; 3,096 m A.S.L., also Däbrä Ǝgziʾ, Däbrä Ṣəge) is a church situated 5 km west of the village of ↗Däräsge, in the hardly accessible mountains of ↗Səmen (Ǧan Amora *wäräda*), 50 km south-east of Däbarq.

Located in a graceful mountain valley, D.M. is a circular church constructed during the reign of *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam by the German scientists Georg Wilhelm ↗Schimper and Eduard ↗Zander. It is mentioned in an Ethiopian feudal act written in Amharic during *aṣe* ↗Sahlä Dəngəl's reign and now preserved in London (ms. BritLib Orient. 481, fol. 3b). In 1855, the church was used for *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II's coronation. The church exhibits many well-preserved murals, a rich treasury with abundant church paraphernalia and a library.

Between the two ring-walls surrounding the church, an unusual stone building is situated, *däğğazmač* Wəbe's former "castle" (↗*Gəbbi*); at the eastern entrance of the church lies his grave.

It was at the beginning of 1849 that Wəbe decided to build a church and a palace in his native country of Səmen. Schimper, who had been residing in ᶜAdwa since 1837, acted as a political adviser and translator. Some years later, with regard to Wəbe's plan to erect a church and a palace in this remote region, Schimper wrote (1868:294–98) that he had to build both the church and the "castle" by himself, since Wəbe, who was planning to crown himself as emperor, had no one skilled enough to help him. Although Schimper had not studied architecture before, within five years the construction of a small building "in Byzantine style" was completed.

Wəbe's desire to appoint two *färängočč* (Europeans; ↗*Färänğ*) to supervise the construction seems peculiar at first sight. However, the example of the scarcely known German missionary and carpenter Christian Aischinger from Württemberg, who, as Krapf reported, had to construct the Çərqos Church near ᶜAddigrat for *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu of Təgray in 1842, shows that such a procedure was not unusual.

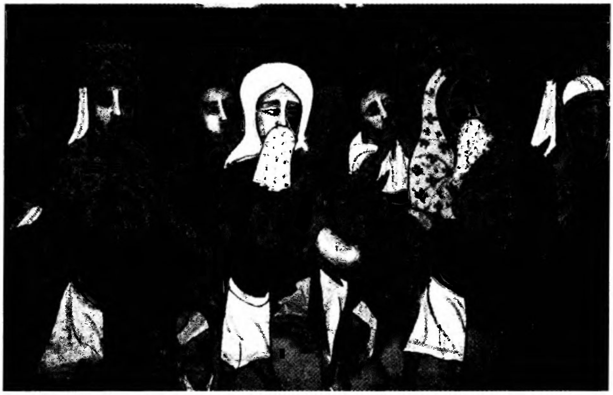
On 2 June 1850, Schimper and Zander set out from ᶜAdwa for the Səmen mountains and began preparations for the construction in D.M. On those occasions, many drawings of the mountain area were made by Zander, a talented artist (e.g., he executed the unique painting of Däräsge dating from 1852). According to von Krosigk (1937:117), the inauguration of the church took place during the ↗*Mäsqäl* festival in the same year. On 6 February 1853, von Heuglin came to D.M. and described its construction: "... The plan is borrowed from the political sanctuary of Gondar [↗Däbrä Bərhan Šəllase] ... The building is only of insignificant size. It may be 40 to 50 feet long, 30 to 35 feet deep and 30 feet high. It contains three small chambers with narrow, small windows. The building is one-storey, with a square, still unfinished central bell-tower at its back. The three bells determined to be hung there are gifts from the Apostolic mission of De Jacobis in Massawa and Schimper. The building is constructed of massive trachyte blocks and fully covered with lime ..." (von Heuglin 1857:68ff.). Schimper was also in charge of the wall-paintings, as Markham reported after meeting the two German scientists in the fortress of Mäqdäla on behalf of the British ↗Napier Expedition in 1868: "The German botanist Schimper superintended the floral decorations of the church at Derezgy" (Markham 1869:64). Only few foreign explorers visited the church after Tewodros had transferred his court to ↗Däbrä Tabor.

The church, still surrounded by two well-preserved stone walls, has a huge entrance door on the western side. D.M. is the final point of a holy procession occurring every year on 21 January to worship the patron. A picture of St. Mary with the Child, painted in synthetic ultramarine, can be found at the western entrance. Besides the colour (cp. Marx 2001), the drapery of St. Mary's coat, decorated with rich interlaced ornaments, is unusual. Also remarkable is another mural close to the opposite door, portraying *däğğazmač* Wəbe wearing a crown, accompanied by his wife and *abunä* ↗Sälama, all on a horseback. The library of D.M. remains largely unexplored.

Src.: interview with the abbot of the church SƏNTAYEHU ABATE, Däräsge, 26 March 1996; interview with Mäzgäbä Bərhan Gäbrä Yoḥannəs Gäbrä Maryam; WrBriMus 1-6, no. 2 [Orient. 481]; RubActa I, 157, no. 120; EDUARD ZANDER, *Abyssinian Studies*, Sketchbook German 197.a., n. d., BritMus.

Lit.: THEODOR VON HEUGLIN, *Reisen in Nord-Ost-Afrika*, Gotha 1857, 68ff.; SOPHIE FRANCES FANE

Part of Wəbe's *gəbbi* in the compound of Däräsge Maryam; coronation place of Tewodros II; photo courtesy of the author



Däǧǧazmač Wəbe with his wife and *abunä* Sälama; cloth mural; Däräsge Maryam Church; photo courtesy of the author

VEITCH, *Views in Central Abyssinia*, London 1868, plate no.1; LUDWIG KRAPF, *Reisen nach Ostafrika ausgeführt in den Jahren 1837–1855*, Stuttgart 1964, 151; FRIEDRICH VON KROSIGK, *Ein Weizenkorn fliegt gegen den Wind*, Mühlhausen 1938, 117; CLEMENTS ROBERT MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 64; GEORG WILHELM SCHIMPER, "Meine Gefangenschaft in Abessinien", *Petermann's Geographische Mittheilungen* 8, 1868, 294–98; GERD GRÄBER, *Auf Spurensuche im Semiengebirge, Kirche und Schule in Äthiopien*, Heidelberg 1997, 13–25 (Lit.); ID., "Georg Wilhelm Schimpers abessinische Zeit (1837–1878)...", *Verein für Naturkunde Mannheim* 6, 1999, 47–68; ANNEGRET MARX, "Indigo, Smalt, Ultramarine – a Change of Blue Paints in Traditional Ethiopian Church Paintings in the 19th Century Sets a Benchmark for Dating", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 215–32; ID., "Blau aus der Waschküche: Wege einer Farbe nach Äthiopien", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 158–69; ROBIN MCEWAN, *Picturing Apocalypse at Gondar. A Study of the Two Known Sets of Ethiopian Illuminations of the "Revelation of St. John and the Life and Death of John"*, Torino 2005.

Gerd Gräber

Däräso Ṭabo

Ras D.Ṭ. (ደረሶ፡ ጣቦ) was one of the most outstanding military commanders of the late 19th cent., his name being often cited along with *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda and *ras* ↗Gobäna Daçi. A *balabbat* of Q^{w}älla Damot in Goǧǧam, D.T. was chosen by *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot to lead his military campaigns into the Oromo territories across the Abbay.

Following the designation of Täklä Haymanot as *nəguś* of Goggam and Käfa by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV in 1881, D.Ṭ., then *däǧǧazmač*, was made *ras* and appointed governor of the Oromo regions of Guduru and Leeqaa. D.Ṭ. then embarked on an extensive campaign to incorporate the territories as far as Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar and Käfa. However, the situation was complicated by the fact that Gobäna, *nəguś* Mənilək's (later *aṣe* Mənilək II's) general, wanted to expand his control at the same time and in the same direction. The Gobäna's seizure of booty that D.Ṭ. had collected led to a tense confrontation between the two generals and eventually drew their superiors into a show of strength.

In 1882 the Battle of ↗Ǝmbabo was fought; Täklä Haymanot was wounded and captured early on in the engagement. D.Ṭ. ignored the order of his captured lord to surrender and fought on with remarkable resilience. However, victory ultimately went to the Šäwans and the course of Ethiopian history was thereby significantly changed, as the succession of Mənilək to the imperial throne was guaranteed. Not much is heard of D.Ṭ. after Ǝmbabo, although he is known to have represented his overlord at the coronation of Mənilək II at Ǝnṭoṭṭo in 1889.

Src.: BTafA, s. index; HerTar; MahHorse; *aläqa* TÄKLÄ IYÄSUS, የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ / የንጉሥ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት (*Yäʾityopya tarik / Yänəguś Täklä Haymanot*, 'A History of Ethiopia [and of] *Nəguś* Täklä Haymanot'), Addis Abäba, IES ms. 254.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Two of the Last Provincial Kings of Ethiopia", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 29–55; BIZUALEM BIRHANE, *Adal Abba Tänna Nïgus of Gojjam and Käffa 1850–1901*, B.A. thesis, Haylä Śəllase I University, Addis Ababa 1971; RICHARD CAULK, "Territorial Competition and the Battle of Embabo", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 64–88.

Bahru Zewde

Därg ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council

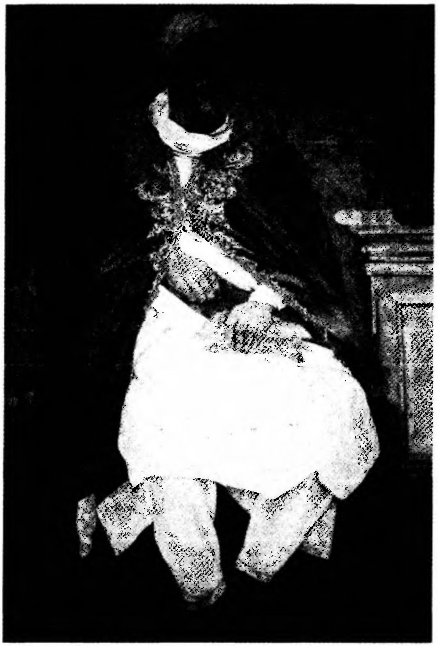
Darge Śahlä Śəllase

Ras D.Ś.Ś. (**ዳርጌ፡ ሣህለ፡ ሥላሴ**, "horse name" **አባ፡ ጌርሳ**, Abba Gersa; b. ca. 1830, d. March 1900) was a prince, royal councillor and provincial governor. Son of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase and *wäyzäro* Wärräyega of Hadiyya, D.Ś.Ś. became head of a family branch of the Solomonic dynasty of Šäwa collateral to that of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel.

He was born and brought up in Ankobär. Though details of his early life are few, we know that he emerged as a prominent military leader immediately after the death of his father in 1847. In 1847–49 he campaigned in ↗Sälale and the neighbouring districts of the ↗Abbičuu Oromo in collaboration with his younger brother, *abeto* ↗Säyfu Śahlä Śəllase. In 1856, he mobilized men from Mänz on behalf of Säyfu who had refused to submit to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II; but he surrendered to the Emperor soon after the arrest of Säyfu by their third brother, *märəd azmač* ↗Ḫaylä Mikaʾel.

Tewodros treated him well at first and even appointed him governor of Šäwa, but D.Ś.Ś. was soon accused of intriguing with opponents of the sovereign and, hence, was confined at ↗Mäqdäla. After his release by the British in April 1868, he returned to Šäwa and submitted to Mənilək, who respected him highly and consulted his opinion on major state matters throughout his life. In the early reign of *nəguś* Mənilək, D.Ś.Ś. was appointed governor of ↗Bulga, an office which he held for three years. In 1871, he was made *däǧǧazmač* and was given Sälale and ↗Märḥabete, the former of which he retained until his death. In 1876–77, he fought his nephew, Mäšäša Säyfu, and *wäyzäro* ↗Bafäna, the rebellious consort of Mənilək, who had risen up against Mənilək and held the stronghold of Tamo. The following year, Mənilək promoted D.Ś.Ś. to *ras*.

D.Ś.Ś.'s last military campaign was most probably the conquest of ↗Arsi in 1882–86, in which at least two of his sons also participated. On grounds of advanced age and his chronic rheumatism, he avoided military expeditions and long marches after this event. Mənilək nonetheless entrusted to him the regency of his throne whenever he himself went on military expeditions. His provincial administration seems to have been fair; at least, no insurrections were recorded in Sälale throughout the last three decades of the 19th cent. His conquest of Arsi was, however, devastating, as the resistance of the inhabitants was fierce.



Ras Darge Śahlä Śəllase; oil painting, signed "Šiwunarian", late 19th cent. (?); photo by Mersha Alehegn, courtesy of the National Museum, Addis Abäba

D.Ś.Ś. was rich, religious and conservative, though he is known to have shown no repugnance to Western education and innovations. He befriended a number of Europeans, including ↗Mondon-Vidailhet, ↗Ilg and Appenzeller; he also allowed his royal nephew to send one of his sons, Gugsa (1876–1921), to Europe for education. He built and renovated many churches, his most favourite one being that of ↗Gännätä Giyorgis at Fəčče. He died of illness in March 1900 and was buried with pomp and ceremony in Däbrä Libanos.

Mənilək then split his governorate between two of his sons, *däǧǧazmač* Asfaw Darge and *däǧǧazmač* Täsämma Darge (both of them were political suspects who enjoyed freedom mainly through the protection of their father). Asfaw was a brave military leader who participated in the conquest of Arsi in the 1880s and subjugated ↗Bale as far as Lug in the following decade. However, he often disregarded imperial orders and allegedly aspired to the throne, conseqently, he was severely punished in the late 1890s. A few years after the death of their father, Asfaw was accused of intrigues and confined in the mountain prison of Afqära, where he died, allegedly of an illness, in October 1905. Täsämma was put under surveillance until his death in Addis Abäba three days before his imprisoned brother. Asfaw was survived by a son, *däğğazmač* Zäwde, who proved a capable resistance leader during the Fascist occupation of Ethiopia, and by a daughter, Asädä, who married *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša and earned the title of *ləʿəlt*.

Two other sons of D.Ś.Ś. died earlier: *fitawrari* Šäwaräggäd Darge was killed in a horse-racing accident in June 1882, and *däğğazmač* Dästa Darge, who governed Čälleya,died from an illness in 1892. The latter was a maternal uncle of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllasel, under whose rule a grandson, *däğğazmač* Mammo Śəyyum Dästa, enjoyed high offices. D.Ś.Ś. also had three daughters: Ṣäḥayä Wärq, Askalä Maryam and Tässämma. The first, a resolute and relatively free-spirited woman, was a close associate of Empress ↗Zäwditu and, hence, she came into conflict with *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən in 1925 and subsequently died in prison. Perhaps the most influential descendants of *ras* D.Ś.Ś. were Täsämma's son, *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu, and his sons, *däğğazmač* Abärra Kaśa, · *däğğazmač* Wänd Wässän Kaśa and *ləʿul ras* ↗Aśratä [Maryam] Kaśa.

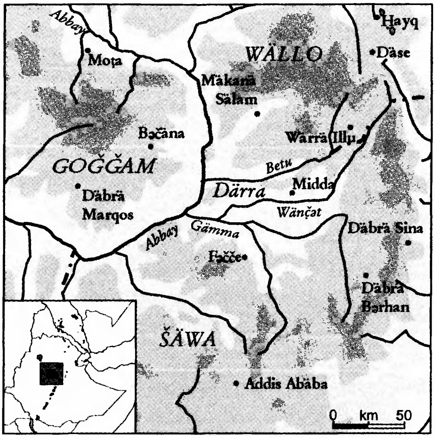
Src.: GueCopMen 94, 101, 129, 135, 139, passim; GUSTAVO BIANCHI, *Alla terra dei Galla. Narrazione della spedizione Bianchi in Africa nel 1879–80*, Milano 1884, 493–99.

Lit.: BTafA 54, 377, 593, 761–71, 883f., passim; HerNägäst 40ff., 81–86; MÄKʷÄNNƏN ƏNDALKAČČÄW, መልካም፡ ቤተሰቦች (*Mälkam betäsäbočč*, 'Good Families'), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.], 38–41; MahHorse 235, 275, 277f.; BAIRU TAFLA, "Some Aspects of Taxation and Land Tenure in Sälalé under Ras Dargé in the Nineteenth Century", *JES* 12, 2, 1974, 1–9; ID., "Ras Dargé Sahlä Sellase, c. 1827–1900", *ibid.* 13, 2, 1975, 17–37;

Bairu Tafla

Därra

D. (ደራ) is a border region between Goğğam, Šäwa and Wällo. It is delimited by the River ↗Abbay in the west, the River Betu in the north, and the Rivers ↗Wänčət and ↗Ğämma in the south. D. is typical of the north-central highlands, with table mountains reaching 2,300 m and river gorges dissecting the landscape at 600 m. (There is another location with the same name situated north of the Abbay as it leaves Lake Ṭana.)



The predominantly Oromo population consist of Orthodox Christians and Muslims, but traditional religious practices are also adhered to. The households in D. depend on mixed farming.

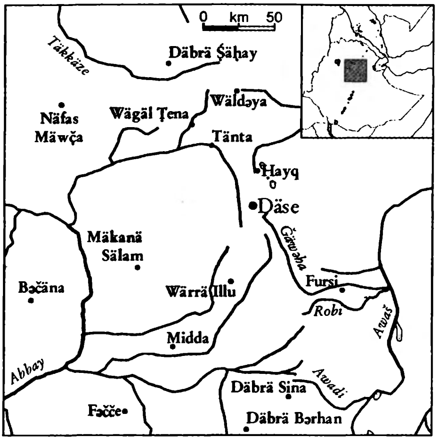
Before the Oromo invasions, D. was part of the ↗Wäläqa province of the Christian empire. The Oromo of the ↗Tuulama group settled in D. towards the end of the 16th cent. In the 17th cent., they were attacked several times by imperial forces. The D. Oromo consist of three local Oromo agnate descent groups, the Metta, Aadaa and Tuti. The last Oromo ruler of D., Wolele (wife of the late ruler Hasän Wädaḍ), was defeated in the 1880s by *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase, and D. was merged with his province of ↗Sälale. For most of the 20th cent. D. has been part of ↗Märḥabete. Today it is the northernmost Oromo *wäräda*, Gundä Mäsqäl being the *wäräda* capital.

Lit.: BTafA; StStud.

Odd Eirik Arnesen

Däse

D. (ደሴ, lit. 'My Joy'; 2,370 m A.S.L.) is a town in Wällo. It was reportedly founded by *aṣe*



↗Yoḥannəs IV around 1883, who also ordered the Betä Śəllase church to be built there (Chaîne 1913:188f.). The site, formerly known as Wäyra Amba, was already used by ↗Tewodros II as a military camp. During the time of *ras* (later *nəguś*) ↗Mika᾿el Ali the settlement developed to become the regional capital.

The physical environment was favourable for D. Its hilltops formed the ideal site for building a governor's residence. The area had a temperate ↗*wäyna däga* climate. The hinterland had rich volcanic soils, which enabled the farmers to produce surplus crops for the city dwellers. Since D. was located at the crossroads of major trade routes, it became an important trading centre. It was also of strategic importance during *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's campaign against the Italians, it became a major supply centre for the Ethiopian troops (De Castro 1915, vol. 2, 264). D. was the capital of Wällo province during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and in the *Därg* period. After 1991 D. became the centre of North Wällo.

Modern D. is composed of several distinct areas. The Säñño Gäbäya disctrict hosts the old market established by *nəguś* Mika᾿el. In the early 20th cent., this market was as great as that of ↗Boru Meda, i.e. was the largest in that part of Ethiopia (Annaratone 1914:128). The Bärbäre Gända is the northward extension of the Sälayəš Säfär west of the main highway extending from Addis Abäba to Asmära. Besides having a number of shops, banks, and offices it has several residential houses. The Aräb Gända is an important area where the first foreigners, probably Arabs, built their settlement. The primary nucleus of D. is Ayəṭäyäf, the banqueting-hall of *nəguś* Mika᾿el, which once accommodated a large crowd (↗*Gəbər*). Around this site an important residential area was formed. Mugad is a market-place that is active throughout the week. Most of the wholesale and retail trade establishments are located here. The Mädḫane ᶜAläm Church is another important point north of Ayəṭäyəf. It was built by order of *ras* Mika᾿el – according to tradition on the site of an earlier church, destroyed by Aḥmad Grañ in the 16th cent. Priests reside around this church and there are many *ṭälla* and *ṭäǧǧ bets* to the west and north of the church. Located in the Hoṭe district in the north-eastern part of D. are hospitals, a nursing school, the regional health headquarters, a cinema hall, the main prison, the Hoṭe Comprehensive High School, the Tigril Fəre Elementary School, the main stadium and the electricity powerhouse. The Robit Gäbäya area houses the second important market. North of it lies the metropolitan's residence and a theological school. Still further north, at the top of a hill, is the Betä Śəllase church. Arära, the city's most lightly populated area, is located in its north-eastern part at the foothills of Azwa Gäde, east of the Borkäna river. Dawdo is a new settlement which has emerged in the northern part of the city to address residential housing shortages.

The population of the town increased significantly in the second half of the 20th cent. While in 1938 it was estimated at 36,000 inhabitants (6,000 Italians; *Guida*), in the Census of 2000 the number of inhabitants was 129,431. According to the 1994 Census, the Däse Zuriya *wäräda* has a total population of 201,433. Details of the infrastructure and living conditions are as follows: the total student enrolment in the various schools comprised of Primary (485), Junior Secondary (261) and Senior Secondary (228). Among housing units, 645 had individual tap-water, 3,532 had tap-water within their compounds, 460 had protected well- and spring-water, 195 had unprotected well- and spring-water. By ca. 1985 9,776 housing units received electricity from the lines that ran from the ↗Qoqa dam to D. Today, many more houses benefit from this arrangement.

Src.: MARIUS CHAÎNE, "Histoire du règne de Iohannes IV roi d'Éthiopie (1868–1889)", *RevSem* 21, 1913, 178–91, here 188f.; GueCopMen 263, 283f., s. index; *Guida* 322, 395–400; CSA 1996, 2000; LINCOLN DE CASTRO, *Nella terra dei Negus. Pagine raccolte in Abissinia*, vol. 2, Milano 1915, 164; CARLO ANNARATONE, *In Abissinia*, Roma 1914, 127–33; ZewYohan, s. index.
Lit.: BTafA 904; PankHist II, 235ff. (Lit.).

Mekete Belachew

Däsk

The name D. (**ደስክ**, 'spot, stain') indiscriminately describes a group of non-Christian priests and worshippers (**ብእሴ፡ ደስክ**, *bəʾəse däsk*) in 15th-cent. Gəʿəz literature. The term may also refer to their deity. It is difficult to elaborate on this topic because all records originate in the stereotyped polemic of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church against the non-Christian medieval cults. According to this polemic, the D. people are identified with demons and their rituals are associated with satanic cults. The oldest records about D. are known from the Acts of ↗Samuʾel of Däbrä Wägäg and from the writings of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob. One of the policies of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob was to condemn the non-Christian practices of his time, which were widespread even in the royal family. D. occurs in his writings accompanied by other representatives of these ancient cults, such as *dino*, *gʷədale*, *mäqawəze*, *marəyan*, *ṭäfänt* and *ṭänqʷaləyan*, and seems to describe a kind of soothsayer or warlock. In later magic literature D. is a name of a ↗demon.

Src.: STANISLAS KUR (ed., tr.), *Actes de Samuel de Dabra Wagag*, Louvain 1968 (CSCO 287, 288 [SAe 57, 58]) 6, 13–16, 18–25, 27f., 32f., 40–43, 55, 68; PerrZarY 4, 6, 98, 112; KURT WENDT (ed., tr.), *Das Maṣḥafa Milād* (*Liber Nativitatis*) *und das Maṣḥafa Sellāsē* (*Liber Trinitatis*) *des Kaisers Zarʾa Yāʿqob*, Louvain 1963 (CSCO 235, 236 [SAe 43, 44]), 43, 83f.; GETATCHEW HAILE (ed., tr.), *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zärʾa Yaʿəqob* (*Ṭomarä Təsbəʾt*), Louvain 1991 (CSCO 522, 523 [SAe 95, 96]), 53–56, 58, 62f.; LesCDic 144.
Lit.: JACQUES MERCIER, "Le Qolle et le Zar: éléments pour l'histoire des anciens cultes éthiopiens", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84 [1985], 259–98.

Bogdan Burtea

Dästa Damṭäw

Ras D.D. (**ደስታ፡ ዳምጠው**; b. ca. 1893, d. 1937) was a leading politician of the early ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I era. His father, *fitawrari* Damṭäw, led an official mission of Emperor Mənilək to Russia in 1895 and was one of the commanders who fell at the Battle of ʿAdwa. D.D. grew up at the imperial court and was married to the eldest daughter of Ḫaylä Śəllase, Princess ↗Tänaññä Wärq. In 1928, subsequent to the detention of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Balča by *ras* Täfäri for insubordination, the governorship of the lucrative province of ↗Sidamo was given to D.D. As governor of Sidamo, he led Ethiopian forces on the southern front against the invading Italian army in 1935. His bold offensive was thwarted at the Battle of ↗Genaalee Doriya (12–14 January 1936), which proved a veritable massacre for the Ethiopians. Emboldened by the nearly 1,000 Eritrean ↗*askari* who deserted to his side during that encounter, D.D. continued to defy the Fascist occupation until he was captured in February 1937 and summarily executed. His heroic death inspired one of the poems of the Senegalese poet Léopold Sédar Senghor.

Ras Dästa Damṭäw with Tänaññä Wärq; photo courtesy of the IES (no. 23 D1, 770)

Lit.: BZHist; HSLife; MahHorse.

Bahru Zewde

Dästa Darge ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase

Dästa Səbḥat

Däğğazmač D.S. (ደስታ፡ ስብሓት; d. 1908, Addis Abäba; r. 1902–08) was the son of *ras* ↗Səbḥat Arägawi from the family of ↗Säbagadis Wäldu of ↗ᶜAgamä in eastern Təgray. He is known locally as *šum ᶜagame* Dästa. The title of *däğğazmač* was apparently conferred on him by his father and confirmed by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II.

In 1890 D.S. was taken hostage by *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs of Təgray to enforce his father's submission, but D.S. soon escaped. He repeatedly joined rebellion against both *ras* Mängäša and Mənilək. As a result, in 1893 Mängäša detained Səbḥat Arägawi and D.S. at ↗Ambalage on suspicion of conspiracy. The prisoners were released in 1895 by the Italians. D.S. and his father briefly allied themselves with the Italians before their return to Mənilək's camp on the eve of the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa. Two years later, they stopped fighting their former rival, *ras* Mängäša, while in rebellion against Mənilək's central government, but were defeated and captured. After two more years, in 1902, Mənilək released D.S. and appointed him governor of ᶜAgamä to placate the stiff local rebellion that had led to political instability.

D.S.'s two surviving achievements are the two palaces he built one in ↗ᶜAddigrat, the capital of ᶜAgamä, and the other at Sabaya, to the north. He also renovated the present day church of St. Cyril in ᶜAddigrat. There were other ambitious schemes that seemed to have brought him into conflict with a host of external and internal rivals, including the peasantry. For instance, attracted by the huge ↗salt revenues of eastern Təgray, he tried to divert the flow of the principal south-eastern salt caravan from ↗Ǝndärta to ᶜAgamä. For this purpose, he encouraged Muslim merchant communities to settle and trade in ᶜAddigrat. Subsequently, many Muslims came to live in the southern quarter of the town; the trade route, however, did not divert.

D.S. also tried to dislodge the Italians from considerable territories of ↗Šəmäzana, which he claimed were part of his realm. As a result, D.S. came into conflict with the Italians who began encroaching into some of the bordering districts of ᶜAgamä.

The internal resentment and D.S.'s continued raids into the Italian colony of Eritrea apparently led to his dismissal from office and subsequent detention by Mənilək. He died in confinement.

ᶜAgamä was subsequently merged with the governorate of *däğğazmač* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gabər, in addition to Aksum and the ᶜAdwa areas. Gäbrä Śəllase probably took advantage of his high standing in Mənilək's court to facilitate D.S.'s removal from office (this act was achieved in concert with the Italians).

Src.: interviews with *ato* ḪAYLÄ ŚƎLLASE RÄDDA, age 60, ᶜAddigrat, September 2000; *ləğ* KAHSAY ABRƎHA, age 90, ᶜAddigrat, October 1996.

Lit.: TSEGAY BERHE, *A History of ʿAgamä, 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1996; MEKONNEN BERHANE, *A Political History of Tigray, 1889–1913*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1994.

Tsegay Berhe

Dästa Tädla Gʷalu

Ras D.T. (ደስታ፡ ተድላ፡ ጓሉ, "horse name" Dässe Abba Wəqaw; d. 1874) was a nobleman, rebel and governor. He was the son of *däğğazmač* ↗Tädla Gʷalu, who rebelled against Tewodros II in the 1860s. Consequently, he was a direct descendant of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu the elder. For some unknown reason, certain sources refer to D.T. as "Dästa Gʷalu".

Equally obscure is the history of D.T.'s youth and upbringing. After the death of his father in 1867, the eldest son, *däğğazmač* Nəguśe Tädla Gʷalu, succeeded to the gubernatorial office of ↗Goğğam, but he was soon replaced by his youngest brother, D.T., who governed Goğğam intermittently until 1874. D.T. submitted to *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II in 1869 and was confirmed in his governorate. To ensure his loyalty, he was also given one of the Emperor's half-sisters in marriage.

When Täklä Giyorgis decided to march northwards to subdue Təgray, however, D.T. ignored the Imperial summons to mobilize his men and join the expedition. Täklä Giyorgis turned his force against Goğğam, but he failed to capture D.T. and retired to ↗Däbrä Tabor to make further preparations for his military expedition. D.T.'s rival from a collateral family, Adal Täsämma (later *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot), however, seized him and handed him over to the Emperor. The Emperor appointed Adal governor of Goğğam and gave him another relation in marriage.

In 1871, after the defeat of Täklä Giyorgis by Kaśa, who subsequently crowned himself *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, Adal failed to submit to the new sovereign. Yoḥannəs IV freed and reinstated

D.T. as Governor of Goǧǧam with the rank and title of *ras* at the end of 1873. A few months later, however, he was killed by Adal, who then submitted to the Emperor at Sämära (Däbrä Tabor) through the intercession of the clergy and was given Goǧǧam, which he subsequently held for more than a quarter of a century.

Src.: *aläqa* LÄMLÄM – *aläqa* ZÄYOHANNES, *The History of Emperor Yohannes whose Mundane Name was Bazbez Kasa Dictated to Monsieur Mondon by Alaqa Lamlam of Mahdara Maryam at Entotto in 1887 of the Year of Grace*, Paris, BN, mss. Éthiop. 259 Mondon 72, fol. 1–7.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Two of the Last Provincial Kings of Ethiopia", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 29–56, here 31–34; ZewYohan 31f., 45, 278.

Bairu Tafla

Dästa Täklä Wäld

D.T.W. (**ደስታ፡ ተክለ፡ ወልድ**; b. 26 July 1901, Goš Wəha in Wägda, Šäwa, d. 5 September 1985, Addis Abäba) was a scholar of traditional Ethiopian customs and culture.

D.T.W. first received a church education near his home and later in ↗Däbrä Libanos, where he studied church poetry and chant (*qəne* and *zema*) under *aläqa* Kidanä Maryam and *mämhər* Gäbrä Iyäsus, and also biblical interpretation.

From 1923/24 to 1927/28 he was employed by the ↗Bərhanənna Sälam Printing Press as a proof-reader and language consultant for religious books. Later, asked by the renowned scholar *aläqa* ↗Kidanä Wäld Kəfle to join him at the Saint-Lazare Printing Press, D.T.W. moved to Dərre Dawa, where he spent 16 years working in a similar field. After returning to Addis Abäba at the end of this period, he worked for the Bərhanənna Sälam Press and the ↗Artistic Printing Press.

D.T.W.'s greatest achievement and lifework was his **ዐዲስ፡ ያማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት። በካህናትና፡ በሀገረ፡ ሰብ፡ ቋንቋ** (*ᶜAddis yamarəñña mäzgäbä qalat, bäkahnatənna bähagärä säb qʷanqʷa*, 'A New Dictionary of Amharic, in the Language of the Clergy and the Peasants' = DTWDic), which he wrote on *aṣe* Ḥaylä Śəllase I's order. It was completed in 1957/58 and published by the Artistic Press in 1970. The dictionary consists of 1,284 pages with 523 illustrations and a long introduction on grammar, the history of Amharic and the Ethiopian syllabaries. D.T.W. applied to it the alphabetic order of the consonants of the old Ethiopian *Abugida* syllabary, yet disregarding the traditional order of the vowels; he used a similar system in the Gəᶜəz dictionary by Kidanä Wäld Kəfle, completed by D.T.W. after the author's death (↗*Abugida and hahu*).

Src.: DTWDic; KIDANÄ WÄLD KƎFLE, **መዝገበ፡ ፊደላት፡ ሴማውያት** ... (*Mäzgäbä fidälat semawəyat* ..., 'Collection of the Semitic Letters ...'), Dərre Dawa 1926 A.M. [1934 A.D.], Addis Abäba ^{2}1961, ^{3}1965; ID., **ርባሐ፡ ስም፡ ወአንቀጽ** (*Rəbaḥa səm wäʾanqäṣ*, 'Inflexion of Nouns and Verbs'), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1953/54 A.D.]; DÄSTA TÄKLÄ WÄLD, **ገበታ፡ ሐዋርያት** (*Gäbäta ḥawaryat*, 'Tables of the Apostles'), Dərre Dawa 1928 A.M. [1935 A.D.].

Lit.: MolLit 159–62; KIDANÄ WÄLD KƎFLE, **ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው፡ ቀደምት።**, *La foi des pères anciens*. 1. *Texte éthiopien. Enseignement de Mamher Kefla Giyorgis* ..., ed. by DÄSTÄ TÄKLÄ WÄLD, Stuttgart 1986 (SKK 79), here 27–36.

Ewa Wołk

Ḏāt Ḥimyam

In the Ethiopic sources, the goddess Ḏ.Ḥ. (ḎT ḤMYM), one of the five supreme deities of the Sabaean pantheon, is mentioned in the final invocations and other formulae of Sabaic and Ethio-Sabaic inscriptions, always in the fourth place, after ᶜṮTR/ᶜSTR (↗ᶜAstär), H(W)BS (Hawbas), ʾLMQH (↗Almaqah) but before ḎT BᶜDN (RIE 1:5–6; 5 B:2; 10:13–14). The vocalization of the main part of her name as Ḥimyam, which is not supported by any source, remains conventional. The traditional identification of Ḏ.Ḥ. with the Sun goddess seems dubious, since it was founded on the now rejected concept of the Divine Triad elaborated by Ditlef Nielsen. However, the attribution of an astral nature to her cannot be excluded. On the territory of the Old Sabaean kingdom in Yemen only one temple of Ḏ.Ḥ. is localized, at the site of Ḫaribat Saᶜūd (ancient Kutāl[um]), to the north-west of Mārib.

In Yemen of the early 1st millennium B.C., during the epoch of the Sabaean expansion, the cult of Ḏ.Ḥ. was brought to some peripheral areas of South Arabian civilization. The indigenous population of north-eastern Ethiopia and inland Ḥaḍramawt even incorporated her in their own pantheons. On the basis of Hadramitic inscriptions found in two temples of Ḏ.Ḥ., which were excavated in 1983–91 at the site of Raybūn (Ḥaḍramawt), some of her functions are ascertained; the goddess was responsible for the regulation of conjugal relations and probably of proprietary rights in land. No sculptural or pictorial representation of her as well as of other South Arabian deities has been found yet. Some vague references to the interdiction of making images of Ḏ.Ḥ. occur in the epigraphic documentation of Raybūn.

In the strongly Sabaean-influenced Ethiopian kingdom of ↗DʿMT (8th–7th cent. B.C.), Ḏ.Ḥ. was worshipped under the names of both ḎT ḤMYM and ḎT ḤMN. The latter form, attested once in royal texts (RIE 9:6–7) and rather often in pre-Aksumite graffiti, might have reflected phonetic and morphological peculiarities of local dialects. This divergence in orthography was obviously connected with the ethnic and social heterogeneity of the inhabitants of DʿMT. On a small altar found in ↗ʿAddi Kramatən two dedications to Ḏ.Ḥ. are discovered; in a carefully engraved Sabaic boustrophedon inscription her name was written as ḎT ḤMYM (RIE 53 I:2), while in a graffito roughly scribbled over it along the frieze the spelling ḎT ḤMN was used (RIE 53 II:1). At the site of ↗Yəḥa, an epithet of Ḏ.Ḥ. seems to have been attested in a fragmentary context (RIE 46: *w-ḏt/ḥmym/ ḏt/…*).

After the decline of DʿMT some centres of the cult of the goddess, known henceforward only as ḎT ḤMN, existed at the site of ↗Fəqya (RIE 71:2; 72 I:2; 73:2; 74; 75:2; 77:2) and in Dəkanamo (RIE 158; 163). Some correspondence may be traced between Ḏ.Ḥ. and the Aksumite deity of earth attested in the pre-Christian inscriptions of ↗ʿEzana as MDR (RIE 185 II:21), ↗Mədr (RIE 188:26) and Γῆ (RIE 270bis:30).

Src.: RIE 1, 5, 9, 10, 46, 53, 71–75, 77, 158, 163, 185, 270.
Lit.: Francis Anfray, "Introduction", in: *RIE* 17–64, esp. 47; François Bron, "Los dioses y el culto de los Árabes preislámicos", in: Gregorio del Olmo Lete (ed.), *Mitología y religión del Oriente antiguo*, II/2: *Semitas Occidentales (Emar, Ugarit, Hebreos, Fenicios, Arameos, Árabes)*, Barcelona 1995 (Colección: Estudios orientales, 9), 417, 419f., 423, 436; Serguei Frantsouzoff, "The Inscriptions from the Temples of D̲h̲āt Ḥimyam at Raybūn", *Proceedings of the Seminar of Arabian Studies* 25, 1995, 15–27, pls. I–II; Id., "Regulation of Conjugal Relations in Ancient Raybūn", *ibid.* 27, 1997, 113–27; Id., "A Parallel to the Second Commandment in the Inscriptions of Raybūn", *ibid* 28, 1998, 61–67; Ditlef Nielsen, *Der dreieinige Gott in religionshistorischer Beleuchtung*, Bd. 1: *Die drei göttlichen Personen*, Kobenhavn – Kristiania – Berlin – London 1922, 319, 321; Christian Robin, "Sheba. II. Dans les inscriptions d'Arabie du Sud", *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 12, Paris 1996, 1156f., 1161; Christian Robin – Alessandro de Maigret, "Le grand temple de Yéha (Tigray, Éthiopie), après la première campagne de fouilles de la Mission française (1998)", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, juillet–octobre 1998, 737–98, here 785, 788f., 794f. n. 95.

Serguei Frantsouzoff

David Ben Solomon Ibn Abi Zimra

Known as RaDBaZ (= Rabbi David Abi Zimra), D. was a leading Talmudic scholar, halakhic authority and kabbalist. Born in Spain in 1479, his family moved to Safed following the exile of the Jews in 1492. He emigrated to Egypt in 1513, settling first in Alexandria and later in Cairo. In 1517 he became the official head of Egyptian Jewry. However, his reputation extended well beyond the borders of that country and he received legal and religious questions from many Jewish communities.

On two separate occasions D. considered the Jewish religious status and identity of the ↗Betä Əsraʾel (Fälaša). In both cases he was asked to rule regarding Jews from 'the land of Cush' brought to Egypt as prisoners. He affirmed the identity of the Betä Əsraʾel as descendants of the Tribe of ↗Dan (↗Eldad Ha-Dani), but noted that their ignorance of rabbinic Jewish law created problems with regard to the legitimacy of their marriages and divorces. His rulings became one the most important Jewish sources on the Betä Əsraʾel and served as the basis for all later Jewish discussions concerning their identity. A third text discussed the flooding of the Nile and its Ethiopian source.

Src.: Michael Corinaldi, *Jewish Identity: the Case of Ethiopian Jewry*, Jerusalem 1998, 189–96; Menachem Waldman, *Me-ever le-naharei Kuš: Yehudey Etiopia ve-ha-am ha-yehudi* ('Beyond the Rivers of Ethiopia: the Jews of Ethiopia and the Jewish People'), Tel Aviv 1989, 66–76.
Lit.: Menachem Elon, "The Ethiopian Jews: a Case Study in the Functioning of the Jewish Legal System", *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* 16, 1986–87, 535–63; Steven Kaplan, "History, *Halakha* and Identity: the Beta Israel and World Jewry", *Israel Social Science Research* 10, 2, 1995, 13–24.

Steven Kaplan

Däwäl

D. (ደወል, 'territory, district, border, frontier') is the term applied in particular to the periphery of a church parish (↗*Aṭbiya*). Sometimes it designates a subdivision within a monastic community: in ↗Waldəbba a group of up to ten monks, living outside the main monastic settlement, is called D.

D. is also the traditional Ethiopian term for the (church) phonolith or "stone bell" (possibly with no connection to the previous meaning, s. LesCDic 145). The D. are usually made from one or several resonant slabs of stone (*yädängiya däwäl*), and sometimes from wood (*yäʾənčät däwäl*) that are usually suspended on a wooden frame within the church compound (cp. Powne 1968, plate 3; DAE III, 46). The bell-ringer (*däwway*) strikes the D. with a round pebble, but in some cases two resonant stones hanging side by side are moved to strike each other. While the stone or wooden D. were common, metal European-type bells, also called D., were occasionally brought to Ethiopia (in exceptional cases, perhaps, even locally made). Among the gifts acquired in Venice by the 1402 Ethiopian embassy was a mechanical clock referred to as *dol* (contracted form of *däwäl*), with a hammer to strike the "bell" (s. Raineri 1999:373). However, regular imports of metal bells probably began at the time of the ↗Jesuits at the earliest and continued through to the 19th cent. (cp. the unique "combined" D. in the yard of St. Gabriel Church in ↗Kəbran, s. HamTana 1, 51, fig. 23, and also the famous chapel of Madḫane ʿAläm church at ↗ʿAdwa, DAE III, 52f.). Some churches used to possess both the traditional D. and the bell (e.g., the old ↗Ǝnda Maryam church of Asmära, DAE II, 195). D. are considered one of the sacred objects in the church. According to ecclesiastical tradition, the use of the D. started at the time of Noah, who is said to have rung the D. at three different times during the day: at dawn for prayer and work, at noon for lunch and in the evening to announce the end of the working day.

Church *Däwäl* of Ṣäʿazzäga in Ḥamasen; photo 1914/15 by Leo Frobenius's expedition; courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (07–8213)

In common church practice, D. are used to summon the clergy and worshippers to prayer. Ringing the D. at the beginning and end of church services is also customary. D. were also rung when members of the royal family died. Traditionally, anyone seeking ↗asylum in a church or monastery had to reach the D. and strike it to let the ecclesiastics know that someone was begging for their protection; after the D. was rung no one was allowed to harm him.

↗Qaçəl

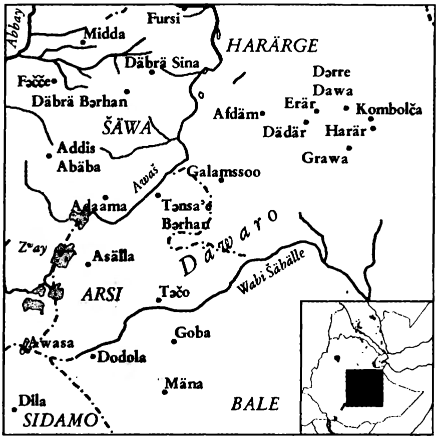
Src.: DicKane 1820f.; DAE I, 195; III, 52f., 79f., 141, s. index; GuiVoc 686; THMDic 1212; DillmLex 1123f.; LesCDic 145; BeckHuntAlvar 76, 99 (fig. 2).

Lit.: HamTana I, 51 (Lit.); MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music: an Introduction*, London 1968, 20–23, pl. 3; MARCOS DAOUD (tr.), *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa 1954; *Zena betä krəstiyan* 1, 30 Taḫśaś 1938, no. 1–3; PankSoc, s. index; OSVALDO RAINERI, "I doni della Serenissima al re Davide I d'Etiopia (ms. Raineri 43 della Vaticana)", *OrChrP* 65, 1999, 363–448, here 373 (tr.), 424 (text).

Mersha Alehegne – Denis Nosnitsin

Däwaro

D. (**ደዋሮ**, Arabic داورو, also Dauarro, Davvaro, Dauri, or Dauarri) was one of the seven Muslim trading states in southern Ethiopia which belonged to the belt of Muslim states, fittingly called by the Egyptian courtier al-↗ʿUmarī the "Muslim fringe" (*aṭ-ṭirāz al-islāmī*). This series of Muslim states, namely ↗Ifat, D., ↗Arabäbni (Arʾeñ), ↗Hadiyya, ↗Šarḫa, ↗Bale and ↗Darä, grew up along the coast and inland as far as the lakes, thus, encircling the east and south of the Ethiopian massif. As one of the buffer-states, D. itself, corresponding roughly to the present-day ↗Arsi region in southern Ethiopia, was a long, narrow territory, only five days' journey in length by two days' in width, as described by al-↗ʿUmarī in the first half of the 14th cent. Bordering upon the Bale sultanate in the south, D. was separated from it by the ↗Wabi Šäbälle river and bordered on Ifat on the right bank of the river ↗Awaš. In the east, it reached the edge of the ʿAfar lowlands, in the south-west, it bordered on the small principalities of Šarḫa and Arabäbni (for further information on D., including ↗Dawro where refugees from D. had



settled during the wars of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, s. BassHist II, 16, note 2, Cerulli 1971:286f., 290f. and HuntGeogr 87f., 126f., corrected by Taddesse Tamrat 1991:118).

As a major Muslim community of the southern region, the existence of the D. kingdom, in which *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot reputedly had some influence through missionary activity about 1300, is confirmed both by Ethiopic and Arabic sources. In Ethiopic chronicles it appears first in that of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I. According to this source, he subdued Ifat, D., Šarḫa and Bale in the war of 1332, when the territory of D. was ruled by a governor called Ḫaydara, a tributary to the Emperor of Ethiopia. Ḫaydara supported the insurrection of ↗Ṣabraddīn Muḥammad of ᶜAdal, who had planned to defeat the Emperor's troops by attacking them from as many points as possible. ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I conducted a punitive expedition against the rebels in April 1332. According to the royal chronicle, his campaign was a brilliant success. Defeated and forced to submit, Ṣabraddīn surrendered and was taken prisoner together with his ally Ḫaydara. The region was devastated and D. was placed under Ǧamāladdīn b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr, a brother of Ṣabraddīn, as ruler tributary to Ethiopia.

Accordingly, D. is described as part of the Emperor's dominion in the "Soldiers' songs" of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I as well as those of ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob (Guidi 1889:53–66), who, a hundred years later, consolidated the conquests of his predecessors. He appointed a governor called *awrari* Bäğer over D., and stationed garrison troops called ↗*čäwa* there to strengthen his control.

Of great historical importance was his intermittent struggle with ↗Aḥmad Badlāy b. Saᶜdaddīn, who had been sent with the *amīr* Ḥarb Goš by ↗Ǧamāladdīn b. Bazyū on an expedition to D. After a successful preliminary campaign in the highlands of Šäwa in August 1443, Aḥmad Badlāy and his brother Ḫairaddīn started a new offensive into the Ethiopian part of D. in 1445. This time, however, they were repelled by the Ethiopian army. Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob himself marched against him and defeated him, cutting Aḥmad Badlāy's throat with his lance at the decisive battle of Agbära in D. on 26 December 1445. With the victory over Aḥmad Badlāy, whom the Ethiopians called Arwe ('Snake') Bädlay, the Ethiopians ended the equilibrium between the Muslims and Christians. During the ensuing reign of *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam, who put D. under a governor with the prestigious title of *əras* (↗*Ras*), D. remained under imperial rule.

Valuable information on D. also appears in al-ᶜUmarī's sympathetic account. The territory, he states, was under a king who was tributary to the emperor of Ethiopia. Although much smaller than Ifat, D. is said to have possessed a large and powerful army, consisting of around 20,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry. Its ruler did not, however, have a parasol carried over his head and he and his emirs (↗*Amīr*) were not supported by attendants when walking. Like Ifat, D. produced cereals and fruit and reared horses and beasts of burden. As coinage the inhabitants of D., who were Ḥanafites (↗Ḥanafism), used pieces of iron called ↗*ḥakunu* (or *ḥanuku*). These were the length of a needle but three times as thick. 5,000 of them were needed to purchase a cow and 3,000 for a goat. The same sort of money was used in the neighbouring states of Arabäbni and Hadiyya. Al-ᶜUmarī's valuable report on D. is repeated a century later by the Egyptian encyclopaedist al-Qalqašandī (d. 1418) and by al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442), who simply copies al-ᶜUmarī, although the situation was quite different and D. was at that time under Christian control.

A century later, D. was one of the first provinces to feel the weight of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's campaigns. He swept with recruits from the Islamic world across Ethiopia in successive battles. His chronicler ᶜArabfaqīh gives in his ↗*Futūḥ al-ḥabaša* a great deal of topographical information which is quite consistent concerning the limits of D.

After a first unsuccessful raid into the territory sometime before 1527, which ended in disaster, Grañ, together with the vizier ᶜAddalī, started a second campaign against D. in 1527 or 1528. They defeated the Ethiopians at the river Zamīt. After the battle of ↗Šämbəra Kʷäre on 11 March 1529, he attacked D. and ↗Gatur again at the end of 1529 in a campaign which resulted in the battle of Anṭakya (↗Anṣokya) in February/March 1531. One year later, in April/May 1532, Grañ sent ᶜAddalī and *amīr* Ḥusayn b. Abī Bakr al-Ǧaturī to D. to invade and occupy the country and appointed the *gärad* ↗Gūšah as governor of the province. The *šayḫ* Ādam b. Abī Bakr became *qāḍī* there. The importance that Grañ attached to D. is evident from the fact that around 1540 he entrusted its government to his son ↗Naṣraddīn. He, however, was defeated by *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos in September 1542 and died just after the battle. With Grañ's defeat and death at Zäntära (↗Wäyna Däga) on 22 February 1543 and the dissolution of his empire, control of the area passed to Grañ's nephew and vizier ↗ᶜAbbās b. Aboñ b. Ibrāhīm. He ruled for a short time over D. and the adjacent frontier provinces, but was defeated and killed by Gälawdewos in October 1544. Not long afterwards, around 1547–48, Gälawdewos appointed ↗Fanuᵓel, one of his principal commanders, as governor of D. and the regions dependent on it. At this time, all of D. was overrun and devastated by Oromo tribes, already under the third chief (*luuba*) ↗Kiilolee in the late 1530s or early 1540s, and then again under the fourth chief Biifolee (1546–54). An attempt of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl to repulse the Oromo tribes in D. and the neighbouring areas, whose migrations and incursions led to major changes on the ethnic map of Ethiopia for more than a century, failed in 1579. Thus, the Muslim statehood had perished in the Horn of Africa, though the religion of Islam and the Muslims remained there.

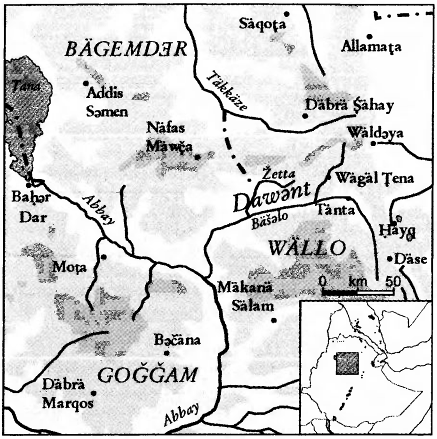
Src.: Eth.: PerrAmdS 24, 30, 48, 111f. (text) = 28f., 34, 48, 82f.; HuntAmdS 20ff., 34f., 37, 62, 65, 74, 91, 107f., 129; KrAmdS 1, 11f., 15, 27, 67f. (text) = 2, 16, 20, 33, 71f. (tr.); MarAmdS 68f., 76f., 98f., 184–87, 199; PerrZarY 15, 45, 57ff., 88, 112, 159; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di re abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4ª, 5, 1889, 53–66, here 62, 64 [= nos. 8, 13; 10, 33]; ENNO LITTMANN, *Die altamharischen Kaiserlieder*, Straßburg 1914, 26, 30; ConzGal 12ff., 19f., 28, 33f., 37, 128f., 131f., 138, 141, 144; BegCron 17, 20, 24ff.; MANFRED KROPP (ed., tr.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 4, 10, 13, 16, 19 (text) = 4, 9, 12f., 15, 19 (tr.); Arab.: IBN FAḌLALLĀH AL-ᶜUMARĪ, *at-Taᶜrīf bi-muṣṭalaḥ aš-šarīf*, Cairo 1312 H. [1894 A.D.], 30; *ibid.* ed. by SAMĪR AD-DURŪBĪ, al-Karak 1413 H. [1992 A.D.], 38f., n. 113; UmMasSezg IV, 16; UmMasGaud 1, 14f., 32; MaqIlmam 9f., 11f., 31 (Arabic text) = 10f., 13, 35 (Latin tr.); AL-QALQAŠANDĪ, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā fī ṣināᶜat al-inšāᵓ*, I–XIV, Cairo 1913–18, V, 326f.; VIII, 11, 39; BassHist 14f., 21f., 65ff., 96, 99ff., 261ff., 280 (text); BassHist 16 n. 2, 30ff., 47ff., 131ff., 169, 174ff., 359ff., 377 (tr.); SihFutuh 16f., 24f., 74ff., 108, 112ff., 268ff., 286.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Catalogo dei nomi proprî di luogo dell'Etiopia contenuti nei testi giᶜiz ed amhariña finora pubblicati", in: *Atti del Primo Congresso Geografico Italiano*, Genova 1894, vol. 2, part 1, 387-439, here 407; JOSEF MARQUART, *Die Benin-Sammlung des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden …*, Leiden 1913 (Veröffentlichungen des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden, ser. 2, 7), cclxxiiff., cccvii, cccxxix, cccxxxivf.; ENRICO CERULLI, "La sconfitta del sultano Badlāy ibn Ṣaᶜd ad-Dīn in due inediti «Miracoli di S. Giorgio» etiopici", *Aethiopica* 2, 1934, 105-09; ID., "Harar, centro Musulmano in Etiopia", in: *CerStud* I, 1–55 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 281–327, esp. 286–93, § 5]; TrIslam 62, 64 (map), 67, 71ff., 75, 78, 87, 93; BeckHuntAlm lii, lxvi, lxxivff., 37, 115f., 120, 135, 234; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "Dawāro", in: *EI*², vol. 2, 175; TadTChurch 83f., 138f., 140ff., 152, 294ff., 299f.; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Ethiopia, the Red Sea and the Horn", in: ROLAND OLIVER (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 3: *From c. 1050 to c. 1600*, Cambridge 1977, 98–182, esp. 140f., 145, 147, 153, 155f., 168f., 171f., 175f., 182; ID., "Place Names in Ethiopian History", *JES* 24, 1991, 115–31, esp. 118f.; RAĞAB MUḤAMMAD ᶜABDALḤALĪM, *al-ᶜAlāqāt as-siyāsīya bayna muslimī az-Zailaᶜ wa-naṣārā l-Ḥabaša fī l-ᶜuṣūr al-wusṭā*, Cairo 1405 H. [1985 A.D.], 21ff.; PankBord 69f., 133ff., 171–82, 241f., 270f.; DerDomTh 43, 101f., 110, 392f.; DerDom, s. index.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Dawənt

D. (ዳውንት) is a plateau overhanging the northern bank of the Bäšəlo river, interrupted to the west by the Čäčäho defile, continued to the east by the ↗Dälanta plateau and separated from Wadla to the north by the river Žetta. This geographical situation made D. into a passage and a strategic buffer-zone between the ↗Bägemdər and the ↗Wällo regions from the 17th to the 19th cent. In modern Ethiopia, D. has been governed within the Wadla-Dälanta



awrağğa and is now linked with Dälanta as a *wäräda* in North Wällo.

Lit.: IsKrapf 343, 354; DONALD CRUMMEY, "Čäčäho and the Politics of the Northern Wällo-Bägémder Border", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 1–9.

Eloi Ficquet

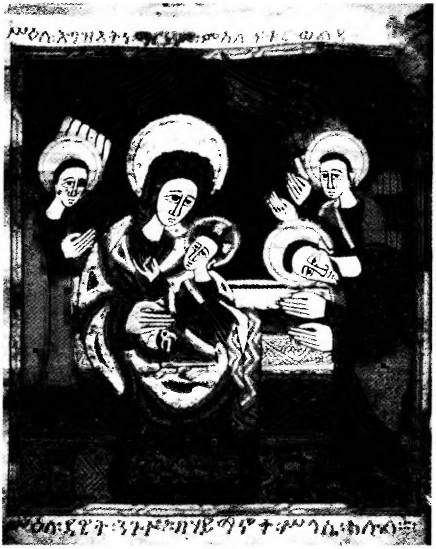
Dawit II

Aṣe D. II (ዳዊት, throne name Qʷäsṭanṭinos; d. 1413) reigned from ca. 1379/80 till 1413. In fact, he was the first Ethiopian emperor by this name, but the local sources often refer to him as D. II (the biblical King David being implied as Dawit I), thus making it difficult to have a consistent reckon of the subsequent emperors with the same name (↗Dawit III). There is no royal chronicle concerning D.'s reign, but the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, translated during his reign, and some other sources provide information on his period.

D. was the son of *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arʿad and Läzäb Wärqa. His brother ↗Nəwayä Maryam had succeeded to the throne of his father. Then, according to *The History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* (SawHist), D. seized power with the help of his sister Dəl Sefa. After this coup d'état, the clergy of the empire, especially the monastery of Asbo (↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa) and its abbot Tewodros, showed its opposition to the new emperor. D.'s primary supporter was ↗Śäräqä Bərhan, the abbot of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos. Also D. found support from monasteries in the north of the empire, with Märqorewos of ↗Däbrä Dəmaḥ and Samuʾel of ↗Däbrä Halleluya, to whom he gave lands. This succession struggle may be the reason for some of the uncertainty which exists regarding the exact year of D.'s accession to the throne.

Śäräqä Bərhan was one of the main counsellors of the Emperor. He had influence on royal policy concerning the ↗Ewosṭateans. With a view towards weakening them, D. imprisoned *abba* ↗Filəppos of Däbrä Bizän in Däbrä Ḥayq from 1400 to 1404. In 1404, after the death of Śäräqä Bərhan, D. changed his policy. He released Filəppos and issued a decree prescribing the observance of the ↗Sabbath on Saturday in the Ewosṭatean monasteries. This sudden change seems to be linked to the influence of another of D.'s counsellors, ↗Giyorgis of Sägla. He provided the argumentation for D. to find a solution concerning the ↗Ewosṭateans. He was also a supporter of the cult of St. ↗Mary, following the religious policy of D. His influence in the royal court grew when he became the teacher of the Emperor's children. Later, however, he fell from grace and clashed with his royal patron.

Numerous works are said to have been translated during D.'s reign (s. EMML 1942, 12). He is also credited with bringing a relic of the True Cross to Ethiopia (↗*Mäsqäl*), the icons of the Virgin Mary painted by St. Luke as well as



Aṣe Dawit II bowing before St. Mary; miniature from ms. *Täʾammərä Maryam*, treasury of Amba Gəšän; 15th cent.; photo courtesy of Diana Spencer many other relics (bones of St. George, Arma Christi etc.).

From the territorial point of view, the reign of D. saw the continuation of his predecessors' policy towards the Muslim sultanates, and particularly Ifat, lead by ↗Saᶜdadd n Abū l-Barakāt Muḥammad, who made incursions into the Christian empire. D. pursued him up to Zaylaᶜ, where he killed him. After this, the Emperor established new royal residences in Ifat (Ṭobbya) and in Fäṭägar (Ṭilq). He suppressed a revolt of the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel in Səmen. D. maintained limited relations with Egypt, but he sent an embassy to Cairo to celebrate the coming of the new *sulṭān* Barqūq (↗Mamluks).

According to the "short chronicle" (BassÉt 11), D. died as the result of a kick from a horse on 9 *Ṭəqəmt* 1406 A.M. [6 October 1413 A.D.] and is commemorated on this day (BudSaint 135; CoSyn VII 52f.). He was buried in "the country Ṣəyon" (PerrZarY 83f.), but his son ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob transferred his body to the necropolis of ↗Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad. Later his remains were moved again, to ↗Däbrä Daga Ǝsṭifanos. His son ↗Tewodros succeeded him to the throne.

Src.: BudSaint 135; EMML vol. 5, 444, no. 1942, 12; BassÉt 11 (text) = 95 (tr.); GÉRARD COLIN, *Vie de Georges de Saglā*, Louvain 1987 (CSCO 492, 93 [SAe 81, 82]), 13–23; ID., *Vie de Sāmu'ēl de Dabra Hālleluyā*, Louvain 1990 (CSCO 519, 520 [SAe 93, 94]), 61–64 (text) = 49ff. (tr.), 65ff. (text) = 53f. (tr.); CerMaria 79–91; CoSyn VII 52f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum* I. *Acta Marqorēwos*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 16, 17 [SAe 33, 34]), 44 (text) = 57 (tr.); DombrChr 36 (text) = 154 (tr.); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, *Il "Gadla Absadi" (Dabra Maryam, Sara'e)*, Louvain 1996 (CSCO 557, 558 [SAe 103, 104]), 60; ID., "Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḫuḫān e Dabra Ṣegē, Sarā'ē, Eritrea)", *RSE* 42, 1998 [1999], 5–55, here 40, 46f.; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Les fils du négus Sayfa Ar'ad d'après un document arabo-chrétien", *Africa* 29, 1974, 573–87; PerrZarY 83f.; SawHist^{2} vol. 2, 249–52.

Lit.: MARIE-LAURE DERAT, "La sainteté de Giyorgis de Sagla: une initiative royale?", in: *MiscAethKur* 51–62; DerDom; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Documents on the History of aṣé Dawit", *JES* 16, 1983, 25–36; MARILYN EISEMAN HELDMAN, "A Chalice from Venice for Emperor Dawit of Ethiopia", *BSOAS* 53, 3, 1990, 442–45; STEVEN KAPLAN, "Notes Towards a History of Aṣe Dawit I (1382–1413)", *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 71–88; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes éthiopiennes", *JES* 16, 1983, 105–19, here 106–10 [ch. 2 "Sur la chronologie de règnes de Dawit, Tewodros et Yeshaq"]; TadTChurch, s. index; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in 15th Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35.

Marie-Laure Derat

Dawit III

Aṣe D. III (ዳዊት, regnal name Adbar Sägäd; r. 1716–21), was the son of Iyasu I and the brother of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot and *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa. The tradition counting ↗Dawit II as Dawit I (disregarding the biblical king) often refers to D. III as D. II. However, the proper designation of Adbar Sägäd should be D. V, for Dawit was also the throne name of both *aṣe* ↗Ləbna Dəngəl and *aṣe* ↗Baᵓəda Maryam (who was thus Dawit III or IV: s. Fiaccadori in *MiscAethKur*, 63f. and n. 3).

D. III's nickname was "the Singer", which alluded in principle to his namesake, King David of Israel, but also – as a popular pejorative – to his frivolous tendencies. One of the buildings in the Gondär castle compound is known as D.'s Singing House. D. was the son of Iyasu's concubine ↗Qəddəste and was believed to have been his father's favourite son. However, he was preceded to the throne by his older brother Täklä Haymanot, his uncle *aṣe* Tewoflos (1708–11) and by the usurping *aṣe* Yosṭos (1711–16). The shortness of their reigns indicates the turbulence and instability of the period.

Unfortunately, D.'s reign brought little respite. His accession was controlled by troops, possibly the same ↗*wəllaǧ* who determined the succession of his brother Bäkaffa on the occasion of D.'s death. One of his few achievements was the construction and endowment of the church of Aṣṣaṣame Qəddus Mikaᵓel, adjacent to the Gondär castle compound (DombrChr 266; Fiaccadori in *MiscAethKur*, 64 and n. 5). Sectarian conflict was at an intense pitch in D.'s reign. The bishops and the monks of Däbrä Libanos (of "the house of Täklä Haymanot") were champions of the Alexandrian doctrinal tradition. The monks from Goǧǧam (↗Ewosṭateans) championed a doctrine known as ↗*Qəbat*, which had appeared first in the reign of D.'s great-great-grandfather, *aṣe* Susənyos. A new bishop, *abunä* ↗Krəstodolu, arrived in Ethiopia in November 1720. D. then called a council in April 1721 to discuss doctrine. Krəstodolu refused to endorse *Qəbat* and the council apparently followed his lead, until the intervention on 9 April of the royal ↗*Ǧawe* troops, who slaughtered over one hundred Däbrä Libanos monks in the house of the ↗*əč̣č̣äge*, a place which had previously enjoyed the status of sanctuary (↗*Ǝč̣č̣äge bet*). The next day D. proclaimed *Qəbat* as the faith of Ethiopia and died a month later, on 19 May (DombrChr 268ff.). He was buried at Ṭädda (Ṣädda, in Dämbəya).

Src.: DombrChr 263–71 (tr.); BegChron 97–105 (tr.); BassÉt 183–90 (tr.); IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Uno squarcio di storia ecclesiastica di Abissinia", *Bessarione* 8, 1900, 10–25.
Lit.: BudHist 440-43; ALESSANDRO AUGUSTO MONTI DELLA CORTE, *I castelli di Gondar*, Roma 1938, 32ff., 115f.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Un «atto feudale» del negus Bakâffâ (1721–30). John Rylands University Library, Eth. Ms. 28, f. 1", in: *MiscAethKur* 63–69, here 63f. and n. 3, 64 and n. 5 (Lit.).

Donald Crummey – Red.

Dawit III ↗ Baʾədä Maryam

Dawit IV ↗ Ləbnä Dəngəl

Dawit Amanuʾel

D.A. (**ዳዊት፡ አማኑኤል**; b. 1862, d. 1944) is noted as being the main translator of the New Testament into ↗Təgre (published in 1902). In 1877, at about the same time as his father converted to Islam, D.A. became the first evangelical believer from among the ↗Mänsaᶜ people.

D.A. was educated at Gäläb at a school run by the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission. There, he worked on Bible translation for a number of years together with ↗Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən. In addition to translating, D.A. began a Təgre dictionary and collected a great number of Təgre songs and proverbs. Many of these were later published by Enno Littmann (1910–15). D.A. was also active, serving the Church as a pastor and evangelist and was ordained in 1925.

↗Bible translation

Src.: ENNO LITTMANN, *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, 4 vols., Leyden 1910–15.
Lit.: ArEvang 215, 291, 303.

Peter Unseth

Dawro

D. is one of the least-documented ethnic groups of south-western Ethiopia. This people belongs to the ↗Ometo (Omotic-speaking) language group and numbers about 280,000. They inhabit a mountainous area (from 800 to 2,900 m A.S.L) north-west of ↗Wälaytta, across the Omo River. D. were formerly known under the name of ↗Kullo, which is now rejected. Currently D. is administered under the North Omo Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State.

Until its incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire in 1891, D. was a kingdom, related to Wälaytta and other Ometo-speaking political formations. There is no "conventional" written history of the D., but there are oral traditions about their past, some of which have recently been published (e.g., Elias Awato et al. 1999). These traditions reveal the mixed origins and multi-ethnic relations of D. with neighbouring groups, such as the ↗Käfa, ↗Gamo and Wälaytta. The latter group has a particular affiliation with D. because they share many clan names. One tradition claims that king (or *kati*) Abeto Yero (of the Ṣata clan) was the founder of the kingdom (in the 16th cent.); another tradition mentions Wataro (of the immigrant Kawka clan) as the first king. A road connecting Soddo, Waka and Ǧimma, after crossing the gorges of the Omo river, has to pass three two-metre-high walls – D.'s protection from Wälayta invasions.

Though there is some controversy among D. elders concerning dynastic history, they usually agree that the immigrant Kawka clan took over power from an indigenous clan, establishing a more centralized polity.

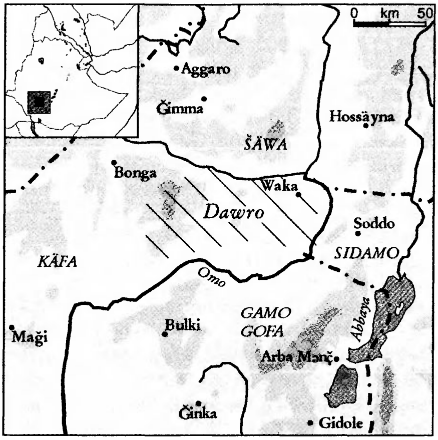
The D. kingdom recognized seven hierarchical offices (in descending order): *kati* or *kawo* (king), *woraba*, *eraša*, *guda*, *dana*, *huduga* and *duga*, each with distinct roles. The kingship was inherited by elder sons from the royal lineage, but all other offices were partly elective. Craftsmen (smiths, potters and tanners) and the *manǧa* (traditionally dependants on forest resources or hunter-gathers) were excluded from the election process. On the basis of personal achievement, slaves could be elected for lower offices.

D. oral history mentions contacts with northern Ethiopia prior to the arrival of *aṣe*

Erecting the centre pole of a house in Dawro; photo 2000, courtesy of the author

↗Mənilək I's troops in 1891. This claim could be part of the common tradition in southern Ethiopia that the most prestigious clans claim descent from northern Ethiopia (cf. Haberland 1981, 1984; Haileyesus Seba 1996).

D. economy is a subsistence agricultural system, based on the cultivation of *ənsät*, maize, *ṭef*, taro and sorghum. Additionally, coffee, cotton, peas, haricot beans, potatoes, sweet potatoes and various types of spices are grown, depending on the climate and agro-ecological zones. Cultivation is still mainly conducted with hand-tools (hoe, digging-stick) and the plough (Data Dea 1997). The D. also practise animal husbandry (cattle, goats, sheep, poultry and equines). Almost all of the crop varieties and livestock breeds are "indigenous".



D. society is traditionally stratified into five groups. In order of their social prestige these are the *malla* (farmers, rulers, landowners), the *wogače* (smiths producing tools, arms and ornaments), the *denča* or degella (tanners), the *manna* (potters) and *manğa* (hunters and forest dwellers). Following the incorporation of D. into the Ethiopian Empire, northerners (mainly Amhara) established a new ruling stratum superimposed on the existing system. This traditional stratification shares some important traits with neighbouring Omotic-speaking communities (Käfa, Wälaytta and Gamo; s. Lange 1982, Haileyesus Seba 1996). Interestingly, in D. the slaves (*aylia*) were classified as *malla* (the term *womano* was used to refer to the non-slave *malla*). The *malla* controlled land and political titles and their descendants still enjoy high social status. However, *malla* economic and political prerogatives were lost in the wake of the 1974 Ethiopian revolution. The *manna* were despised because of their eating of carrion and carcasses of dead animals. They were also avoided for their alleged dangerous supernatural power (*goromote*, or 'evil-eye'). At the bottom of the D. hierarchy were the *manğa*, descendants of hunter-gatherers who still heavily depend on forest resources. In the days of the kingdom they were servicemen for the royal lineage: guards, producers of mats, woodworkers and hunters. Nowadays they are in the process of adopting agriculture (particularly since they were entitled to land ownership after the *Därg*'s land reform), although most of their income still comes from selling firewood and charcoal. Like the *manna*, the *manğa* are despised because of their dietary habit (eating "unclean" things such as monkeys, wild rats and carrion). Whether these two marginalized groups (*manna* and *manğa*) in a comparative perspective can be called "castes" is still the issue of considerable debate (s. Pankhurst 1999).

An analysis of the political structure of pre-Mənilək D. might shed light on the multiple forms of interaction (e.g., related to the circulation of ideas of statehood, the exchange of people through marriage alliances and trans-community cultural representations) not only within the former states of south-western Ethiopia but also extending to the other parts of Ethiopia. A study of traditional social stratification in D. may illuminate early forms of social and political life in Africa regarding "caste" or caste-like organization and political centralization.

Lit.: DATA DEA, *Social Stratification and Rural Livelihoods in Dawro, Southern Ethiopia*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1997; ELIAS AWATO et al., የሰሜን፡ ኦሞ፡ ህዝቦች፡ ፖሊቲካዊ፡ ታሪክ (*Yäsämen Omo həzbočč politikawi tarik*, 'The Political History of North Omo Peoples'), part 1, Arba Mənč 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.]; EIKE HABERLAND, "Notes on the History of Konta: a Recent State Formation in Southern Ethiopia", in: *2000 Ans d'Histoire Africaine. Le Sol, la Parole et l'Écrit – Mélanges en Hommage à Raymond Mauny*, Paris 1981, 735–49; ID., "Caste and Hierarchy among the Dizi (Southwest Ethiopia)", in: *PICES* 7, 447–50; HAILEYESUS SEBA, *A Study of Social Change in Wolaita, Southern Ethiopia*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa 1996; WERNER LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (South-West Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61); ALULA PANKHURST, "'Caste' in Africa: the Evidence from South-Western Ethiopia Reconsidered", *Africa* 69, 1999, 485–509.

Data Dea

Dayr al-Muḥarraq

D.M. (ديرالمحرق) is a monastery situated in the central part of Egypt, on the desert's border, ca. 21 km north-west from Manfalūṭ and 10 km from Qūṣīya (Old Egyptian Qjs, Copt. Kōs or Kōskam, Arab. Qusqām, Gəᶜəz Qʷəsqʷam). It is accordingly called "the cloister of Mount [Ar. *ǧabal*] Qusqām" or, after the patron of its main church, "the cloister of the Virgin". With this venerable tradition D.M. was to become the most famous pilgrimage sites of Egypt. According to the Coptic tradition, D.M. is the southernmost point in the valley of the Nile that the Holy Family reached while on their flight from Herod (Meinardus 1962; Lambelet 1993). Having stayed six months there, they returned, following the instruction received in a dream (Mt 2:19–20).

The monastery claims to have the oldest church in the entire Christian world, in which the first Eucharist was celebrated. A homily ascribed to ↗Theophilos of Alexandria (preserved in Syriac and Arabic, as well as in Ethiopic versions; s. Conti Rossini 1912) tells of the Patriarch who learnt the history of Mount Kōskam while visiting it. In a vision he saw not only the flight of the Holy Family to this site, but also the miraculous events which took place there on 6 *Hatūr* (cp. the *Sənkəssar* reading for 6 *Ḫədar*) as the resurrected Jesus, His Mother, midwife Salome, Mary Magdalene and the Apostles gathered at this place. Jesus consecrated the harbourage as a church in the name of St. Mary and Peter celebrated the liturgy. After this, Jesus baptized the dead parents of the Apostles who, following His behest, appeared in the newly consecrated church. Then a banquette-meal took place, and Jesus predicted the construction of another church on this spot, to be devoted to the Apostles (BudSaint 211f.; Giamberardini 1976:170ff., Mingana 1929:420f.).

The beginnings of D.M. probably date back to the 6th/7th cent. The most ancient parts of the monastery date to the 12th cent.; the traditions connecting it with the Holy Family are attested for the time just after the beginning of the 8th cent. (first in the Homily of Zacharias of Saḫā, s. Giamberardini 1974:53f.). Afterwards, D.M. became rich and influential. Four Coptic Patriarchs came from D.M., as well as two saints: *anbā* Abraham, a Bishop of Fayyūm and Ǧīza (1829–1914) and his scholar-abbot Michael al-Buḥayrī (1847–1923).

During the 13th–18th cent., there was a community of Ethiopian monks in D.M., with their own church devoted to the Apostles (cp. the Homily of Theophilos). Some information on the rules and order of the community, on donations etc. can be found in the colophons of four manuscripts in Paris, BN (ZotBNat nos. 32, 35, 42, 52; s. CerPal), which previously were in the possession of a French bibliophile, Chancellor Pierre Séguier (1588–1672).

Among European travellers who risked their lives to penetrate this region was a Flemish chevalier, Joos van ↗Ghistele. He visited D.M. in 1482–83 and found there around 30 "Ethiopians, Greeks and Jacobites", each having their own area (s. Bauwens-Préaux 1976:95ff.). Johann ↗Wansleben, who visited Egypt in 1664 and 1672–73, reports on the "famous monastery of Moharrak on the Mount Koskâm" and an "Abyssinian monastery of St. Peter and Paul nearby", in which he sojourned for a while and copied Ethiopian manuscripts (s. Horn 1992:38).

For the Ethiopian pilgrims, D.M. was an important station in the Nile valley on their way to ↗Jerusalem (Heyer 1984:144). In Ethiopia itself, churches such as ↗Däbrä Ṣähay Qʷəsqʷam of Gondär and numerous paintings representing the Flight of the Holy Family reflect the significance of the Egyptian Holy Mount (ChojPaint 39–99). However, sometime in the 18th or 19th cent. the Ethiopian monastery of D.M. was abandoned and disappeared. The monks moved to the main cloister of D.M., where they still formed a quarter of the community as late as around 1930. In 1963 there were only two Ethiopians among their Coptic brothers (Meinardus 1965:29). Today, the only remnants of the Ethiopian presence are an altar (*haykal*) dedicated to *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot in the monastery's St. Mary church and some processional crosses and manuscripts.

Src.: BudSaint 211f.; ColSyn VIII, 254-57; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il discorso su monte Coscam attributo a Teofilo d'Alessandria nella versione etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 10, 1912, 395-471; MICHELANGELO GUIDI, "La omilia di Teofilo d'Alessandria sul monte Coscam", *ibid.* 26, 1917, 217-315; RENÉE BAUWENS-PRÉAUX (ed., tr.), *Voyage en Égypte de Joos van Ghistele 1482–1483*, Cairo 1976 (Collection des Voyageurs Occidentaux en Égypte 16), 95ff.; ZotBNat nos. 32, 35, 42, 52.

Lit.: CerPal vol. 2, 353–57, 360–63, 370–76, 379f., 384ff., 393ff., 399f., 403f., 406, 413f., 418, 422, 455; ChojPaint 39–99; GABRIELE GIAMBERARDINI, *Il culto Mariano in Egitto*, I: *Sec. I–VI*, Gerusalemme 1975 (Pubblicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum: Analecta 6), 170ff.; ID., *Il culto Mariano in Egitto*, II: *Sec. VII–X*,

Gerusalemme 1974 (ibid. 7), 53f.; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Kirchengeschichte des Heiligen Landes*, Stuttgart – Berlin – Köln – Mainz 1984, 144f.; JÜRGEN HORN, *Studien zu den Märtyrern des nördlichen Oberägypten.* II: *Märtyrer und Heilige des XI. bis XIV. oberägyptischen Gaues*, Wiesbaden 1992 (Göttinger Orientforschungen: Reihe 4, Ägypten 15), 38, 50, 118ff.; RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN-MAURICE MARTIN, "Dayr al-Muḥarraqah", in: *CE*, vol. 3, 841f.; JEAN DORESSE, *Les monastères coptes de Moyenne-Égypte (du Gebel-et-Teir à Kom-Ishgaou) d'après l'archéologie et l'hagiographie*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris, 3 vols., Lausanne 2000 (Neges Ebrix 3–5), vol. 1, 192–235, vol. 3, 596–99; OTTO MEINARDUS, *The Itinerary of the Holy Family in Egypt*, Le Caire 1962 (Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea 7), 1–44; ID., "Ecclesiastica Aethiopica in Aegypto", *JES* 3, 1, 1965, 23–35, 29; EDUARD LAMBELET, *The Escape to Egypt according to the Coptic Tradition*, Cairo 1993; ALPHONSE MINGANA, *Vision of Theophilus or the Book of the Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt*, Manchester 1929 (Woodbrooke Studies 5 [= Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester 13]), 420f.; YOUHANNA NESSIM YOUSSEF, "A Coptic Inscription from the Monastery of the Virgin Mary Known as al-Moharraq Monastery", *Göttinger Miszellen* 195, 2003, 109–10.

Lothar Störk

Dayr as-Sulṭān

D.S. (دير السلطان, lit. 'Monastery of the Ruler'; Eth. ዴር፡ ሥልጣን, Der Śəlṭan, or ደብረ፡ ሥልጣን, Däbrä Śəlṭan) is a monastery situated on the roof of the Armenian St. Helena Chapel, one of the chapels of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in ↗Jerusalem. The Ethiopians link its name to the biblical king Solomon, who is believed to have given the site to the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda); the Copts connect it with Ṣalāḥaddīn, who reportedly bestowed it to the Coptic community after his victory over the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187 A.D.

Today, the monastery consists of about 20 small monastic cells, a refectory with narrow sitting area for about 30 persons, a small kitchen with a store room, a cell turned into a shop with religious books and articles, a sacristy and the *betä ləḥem*, where bread for the Eucharist is prepared. In the middle of the monastery courtyard stands the dome of the St. Helena Chapel, around which the liturgical processions of the Ethiopians take place.

To the north, east and south the monastery is surrounded by a wall with two gates, while to the west it borders on the Holy Sepulchre Church proper. On that wall remains of a medieval cloister are visible, while on the southern wall the vaults of the 12th-cent. refectory of the Latin canons of the Holy Sepulchre are partly preserved. The church bells hang in one of the building's empty niches. In the opinion of Vincent and Abel (1914:261–90), the Latin buildings must have already been constructed in 1114 A.D., when patriarch Arnoulphe obliged the canons to accept the rule of St. Augustine and live in communal quarters.

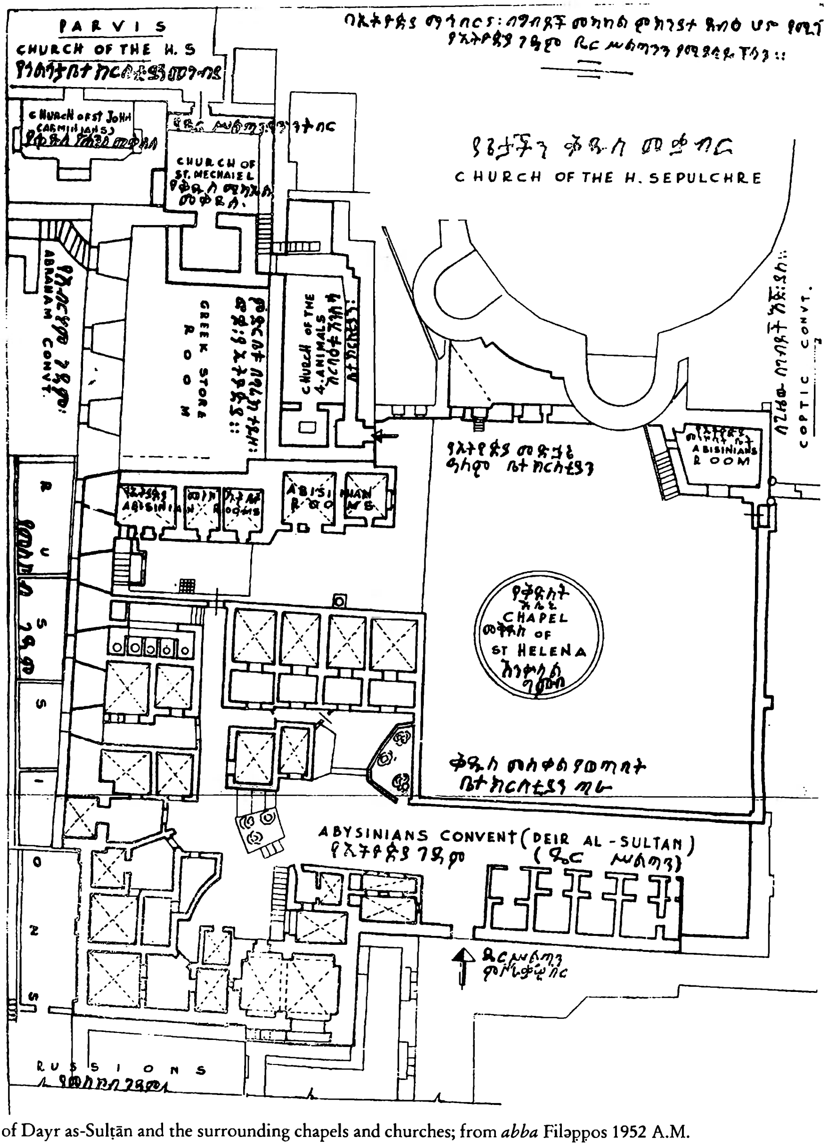
The best-preserved parts of the Latin buildings in our days are within the neighbouring residence of the Coptic archbishop in Jerusalem and the Coptic monastery of St. Anthony the Great. The two small chapels – of the Four Living Creatures (Ezek 1:5, Rev 4:6–8), on the level of D.S., and of St. Michael, on the level of the parvis in front of the entrance gate of the Holy Sepulchre Church – are also well preserved. A passage and a flight of stairs lead from the courtyard of D.S. to the parvis.

Ethiopian ascetes have been present in Jerusalem ever since Ethiopia was Christianized, although not much is known about this early period. Ethiopian pilgrims are mentioned in the letters of St. Paula and St. Eustochium in the 380s (Hilberg 1910–12, Epistulae 46, 55). As Cerulli points out when bringing these quotations, this context is very rhetorical and may simply mean that people from all over the world – and not specifically from Aksum – were then present in Jerusalem as pilgrims (CerPal vol. 1, 1f.).

At different times in the Middle Ages, the community possessed four chapels within the walls of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (CerPal vol. 1, 59ff.); and Sebald Rieter Junior, who visited Jerusalem in 1479, describes his visit to an Ethiopian monastery in connection with the Cave of David on Mount Zion (Röhricht – Meissner 1884:66).

In 1530 the Ethiopian monastic community in D.S. dwelt at the site where, according to tradition, Abraham found the ram he sacrificed in place of Isaac (Gen 22:13). The French pilgrim Denis Possot visited the location and, upon his return to Paris, wrote that this is "the place where Abraham did his duty of sacrificing Isaac, and the black people called Abyssinians keep the chapel, and there is also an olive tree which is as beautiful as when Abraham was about to offer his sacrifice" (Possot 1890:185f.). Today, an olive tree is still there, surrounded by a stone wall.

The poor state of repair in which the monastery currently appears is due to a long-standing


PARVIS
CHURCH OF THE H. S
CHURCH OF ST JOHN (ARMINIANS)
CHURCH OF ST. MECHAIEL
CHURCH OF THE H. SEPULCHRE
ABRAHAM CONVT.
GREEK STORE ROOM
CHURCH OF THE 4 ANIMALS
COPTIC CONVT.
ABISINIANS ROOM
ABISINIAN ROOMS
ABISINIAN ROOMS
CHAPEL OF ST HELENA
ABYSINIANS CONVENT (DEIR AL-SULTAN)
RUSSIONS
RUSSIONS

Plan of Dayr as-Sulṭān and the surrounding chapels and churches; from *abba* Filəp̣pos 1952 A.M.

dispute between the Copts and the Ethiopians over ownership of the property, which makes it illegal for any of the parties to carry out repairs to the site and leaves that responsibility in the hands of the local government. Written testimony concerning that dispute appears as early as in the 18th cent. and all through the 19th and 20th cent. (Stoffregen-Pedersen 1983; 1987–88).

From 1890 to 1970 the Copts kept two chapels locked, thus obliging the Ethiopian community to celebrate mass with the priests using the sacristy as a chapel and the congregation standing outside in the courtyard under the open sky. Efforts by emperors Mənilək II and notably Ḫaylä Śəllase I to regain the keys from the Ottomans (in 1905–06), the Egyptians (1924) and the Jordanians (1961) proved unsuccessful. During the night of Easter 1970, the Ethiopians, with the help of the new Israeli rule in East Jerusalem, broke the locks and again took possession of the two chapels. A final agreement has not yet been reached in the dispute.

From the late 16th cent. until 1891 the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem had no other monasteries but D.S.; today it has seven.

Src.: ISIDOR HILBERG (ed.), *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Opera Epistularum*, Vienna 1910-12 (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 54/55), Sectio 1, Pars 1 and 2, Epistulae 46, 55; REINHOLD RÖHRICHT – HEINRICH MEISNER, *Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter*, Tübingen 1884 (Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 168), 66; DENIS POSSOT, *Le voyage de la Terre sainte*, Paris 1532; ed. by CHARLES HENRI AUGUST SCHEFER, Paris ²1890, 185f; *abba* FILƎṔṔOS, ዜና፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ በሀገር፡ ቅድስት፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ በኢየሩሳሌም፡ ስለሚገኙት፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን፡ ከ፲፰፻፶። ዓ. ም. ጀምሮ፡ እስከ፡ ፲፰፻፷፯፡ እ. ኤ. አ. ድረስ። *Correspondence Respecting Abyssinians at Jerusalem 1850–1867*, Asmära 1952 A.M. [1959 A.D.] (ill.); ID., ለኢትዮጵያ፡ በቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በቅዱስ፡ መካን፡ ያላት፡ መብት። *The Rights of the Abyssinian Orthodox Church in the Holy Places.* የሰነድ፡ ማስረጃዎ። *Documentary Authorities*, Jerusalem 1962.

Lit.: KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN PEDERSEN, "Deir es-Sultan: The Ethiopian Monastery in Jerusalem", *QSE* 8, 9, 1987–88, 33–47 (Lit.); EAD., *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the Time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*, Jerusalem 1983 (Lit.); HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder 1994 (Lit.); HUGUES VINCENT – FÉLIX ABEL, *Jérusalem, recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*. Vol. 2: *Jérusalem nouvelle*, fasc. I, ii: *Aelia Capitolina*, Paris 1914, 261–90; CerPal vol. 1, 1f., 59ff.; *abunä* MATEWOS, ደብረ፡ ሥልጣን፡ በኢየሩሳሌም (*Däbrä Śəlṭan bäʾiyyärusalem*, 'Däbrä Śəlṭan in Jerusalem'), Jerusalem 1996 A.D.; OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS, "The Copts in Jerusalem and the Question of the Holy Places", in: KEVIN O'MAHONEY – GÈORAN GUNNER – KEVORK HINTLIAN (eds.), *The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land*, London 1995, 112–28; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Profilo storico di Dayr as-Sultan", *JES* 2, 2, 1964, 92–160 (Lit.).

Kirsten Stoffregen-Pedersen

Dayr as-Suryān

D.S. (ديرالسريان, 'monastery of the Syrians'), an Egyptian monastery lying in Wādī n-Naṭrūn (Scetis), was founded about 535 during the conflict between the partisans of Severus of Antioch and the followers of Julian of Halicarnassus (Gaianites). The opponents of Julian left the monastery of Dayr Ambā Bišōy and founded a new one nearby – the monastery of the Mother of God of Ambā Bišōy. In ca. 710 this monastic settlement was acquired by Marûṯâ, a Syrian merchant living in Fusṭāṭ, who offered it to his compatriots, Syrian monks. In 817 D.S. was sacked by the bedouins; ca. 850 the reconstruction began. In 931/32 Moses of Nisibis, the head of the monastery, brought to the monastery about 250 manuscripts from Syria and Mesopotamia: these formed the basis of the richest collection of Syriac manuscripts and of one of the most important monastic libraries of the Middle Ages.

About 1088, during the Seljuk invasion, monks from Palestine and Syria sought refuge at D.S. The year 1254 saw another impact of foreign monks seeking protection from the Mongols. At D.S. – where Copts, Syrian and Ethiopians could easily meet and have fruitful intellectual exchanges – the text of "Ritual of the Passion" underlying the Ethiopic ↗*Gəbra ḥəmamat* is likely to have been elaborated after the mid of the 13th cent., and then translated into Gəᶜəz within the first quarter of the 14th cent. (Proverbio 1998:106ff.). The *terminus ante quem* is provided by the plague that broke out in Egypt in 1347 and, along with famine and bedouin raids, almost completely exterminated the population of the monastery. In 1413 just one monk lived there.

From 1480 to 1516 D.S. again began to flourish, due to the coming of monks from both Lebanon and other Oriental regions. In 1484 D.S.'s monks were dispatched to the coastal monasteries of St. Anthony and St. Paul, formerly destroyed by the nomads and now deserted. The literary activity at D.S. was given an impetus under Abbot Severus/Cyriacus (1494–1509). During this period the Coptic element became dominant: in 1516, from a total of 43 monks, 25 were Egyptian. The 17th cent. saw the total demise of the Syrian monks; Peter Heyling, who was there in 1634, was the last to mention Syrians at D.S.

The reports of 17th-cent. European travellers and missionaries drew the bibliophiles' attention to the numerous Syriac manuscripts preserved in D.S. and by the second half of the 19th cent. almost the entire monastic library was distributed among the European libraries in Rome (↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), Milan (Biblioteca Ambrosiana), London (↗British

Library) and Paris (↗Bibliothèque Nationale de France). In 1837 Robert Curzon, 14th Baron Zouche (1810–73), one of the protagonists of this chase for manuscripts, encountered Ethiopian monks in the south-eastern corner of the monastery, with a considerable library of their own, and a chapel consecrated in the name of a certain Abū Yāḥnes. The church of the 40 Martyrs of Sebaste was the place where Christodulus, "the head of the Ethiopian Church", was buried in 1624(?). Still in recent times Ethiopian pilgrims used to stay at D.S. on their way to ↗Jerusalem.

Among the other treasures of D.S. one should mention the al-ᶜAḏrāᵓ church, known for its stucco decorations, ebony and ivory-inlay works and murals. In 1991 a (10th-cent.?) picture of the Annunciation was discovered under a 13th-cent. fresco. Under bishop Tawfīlus, D.S. took a leading role in the renewal of the ↗Coptic Church. Outstanding representatives of the renewal, such as Mattā al-Maskīn, the Abbot of Dayr Anbā Maqār (b. 1919), ecumenical Bishop Samuel (1920–81) and Patriarch Shenuda III (b. 1923), were all monks of D.S.

Lit.: MICHAEL W. DOLE, *The Black Death in the Middle East*, Princeton, NJ 1977, 167f.; HUGH GERARD EVELYN WHITE, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n-Naṭrûn*, II: *The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis*, ed. by WALTER HAUSER, New York 1932 (Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Publications VII); J. M. FIEY, "Coptes et Syriaques, contacts et échanges", Cairo 1972–73 (Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea 15), 295–365; PETER GROSSMAN, "Dayr al-Suryān", in: *CE*, vol. 3, 876–81; JACQUES JARRY, "Hérésies et factions en Égypte byzantine", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 62, 1964, 173–86; JULES LEROY, *Monks and Monasteries of the Near East*, London 1963, 50–55; ID., *Les peintures des couvents du Ouadi Natroun*, Cairo 1982 (Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 101), 69–72, pls. 125–35; ID., "Un témoignage inédit sur l'état du monastère des Syriens au Wadi 'n-Natrûn au début du XVIème siècle", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 65, 1967, 1–23; OTTO MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, Cairo 1961, 239–82; ID., "Peter Heyling, History and Legend", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 14, 1965, 305–26; ID., *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity*, Cairo 1999, 166–70; PAUL VAN MOORSEL, "On a Recent Discovery in the Wadi 'n-Natrun", *Nubian Letters* 16, 1991, 11; DELIO VANIA PROVERBIO, *La recensione etiopica dell'omelia pseudocrisostomica* de ficu exarata *ed il suo* tréfonds *orientale*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 50),105ff.; OLEG V. VOLKOFF, *A la recherche de manuscrits en Égypte*, Cairo 1970 (Recherches d'Archéologie, de Philologie et d'Histoire 30); MAHMOUD ZIBAWI, *Die christliche Kunst des Orients*, Solothurn – Düsseldorf 1995, 163–67, pls. 50f.

Lothar Störk

Dayr az-Zāwīya

D.Z. (دير الزاوية, also known as az-Zāwīya or Zāwīyat ad-Dayr) is an Egyptian settlement ca. 13 km south of Asyūṭ on the western bank of the Nile. Near this settlement was a monastery that had been deserted from the second half of the 17th cent., by the time Johann ↗Wansleben visited the site. Today, due to the gradual expansion of D.Z., part of the settlement is located on the site of the former monastery. The patrons of the monastery and its church are said to be a certain Athanasius and Abū Tarbū (Horn 1992:185ff.).

Like other settlements surrounding the Asyūṭ caravan centre, such as Abū Tiǧ, Dayr al-Ǧanādla and Ṭahṭā, D.Z. is one of the places where Coptic monks and priests made African slaves into eunuchs (↗Slavery; ↗Castration) to serve as harem guards (Baer 1969:164). The French traveller Jean Chardin (1643–1713) was the first to report on the Coptic practice of castrating black slaves (s. Scholz 1997:34, 185); D.Z. was first mentioned as a castration centre by Johann Ludwig Burckhardt (1784–1817, s. Meinardus 1969:52). According to Labib (1965:48) and Pankhurst (PankIntro 374) the Ethiopian slaves were brought to Egypt in the Middle Ages through ↗Hadiyya, which was at that time under Muslim rule.

Lit.: GABRIEL BAER, *Studies in the Social History of Modern Egypt*, Chicago – London 1969 (Publications of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies 4), 164; RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN – MAURICE MARTIN, "Dayr al-Zāwiyah", in: *CE*, vol. 3, 884; JEAN DORESSE, *Les monastères coptes de Moyenne-Égypte* (*du Gebel-et-Teir à Kôm-Ishgaou*) *d'après l'archéologie et l'hagiographie*, Yverdon-les-Bains, Suisse 2000 (= Neges Ebrix 3–5), vol. 2, 438–41; JÜRGEN HORN, *Studien zu den Märtyrern des nördlichen Oberägypten*, II: *Märtyrer und Heilige des XI. bis XIV. oberägyptischen Gaues. Ein Beitrag zur Topographia christiana Ägyptens*, Wiesbaden 1992 (Göttinger Orientforschungen IV, 15), 185–88; OTTO MEINARDUS, "The Upper Egyptian Practice of the Making of Eunuchs in the 18th and the 19th Century", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 94, 1969, 47–58; ID., *Christian Egypt, Ancient and Modern*, Cairo ^{2}1977, 396f.; PankIntro 374; SERGE SAUNERON, *Villes et légendes d'Égypte*, Cairo 1983 (Bibliothèque d'Étude 90), 124; PIOTR O. SCHOLZ, *Der entmannte Eros. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Eunuchen und Kastraten*, Düsseldorf – Zürich 1997, 34, 185; SUBHI Y. LABIB, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter* (*1171–1517*), Wiesbaden 1965 (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte 46), 48.

Lothar Störk

De Jacobis ↗Jacobis, Giustino De

Deacon ↗Diyaqon

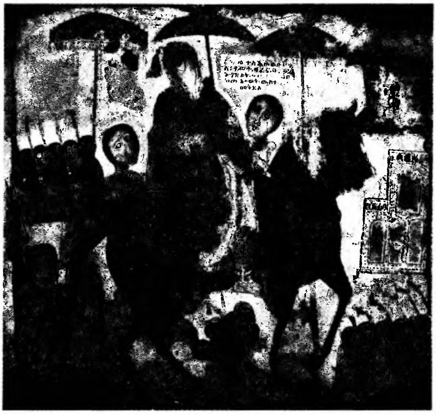
Dəbab

The D. (ደባብ, Gəʿəz for 'large umbrella, baldachin, canopy') was originally a portable dome-shaped shelter which became a symbolic covering for church dignitaries and important people of the East, the Mediterranean world and portions of Africa. In Ethiopia, the D. is still used during liturgical celebrations held in the open air. The D. is habitually used by clergy taking part in processions and it is also held above the ↗*tabot* and above the priest who reads for the community from a holy book. During wedding ceremonies, the bridal couple stands under a D. and in funerary processions the coffin is surrounded by people carrying them. In church schools, when lessons are held outside, it is not uncommon to see the pupils protecting their teacher from the sun with a D.

Since the D. is recorded among the regalia of the ↗Kush and the ↗Käfa, we can assume that it was also an attribute of Aksumite kings, even though the first mention of its use dates from the time of the king ↗Lalibäla (late 12th cent.) in connection with a metropolitan. A version of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* refers to the D. as being indispensable for a royal coronation. Later sources confirm that the official responsible for carrying the D. (Gəʿəz ጸዋሬ፡ ደባብ, *ṣäware dəbab*) was also the recipient of a land grant (Amh. የደባብ፡ ጫኝ፡ መሬት, *yädəbab čañi märet*).

D. are frequently mentioned in the accounts of travellers. Francisco ↗Alvarez reports that *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl showed him four splendid examples which had belonged to his grandfather. Each was so large that it could protect ten people. The king ate, rested and slept under them during his journeys. Also, when the ↗*abun* travelled on a mule, each of his two servants held a tall standing D., as large as those carried for the emperor, but less decorated. Alvarez further observed that a large number of D. were kept in churches housing royal burials. These were collected for a funeral and subsequently left there (in ↗Mäkanä Śəllase he counted 64 of them). *Ḫoǧa* ↗Murād mentions among the gifts for ↗Iyasu I a parasol stitched with silk flowers. Nathaniel ↗Pearce noted that for the funeral of a dignitary every church in the surrounding area was obliged to send its D. for the occasion, and that for the funeral ceremony of ↗Wäldä Śəllase's brother in 1814 no less than 350 D. were displayed.

Old Ethiopian D. supported by very long poles were not collapsible. The upper parts were often domed, trapezoidal or conical with borders of varying widths. They were covered with silk, velvet and thick tapestries in different colours. Traditionally, the gold D. was reserved for the emperor and the *abun*, green was reserved for the ↗*nəburä'əd*, red for other dignitaries, important persons and bridal couples, orange for funerals and black and white for ordinary church and secular officials. D. were often decorated with fringes, small silver bells and silver ornaments forming a rosette or floral pattern. A clay pinnacle of differing forms, with small bells and topped with a cross, are found on the most elaborated pieces. This type of decoration closely resembles the roof of circular Ethiopian churches. At the present time, D. are either large black-cloth mass-produced items or are covered with bright and colourful textiles, adorned with gold and silver embroideries (in particular those used in the liturgy).



Queen Bafäna and her court; cloth mural; Balči, eastern Šäwa, Amanu'el church; second half of the 19th cent.; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

In Ethiopian paintings, the D. appears as a royal attribute, particularly for David, Solomon, Alexander the Great and Constantine. The earliest-known representations are found in miniatures from the second half of the 15th cent., mostly in Psalters (i.e. Paris, BN, d'Abbadie 105; and in the collections of Robert McCarthy and Bent Juel-Jensen, ms. Aeth. 40). In three paintings on wood from the late 16th cent., Jesus rides under a D. in the scene depicting the Entry into Jerusalem (Addis Abäba, IES no. 4216; Peabody Museum of Salem, Langmuir 98;

Mäqālä, the Cultural Association of Təgray, no. 132). From the end of the 18th cent., D. frequently appears in realistically treated secular scenes representing events at court, processions, travelling kings and dignitaries. Probably under the influence of this tradition, they were added to some religious themes incorporating Ethiopian daily life (i.e. the Evangelists at their writing desks or the burial of the Virgin Mary).

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 334, 338, 359; BeckHuntAlm 81, 93, 96; GueCopMen I, 183, II, 545; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Adventures in Abyssinia*, introduction by RICHARD PANKHURST, London 1980–82, vol. 1, 189f.

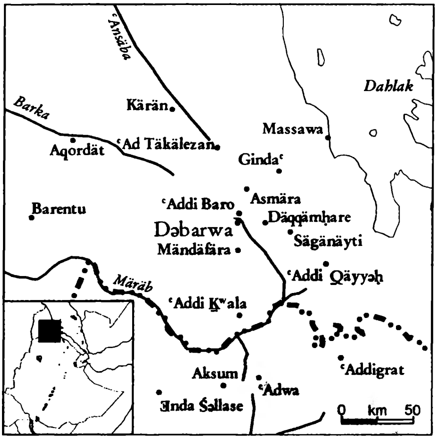
Lit.: CHARLES DE LINAS, "Les disques crucifères, le flabellum et l'umbrella", *Revue de l'art chrétien* 27, 1884, 5–33; HARRY MIDDLETON HYATT, *The Church of Abyssinia*, London 1928, 145f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Etiopia e genti di Etiopia*, Firenze 1937, 317; DonMurad 109; MHAksum.

Ill.: DAVID BUXTON, *Travels in Ethiopia*, London 1949, fig. 35, 39; TSEGAYE GABRE-MEDHIN – ALBERTO TESSORE, *Ethiopia: Footprint of Time*, Udine 1984, figs. 35, 36, 38, 42, 57; *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*, London 1989, fig. 2, 73–76, 115; EWALD HEIN – BIRGITTE KLEIDT, *Ethiopia – Christian Africa: Art, Churches and Culture*, Ratingen 1999, fig. 6, 93; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, 178f.; JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *L'arche éthiopienne. Art chrétien d'Éthiopie, 27 septembre 2000 – 7 janvier 2001*, Paris 2000, 32, 38, 57, 141, 144, 189.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Dəbarwa

D. (ደባርዋ, also Dəbarowa), on the right bank of the Märäb river, 30 km south of Asmära, was the capital of the ↗*baḥər nägaš*. The settlement, which lay on the principal trade route between the interior and the port of ↗Massawa, was described by an early 16th cent. Ethiopian monk to Zorzi as the "chief city" and residence of the *baḥər nägaš* (CrawItin 174f.); Alvares called it the "chief place" of that ruler, and the site of his "principal residences". The "town", Alvares says, was "very good", and "situated on a very high rock" upon which were situated "the King's houses", above the Märäb river. These buildings were laid out "in the manner of a fortress", were guarded by upwards of 300 "mounted men" and visited by "many more" people, who came every day "for business of petitions". Their presence attracted "many young women", also "because the men are well off and are like courtiers". The town consisted of "300 households or more". It possessed a "great market or fair", attended, on Thursdays, by "300 or 400 persons", engaged mainly in barter, and by numerous women, who brought measures for measuring goods, and looked after the traders and their wares. There were also two adjacent, and administratively linked, churches: St. Michael, for men, and Peter and Paul, for women (BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 98, 104f., 112, 118f., 125).



D. was occupied by *imām* ↗Aḥmād b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī in 1535, but after his defeat in 1543 resumed its position as the *baḥər nägaš* capital, but fell to the Ottoman Turks, who had seized the port of Massawa in 1557. Their commander, ↗Özdemir *paša*, established a fort at D., with "a long wall and a very high tower", reportedly full of gold and silver objects, precious stones, and costly imported vestments (ConzGal 76, 166). The Turks attempted to use this fort to expand their power into the surrounding area, but were attacked by the then well-armed local population, and obliged temporarily to retreat. The area was subsequently the site of much fighting in which the Turks, at times supported by the rebel *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq, fought against two successive emperors, ↗Minas and ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl. The latter captured the fort in 1576 and razed it to the ground (PankHist I, 67–70; DonMurad 218f.).

Despite this three-sided struggle D. maintained its political and commercial importance for the next two centuries. The French traveller Charles Jacques Poncet observed in 1699 that "whatever comes into Aethiopia by the Red

Sea" passed through this town, which he called the "general magazine of the Indies" (Foster 1949:147), and the Scottish traveller Bruce (BruNile vol. 3, 147) a century later referred to it as the "common passage" between Massawa and Təgray. At that time, according to the Armenian trader *ḫoǧa* ↗Murād, D. paid the emperor an annual tax of 500 ounces of gold (DonMurad 93). However, the town was by then on the decline. In the mid-18th cent., the power of the *baḥər nägaš* was usurped by *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul, ruler of Təgray, while the town's commercial position was increasingly overshadowed by ↗ʿAdwa (PankHist I, 70ff.). By the end of the 19th cent. the British visitor James Theodore Bent wrote that "a few piles of stones, and almost ruined church, and a few wretched hovels" were all that remained of the *baḥər nägaš*'s former capital (Bent 1896:87).

↗Ottoman Empire

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 98, 104f., 112, 118f., 125; BruNile vol. 3, 147; JAMES THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, London 1896, 87; ConzGal 76, 166; DAE III, 63, 72, 88, figs. 37, 180, 202; DonMurad 93, 218f.; WILLIAM FOSTER, *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, London 1949, 147.

Lit.: CrawItin 174f.; PankHist I, 67–72.

Richard Pankhurst

Dəggʷa

The D. (ደጓ) is the liturgical book of the Ethiopian Church which contains the hymns and troparies for the Divine Office; it is arranged in calendar order and divided according to the seasons of the liturgical year (↗Calendar). The book provides the orders of service for various celebrations – the daily Divine Office, the feasts, Sundays, the saints, the martyrs, the angels – as well as for special occasions, such as the ↗*məḥəlla*, etc.

The origin of the term D. is not clear, nor is the relationship which exists between this book and its function as a book of hymns. Thus far attempts to provide a solution to these questions have not been satisfactory. Even its antiquity is doubted.

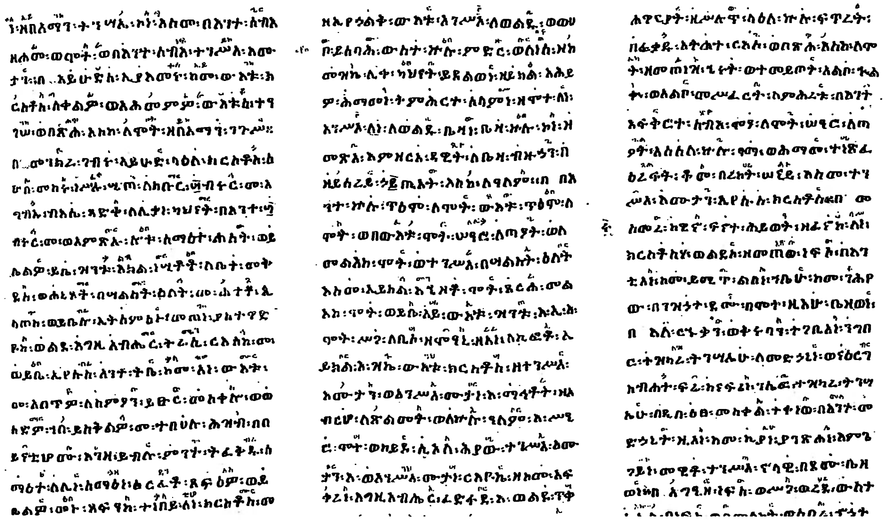
According to Ethiopian tradition, ↗Yared, who came from Aksum, is considered the author and the singer of at least some of the liturgical books used in the Ethiopian Church. Numerous sources link his literary and hymnographic activity to the great historical places and to several of the kings of Aksum. Nevertheless, it seems difficult to attribute to one person the totality of the D. and to date it to the 6th cent., a period when, according to tradition, Yared lived.

The manuscripts give the book various names intended to highlight its characteristics; here are the most significant: መጽሔተ፡ ጥበብ (*mäṣḥetä ṭəbäb*, 'mirror of wisdom'), መዝገብ (*mäzgäb*, 'treasure'), ምእላድ or መድበል (*məʾəllad* or *mädbäl*, 'collection'). Yared is often qualified as *Maḫletay* or *Maḫletawi*, to signify that he is the true composer of the ↗*maḫlet* intended to praise God. The sections (*arʾəst*) of the D. are as follows: *Abun*, *Əsmä läʿaläm*, ↗*ʿƎzəl*, ↗*Mäwäddəs*, *Mäzmur*, ↗*Wazema*, *Säläśt*, ↗*Arbaʿət*, *Bäḫaməstu*, ↗*Əgziʾabəḥer nägśä*, *Yətbaräk*, ↗*Sälam*, ↗*Zäʾamlakəyä*, *Maḫlet*, ↗*Səbḥatä nägh*, ↗*Aryam*, *Zäyəʾəze*, ↗*Mäwaṣəʾt*, *Yəbarəkəwwo*, *Bəsuʿ zäyäläbbu*, *Kəbr yəʾəti*, ↗*Zəmmare* and ↗*ʿƎṭanä mogär*.

Along with the ↗*Ṣomä dəggʷa*, the ↗*Zəmmare*, the ↗*Mäwaśəʾət* and the ↗*Məʿəraf*, the D. is one of the five books of the (sung) Divine Office, known as አምስቱ፡ ጸዋትወ፡ ዜማ (*ammastu ṣäwatəwä zema*, 'the five parts of chant'). It was only after the 18th cent. that, for practical reasons, the section corresponding to Lent was separated, thus becoming the fifth book: the *Ṣomä dəggʷa*.

The D. is considered a genuine Ethiopian production and not a translation or adaptation of imported elements, even though some passages may have come from abroad, either directly or through the intermediary of texts borrowed and adopted by the Church. Therefore, it is not surprising that it finds wider acceptance than any other Ethiopian liturgical book and that the simplicity and depth that spring from the hearts of the Ethiopian Christians are well reflected in D.'s contents.

Undoubtedly, the principal sources of D.'s inspiration are the Bible, to which it constantly alludes, and several other works often alluded to in traditional Ethiopian literature: the Apostolic Tradition, the *Testamentum Domini* (↗*Kidan zäʾəgziʾənä Iyäsus Krəstos*) and others. There is no direct or indirect quotation from "Church Fathers", which, however, does not suggest that patristic literature exerted no influence. On the contrary, such an influence is not limited to Alexandrian theology transmitted in Arabic, because some traces of ancient Greek and Syriac Christian literature are apparent.



Detail from a *Dəggʷa* (with musical notation); Ms. or. quart. 1000, 17th cent. (?); fol. 110a (detail); courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung

The oldest complete D. in our possession, though without musical notation (↗*Mələkkət*), dates from the 15th cent. (Vat. aeth. 28); more ancient manuscripts contain parts of it (13th cent.: EMML 7078; 14th to 15th cent.: EMML 2095). The oldest part of the D. reflects a more ancient calendar and can be met with in ancient books of homilies. The D. certainly predates the translation of the ↗*Sənkəssar* (15th cent.), even though the latter was subsequently to influence the development of the calendar within the D. Therefore, many reasons lead to conclude that, with the exception of its original core, the D. is a collection of hymns that has been elaborated over the centuries by different authors and adjusted to the needs of varying historical circumstances. In the same way as the development of the many ↗Anaphoras of the Ethiopian liturgy proves to be related to theological controversies that stirred up the country, one can hypothesize that the evolution of the D. was, at least in the beginning, a product of the same controversies concerning the Sabbath and other issues. This is confirmed by the existence of offices dedicated to Yared and to other post-Aksumite saints, an indication of later developments throughout the centuries.

Even though D. is the most important liturgical book of the Ethiopian Church, it is still little studied. In particular, no complete critical edition of this book exists. One has to be content with liturgical editions (that of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church is in its second edition) based on recent manuscripts. We also lack a preliminary study that, using a sufficient number of manuscripts from diverse periods, would evaluate the major branches of the tradition and the principal stages of its evolution.

Src.: GreTisVat 134f., ms. Vat. aeth. 28; EMML 2045; 7078 [not catalogued]; ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH (ed.), ጾመ፡ ድጓ፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ያሬድ (*Ṣomä dəggʷa zäqəddus Yared* 'The Lent *Dəggʷa* of St. Yared'), Addis Abäba 1968, mimographed ms.; VelMe I–II; VelSoDe I–II; HamSixBerl I, 226, no. 120 [Ms. or. quart. 1000].

Lit.: PETER JEFFERY, "The Liturgical Year in the Ethiopian Deggwa (Chantbook)", in: EPHREM CARR – STEFANO PARENTI – ABRAHAM A. THIERMEYER – ELENA VELKOVSKA (eds.), *Eulogema*: *Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, S.J.*, Roma 1993 (Studia Anselmiana 1100 Analecta Liturgica 17), 199–234; HABTEMICHAEL-KIDANE, "Il «Deggwa» – libro liturgico della Chiesa d'Etiopia", in: ROBERT TAFT (ed.), *The Christian East*, Roma 1996 (OrChrA 251), 353–88; HabUff; *märigeta* LƎSSANÄ WÄRQ GÄBRÄ GIYORGIS, ጥንታዊ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ማኅሌት፡ ዘአቡነ፡ ያሬድ፡ ሊቅ (*Ṭəntawi ṣərʿatä maḫlet zäʾabunä Yared liq*, 'The Ancient Order of Singing of our Father Yared, the Master'), Addis Abäba – Mäqälle 1997; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "A Short Note on the Ethiopian Church Music", *AE* 13, 1985, 135–43; *liqä kahənat* ṬƎʿUMÄ LƎSSAN KASA, ያሬድና፡ ዜማው (*Yaredənna zemaw*, 'Yared and his Melodies'), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.]; VelMaw.

Habtemichael Kidane

Dəgnağan

D. (ድግናጃን, also ደጋዛን, Dägazan, ግዳዣን, Gədažan etc.) is a name of a half-legendary ruler (or rulers?) of ↗Aksum.

Many (but not all) of the Gəᶜəz "king lists" place the name of D. or its variants among the last "legitimate" rulers before the rise of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty; cp. list A: Armaḥ, D. (here Dəgna Zan/Ǧənağan), Anbäsa Wədəm, Dəl Näʾad (CRList 274). In some lists, this sequence is somewhat different; cp. list C: Armaḥ, Ḥəzbä Nañ, D., Anbäsa Wədəm, Dəlnäʾad (ibid. 298); in list B the name Gədᶜa Žan is an obvious duplication of D. (ibid. 283). Yet, only one text states that Gidažan was a son of D. who later ruled as Anbäsa Wədəm (after SerHist 203). D. is sometimes called the father of both Anbäsa Wədəm and ↗Dəlnaʾod.

The time of D.'s reign is uncertain. Different sources connect D. with historical legends related to the little-known period between the fall of Aksum and the restoration of the ↗Solomonic dynasty (ca. 1270, s. ↗Yəkunno Amlak). In the hagiography of ↗Yared D. is a direct predecessor of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty (ca. 1137?), and his pride caused him to loose his crown to his servant Märara. Alternatively, Dägažan or Gidažan is credited with either a 10-month reign before the rise of Gudit (↗Ǝsato), or a 9-year reign (SerHist 203). The "king lists" give the length of D.'s reign as 20 or 12 years (cp. list B, CRList 283 and SerHist 203, MHAlex 136, n. 403).

Ibn Ḥawqal mentions a queen who reigned in Ethiopia for 30 years and had killed "the king of the Ethiopians" – perhaps D. (or Ǧənağan), should this queen from the later 900s be identified with Gudit.

In later sources D. is also reported to have sent an army of "about 100,000" to subdue the lands west of Ethiopia (SerHist 230f.), which, however, perished in the desert. Some of these traditions seem to imply that D. initiated the gradual shift of the political and religious centre of the kingdom from northern Ethiopia to the south. This process, which might have happened sometime in the first half of the 9th cent. (TadTChurch 36), was accompanied by the spread of ↗Christianity among the local population. A note found in the ms. Addis Abäba, National Library, Arch. 15, states: "During his time, he [D.] took 150 priests from Aksum to Amhara, and named them *däbtära*. When he left Təgre he made his capital [↗]Wäynä Däga and had 60 tabernacles [*tabotat*] which accompanied him onto the battlefield ... After him the kingdom passed over to others who were not Israelites" (SerHist 231). In another similar account – referred, however, to Dəlnaʾod in the Vita of ↗Iyäsus Moa (KurMoa 19) – D. is the king who kept the *tabotat* in tents (ደብተር, *däbtär*); and this is supposedly to be the origin of the term ↗*däbtära* for those serving at the altar (Conti Rossini 1917:706f.).

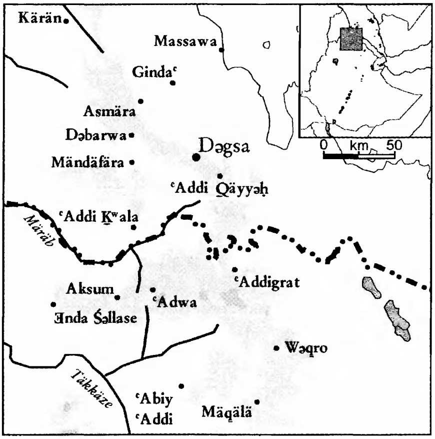
Src.: KurMoa 19 (text) = 16 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissine dell'ecciaghiè Filpòs", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 26, 1917, 699–718, here 706f.; ID. (ed., tr.), *Vitae Sanctorum antiquiorum*, I. *Acta Yārēd et Panṭālēwon*, Roma – Paris – Leipzig 1904 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]), 23 (text) = 21 (tr.); CRList 283; IBN ḤAWQAL, *Configuration de la terre*, tr. by JOHANNES HENDRIK KRAMERS – GASTON WIET, vol. 1, Beyrouth – Paris 1964, 16, 22f., 56, 161; SerHist 230f.

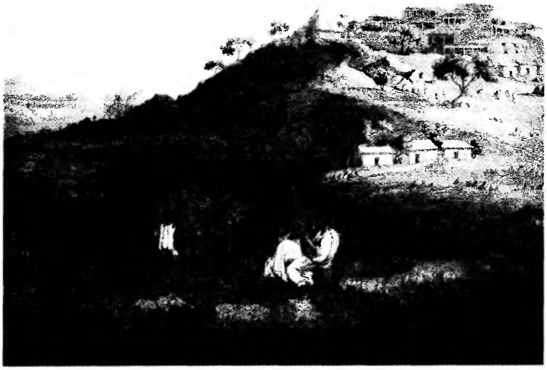
Lit.: BELAYNESH MIKAEL, "Degna-Žan", in: *DicEthBio* 47f.; CRStor 267, 305; MHAlex 134ff.; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie", *RevSem* 2, 1894, 78–93; TadTChurch 35f.

Stuart Munro-Hay

Dəgsa

D. (ድግሳ, Ital. Digsà) is a small town in the Däqqi Dəgna district of ↗Akkälä Guzay, Eritrea (14°59' N, 39°14' E). It is located on the top of a hill and surrounded by a valley. Wäräsänazgi, one of five sons of Dəgna, son of Akkälä, is considered its founding father. D. rose to local importance due to its closeness to ↗Massawa. Together with the nearby village of ↗Ḥalay, D. was the first Christian settlement at





Dəgsa in the early 19th cent.; drawing by Henry Salt

the edge of the highlands on the Akkälä Guzay route from the coast to the Ethiopian highlands. In the 17th cent. it was a fortified market-town.

When the traveller James ↗Bruce took this route, as the mountainous Akkälä Guzay seemed more secure to cross the border to the Ethiopian kingdom than the route via Dəbarwa, he stayed at "Dixan" (a back-formation from Tgn. *Ḥalayən Dəgsan*, 'Ḥalay and D.', Voigt 1999:91), which was at that time a border town between the Ottoman lowlands and the Christian kingdom, with a mixed Christian and Muslim population. The latter, dedicated to the slave trade (Bruce 1791:196ff.), inhabited the upper part of D., on the top of the hill, and were allied with the *nāʾib*. In 1768 D. was burnt in a raid by *ras* Mikaʾel Səḥul against the *nāʾib* (KolTrad 67). In the 19th cent. it was under Christian rule and had a ↗*baḥər nägaš* of its own – around 1805 it was Iyäsus (SalTrav 239), in the 1830s the *šaläqa* Ǝzäraye (AbbSéjour 43). It was from here that *baḥər nägaš* ↗Asgodom Muse of Säfʾa guided "Agaw" ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel to attack ↗Ḥaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən at Ṣäᶜazzäga in 1858.

Together with ↗Sägänäyti, ↗Ak̠rur and ↗Ḥebo, D. was among the first settlements becoming Catholic in 1866 when Fr. ↗Delmonte evangelized in the area (OMahPh 35, 45f.). Today, the majority of the population is Orthodox. During the Italian colonial period D. joined the anti-Italian rebellion of ↗Baḥta Ḥagos of 1894. Later an Italian farming concession was established and the infrastructure developed. ↗Capuchins have built a clinic in D., which also serves the surrounding settlements.

Lit.: KilHDic 165f.; PankHist I, 73f., 230f. (Lit.); JAMES BRUCE, *Reisen in das Innere von Afrika, nach Abyssinien an die Quellen des Nils*, tr. by C. W. CUHN, Rinteln – Leipzig 1791, 196–99; SalTrav 239ff. (ill.); AbbSéjour vol. 1, 43; KolTrad II, 67, 140; OMahPh vol. 1, passim, vol. 2, 35, 45f., 105; RAINER VOIGT, "Κολόη und Ḳoḥayto ('Auf-/Ausblick'), Studien zur äthiopischen Toponomastik. 1", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 90–102, 91.

Wolbert Smidt

Dəgum

D. (**ደጉም**) is a site in ↗Gärᶜalta, in the plain of ↗Ḥawzen (s. map for Gärᶜalta), known for its complex of rock-hewn sacral structures, composed of three separate sections (A, B, C). Presently, only C serves as a church (dedicated to St. Mary); according to local informants, two others (Trinity and St. George) were also in use until the mid-20th cent. All three are often referred to as Dəgum Śəllase (Plant's Sellase I-III). The structures share many common features: all are small, oriented, have regular plans and imitate Aksumite foundations (↗Architecture) – both in their planning and architectonic vocabulary. Their dating is problematic (7th-8th cent. according to Plant, 11th–12th cent. according to Lepage, 13th–14th cent. according to Buxton).

Monument A (funeral chapel in Buxton 1971, tomb of a rich family in Jäger–Pearce 1974, *martyrium* in Lepage 1971) is preceded by a rock-cut narthex with pilastered walls and projected façade. It was covered once by a constructed roof and encircled from west and north-west by connected ancillary buildings where Aksumite ↗pottery has been excavated.

The main interior is divided by lintel beams into three aisles; the division into three bays is only marked by ceiling design: rectangles imitating timber construction. The three-partite sanctuary is accessible only from the central nave through a semicircular arch, supported by squared, engaged and composite pears (eastern part in the form of a cylindrical semi-column) with stepped bracket capitals – the only element differing from the Aksumite tradition. The northern room of the sanctuary is a simple square chamber; the southern room has a niche in the eastern wall (60 cm x 42 cm x 35 cm) and ceiling design imitating wooden construction. In the raised central room, four engaged corner pillars are connected by the archivolts, the flat ceiling is decorated by an imitation of two crossed beams. In the centre of the floor, four holes mark the place where once an altar (or, according to Lepage, a reliquary) was installed. The function of the window (61 cm x 59 cm) cut in the eastern wall is uncertain: since behind the eastern part of the church there is a rectangular originally roofed space, accessible from the north via a rock-cut passage, it could serve as an opening for distribution of communion (Gerster) or for delivering the eucharisitic bread from a near-by *betä ləhem*, or as an aperture allowing access to reliquary (Lepage).

Monuments B (church in Lepage) and C (funeral chapel), cut parallel to each other and separated by a stepped passage, are situated about 30 m from A. They are accessible through the constructed chamber which serves as the vestibule of the present church. C is almost an exact copy of A, but more elaborate. Set on a platform, it has an open cut vestibule, a main chamber (used as the ↗*mäqdäs* of the present church), a similarly designed three-partite sanctuary (engaged pillars, arches) and the outer space behind the eastern wall. B, north of C, is a narrow two-level structure. On top level there are three rooms; the third (1.2 m x 0.9 m) with imitations of constructed wooden elements (ceiling, arches, engaged pillars with stepped capitals and bases). The crypt on the lower level is accessible through the entry cut in the floor of the second upper room and by an extra opening, presently covered by stone slabs, in the floor of the third room. It is composed of two connected chambers, the second one with ↗graves. North-east of B there is a small rock-cut baptismal font, with steps on two sides, similar to those discovered at ↗Yəḥa, in ↗Adulis and ↗Mäṭära.

Structure A: sanctuary, view towards east: ceiling with imitation cross beams and arches springing from capitals crowning engaged pillars; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Separate sections of D. (unique as a complex) are comparable with the churches Gärᶜalta Bäraqit Maryam, Ḥawzen Täklä Haymanot, ↗Ṣəraᶜ Abrəha-Aṣbəḥa, Wəqro Čerqos (↗Dängolo).

Lit.: DAVID BUXTON, "The Rock-Hewn and other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 103, 1971, 1–99, here 56f., pl. 27b-c; OTTO DALE, "The Rock-hewn Churches of Tigre", *EthObs* 11, 2, 1968, 121–51, here 124–27; GEORG GERSTER, *Kirchen im Fels*, Berlin 1976, 129; OTTO JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia*, Stuttgart ²1974, 111f.; WOLFGANG FRITZ VOLBACH – JACQUELINE LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE (eds.), *Byzanz und der christliche Osten*, Berlin 1968 (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 3), 370, pl. 432; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Les monuments chrétiens rupestres de Degum, en Éthiopie (rapport préliminaire)", *Cahiers archéologiques* 21, 1971, 167–200; IVY PEARCE, "Pearce's Pilgrimage to the Rock hewn Churches of Tigray", *EthObs* 11, 2, 1968, 77–120, here 87; RUTH PLANT – DAVID BUXTON, "Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province", *ibid.* 13, 3, 1970, 157–267, here 197f.; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 50–53; HERVÉ DE ROUX, "Notes sur des tessons céramiques de Degum (Tigré)", *AE* 10, 1975, 71–80; ROGER SAUTER, "Églises rupestres au Tigre", *AE* 10, 1976, 157–75, here 167; JOSEPH TEWELDE MEDHIN, "Introduction générale aux églises monolithes du Tigrai", in: *PICES* 3, 1969, 83–98, here 85f., 96.

Ewa Balicka Witakowska

Dəḫano ↗Hərgigo

Dəhay Erətra

D.E. (ድሃይ፡ ኤርትራ, 'Voice of Eritrea') was launched as a Təgrəñña weekly by independence leader ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam in Asmära in 1944. During its two years of publication, it had a very short section of international news in addition to local news. It was succeeded by *Unità dell' Eritrea*, the organ of the Independent Front Block published on Wednesdays, which had a circulation of 2,000 and continued until 1949.

After the ↗Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation in 1952, the Democratic Front Block revived D.E. The next year, Ethiopia charged the paper with calling for the overthrow of the Ethiopian government and with publishing state "secrets" about Eritrean tax revenues. The paper and its editors were acquitted by the Eritrean Court on 26 May 1953 and the Eritrean Supreme Court on 19 August 1953. The Emperor's representatives appealed to the Federal (Ethiopian) court. On 8 December 1953, the court overthrew the Eritrean courts and sentenced the paper to a two-year suspension and its editors to imprisonment ranging from three to six years.

Src.: "Eritrea: a Victim of UN Decision and of Ethiopian Aggression", in: ERITREAN LIBERATION FRONT, General Secretariate (ed.), *Appeal of the Eritrean People to the 26th Session of the General Assembly*, New York, 12 March 1971, 28f.; STEPHEN HEMSLEY LONGRIGG, *Occupied Enemy Territory Administration Eritrea: Half Yearly Report by the Military Administrator on the Occupied Enemy Territory of Eritrea for the Period 1st January to 20th June 1942*, Cairo 1942; F.G. DREW, *Eritrean Annual Report for 1949*, London 1949; ID., *Eritrean Annual Report for 1950*, London 1950; ID., *Eritrean Annual Report for 1951*, London 1951; *Eritrea: Annual Review for 1954.*

Deborah Johnson

Dəḵana

In the 17th-cent. Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos D. (ድኻና) appears as one of the sites in which the temporary royal tent stayed (PerChron, chs. 39, 52). At that time a church dedicated to St. Gabriel already existed there. Still today the village (known as Dähana, Daḵana or Dähna) is located in Dämbəya, near Gorgora, on the ᶜAmdä Wärq mount, on the road between ↗Gondär and the northern Ṭana shore.

D. should not be confused with the place called Daḫna (ዳኅና): according to the Acts of ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa, this was a village in the Bägemdər province, 20 km east of the Täkkäze river, famed as the place where the saint was born around 1213. For the latter, other sources report also the form Dahana (ዳሀና).

Src.: KurMoa 6 (text) = 5 (tr.); PerChron 132, 203f. (text) = 102, 156f. (tr), 418f.; *Guida* 369.
Lit.: HuntGeogr 74, 79, 81, 170f., 245 [Lasta].

Richard Pankhurst

Dəlbä Iyasus

D.I. (ድልበ፡ ኢያሱስ) is a figure known from the period between 1682 to 1685. He first appears in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, attending the coronation of the latter on 6 July 1682 (Guilohan 60). One "short chronicle" informs us that D.I. bore the title of "*däǧǧazmač* of Təgre" (BassÉt 167).

Aṣe Iyasu I's official history mentions (without explanation) D.I.'s flight from Gondär and his confinement in "Sarka's castle" (*gəmb zäsarka*, s. Guilohan 87), north of Qʷäläla.

From a quotation in the "short chronicle" we learn that D.I. was related to the royal family. It appears that he was the husband of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I's grand-daughter princess Wälättä Ḥawaryat, princess Amläkätawit's daughter. *Aṣe* ↗Yosṭos, described as a usurper by the "short chronicles", is none other then D.I.'s and Wäldä Ḥawaryat's son. Consequently Yosṭos is, by means of his female relatives, Yoḥannəs' grandson.

Src.: Guilohan 60, 87f., 175 (tr.); BassÉt 167, 133, 180; BegCron 94; DombrChr 263 (tr.).

Dimitri Toubkis

Delmonte, Carlo

D. (b. 1827, La Spezia, Italy, d. 19 May 1869, Kärän, Ethiopia) was a ↗Lazarist missionary who continued with the apostolate of Giustino de ↗Jacobis. D. disembarked at Massawa in January 1860, after surviving shipwreck in the Red Sea, and became the first missionary to be appointed to the Vicariate of Abyssinia in 14 years. A good working relationship between D. and his Vicar Apostolic, de Jacobis, immediately developed. Shortly after his arrival, however, de Jacobis died and, following the death of ↗Biancheri, D. was the only remaining missionary.

When Pierre-Louis ↗Bel arrived as the Vicariate's third bishop, D. served him loyally. After Bel's death, D. successfully reconciled the missionaries and the local clergy. He visited *ras* Kaśa Mərč̣a (later *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV) at ᶜAdwa in 1868. There he also met the deposed *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs III who had previously become a Catholic. In early 1869 D. was appointed Vicar Apostolic; however, he died, aged 42, before the news reached him.

↗Lazarists

Lit.: ALÉMÉ ESHÉTÉ, *La Mission Catholique Lazariste en Éthiopie*, Aix-en-Provence 1972 (Institut d'Histoire des Pays d'Outre-Mer 2), 1–7; PAUL GIMALAC, *Le Vicariat Apostolique d'Abyssinie 1839–1931*, Paris 1932, 12;

OMahPh vol. 1, 103f., 198f., 204f.; vol. 2, 2f., 5–9, 23f., 29, 33ff., 62, 73, 75, 78, 86ff., 90f., 93, 97f.

Kevin O'Mahoney

Dəlnaʿod

D. (ድልናዖድ) was, according to the Ethiopian "king lists" and a number of legends, the last king of ↗Aksum before the ↗Zagʷe dynasty. Outside of these late texts, he is otherwise unattested. In the lists he usually appears after ↗Dəgnäǧan and Anbäsä Wədəm, who are sometimes designated as his father and brother respectively. In some cases he appears twice, once between Ayzor and Maʾeday, predecessor of ↗Ǝsato and Anbäsä Wədəm, the second time as predecessor of Tärda Gäbäz (eg. CRList, List A), who is supposed to have passed the kingdom on to the Zagʷe. Other sources such as the Acts of *abba* ↗Iyäsus Moʾa, attribute the transferral of power to the Zagʷe to Masobä Wärq, daughter of D., through her marriage to Täklä Haymanot of "the family of Hepaṣa" (Zagʷe). D.'s descendants reportedly lived in hiding, taking the succession up to ↗Yəkunno Amlak.

The lists give D. a reign of 4, 10, 15 or 40 years. If he were really the predecessor of the Zagʷe, one would expect a mid-10th cent. date, but the Acts of Iyäsus Moʾa presents an earlier chronology. Metropolitan ↗Sälama Zäʾazeb ('of the South') "reentered his country" when D. was ruling. Later, in the seventh year of this king, the royal seat is said to have been transferred from Aksum to the east. The king went with Sälama to ↗Ḥayq and built the church of Däbrä Ǝgziʾabḥer. Later, in the year 6362 of the world (862 A.D.), the church of Däbrä Ǝsṭifanos of Ḥayq was built. The arrival of Sälama II, either in or just before the reign of D., is said to have occurred 618 years after the arrival of Frumentius (↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan, usually taken as ca. 340 A.D.). Kur (KurMoa) altered this date to 818, added 350, resulting in a date of 1168 A.D. He also altered the date 6362 to 6662/1167 A.D. – actually 1162 A.D. to reach a date compatible with the short chronology for the Zagʷe dynasty, which suggests that the Zagʷe came to power around 1137 A.D.

Src.: KurMoa 21; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissine dell'ecciaghié Filpòs", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 26, 1917, 699-718, here 707; CRList.
Lit.: MHAlex 131ff., 168ff.; BELAYNESH MICHAEL, "Del-Näʾad", in: *DicEthBio* 48ff.

Stuart Munro-Hay

Demanio ↗ Terra demaniale

Dəmeṭros

D. (ድሜጥሮስ) of Amhara only appears in records dating from 1689 to 1699 and 1709 to 1711, but his career was certainly of longer duration. When first mentioned in the royal chronicles, he was already governor of ↗Šäwa; as governor, he apprehended a rebel who had sought refuge in Šäwa among the Tuulama Oromo. Throughout the 1690s, D. was a confidant of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, helping plan attacks on the Tuulama and participating in Iyasu's campaigns into Šäwa. By 1693 he held the title of ↗*ṣähafe lam*; he was also a *däǧǧazmač*. By the end of the decade, however, he had lost favour at court. In March 1699, at the conclusion of yet another campaign against the Tuulama, Iyasu stripped D. of his appointment of *ṣähafe lam* of Šäwa, which he had once again assumed, and divided the government of Šäwa among three men, leaving D. in control only of the district of ↗Märḥabete, his homeland. Within a decade, however, he had regained the governorship of Šäwa, and from mid-1709 to mid-1711, he held the position of *ras* under Tewoflos. Among his descendants were many Šäwan notables, including, reportedly, the wife of ↗Śaḥlä Śəllase.

Src.: BassÉt 177, 180; BégCron 92, 94; GuiIohan 127–131, 138, 174, 187, 210, 213; BTafA 421, 984.

LaVerle Berry

Dəmeṭros

D. (ድሜጥሮስ) was one of the puppet rulers of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. When ↗Sälomon II was deposed, *däǧǧazmač* Gugsa and *däǧǧazmač* Alula made D., the son of *abeto* Arqadewos, *nəguś* in Gondär on the 20th *Ḥämle* 1791 A.M. [25 July 1799 A.D.]. He immediately rewarded his benefactors by appointing them to important positions. D.'s reign was interrupted in a matter of months in *Ṭəqəmt*, when messengers from his rival, the perennial contender for the throne ↗Täklä Giyorgis arrived in Gondär from Təgre. They were greeted with rejoicing by the population. According to the chronicler of the period D. suffered further humiliation during this period. He was deposed twice more, once in favour of his rival ↗Täklä Haymanot and "yet a third time ... when he had done nothing wrong" (BlunChr 470).

Src.: BlunChr 182f., 187, 462ff., 470.
Lit.: BudHist 480.

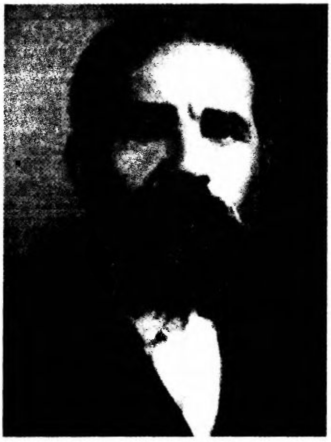
Steven Kaplan

Dəmeṭros Gäbrä Maryam

D.G.M. (ድሜጥሮስ፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም; b. 1900, Däqqi Täsfa district, western Säraye, d. 1989, Asmära) was a church administrator and politician. He received basic church education in Däqqi Täsfa. D.G.M. started his career as a secretary to *ras* ↗Kidanä Maryam Gäbrä Mäsqäl of Arräza (Säraye). Later, he studied liturgy and *qəne* poetry in Təgray, Bägemdər and Šäwa. He was ordained priest (*qäsis*) in Addis Abäba in 1929. In the following year, he was appointed ↗*liqä kahənat* of his native district, a post which he retained for almost three decades.

In the late 1940s, D.G.M. joined the Unionist Party of Eritrea (↗*Maḫbär fəqri ḥagär*) and was elected by his home district to the Constituent Assembly in the Spring of 1952, becoming vice-president of the subsequent single-chamber parliament in the following year. As an ardent Unionist, he was said to have worked towards the fall of the Assembly's president, ↗ᶜAlī Muḥammad Mūsā Raday, and the Chief Executive, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Tädla Bayru. Thereafter, he became the most powerful Eritrean politician and, in collaboration with *bətwäddäd* ↗Asfäḥa Wäldä Mikaʾel, he gradually undermined the Federation, which was finally abolished in November 1962. As a result, he became very unpopular in Eritrea. In 1961 and 1962, he narrowly escaped two assassination attempts.

D.G.M. was also active in the Church. He was one of the founders of the ↗Maḫbärä Ḥawaryat association. It became a leading organ in publishing Church books, mobilizing the youth and opening informal discussions with other religions established in Eritrea. D.G.M. also built the church of Mädḫane ᶜAläm in Asmära, where he became dean with the title of መልአከ፡ ሰላም (*mälʾakä sälam*), by which he was better known. In 1963, he was appointed ↗*nəburä əd* of Aksum and in 1969 he rose to the highest civil position of Chief Administrator of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. When the Revolution broke out in 1974, he was arrested and imprisoned by the military regime, along with other high officials and dignitaries. He was later released and continued his activities in the Maḫbärä Ḥawaryat.



Dəmeṭros Gäbrä Maryam; from Zäwde Rätta 1999:351

↗Churches and Church administration

Src.: ErDizBio 113; KilHDic 166 f.; *Ḥaddaš Erətra*, 8 *Näḥase* 1992 A.M. [14 August 2000 A.D.]; ZÄWDE RÄTTA, የኤርትራ፡ ጉዳይ *1941–1963* (*Yäʾertəra gudday 1941–1963*, 'The Eritrean Affair 1941–1963'), Addis Abäba 1999, 351 (ill.).

Bairu Tafla

Demography ↗Population history

Demons

Terminology

The main difficulty of this topic is to establish an adequate terminology to describe the Ethiopian "supernatural" world. Ethiopian demonology is syncretistic and contains both Semitic monotheistic and Cushitic elements. A very complex, hierarchically organized world of angels, saints, the Devil and an array of ↗spirits (መንፈስ, *mänfäs*, 'spirit') exists between God and man. The term D. describes only the evil, destructive and malignant spirits, and not spirits that are neutral, familiar, benevolent or ambivalent to Ethiopians (↗*Zar*; ውቃቢ, *wəqabi* and ቆሌ, *qolle*). The difficulty in terminology arises because D. is used:

1) as a translation for terms within a similar semantic scope in Ethiopic languages;

2) as an interpretative term for beings and creatures who are only mentioned through their proper names or short descriptions.

In the course of the time, the Jewish-Christian demonology adopted by the Ethiopians was augmented with autochthonous elements, which originated – at least a large number of them – in the confrontation between Ethiopian Christendom and the non-Christian environment. During the "demonization" process, gods, spirits, or even whole castes or ethnic groups of non-Christian populations became D. The priests or worshipers of the ancient cults (↗*Däsk*; ጉዳሌ, *gudale*; ዲኖ, *dino*; ጠፈንት, *ṭäfänt*) were deemed to be D. by the representatives of the Orthodox Church (Mercier 1983–84).

The genuine word for D. in Gəᶜəz is *ganen* (ጋኔን, pl. አጋንንት *aganənt*), which is also used in Təgrəñña and Amharic (also *ganel*). The Arabic loan-word ↗*ǧinn* or *ǧinni* is recognized in almost all modern Ethiopian languages; however, its meaning 'spirit, genie' (s. *ǧənn*, KaneDic 1867) is not identical with the semantics of the Arabic *ǧinn* 'D.' (cp. Təgre 'D., devil', Littmann – Höfner 1962:553).

The Bible

In the O.T. *ganen* renders the Greek word δαιμόνιον, initially with the meaning of 'something demonical' – which describes impure, evil spirits or idols (Is 13:21, 34:14, 65:3; Ps 95:5). "The D. of noonday" (*ganenä qätr*, Ps 90[91]:6) is also known in Ethiopian popular beliefs. Early Jewish literature from the inter-testamental period, which was later adopted by Christians, plays an important role in the organization of this "supernatural" world. The main features of this spiritual plane are: the concentration of evil in the person of the Devil and the quasi-dualistic polarization of the visible and invisible world into a good part, represented by God and his angels, and an evil part, represented by the Devil, the fallen angels and the D. The *Book of* ↗*Jubilees* and the *Book of* ↗*Enoch* emphasize the association of the fallen angels (Gen 6:4) with D. (s. En 6:1f., 19:1, 69:12; *Book of Jubilees* 10; here also *ganen*). Another demon Mästema (Mäśṭəm), who personifies hostility and often identifies with the Devil, is known from the *Book of Jubilees* 10:8, 11:5, 11, 17:16, 18:9, 19:28 etc. as the chief (or angel) of evil spirits. In a later writing ↗*Təʾəzazä sänbät* Mästema also appears as the angel of darkness (Halévy 1902:55).

In the N.T. *ganen* (respectively, *aganənt*) renders the Gr. δαίμων (Mt 8:31; Lk 8:29, Rev 18:2), δαιμόνιον (Mt 9:33; Jn 7:20; 8:48; 10:20 etc.) and πνεῦμα (Mt 8:16; Mk 9:20; Lk 9:39 etc.). In other passages, D. occur in connection with possession and exorcism. D. can "dwell" in people (Mk 5:13–17; Lk 8:2), possess them and are subordinated to the Devil (Satan, Mk 3:22, 23). Jesus and his disciples have the power to drive D. and evil spirits out from possessed people. Only very few D. are known in the N.T. by their names. One of them is Legewon ("Legion"), styled in Mk 5:9 as ጋኔን፡ ሌጌዎን (*ganen Legewon*, 'the D. Legewon') and in Lk 8:30 as ብዙኃን፡ አጋንንት (*bəzuḫan aganənt*, 'numerous D.'). The appearance of D. in the N.T. supports the main ideas of later Ethiopian demonology: D. cause illnesses through possession; such illnesses can be healed through exorcism; D. are hierarchically organized.

Magic literature and popular beliefs

In this kind of literature, and especially in the magic scrolls, the plural *aganənt* describes a class of D. that damage and attack people. The use of *aganənt* in some magical writings like the ↗*Ardəʾət* corresponds to those in the healing and miracle pericopae of the N.T., which are also quoted in many magical prayers and incantations (Grébaut 1939). Besides the *aganənt*, who are representative for all unknown and unmentioned D., there is in Ethiopian popular beliefs a consistent group of individual D., who are responsible for illness: ↗Barya, the D. of epilepsys whose chief is Legewon; Mäggañña, the D. of the threshold and of the closed door, who causes colic; Təgrida, another D. of epilepsy; Wərzəlya, a female D. who causes the death of new-born children; Šotälay, the D. of miscarriage. People in Ethiopia believe that D. cause harm or illness through their eye, i.e. the "evil eye". Therefore, phrases such as ዓይነ፡ አጋንንት (*ᶜaynä aganənt*, 'eye of D.'), ዓይነ፡ ባርያ (*ᶜaynä barya*, 'eye of *barya*') or ዓይነ፡ ጥላ (*ᶜaynä ṭəla*, 'eye of shadow') appear in some magical texts. The being who is believed to harm people by the evil eye is called ↗*Buda*. The world of D. is hierarchically structured. Many magic scrolls mention a "king of D." (ንጉሠ፡ አጋንንት, *nəguśä aganənt*) or the king of a particular kind of D. (ንጉሠ፡ ባርያ, *nəguśä barya* 'king of *barya*') or of a particular illness (ንጉሠ፡ ንዳድ, *nəguśä nədad* 'king of fever').

The means of protection and defence against D. and healing demonic illnesses such as those caused by possession are extremely various. Specialized persons like Orthodox priests (Heyer 1971:203–11), the አጥማቂ (*aṭmaqi*, 'baptizer') or the "D.-pulling" ↗*däbtära* (ጋኔን፡ ሳቢ, *ganen sabi*) deal with possessions. The rites of immersion in water (ጥምቀት, *ṭəmqät*) and the sprinkling (አጠመቀ, *aṭämmäqä*) of a possessed person with holy water are considered efficient means of exorcism. The sign of the cross, amulets and talismans (↗Magic scrolls) are also believed to protect against the attacks of the D.

Another method to render D. inactive is to"seal" them. For this purpose, the magic scrolls use a variety of "seals" (**ማኅተም**, *maḫtäm*; short text, sometimes with illustrations) like the "Seal of the D.", the "Seal of Solomon" (↗*Märbäbtä Sälomon*) or the "Seal of Alexander". A large number of magic texts are known to be efficient in exorcising D.: **ጸሎት፡ በእንተ፡ ማእሰረ፡ አጋንንት** (*Ṣälot bäʾəntä maʾəsärä aganənt*, 'prayer for binding D.'), the ↗*Märbäbtä Sälomon*, the **መጽሔተ፡ሰሎሞን** (*Mäṣḥetä Sälomon*, 'Mirror of Solomon'), the ↗*asmat* prayers etc. The recitation of magic writings like *Bartos*, *Ardəʾət* or *Sayfä mäläkot* can also assist the exorcism of demonic possession (Rodinson 1967:61).

Besides D., spirits with more complex relations to people are known in Ethiopia. Remnants of ancient pre-Christian cults still exist in the peripheral areas of the official institutionalized religions. Such cults are syncretistic and constantly evolving. The spirits from these cults manifest their activity in possessions. The cults of famous spirits like *zar*, *adbar*, *qolle*, *away* and *wəqabi* have no confessional or ethnic boundaries. Other spirits – like *sərʾel* of the Təgrəñña speakers and *ayaana* and ↗*ateetee* among the Oromo – have a limited area of influence. *Adbar* and *qolle* are protective spirits associated with specific places and localities. They can be either good and protect a particular location, or bad and bring illness and poverty to a region. *Away* is a house-spirit that remains very close to a certain family. *Wəqabi* ('protector') is a personal or family spirit who possesses a medium and treats other people through him/her. The specialists who deal with these spirit are mostly mediums like **ባለ፡ ዛር**, (*balä zar*), **ባለ፡ ውቃቢ** (*balä wəqabi*) or **ቃልቻ** (*qalləčča*) who do not exorcise, but appease the spirits through a ↗sacrifice or ↗gifts. Spirits like *zar*, *adbar* and *qolle* are often identified with each other, as well as with the D.: **ዛር፡ ውላጅ** (*zar wəllağ*) is a mongrel of a *zar* and a D.; **የቡዳ፡ ዛር** (*yäbuda zar*) is the spirit who possesses the *Buda*.

↗Devil; ↗Magic; ↗Religion, traditional; ↗Spirits; ↗Spirit possession

Lit.: Harald Aspen, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge: Spirit Mediums and their Clients*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 58); Bogdan Burtea, *Zwei äthiopische Zauberrollen*, Aachen 2001 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 1) (Lit.); Sylvain Grébaut, *Recueil de textes magiques éthiopiens*, Paris 1939 (Miscellanea Africana Lebaudy 1); Marcel Griaule, *Le livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin*, Paris 1930 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Éthnologie 12); Joseph Halévy, *Tĕʾĕzâza sanbat (Commandements du sabbat)*, Paris 1902 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 137), 55; Friedrich Heyer, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), 203–11; KaneDic 1867; Hubert Kriss, "Geister im Volksglauben Äthiopiens", in: *Äthiopien.* Sonderausgabe der *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, Tübingen 1973, 116–19; Michel Leiris, "La croyance aux génies 'zar' en Éthiopie du Nord", *Journal de psychologie normale et pathologique* 31, 1–2, 1938, 108–25; Id., "Le culte des zârs à Gondar (Éthiopie septentrionale)", *Aethiopica* 2, 1934, 96–103, 125–36; Deborah Lifchitz, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*, Paris 1940; Enno Littmann – Maria Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigré-Sprache. Tigré-Deutsch-Englisch*, Wiesbaden 1962, 553; Jacques Mercier, "Le *Qolle* et le *Zar*: éléments pour l'histoire des anciens cultes éthiopiens", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 259–98; Id., *Le roi Salomon et le maîtres du regard. Art et médecin*, Paris 1992; Reidulf Knut Molvaer, *Socialization and Social Control in Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1995 (AeF 44); Maxime Rodinson, *Magie, médecine et possession en Éthiopie (à Gondar)*, Paris 1967; UllBibl.

Bogdan Burtea

Dəmyanos

In the first half of the 15th cent., the monk D. (**ድምያኖስ**) was the abbot of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Sina, in Däqqi Täsfa, a district of Säraye, Eritrea. He was initiated into monastic life by Muse of Däbrä Gʷärzo, a pupil of ↗Absadi of Däbrä Maryam. According to written sources, ↗Yonas, the future leader of the monastic movement known as *däqiqä Ewosṭatewos* (↗Ewosṭateans), received the monastic habit from D., his uncle. This probably occurred around 1417, and the lifetime of D. can be approximately dated between 1381 and 1441. After his death, Yonas became the abbot of Däbrä Sina. At least one manuscript of the hitherto unpublished *Gädlä Dəmyanos* is known.

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Gli Atti di Abbā Yonās", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 12, 1903, 177–201, 239–55, here 187, ll. 21–25; Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḫuḫān e Dabra Ṣegē, Sarāʾē, Eritrea)", *RSE* 42, 1998 [1999], 5–55.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Dengue fever ↗Diseases

Denmark, relations with

The first hint of Danish interest in the country appears with the Danish-Swedish expedition lead by Carsten Niebuhr, who was sent to ↗Arabia in the 18th cent. (1761–67) by the Danish King. Its members collected some information about "Habesh" from the Arab merchants. Later, the Danish lieutenant Soeren Adolf Arendrup, during a visit to ↗Egypt, joined the Egyptian army and, as its colonel, led a military expedition against Ethiopia. He was killed in battle by the winning troops of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV in 1875.

A Danish embassy was erected in Ethiopia through a royal decree of September 1949. The ambassador, who presented his credentials to *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I on 8 March 1950, resided in Athens. Later residences were in Cairo and, since 1972, Nairobi. To date, D. has never had an ambassador resident in Addis Abäba. However, a consulate operated by a consul-general and two secretaries, functions there. King Frederik IX and Queen Ingrid of D. paid an official visit to Ethiopia in January 1970.

In Eritrea, D. has been represented by a chargé d'affaires since 1997. The Danish embassy is situated in Asmära and staffed by a chargé d'affaires, an embassy secretary and an attaché.

Both countries receive economic support from D. In the year 2000 this amounted to 59.2 million Danish kroner in development aid for Ethiopia.

↗Danish Ethiopian Mission

Lit.: *Udvikling* 9/10, Nytaar 1998/99: Danmark og U-Landene. Etiopien.

Kirsten Stoffregen-Pedersen

Dənnəč ↗Potatoes

Dənqənäš Mərça

D.M. (**ድንቅነሽ፡ ምርጫ**, b. 1833, d. 1912) was the daughter of *šum tämben* ↗Mərça and *wäyzaro* Sälas Dəmṣu and the only sister of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. She was well educated, and oral sources refer to her ability in composing poetry of high standard. She was said to be cunning and excessively proud, as her father was reputed to have been. She was first married to *blatta* Gäbrä Kidan Zemo, later *ras bitwäddäd* – one of the earliest followers, companions and confidants of Yoḥannəs – from whom she had a son, *däǧǧazmač* Śəyyum "Abba Gobäz", and three daughters, Aradäčč, Täkkoläčč and Bəzu.

After she divorced Gäbrä Kidan, she married *wag šum* Gobäze Gäbrä Mädḫən in 1867. When Gobäze proclaimed himself as *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II in 1868, the title of *ətege* was conferred upon her. When her husband was defeated by her brother Kaśa at the Battle of ↗ʿAsäm in July 1871 and was incarcerated at the stronghold of ↗Amba Sälama, she joined her husband and remained with him until he died. Subsequently, she moved to Mäq̱älä and became one of the most influential counsellors to her brother Yoḥannəs at the Imperial Court.

During the aftermath of the Battle of ↗Mätämma when the political struggle in Təgray was in a turmoil, she championed the cause of her son Śəyyum, who was sent by Mənilək II from Šäwa and was furnished with arms, ammunitions and finance by the Italians to fight against ↗Mängäša and ↗Alula Ǝngəda.

Finally, when Śəyyum refused to accept the command given to him by Mənilək over ʿAgamä and Akkälä Guzay in 1890, he was banished to Harär and died a year later. Overwhelmed by anguish, D.M. retreated to Šire, where she led a quiet life during her remaining years.

Lit.: ZewYohan; RubInd, s. index.

Zewde Gabre-Sellassie

Dərgo

D. (**ድርጎ**) is an Amharic term meaning, among other things 'grant' (deriving from the verb *därrägä*, 'to give out'; THMDic 1029). The second meaning of the word is a kind of small measurement (usually one fourth of a ↗*qunna*, synonymous to *ərbo*; DTWDic 386). By extension to its first meaning, the term is applied to the regular supply of food in kind (cereals, honey, butter) given by a king or a lord to his dependants.

The recipients of D. – called *dərgoñña* – could range from poor to those who offered the lord their services at some time, from widows and other people in need of support to lords who waited upon the court begging for appointment or titles. Some of the 19th-cent. regional courts had large numbers of *dərgoññočč*. In addition to this, whenever foreign guests or Ethiopian dignitaries from distant provinces visited the royal or regional courts, they were supplied, for the duration of their stay, with food, beverages, and also with sheep and/or oxen that the guests could slaughter to feed themselves and their followers. This practice, also known as D., is described by different travellers who visited various provinces of northern and central Ethiopia in the 19th cent. In its various forms, D.

Dərgo offered to the leader of an expedition in Gofa; photo 1902 by Emile Brumpt; courtesy of the Musée d'histoire naturelle, Paris

was most probably an old institution going back several centuries, however, it is difficult to say when exactly it emerged due to the lack of sources prior to the 19th cent.

In the 19th-cent. Šäwa D. was administered by the ↗*azzaž*, a major official of the king's and later the emperor's court. After the Battle of ᶜAdwa (1896), since there were increasingly more dignitaries and visitors coming to Ethiopia who were entitled to D., more pressure was put on the court to provide it. One result was that *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and his Empress decided to found the first hotel in Addis Abäba (Ǝtege Ṭaytu Hotel, originally Ṭaytu's own house). In Addis Abäba D. was also provided to a large number of people including retired palace workers. According to an unpublished source D. was abolished by *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later Ḫaylä Śəllase I) during the 1920s because of abuses surrounding it. Imperial D. could also be seen mirrored in many noble and provincial courts.

↗Hotels

Src.: notes of the author; BeckHuntAlm 80; THMDic 1029; DTWDic 386.
Lit.: PETER GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Ababa from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49), 33f.; PankEcon 513f.; ROBERT PEET SKINNER, *Abyssinia of Today*, London 1906, 57ff.

Peter Garretson

Dərre Dawa

History of Dərre Dawa

The region of D.D. (ድሬ፡ ዳዋ; Somali: Dirirdhabbe, 'Road of War') was already populated by human beings in Mesolithic times, as revealed by rock paintings and Middle-Stone-Age artefacts in the cave of Porc-Épic, only a few kilometres from D.D. The present-day town of D.D. (311 km by rail from ↗Djibouti), however, is of very recent origin. It owes its foundation to a technical problem: when it became impossible to lay the Addis Abäba–Djibouti ↗Railway via Harär because of the steep access to the town, *aṣe* Mənilək II accepted (in a letter dated 5 November 1896) that the first part of the line might finish at a village at the foot of the mountains, which should be named Addis Harär ('New Harär'). The railway reached this location on 24 December 1902, a date which may be considered the day of D.D.'s foundation. The new name, however, did not win recognition. In the long run, the local name D.D. was generally accepted. D.D. most probably derives from Somali *Dir ḍabo* (limit of the ↗Dir confederation of the Somali) and popularly etymologizes in its Amharic form as "hill of uncultivated land".

For financial and diplomatic reasons the railway was not continued until 1909 and the final inauguration of the whole line from Djibouti to Addis Abäba – again delayed by the revolution of 1916 – only took place on 7 June 1917. During all this time, D.D. was practically the terminus of the railway. Because of this, the town profited much and became a "boom city", attracting most of the trade which formerly passed through Harär. By 1902 the Ethiopian government, anticipating the future economic importance of D.D., had already transferred the customs station for trade with the Red Sea from ↗Ǧildessa to D.D.

D.D. developed into two settlements separated by the Däkato River, which was dry for most of the year and became a torrent only when it rained. The north-western part of the town was planned and constructed very regularly, mostly by the engineers of the railway company. At first, this part of the town mostly housed the employees of the railway company, but it later attracted, besides the French, also Greeks, Armenians, other Europeans and Arabs, who opened shops and hotels and founded some industry as well. In 1909 the French ↗Capuchin Mission settled in D.D. At that time, D.D. looked like a French town. The other part of the town, south-east of the river, concentrated around the market and was inhabited mainly by Ethiopian, Somali and a few Arab traders.

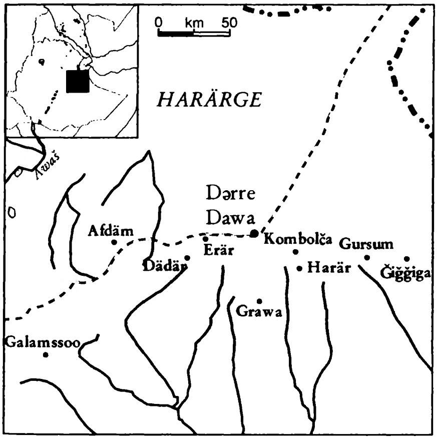
In September 1916 the fleeing troops of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu took hold of the town. Though *ləǧ* Iyasu's governor there, the Syrian Ḫaṣīb al-Idlibī (↗Ydlibi), assured their security, 400

Europeans left the town and the rail traffic had to be suspended. After the battle of Məˀeso (Məḥeso), the governmental troops from Addis Abäba re-established a regular administration.

During the 1920s, the south-eastern part of the town also started to develop. Its inhabitants were mostly Somali and Oromo, the other Ethiopians playing only a minor role. The population here grew to 3,000, while that of the whole town numbered about 20,000. Between the two World Wars, two hospitals were established in D.D., one by the railway company and another in 1934 by the government. Education on a primary level was provided by a government school, a Catholic mission school and several schools for the different foreign communities in the town (Greek, Italian, Indian).

On 9 May 1936 D.D. was occupied by Italian troops coming from Harär, after Senegalese troops from Djibouti had prevented looting during the period of interregnum. ↗Badoglio and ↗Graziani celebrated their meeting on the railway station of D.D. The Italians constructed several new buildings in D.D., especially for the administration and the Fascist party. They also improved the roads and enlarged the airport so that their military planes could take off from there to bomb the patriot forces in the Gara Mulläta. As for other towns, the Italians conceived a "piano regolatore" for the construction of an Italian town in D.D. However, their occupation ended before they could complete these plans.

In June 1940 the British started to bomb the town and on 29 March 1941 D.D. was liberated by the Allied forces from Harär. The town remained under ↗British Military Administration, being the headquarters for the British Reserved Areas (↗Ogaden), till it was handed over to the Ethiopian government in 1947. In the following decades the town greatly expanded and the population grew to 160,000. The infrastructure was ameliorated and several industrial plants were established.



D.D. again played a role in the Ethio-Somali War of 1977/78. It was besieged by the Somali troops till November 1977, when the Ethiopians, Cubans and Russians under general Vasiliy Petrov took the offensive and pushed the Somali back. In May 1979, 250 Oromo who were detained in the prisons of D.D. were executed by the *Därg* regime.

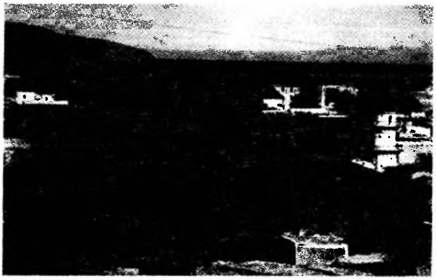
Lit.: ENRICO BROTTO, "Dire Daua", *Rivista delle Colonie* 12, 1938, 37–44; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Dire Dawa", in: *EI*², vol. 2, 1965, 317; CATHERINE PERLÈS, "Réexamen typologique de l'industrie du Porc Épic (Éthiopie): les pointes et pièces pointues", *L'Archéologie* 78, 1974, 529–52; JOHN DESMOND CLARK – KENNETH D. WILLIAMS – JOSEPH W. MICHAELS – CURTIS A. MAREAN, "A Middle Stone Age Occupation Site at Porc Epic at Dire Dawa (East-Central Ethiopia)", *African Archaeological Review* 2, 1984, 37–71; ROSANNA VAN GELDER DE PINEDA, *Le chemin de fer de Djibouti à Addis-Abeba*, Paris 1995, 268–71; *Guida* 432–35 (with map); PankHist II, 271–74.

Ewald Wagner

Modern Dərre Dawa

The town of D.D. is located 531 km east of Addis Abäba and 55 km north-west of ↗Harär at an elevation of 1,160 m A.S.L. The town was the capital of the *awrağğa* by the same name, and after 1974 the capital of the *awrağğa* Dərre Dawa–Issa–Gurgura. In 1991 D.D. was included in Oromiyaa, it borders upon the Somali *kəlləl* in the east and the ᶜAfar *kəlləl* in the north. In 1998, the town of D.D. became the capital of the D.D. provisional administration, independent from Oromiyaa, with Amharic as its official language. D.D. is an important trading centre, since it is half way between Djibouti and Addis Abäba and stands at the crossroads of Harär and ᶜAsäb. During the *Därg* period, the Taiwan market merchants (contrabandists) openly sold goods coming "through the desert" from the Djibouti Free Zone in D.D. (GasÉth 134).

Climatically D.D. lies in the *qʷälla* zone. The town's average temperature is about 25.3° C. The mean minimum temperature is 19.1° C, while the mean maximum temperature is 31.4° C. The town has low precipitation, which is unevenly



Dərre Dawa; photo by J. Steinlehner in the early 1930's; from the collection of Ulrich Hartenburg

distributed throughout the year. There are two rainy seasons: a short one between March and April and a long one from July to September. Water is scarce throughout the year, reaching its climax towards the end of the dry season.

According to the 1994 Population and Housing Census, the population of the town of D.D. was 173,188 (plus 86,769 rural population, together amounting to 251,864 in the entire D.D. administration). According to the statistical estimates, the urban population grew up to 229,000 in 2000 and 272,000 in 2004. The religious composition of the population was in 1994 as follows: 63.3% Muslims; 34.3% Orthodox Christians; 1.5% Protestants; 0.7% Catholics; and 0.1% other religions. The ethnic composition of this Council consisted of 48% Oromo; 27% Amhara; 13.9% Somali and 4.5% Gurage.

The sources of drinking water consisted of: taps inside houses (1,259 households); taps in private compounds (3,594); taps in shared compounds (3,514); taps outside compounds (25,577); protected well and spring water (217); unprotected well and spring water (156); river and pond water (5). The census showed that 7,487 housing units had no toilets; 1,662 housing units had private flush-toilets; 10,300 housing units had private pit-latrines; and 13,718 housing units had shared pit-latrines. In the town of D.D. 10,373 housing units had private electricity-reading meters. 20,702 housing units had shared electricity-reading meters; 911 housing units had lanterns; 2,073 housing units used kerosene for lighting and 3,999 housing units had other lighting sources.

The type of tenure for the housing units comprised the following: 13,951 were owner-occupied; 10,216 were rented from *qäbäles*; 1,294 were rented from the Public Housing Agency; 429 were rented from other organizations; and 5,636 were rented from private house owners. In 1994 the town of D.D. had 73,324 immigrants, over half of whom had been in the city for more than ten years.

D.D. is an important cultural centre, one of the major printing presses of the country is located here.

Lit.: OFFICE OF POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS COMMISSION (ed.), *Results for Dire Dawa Provisional Administration*, part 1, Addis Ababa 1995; CSA 2000; CSA 2004; YALEW SEIFU HABTE, *The Development of Natural Resources in Dire Dawa Administrative Council*, Senior essay, Department of Geography, Addis Ababa University 1997; HENRI BALDET, *Urban Study of Dire Dawa*, Addis Ababa 1970; MEKETE BELACHEW, "Spatial Aspects of Urbanization in Ethiopia: with Emphasis on the Primate Pattern of Urban Development", *EJDR* 12, 2, April 1990; GasÉth 134.

Mekete Belachew

Dərsan

The Gəʿəz verb **ደረሰ** (*däräsä*), which has several Semitic parallels, describes the exegetical or homiletic activity developed by an ecclesiastical interpreter or *därasi*. Consequently, its derivative D. (**ድርሳን**) applies to the written result of this activity, i.e. to a new composition written to explain the sense of the Scriptures. The title D. (commonly translated as 'homily') usually stands for a text devoted to a specific theological argument, whereas the term ↗*tərgʷame* (lit. 'translation') refers by extension to a systematic commentary such as the *catenae patrum*, e.g., *tərgʷame qalat* or *tərgʷame wängelat* ('Commentary on the [Four] Gospels'). Any treatise or homily of a Church father, including the fathers of the Ethiopian Church, who were mostly anonymous, can be called D.

The titles of Ethiopian homilies commonly run according to the following structure: 1) D., 2) the relative *zä-* followed by the name of the author, 3) the preposition *bäʾəntä* followed by the indication of the argument, e.g., **ድርሳን፡ ዘቴዎፍሎስ፡ በእንተ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዮሐንስ** (*Dərsan zätewoflos bäʾəntä qəddus Yoḥannəs*, 'Homily of Theophilus concerning St. John').

When the argument is a divine personality or a doctrinal concept, the title of the book is made of the word D. in *status constructus*, followed by the personal name of the celebrated religious figure: e.g., ↗*Dərsanä maḥyäwi* ('Homily on the Life-Giver or Healer', i.e., Christ); ↗*Dərsanä śänbät* ('Homily on the Sabbath');

↗*Dərsanä śəllase* ('Homily on the Trinity'); and, in the Betä Ǝsraʾel context, ↗*Dərsanä Abrəham wäsəra bägəbṣ* ('Homily on Abraham and Sarah in Egypt'). The same construction appears in ↗*Dərsanä Raguʾel* ('Homily [in Honour] of [the Archangel] Raguel'), and in ↗*Dərsanä ʿUraʾel* ('Homily [in Honour] of [the Archangel] Uriel'), both containing eschatological revelations and thus belonging to the apocalyptic genre.

The word D. can designate not only a separate text, but also a homiliary, i.e. a collection of texts having a religious figure as the main character: e.g., ↗*Dərsanä Gäbrəʾel*; ↗*Dərsanä Maryam*; ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel*; ↗*Dərsanä Rufaʾel*. In this case, different units composing the collection belong to the hagiographic rather than to the homiletic genre, since they contain mostly narratives of miracles (↗*Täʾammər*) performed by a religious figure (↗Hagiography).

The most ancient Ethiopic corpus of homilies is the 6th-cent. ↗*Qerəllos*, so named in honour of Cyril of Alexandria, the author of three treatises opening this patristic collection attested only in Ethiopic. For centuries Ethiopian theology founded its "monophysite" character on these texts, which had been translated from Greek. Among the collections of D., the homilies transmitted by mss. EMML 1763, London BritLib Orient. 8192 (= Strelcyn 56) and EMML 7062 and 8509 deserve special mention both because they are arranged according to the yearly cycle of the liturgical feasts and because they contain various texts partially translated from Greek. Another noteworthy collection is the ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*, the Lectionary for the Passion Week, i.e. a collection of several homilies of Greek and Oriental Church fathers. In this last case a further distinction is made between two words describing the homilies: the more common D. and **ተግሣጽ** (*tägśaṣ*), which means 'admonition' and corresponds to Lat. *paraenesis* (Gr. νοδέτεσις, νουδεσία).

Src.: StrBritLib 89–92, no. 56 [Orient. 8192]; EMML vol. 5, 218–31, no. 1763; nos. 7062, 8509 [not yet catalogued].
Lit.: GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti sulla patristica greca di tradizione etiopica", *Studi classici e orientali* 38, 1988, 469–93; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utineni* 8 [13-14], 1989 [1993], 145-64, here 150, 161ff. [iv. "EMML 7602: «il Libro dei Santi» di Tullu Guddo"]; DELIO VANIA PROVERBIO, *La recensione etiopica dell'omelia pseudocrisostomica* de ficu exarata *ed il suo* tréfonds *orientale*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 50).

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Dərsanä Abrəham wäsara bägəbṣ

D.A. (**ድርሳነ፡ አብርሃም፡ ወሳራ፡ በግብጽ**, 'Homily on Abraham and Sarah in Egypt'), credited to St. ↗Ephrem of Syria, is a Gəʿəz tractate concerning Gen 12:10–20. In many manuscripts (cf., e.g., EMML 1496, of the 14th–15th cent.) it follows the Testaments of Abraham (*Gädlä* ↗*Abrəham*), Isaac (*Gädlä* ↗*Yəsḥaq*), and Jacob (*Gädlä* ↗*Yaʿəqob*), and the four works appear to have formed a single unit. The attribution indicates it was originally a Syriac work (Baumstark 1922:49, n. 3), which was translated into Arabic (GrafLit vol. 1, 426). It was probably translated from Arabic into Gəʿəz in either the 14th or 15th cent. It is one of the most popular works among the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. D.A. appears in four manuscripts (nos. 9, 10, 12, 13) in the Faïtlovitch collection housed in the Sarousky Library of Tel Aviv University, and in at least one privately-owned manuscript.

↗Dərsan

Src.: ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Une homélie éthiopienne, attribuée à Saint Mari Éphrem, sur le séjour d'Abraham et Sara en Égypte", in: PATRICK CRAMER (ed.), *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont*, Genève 1989 (Cahiers d'orientalisme 20), 173–85; EMML 1496.
Lit.: GrafLit vol. 1, 426; ANTON BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte*, Bonn 1922, 49, n. 3; STEVEN KAPLAN, "The Literature of the Beta Israel (Falasha): a Survey of the Biblical-Hebraic Tradition", *Khristiansky Vostok* new ser. 1 [7], 1999, 199-223, here 110.

Steven Kaplan

Dərsanä Gäbrəʾel

The D.G. (**ድርሳነ፡ ገብርኤል**, 'Homily [in Honour] of [the Archangel] Gabriel') is a Gəʿəz tractate, depending on Arabic Vorlage, devoted to the nature of the archangel, his glory as a creature of God and his miraculous deeds. It is basically a prayer-book through which believers ask for Gabriel's intercession and other blessings, such as healing. The D.G. contains such elements as ↗*dərsan* in its strict sense (homily), *täʾammər* (↗Miracles), ↗*arke* and ↗*mälkəʾ*. In the title, the term *dərsan* is used in a broader sense as referring to the whole book, as is the case of other Ethiopian works, e.g., the ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel*.

The D.G. is traditionally divided into 12 sections for each month of the Ethiopian calendar, beginning with the month of *Taḫśaś*, in which the angel's feast-day falls. The part of the D.G. for the 13th month (*Ṗagʷəmen*) is covered by the

Dərsanä ↗Rufaʾel, as 3 *P̣agʷəmen* is the feast-day of St. Raphael. In some manuscripts the text is divided into seven sections, one for each day of the week, and the miracles are grouped together in a separate section (Vat. Aeth. 82).

Each *dərsan* in the D.G. should be read on the 19th day of the month. Each section commences in the name of the Holy Trinity and preaches Christian ethics, the birth, teaching and crucifixion of Jesus Christ, the glory of Mary, Mary's journey with Jesus through the desert of Egypt, the glory of the angels (the text honours them summarizing their miraculous deeds and justifying them through the Bible). Additionally, the creation of the angels, the fall of Satan and the fall of Adam are included. Each *dərsan* ends by requesting the intercession of the angel and, sometimes, by the saints whom the angel had helped.

We do not know when the D.G. was translated from its Arabic original; but the most ancient ms. (Ṭānāsee 3) dates back to the 18th cent.

↗Angels; ↗Dərsan

Src.: GreTisVat 309–13, ms. Vat. Aeth. 82; HamTana II, 95f., ms. Ṭānāsee 3 = Kebrān 3; **ድርሳነ፡ ገብርኤል። ተአምረ፡ ገብርኤል፡ ግዕዝና፡ አማርኛ** (*Dərsanä Gäbrəʾel, täʾammərä Gäbrəʾel, gəʿəzənna amarəñña*, 'The Homiliary of Gabriel, the Miracles of Gabriel, in Gəʿəz and Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.].
Lit.: SAMUEL YALEW, *Narrative Structure of Täʾammərata Mälaʾəkt*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2000.

Samuel Yalew

Dərsanä maḥyäwi

The D.m. (**ድርሳነ፡ ማሕየዊ**, 'Homily on the Life-Giver or Healer', i.e., Christ) is an anonymous homily on the Passion with no parallels in Arabic literature. In part of the manuscript tradition, its title is *Dərsan maḥyäwi* ('Life-Giving Homily' or 'Healing Homily'): s. among others, ms. London, BritMus Add. 16254, and Paris, BN d'Abbadie 29. This is possibly the right form, the previous one being but a trivialization out of analogy with other well-known titles of Gəʿəz literature (*↗Dərsanä Maryam*, *↗Dərsanä Mikaʾel* etc.). At the beginning, the text also includes the title *Mäṣḥafä* or *Dərsanä ḥəmamatihu wämotu läʾəgziʾənä* ('Book' or 'Homily on the Passion and Death of Our Lord').

The work is divided in seven parts that correspond to reading units for the week days and to the day hours as well (*completorium*, *nocturnae*, *prima*, *tertia*, *sexta*, *nona*, *vesperae*, s. HamTana II, 91). The text is still unpublished.

↗Dərsan

Src.: DillmLond 46f., no. 40 [Add. 16254]; CRAbb IV, 190, no. 182 [BN d'Abbadie 29]; GreTisVat 627f. [Vat. Aeth. 169]; ENRICO CERULLI, "I manoscritti etiopici della Bibliothèque Royale di Bruxelles", *RRALm* ser. 8ª, 9, 1954, 516–21, here 520 [ms. II 6836]; HamTana II, 91f. ms. Ṭānāsee 76 = Dabra Māryām 18.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Dərsanä Maryam

The title D.M. (**ድርሳነ፡ ማርያም**, 'Homily [in Honour] of Mary') does not refer exclusively to one text, but conventionally indicates a number of homiletic, hagiographic or apocalyptic works sharing the veneration of the Virgin Mary. Written at different times, they were frequently based upon Arabic models. Two works under this title are pre-eminent, both of them translated from Arabic, apparently around the mid- or in the second half of the 14th cent., at the time when the intellectual figure of *abunä* ↗Sälama "the Translator" dominated Gəʿəz literature.

The **ድርሳን፡ በእንተ፡ ዕበየ፡ ክብራ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም** (*Dərsan baʾəntä ʿəbäyä kəbra läʾəgzəʾətənä maryam*, 'Homily on the magnificence of the honour of our Lady Mary'), also known as the *Vision of Mary*, is attributed to St. John (*Yoḥannəs wäldä Zäbədewos*). According to the explicit, the Virgin Mary herself was the first to have the vision, inspired by her son: *täṣḥəfä raʾəya əgzəʾətənä Maryam zäʾarʾaya wälda* ('The vision of our Lady Mary is finished here, that her son showed her'). Then, Mary appeared to the Evangelist and disclosed to him the things she saw in the places where blessed and damned men respectively would live at the end of time. At least in one case, this religious subject provided the occasion for a cycle of 25 illuminations, transmitted, e.g., in 18th/19th-cent. manuscript of the Biblioteca Forteguerriana of Pistoia (ms. Martini Etiop. no. 5 [Zanutto no. 2]).

There is another important text, which is often transmitted under the title D.M. and properly called **ድርሳን፡ በእንተ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ወበእንተ፡ ቤተ፡ ዘኀደራት፡ ምስለ፡ ፍቁር፡ ወልዳ፡ በደብረ፡ ቁስቃም** (*Dərsan bäʾəntä əgzəʾətənä Maryam wäbäʾəntä bet zäḫadärät məslä fəqur wälda bädäbrä qusqam*, 'Homily on our Lady Mary and the house in which she lived with her beloved son over the Mount Qusqam'), or briefly the *Homily on Mount Qʷəsqʷam*. This text, attributed to patriarch ↗Theophilus of Alexandria (385–412), deserves particular attention, since, according to an Ethiopian tradition, the events told here are connected to the first appearance of ↗Christianity in Ethiopia. This tradition, first and foremost connected with the Egyptian monastery ↗Dayr al-Muḥarraq, was later applied to the Eritrean monastery of Däbrä Siḥät, i.e. ↗Däbrä Sina, as well and is told in the ↗*Dərsanä ʿUra᾽el* and the *Zena Däbrä Sina* ('Story of Däbrä Sina') by Áśrätä Maryam. According to the explicit of this D.M., *wä᾽anä Gerlos sämiʿəyä bäḫabä abba Tä᾽ofilos zäntä nägärä ṣäḥafku* ('I, Cyril, having heard this speech from abba Theophilus, I wrote'), the work was written by a certain Cyril after hearing the story from Theophilus's mouth. Here, the spelling of the Patriarch's name is noteworthy, because the form Tä᾽ofilos could trace back to a tradition older than that reflected by the most common Arabic-derived form Tewoflos.

↗Mary; ↗Dərsan

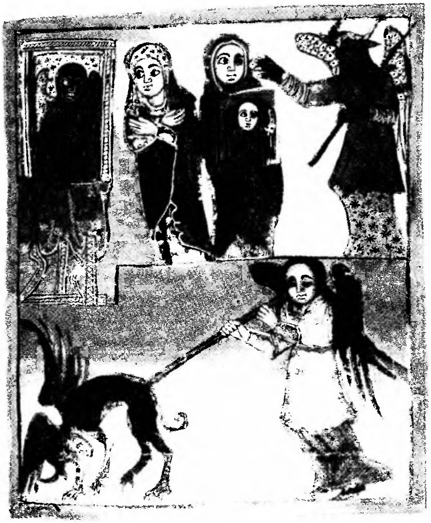
Src.: MARIUS CHAÎNE, *Apocrypha de beata Maria Virgine*, Louvain 1909 [repr. 1955] (CSCO 39, 40 [SAe 22, 23]), 53–80 (text) = 45–68 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il discorso su monte Coscam attribuito a Teofilo d'Alessandria nella versione etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 10, 1912, 395–471.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Manoscritti ed opere abissine in Europa", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 8, 1899, 606–37, here 612f.; AŚRATA MĀRYĀM, *Storia del convento di Debra Sina*, ed. by IGNAZIO GUIDI, Roma 1910; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Ouriel (Dersāna Urā'ēl)", *AE* 1, 1 955, 61–88; CANT 90f., no. 150; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "I codici etiopici del fondo Martini nella Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia", *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 156–76.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Dərsanä Mika᾽el

The core of the D.M. (ድርሳነ፡ ሚካኤል, 'Homily [in Honour] of [the Archangel] Michael') is a collection of twelve homilies in honour of the Archangel, one for each month of the year. In most manuscripts the texts are ordered as follows: 1. Timothy of Alexandria (*Ḫədar*), 2. Anonymous (*Taḫśaś*), 3. Epiphanius of Cyprus (*Ṭər*), 4. Anonymous (*Yäkkatit*), 5. Homily of a patriarch of Antiochia (*Mäggabit*), 6. Yoḥannəs the Orthodox (*Miyazya*), 7. Yoḥannəs Metropolitan of Ethiopia (*Gənbot*), 8. Yoḥannəs Bishop of Aksum (*Säne*), 9. Yoḥannəs Bishop of Aksum (*Ḥamle*), 10. Anonymous (*Näḥase*), 11. Anonymous (*Mäskäräm*), 12. Anonymous (*Ṭəqəmt*). The attribution of the texts to different authors varies from one manuscript to another. Moreover, a group of manuscripts consistently presents an entirely different distribution of texts: 1. Timothy of Alexandria (*Ḫədar*), 2. Anonymous (*Taḫśaś*), 3. Yoḥannəs Metropolitan of Ethiopia (from *Gənbot* to *Ṭər*), 4.Yoḥannəs Bishop of Aksum (from *Säne* to *Yäkkatit*), 5. Anonymous (from *Yäkkatit* to *Mäggabit*), 6. Yoḥannəs Bishop of Aksum (from *Ḥamle* to *Miyazya*), 7. Homily of a patriarch of Antiochia (from *Mäggabit* to *Gənbot*), 8. Anonymous (from *Näḥase* to *Säne*), 9. Anonymous (from *Ṭəqəmt* to *Ḥamle*), 10. Epiphanius of Cyprus (from *Ṭər* to *Näḥase*), 11. Yoḥannəs the Orthodox (from *Miyazya* to *Mäskäräm*), 12. Anonymous (from *Mäskäräm* to *Ṭəqəmt*).



St. Euphemia delivered from the devil by the Archangel Michael coming out of his icon; miniature from ms. *Dərsanä Mika᾽el*, Mädḫane ʿAläm Church, Mändabba, Lake Ṭana; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

The original order is unknown, and so are the reasons for the rearrangement of texts (often provided with original illuminations, especially in the case of 18th-cent. luxurious exemplars, s. Fiaccadori in MiscAethKur, 65ff.). The inner order of the D.M. reflects an Arabic tradition. After the homilies, each monthly lecture contains three shorter texts, which are an original Ethiopic addition to the Arabic Vorlage, arranged according to the following scheme: 1) a miracle of Michael, 2) a story extracted from the ↗*Sənkəssar* and related to an intervention of the Archangel, 3) a ↗*sälam* in his honour. This order changes frequently in the various manuscripts, as does the absence of one or more sections. Among the elements composing the monthly lectures, the miracles are particularly worthy of further study in order to ascertain whether certain texts reflect earlier traditions tracing directly back to Byzantine hagiographic literature. The text of D.M. is yet to be critically edited.

In the middle of the 18th cent. richly decorated manuscripts of D.M. appear. Their miniatures in the so-called Second Gondärine style of painting illustrate miracles of the archangels and the commemorative texts describe the intervention of the archangels on behalf of some biblical and historical figures (e.g., Moses, Constantine the Great). Since in both cases the texts are divided into 12 monthly reading, the usual cycle of pictures includes 24 episodes. They are introduced by a set of the frontispieces usually depicting Michael riding a horse and wearing a sumptuous royal garment, the archangel rescuing the souls from hell and taking them to Paradise, the *Maiestas Domini* or Trinity attended either by him alone or accompanied by 24 Heavenly Priests.

In particularly sumptuous manuscripts, miracles and biblical stories are divided into many episodes displayed on two or three pages. The cycle is closed by a couple of full-paged miniatures representing the last Judgement.

↗Angels; ↗Dərsan

Src.: ድርሳነ፡ ሚካኤል። ድርሳነ፡ ሩፋኤል። መልክአ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ወመልክአ፡ ሩፋኤል፡ በግዕዝና፡ በአማርኛ (*Dərsanä Mikaʾel, dərsanä Rufaʾel, mälkəʾa Mikaʾel wamälkəʾa Rufaʾel bägəʿəzənna bäʾamarəñña*, 'The Homily of Michael, the Homily of Raphael, the Image of Michael and the Image of Raphael, in Gəʿəz and in Amharic'], Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.]; AfrZion no. 121; DAVID APPLEYARD, *Ethiopian Manuscripts*, London 1993, nos. 17, 57, 67; EMML 569; DEBORA HOROVITZ (ed.), *Ethiopian Art: the Walters Museum*, Baltimore 2001, no. 15.

Lit.: GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Un «atto feudale» del neguś Bakâffâ (1721-30). John Rylands University Library, Eth. MS. 28, f. 1", in: *MiscAethKur* 63-69, here 65ff. and n. 17-19 (Lit.); HamSixBerl 173f., no. 86 [orient. oct. 2887] (Lit.); PAOLO MARRASSINI, "I manoscritti etiopici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze", *RSE* 31, 1987 [1988], 69–110, here 77–87, ms. 14 [Acquisizioni e doni 776] (Lit.).

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Dərsanä Raguʾel

The D.R. (ድርሳነ፡ ራጉኤል, 'Homily [in Honour] of [the Archangel] Raguʾel') is an original composition belonging to the apocalyptic genre, the most ancient textual kernel of which can be dated to the beginning of the 17th cent. The anonymous preacher reports the vision seen by *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl just before the stability and the peace of his reign were compromised by *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ).

In the D.R. the responsibility for the ravages provoked by the appearance of Grañ, and by the consequent Oromo expansion, is attributed to the same Ləbnä Dəngəl, guilty of several sins, especially that of pride. Appearing in a dream to the Emperor, the Virgin Mary discloses the punishments that will fall upon him and the Ethiopian people, but at the same time she guarantees the survival of the Christian monarchy of Solomonic lineage. Next to the Virgin Mary the Archangel Raguel (ራጉኤል፡ መልአከ፡ ብርሃናት, *Raguʾel, mälʾakä bərhanat*, 'Raguʾel, the Announcer of the Lights') stood, pronouncing a number of mysterious prophecies *ex eventu*, especially related to the destiny of Ləbnä Dəngəl's four sons: the first-born ↗Fiqṭor, doomed to die in a battle against the Muslims around 1538–40, the two future emperors ↗Gälawdewos and ↗Minas, and ↗Yaʿəqob, whose family branch ascended the Ethiopian throne starting with *aṣe* Susənyos. Since the ↗Gondärine kingdom, the Archangel Raguʾel became a protector of the royal house; and this role persisted until the end of the 19th cent., when the ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel church was founded. In fact, a redaction of the D.R., followed by short conclusions in Amharic, can be dated to the reign of Mənilək II. These traditions connecting Ləbnä Dəngəl to the rise of Grañ, the origins of the Oromo and the diffusion of pagan habits are the subject of a 17th-cent. literary cycle in Amharic. It includes the *History of the Galla and of the Vision of Ləbnä Dəngəl*, the *Story of Wäyzäro Agaya* and a short chronological note entitled *The Time Given by the Lord to the Galla is 200 Years* (*Yägalla zämän əgziʾabəḥer yäsäṭṭäw 200 ʿamät näw*, s. Lusini 1991–92; Lusini in: PICES 11, vol. 1).

↗Angels; ↗Dərsan

Src.: ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Raguel (Dersāna Rāgu'ēl)", *AE* 2, 1957, 91–122; ድርሳነ፡ ራጉኤል። ተአምረ፡ ራጉኤል፡ በግዕዝና፡ በአማርኛ። መልክአ፡ ራጉኤል፡ በልሳነ፡ ግዕዝ (*Dərsanä Raguʾel, täʾammərä Raguʾel, bägəʿəzənna bäʾamarəñña. Mälkəʾa Raguʾel, bäləssanä gəʿəz*, 'The Homily of Raguel, Miracles of Raguel, in Gəʿəz and in Amharic. The Image of Raguel, in Gəʿəz Language'), Addis Abäba 1982 A.M. [1989/90 A.D.].

Lit.: ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Histoire amharique de Grāñ et des Gallas", *AE* 2, 1957, 123–43; BTafA 78–85; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Documenti per la storia degli Oromo", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 14–15, 1991–92, 163–69; Id., "Tradizioni amariche sulle origini degli Oromo", *Annali IUO* 53, 1993, 267–77; Id., "Documents on the History of the Oromo", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 641–47.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Dərsanä Rufa'el

D.R. (**ድርሳነ፡ ሩፋኤል**, 'Homily [in Honour] of [the Archangel] Raphael') is a composition traditionally attributed to ↗John Chrysostomos. The original nucleus of the text was translated from Arabic at an uncertain date, possibly towards the end of the 14th cent. The attribution to Chrysostomos appears already in Coptic tradition, with two different versions of the work. In Ethiopia only one text is known, to be read on 3 *an-Nasī*, corresponding to 3 *Ṗagʷəmen* of the Ethiopian calendar.

The true homily is followed by a collection of miracles, distinguished in the manuscripts under the title **ተአምረ፡ ሩፋኤል** (*Täʾammərä Rufaʾel*). This part of the text particularly reveals historical elements, such as the veracious detail of Empress Eudoxia's hostility toward John Chrysostomos. It also reflects important ancient traditions, such as those related to Theodosius I and to his sons and successors Arcadius and Honorius, protagonists of narratives describing many prodigious interventions of St. Raphael. The text is still unpublished.

↗Angels; ↗Dərsan

Src.: **ድርሳነ፡ ሚካኤል። ድርሳነ፡ ሩፋኤል። መልክአ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ወመልክአ፡ ሩፋኤል፡ በግዕዝና፡ በአማርኛ** (*Dərsanä Mikaʾel dərsanä Rufaʾel mälkəʾa Mikaʾel wämälkəʾa Rufaʾel bägəʿəzənna bäʾamarəñña*, 'The Homily of Michael. The Homily of Raphael. The Image of Michael and the Image of Raphael, in Gəʿəz and in Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.].

Lit.: GreTisVat 521–26, ms. Vat. Aeth. 130; Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, "Homilias de S. João Chrysostomo na literatura ethiopica", *Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa. Separata do "Boletim da Segunda Classe"* 3, 5, 1910, 19; Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Appunti sulla patristica greca di tradizione etiopica", *Studi Classici e Orientali* 38, 1988, 469–93, here 487; Delio Vania Proverbio, *La recensione etiopica dell'omelia pseudocrisostomica de ficu exarata e il suo tréfonds orientale*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 50), 84f.; Enrico Cerulli, "Gli imperatori Onorio ed Arcadio nella tradizione etiopica", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 15–54.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Dərsanä sänbät

D.S. (**ድርሳነ፡ ሰንበት**, 'Homily on the Sabbath') is a generic title applied to a few works of the classical Ethiopic literature. Composed in the form of a sermon or homily (cp. ↗*Dərsan*), these texts usually belong to the extensive literary production prompted by the polemics on the ↗Sabbath – a cause of violent controversies in Ethiopia.

One of the works styled as D.S. is traditionally attributed to ↗Jacob of Serug (d. 512), the famous Syrian ecclesiastical author. Over ten manuscripts of this D.S. have come to notice so far, almost all dating to the 18th-19th (except for EMML 3200, probably from the 17th) cent. No similar work seems to be attested in the literary corpus of Jacob of Serug as it is known today; this D.S. is most probably a pseudoepigraph, written by an Ethiopian and deliberately attributed to a reputed writer. In the colophon of this D.S. the name of ↗Rətuʿa Haymanot may be occasionally interpolated, rather as an epithet ("Orthodox") of Jacob of Serug (ms. London, BritLib Add. 16,222, s. DillmBodl 22; ms. Tel-Aviv, Faitlovitch n. 34, s. Wurmbrand 1964:346); in fact, a certain Rətuʿa Haymanot is an alleged author of the *Homily on the Sabbaths* (**ድርሳን፡ በእንተ፡ ሰንበታት**, *Dərsan bäʾəntä sänbätat*; s. Lusini 1988; Fiaccadori 1992:XXXI), still another, 13th or 14th-cent. text belonging to the Sabbath polemics.

The D.S. attributed to Jacob of Serug has been partially translated by Max Wurmbrand (1964); the Gəʿəz text was published with an Amharic translation by the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (from unspecified manuscripts, s. Gäbrä Kidan Bäzzabbəh et al. 1947; Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase 1959). The homily can be divided into four parts (cp. Wurmbrand 1964:347ff.), loosely connected to each other and dealing with various topics (the second and the third parts being thematically more coherent than the first and the fourth parts): 1. On the glory and dignity of the Christian Sabbath (**ሰንበተ፡ ክርስቲያን**, *Sänbätä krəstiyan* 'Christian Sabbath [= Sunday]') which is the day of Jesus' resurrection (s. Gäbrä Kidan Bäzzabbəh et al. 1947:47–59, chs. 1–7); 2. Moralistic exhortations for laymen and clergy to lead a pious life; admonitions not to spend the time for amusements during the *sänbätä krəstiyan*, but devote it to the spiritual deeds and devotion to God; instructions on how to pray, to go to church etc. (ibid., 59–93, chs. 8–23); 3. The fate of the souls after death (ibid., 93–107, ch. 24); 4. Exhortations and admonitions for clergy and laymen (ibid., 107–17, chs. 25–29).

Another important question stems from the alleged literary relations and sources of the D.S. Wurmbrand, the first student of the work, argued that the author of the D.S. extensively used such texts as ↗*Tə'əzazä sänbät* and *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*mäla'əkt*, which are known to belong in the ↗Betä Ǝsra'el literature: a portion of *Tə'əzazä sänbät* (s. Halévy 1902:8–13) was embedded into the first part of the D.S., while *Mäṣḥafä mäla'əkt* (s. Halévy 1902:51–56) was almost entirely included into the third part of it (Wurmbrand 1964:348, 353). More recent researches, however, have convincingly demonstrated that the relationship between the D.S. and the Betä Ǝsra'el texts should be reversed (Kaplan 1987). A closer investigation leaves almost no doubt that the D.S. was the source and both *Tə'əzazä sänbät* and *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*mäla'əkt* the recipients: while adapting the portions of the D.S. for their own texts and sake, the Betä Ǝsra'el authors were not always successful in clearing the elements pointing to the original religious denomination of the work (cp. Kaplan 1987:112–22); thus the process of adoption resulted in some inconsistencies and corruptions, which can only be explained if the text of the D.S. is the source.

The content of the D.S. is complex and needs further investigation. Among its peculiarities, there is an account relating how St. Michael, following the order of the personified "Christian Sabbath" (cp. the personified Church, Gäbrä Kidan Bäzzabbəh et al. 1947, ch. 16), take from Sheol all the convicted (who, of course, had observed the Sabbath rest on both days) and exempt them from tortures for the time from Friday evening till Monday (chs. 3–5). There is a long didactic monologue of Jesus Christ with parables addressed to the Israelites (chs. 20–22); in the third part of the D.S. the author explains that everyone's deeds will be "weighed" after death in order to determine where the soul should be sent, good and evil deeds being already registered by the Angel of Light and the Angel of Darkness respectively (ch. 24). The author of the work speaks of two Sabbaths (Saturday and Sunday), yet the Christian one is presented as superior (the preface of the modern church edition of the D.S. underlines the honour of both the Sabbaths).

The date of composition of the D.S. is uncertain: the work may expose, in a smoother way (with no exegetical arguments), the position of those who opposed the practice of Saturday Sabbath (cp. Getatchew Haile 1983:244) – perhaps some time after the reconciliation over this issue in 1450 at the council of ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq. Or else, less probably though, the work could have been written in the earlier stages of the Sabbath-controversy.

The second text entitled D.S. is an anonymous apocalyptic composition presented as God's revelation to Ezra (s. *abba* Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase 1959:5; cp. Gäbrä Kidan Bäzzabbəh et al. 1947:15 - the attribution to Jacob of Serug is secondary or false); in both Ethiopian editions ch. 19 appears as another short text, with a subtitle: **ድርሳን፡ ዳግም፡ ዘዕዝራ** (*Dərsan dagəm zäʿəzra*, 'The second homily of Ezra'). This D.S. does not correspond to any of the books of Ezra that survived in the Ethiopic tradition, but is likely to form the basis of yet another Betä Ǝsra'el work, the apocalyptic treatise of Ezra (s. Halévy 1902:57–79, 178–95), known from the manuscript acquired by Faitlovich only (cp. Kaplan 1999:116f.). Albeit thematically close to the Apocalypse of ↗Ezra, the D.S. is not identical with it.

↗Dərsan

Src.: EMML 1512, 1589, 1656, 1672, 2726, 1809, 3200, 4017, 4362, 4435; DillmBodl 21ff., no. 18 [Add. ms. 16, 222]; **ድርሳነ፡ ሰንበት** (*Dərsanä sänbät*, 'Homily of the Sabbath'), ed. by *abba* GÄBRÄ KIDAN BÄZZABBƎH – *aggafari* GÄBRÄ IYÄSUS – MÄŠÄŠA GƎZZAW, Addis Abäba 1947 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.]; *ibid.* ed. by *abba* TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.]; MAX WURMBRAND, "Le 'Dersana Sanbat'. Une homélie éthiopienne attribuée à Jacques de Saroug", *L'Orient syrien* 8, 1963, 343–94, here 346–49; JOSEPH HALÉVY, *Tĕ'ĕzâza Sanbat* (*Commandements du Sabbat*), Paris 1902; LusStud 129–75.

Lit.: ANTON BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922, 151; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Forty-Nine Hour Sabbath of the Ethiopian Church", *JSS* 33, 1988, 233–54, here 244; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992, XXXI; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Stellung und Bedeutung des Sabbats in Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1963 (Studia Delitzschiana 7), 62, no. 322; STEVEN KAPLAN, "Te'ezáza Sanbat: a Beta Israel Work Reconsidered", in: S. SHAKED – D. SHULMAN – G. G. STROUMSA (eds.), *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Permanence in the History of Religions*, Leiden 1987 (Supplements to *Numen* 50), 107–24; STEVEN KAPLAN, "The Literature of the Beta Israel (Falasha): a Survey of a Biblical-Hebraic Tradition", *Hristiansky Vostok* new ser. 1, 1999, 199–223, here 104f., 110f.; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "L'omelia etiopica «Sui Sabati» di «Retuʿa Hâymânot»", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 11, 1988, 233–54; LusStud 16–27, 131–75.

Denis Nosnitsin

Dərsanä śəllase

The title D.ś. (ድርሳነ፡ ሥላሴ, 'Homily on the Trinity') conventionally indicates an original text drawn up at an uncertain date, possibly during the 15th cent. Different versions are known with important variants in both selection and distribution of the material. The richness of the textual tradition is reflected by the fluctuation of the title, often attested in forms slightly differing from one manuscript to another. In addition to D.ś. one can find the ዜና፡ ነገሮሙ፡ ለሥላሴ (*Zena nägäromu läśəllase*, 'Story of the Acts of the Trinity'), or more simply ዜና፡ ሥላሴ (*Zena śəllase*, 'The Story of the Trinity'), and መጽሐፈ፡ ሥላሴ (*Mäṣḥafä śəllase*, 'The Book of the Trinity'). Fragments of the D.ś. occur in another work, known under the title ሰይፈ፡ ሥላሴ (*Säyfä śəllase*, 'Sword of the Trinity'; s. Lifchitz 1940:213–38).

The homily itself is divided into 13 reading units, one for each month of the year. It is followed by a collection of miracles, attributed to the awe-inspiring intervention of the Trinity, and by a final doxology divided into seven reading-units, one for each day of the week. The text is still unpublished.

↗Dərsan

Lit.: SixDeu 306–17, no. 135 [ms. Hamburg, Cod. orient. 409], (Lit.); DÉBORAH LIFCHITZ, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*, Paris 1940 (Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'ethnologie 38), 213–38.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Dərsanä ʿUraʾel

In Ethiopia the renown and the prestige of the Archangel Uriel (ʿUraʾel) are secured by the primary role he plays in such a highly esteemed theological text as the Book of ↗Enoch, in which the archangel appears as the author of revelations. The D.ʿU. (ድርሳነ፡ ዑራኤል, 'Homily [in Honour] of [the Archangel] Uriel') is an original composition belonging to the apocalyptic genre, whose final redaction can be dated to the reign of *aṣe* Mənilək II (1889–1913).

In the proem the work is assigned to a certain Tewodoṭos, "son" of the Archbishops of Bəhnəsa, disciple of Abrokoros, in his turn disciple of Yoḥannəs "the beloved of the Lord" (i.e. John the Evangelist, with his pupil Prochorus). Aided by a number of visions, Yoḥannəs explains to his followers the mystery of the Incarnation, i.e. the union of the two natures of Christ in one single person. The last and longest revelation deals with the Archangel Uriel who, having gathered the blood poured out from the side of Christ on the cross, spread it over different Ethiopian localities, determining in this way their destiny as religious centres. The list of these places sanctified by contact with the blood of Christ is given in an approximately north-south order: Hagärä Nagran, theoretically in Eritrea, Däbrä Damo, Aksum, Lake Ḥayq, Däbrä Abbay, Däbrä Siḥät, i.e. Däbrä Sina in Eritrea, Lasta and an unidentified Däbrä Qopros in Mänzəh or Mänz. Finally, several Šäwan localities are enumerated, among which are Gərarya, where Däbrä Libanos stands, Ǝnṭoṭṭo, Mount Zəqʷala and Lake Zʷay.

The author of the D.ʿU. was a learned clergyman who exploited various works and traditions from Ethiopic literature. His homily shows affinities with the *Mäṣḥafä ↗məsṭirä sämay wämədr* by Bäḥaylä Mikaʾel (15th cent.) and the *Zena Däbrä Sina* by Aśratä Maryam (beginning of the 20th cent.; ↗Däbrä Sina). Under the veil of apocalyptic revelation, the author is arguing against the integration of recently evangelized regions – in particular the religious centres of Šäwa, where the new capital city lays, founded by Mənilək II – into the Christian Ethiopian tradition. The text of the D.ʿU. was edited in 1955 by André Caquot on the basis of one single manuscript belonging to an Ethiopian private collection.

↗Angels; ↗Dərsan

Src.: ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Ouriel (Dersāna Urā'ēl)", *AE* 1, 1955, 61–88; ድርሳነ፡ ዑራኤል። ግዕዝና፡ አማርኛ። መልክአ፡ ዑራኤል፡ በልሳነ፡ ግዕዝ (*Dərsanä ʿUraʾel, gəʿəzənna amarəñña. Mälkəʾa ʿUraʾel bäləssanä gəʿəz*, 'The Homily of Uriel, Gəʿəz and Amharic. The Image of Uriel, in Gəʿəz'), Addis Abäba, *Miyazya* 1985 A.M. [April–May 1993].

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Dervishes ↗Mahdists

Desa

D. (ዴሳ, also *däsa*) is a long-standing and widespread system of communal land tenure in the Eritrean Highlands; it is known also as *šəḥenna* in ↗Akkälä Guzay. Under D., all land found within the territory of a village is conceived as the common property of the community. Land title is based on residence and not on descent, such as in *rəsti* (↗*rəst*). Land title is temporary, its length ranging from three to seven years according to which traditional law is involved.

The right to a share (*gəbri*) pertains to each married male who is permanently resident in the village, has already set up his own household (*təša*), and can give evidence of being a descendant of the common ancestor of the village (*wädäbbat*). As a rule, women do not have the right to a share. However, special rules, varying according to which traditional law and time is considered, apply to unmarried women and widows, as well as to new settlers (*ma'əkälay ʿalet*). Redistribution (*wäräda*) is carried out by village elders (*šəmaggəllä*, *ʿaqʷari*), usually in a group of three or multiples of three, according to a principle of equal treatment among villagers. Plots are selected of comparable size and fertility, and nobody is usually entitled to hold shares in more than one village. People who are not present, or eligible, when a certain *wäräda* takes place, have to wait until the next redistribution. However, some villages, to meet the needs of individuals who may require land in the period between two redistributions, were accustomed to set aside some spare *gəbri* at the time of each allotment.

↗Land Tenure

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea,* Roma 1916; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, "Land Tenure on the Eritrean Plateau", *Africa* 16, 1, 1–21; FELICE OSTINI, *Trattato di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea,* Roma 1956; ALBERTO POLLERA, *Il regime della proprietà terriera in Etiopia e nella Colonia Eritrea,* Roma 1913.

Lyda Favali

Deserts and desertification

The word "Desert" refers to arid land with scattered vegetation covered with sand or rocks, where there is very little rain and few plants. Most deserts are the consequence of global atmospheric circulation and have existed since earliest times, fluctuating in response to climatic changes over thousands of years.

Desertification is the process by which land changes into desert. Desertification results from a combination of factors: increased population pressure, extensive deforestation and soil erosion, overgrazing, climatic changes etc. Desertification has become a characteristic of the countries of the ↗Saḥəl south of the Sahara due to both climatic changes and land degradation through human interference.

Strictly speaking there are no real deserts in Ethiopia, except for the ↗ʿAfar Depression, which is one of the hottest and driest places on earth. The ʿAfar Depression is a very wide area covered with salt plains at the northern end of the Great East African Rift system (↗Rift Valley) in Ethiopia. One of the lowest points on earth in the continental land mass is present in northern ʿAfar in the Dallol Depression, specifically called the Kobar Sink. The sink is some 110 m B.S.L., daily temperatures there at times reach a little above 50° C. The nomadic people of the ʿAfar inhabit this region. It is one of the most sparsely populated parts of Ethiopia. For some time in the Cenozoic era, the Red Sea extended to the ʿAfar region (Mohr 1970). When the sea later evaporated, the products of evaporation and the salt remained in much of the ʿAfar lowland plains and depressions. The annual rainfall is much lower than the 100 mm in most of the ʿAfar. As a result of low rainfall, high evaporation and the presence of salt deposits, the region is not favourable for sedentary cultivation. One of the main rivers of Ethiopia, the ↗Awaš, crosses southern and central ʿAfar. Unlike many arid regions, the ʿAfar Depression is characterized by a series of saline lakes (Sebkha) such as Afḍera (↗Giulietti), Asale, Gamari, Afambo and Abbe.

Many peripheral regions of Ethiopia are semi-arid, with an annual rainfall of no more than 500 mm, and an altitude of no more than 1000 m A.S.L. These regions include the western lowlands in the ↗Beni Šangul–Gumuz region and the western Amhara region beyond ↗Gondär, the southern Ethiopian Rift Valley in the ↗Omo valley, the eastern ↗Ogaden region bordering Somalia and the ↗Boorana region to the south, close to the Kenyan border.

↗Climate; ↗Environment

Src.: EMAtlas; ETHIOPIAN INSTITUTE OF GEOLOGICAL SURVEYS (ed.), *Geological Map of Ethiopia* (at the scale of 1:2,000,000), Addis Ababa, n. d.

Lit.: ETHIOPIAN VALLEYS DEVELOPMENT STUDIES AUTHORITY (ed.), *Rift Valley Lakes Integrated Natural Resources Development Master Plan,* unpublished report, Addis Ababa 1989; M.J. MAKIN – T.J. KINGHAM – A.E.WADDAM et al., *Prospects for Irrigation Development around Lake Ziway,* Tolworth 1976 (Ministry of Overseas Development, Report no. 26), 270; PAUL A. MOHR, *Geology of Ethiopia,* Addis Ababa 1970; TENALEM AYENEW, *The Hydrogeological System of the Lake District Basin, Central Main Ethiopian Rift,* Ph.D. thesis, Free University of Amsterdam 1998, 259; TESFAYE CHERNET, *Hydrogeologic Map of the Lakes Region (with Memo),* Ethiopian Institute of Geological Surveys, Addis Ababa 1982.

Tenalem Ayenew

Desvages, Alexis

D. was a French printer who came to Ethiopia in 1910. First he served as the technical director of the Imprimerie Éthiopienne, acting upon the orders of the Ethiopian government. In 1913 he founded his own printing house in Addis Abäba, the Imprimerie Alexis Desvages. He launched a weekly journal, *Le ↗Courrier d'Éthiopie*, being its editor until 1924, when he finally returned to ↗France. Between 1914 and 1917 D. was drafted into the army and the newspaper's publication was therefore temporarily stopped. During World WarI, D. also published የጦር፡ ወሬ (*Yäṭor wäre*) – *Les Nouvelles de la Guerre*, a bulletin that consisted of an Amharic translation of the Grand Quartier Général's "communiqués" and other news from the front.

D. was also an occasional editor of manuscripts. The catalogues of early printed Ethiopian books list several pedagogical and religious works. He also printed the *Grammaire amarigna* of Joseph ↗Baeteman (1923).

Lit.: ALAIN ROUAUD, "Un journal éthiopien en langue française: Le Courrier d'Éthiopie, 1913–1936", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 711–24; ID., "Alexis Desvages, éditeur", *Les Nouvelles de l'Aresae* 120, Novembre 1999, 3.

Alain Rouaud

Deutsche Aksum-Expedition

The DAE conducted in 1906 the first comprehensive survey and test excavations at ↗Aksum, and described many ancient remains visible along the road from ↗Qoḥayto to Aksum.

The origins of the expedition lay in the activity of the German diplomat Friedrich Rosen (1856–1935), who was early in 1905 in Addis Abäba to sign a treaty for the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and Germany (12 February 1905). Rosen convinced ↗Mənilək II to allow studies there by suggesting that German research would place Ethiopia into the line of nations with long outstanding history. Later, a team financed by Kaiser Wilhelm II was formed. Headed by the leading Orientalists Enno ↗Littmann, it included the architect Daniel Krencker, the photographer and draughtsman Theodor von ↗Lüpke and the physician Erich Kaschke. Counterpart of Littmann was the governor of Təgray, ↗Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gabər, who became of great help for the project.

Participants of the Deutsche Aksum-Expedition welcomed by the governor of Təgray *däǧǧazmač* Gäbrä Śəllase (from left to right: von Lüpke, Kaschke, Gäbrä Śəllase with Littmann, Krencker); photo courtesy of Brandenburgisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologisches Landesmuseum, Wünsdorf (No. 63u34/Sep. 231.17)

Between 12 January and 5 April 1906, the mission conducted test excavations at different sites and mapped the most impressive monuments in Aksum, recording also some artefacts and inscriptions. The following monuments, already described by travellers, missionaries and scholars since the 16th cent. were carefully recorded: 1) the "Northern Stele Field" along the May Ḥəǧǧa; 2) the "Southern stele field" at the base of May Qoḥo; 3) the "thrones" in front of Maryam Ṣəyon (↗Aksum Ṣəyon); 4) the ancient foundations of Maryam Ṣəyon; 5) the May Šum cistern; 6) the hypogean tombs of ↗Kaleb (↗Ǝnda Kaleb) and ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl; 7) the rock sculpture of a lioness at ↗Gobədra.

In 1906 the DAE also collected data on other unnoticed monuments: 1) a megalithic structure (↗Näfas Mawča); 2) a rock shrine (described as a "rock-tomb") at the southwestern side of May Qoḥo; 3) some remains of buildings (↗Ǝnda Mikaʾel, ↗Ǝnda Səmʾon, Täʿaḵa Maryam Maryam, and Ruin A, Ruin B, Ruin C, Ruin D in the western sector of the old town; 4) the "Gudit (or Western) Stele Field" and the so-called "Tomb of Mənilək" on the plain to the south of ↗Betä Giyorgis; 5) two ruins (Ruin E and Ruin F) on the southern side of Betä Giyorgis; 6) the fruit presses at ʿAṣḥafi; 7) ruins at Ǝnda Abba P̣änṭälewon.

The DAE recorded the occurrence of a tumulus near the inscribed stele of ↗ʿEzana in the Southern Stele Field. Unfortunately, this monument was destroyed by the Italian army in 1937.

Finally, the DAE described aspects in the construction techniques of traditional architecture, and as particularly remarkable recorded the following traditional houses and churches at

Aksum and in the surrounding area: 1) the house of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase, for the complicated structure of the building; 2) the compound of *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs, to the south of Ǝnda Iyäsus, for the general structure of the buildings; 3) the church of Ǝnda Iyäsus; 4) the cathedral of Ǝnda Maryam Ṣəyon, for its massive construction and the general structure of the compound; 5) the church of the Four Living Creatures (Arbaʿətu Ǝnsəsa); 6) the camp of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV on the top of May Qoḥo hill, for its structure and spatial organization; 7) the church of Abba Liqanos, for the general structure and its internal ceiling; 8) the church of Mary Magdalene, at the base of the hill of Abba Liqanos; 9) the church of Abba P̣änṭälewon.

Unfortunately, some of these buildings – e.g. the churches of Ǝnda Iyäsus and Abba P̣änṭälewon – were demolished during the 20th cent. Other relevant sites recorded by the German Expedition whilst on the way back to Massawa were Qoḥayto, ↗Käskäse, ↗Tokondaʿ, and ↗Mäṭära in Akkälä Guzay, Yəḥa in Təgray. Particularly significant are also the descriptions of the medieval constructed church at ↗Däbrä Damo, and the Old Church of Asmära (↗Ǝnda Maryam). The latter vanished; the description of the DAE is almost the only detailed record remaining.

In 1913 the results were published in four volumes, with 51 plates and 873 pictures. The report provides an exhaustive description of Aksumite architecture and remains still today the main reference work in Aksumite archaeology. The expedition also produced 37 wax cylinders with songs, preserved in their entirety in the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin, whilst archaeological objects are housed in the Antikenmuseum Berlin. In May 2002 the First International Littmann Conference took place in Munich; the proceedings provide additional information on the DAE.

↗Architecture; ↗Archeology

Src.: DAE I–IV; ENNO LITTMANN, "Preliminary Report of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia", *ZA* 20, 1907, 171–72; FELIX ROSEN, *Eine deutsche Gesandschaft in Abessinien*, Leipzig 1907.

Lit.: DAVID PHILLIPSON (ed.), *The Monuments of Aksum*, Addis Ababa 1997; WALTER RAUNIG – STEFFEN WENIG (eds.), *Afrikas Horn. Akten der Ersten Internationalen Littmann-Konferenz, München 2. – 5. Mai 2002*, Wiesbaden 2005 (Meroitica 22); STEFFEN WENIG (ed.), *In Kaiserlichem Auftrag: Die Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 1906 unter Enno Littmann*, 2 vols., Berlin, in preparation.

Rodolfo Fattovich – Steffen Wenig

Development issues

The understanding of D. has changed considerably over time. Until the 1960s, D. meant modernization, and included anything that could help the so-called "underdeveloped" countries to catch up with the "developed world".

In Ethiopia under Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, D. projects concerned both large-scale state investments in industrialization, infrastructure, and education; and small scale efforts on the local level. Many areas had local "*ləmat* committees" (from Amh. ልማት, *ləmat*, 'D.') organizing local projects. These committees were under the control of the local nobility and organized the population for "self-help" efforts – as long as they were in the nobility's interest. They sometimes attracted also material or personnel help from foreign donors.

In the 1960s, this concept of a simple time lag in "D." was increasingly criticized as insufficient. "Dependency" became a theoretical explanation for "underdevelopment". Some authors blamed the colonial powers for the poor countries' "underdevelopment", others attempted to show that the very political and economic structure of the "developed" world prevented the D. of the "underdeveloped" countries by preserving dependency and exploitation, and systematically distributing resources unevenly to the advantage of the rich countries. In 1972 Walter Rodney in a book title took the word "underdeveloped" for a verb: *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Dumont (1962) denounced "false start in Africa" at the beginning of the independence period (1960s).

"Community D." became a new branch in the 1960s in Ethiopia, aiming at mobilizing local efforts for self-D. within a community. A Ministry for Community Development was established, which tried to coordinate and support the efforts of "*ləmat* committees" and also initiated larger D. projects. The "*ləmat* farm" in ↗Arba Mənč̣, for example, opened up the area for modern mechanized agriculture – at the expense of the ↗Guǧǧi herders who used the plains as summer grazing grounds. At the same time, the 1960s were also a period of large scale investments in commercial "D. projects".

In the 1970s social and political aspects were more strongly emphasized, and "D." came to mean first of all the productive engagement of local human and natural resources. International Labour Office launched its "Basic Needs Strategy" to mobilize local resources. Rural and agricultural D. was given high priority, and the potential of "Developing countries" to organize and pressurise the rich nations was emphasized. However, in Ethiopia, the application of the concept was again state controlled, and the state worked under the assumption that it knew what was best for the people.

Ecological projects were at the core of "D." in the 1980s. Large amounts of foreign aid were pumped into large scale conservation programmes, supported by the World Food Programme. In theory they were implemented through peasant "self-help" supported by "Food-for-Work" programmes. In practice, however, peasants were coerced into forced labour on state-planned schemes. Consequently the programme was unpopular with the peasants, and few of the structures built survived the fall of the *Därg* in 1991.

"D." has increasingly become synonymous with programmes implemented with foreign aid. In the 1990s foreign aid itself came into a crisis, triggered by the debt trap: too many aid projects had been financed through loans, and loans had been taken too easily, and often been misappropriated. The demands for "Structural adjustment" and the trend towards "Trade, not Aid" also had profound repercussions on the concept of D. "D." became increasingly associated with investments and access to markets. Aid lost priority and significance in terms of political and economic D. Governmental and non-governmental aid organisations turned to new niches. Democratization, human rights and civic organisations were discovered as new areas meriting financial support from outside; D. of human resources – education, skills upgrading, vocational and practical training became new fields of the involvement of non-governmental organizations. Local programmes giving technical assistance to cater for local needs and empowering local self help organisations are preferred aid receivers. International donors also favour programmes to strengthen the emergence of a "civil society" in the receiver countries. In Ethiopia, this message is not lost on those who depend on "D. aid", and civic non-governmental organisations are multiplying and competing for the attention of the foreign donor community. At the same time, there is a multitude of more conventional aid programmes continuing in Ethiopia, especially in the fields of health care, schools, infrastructure and agriculture.

While "D. aid" is being increasingly discredited in the public discourse in Western societies, support for the defence of human rights and of civic groups enjoys more legitimacy at present. In the course of "globalization", the state is gradually relinquishing its competence and responsibility for economic D. The concept has gradually blurred, and it becomes increasingly unclear who and what should be developed, and how.

Lit.: WALTER RODNEY, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, London 1972; JOHN M. COHEN, *Integrated Rural Development. The Ethiopian Experience and the Debate*, Uppsala 1987; RENÉ DUMONT, *L'Afrique noire est mal partie*, Paris 1962.

Siegfried Pausewang

Devil

Devil in religion and literature

The idea of the D. entered Ethiopia together with the introduction of ↗Christianity into Aksum in the 4th cent. A.D. and the translation of the ↗Bible into Gəᶜəz. At the time of the Christian mission in Ethiopia, the development of the concept of the D. was completed by joining different biblical figures like Satan with personifications of destruction or hostility, and associating it with a universal idea of evil and sin. As the embodiment of evil, the D. (Satan) is the opponent of God and Jesus and head of the ↗demons.

Gəᶜəz uses many terms to describe the biblical D.: **ሰይጣን** (*säyṭan*), **ዲያብሎስ** (*diyabəlos*), **መስቴማ** (*mästema*), **ቤልሖር/ብርያል** (*belḥor/ bəryal*) and even **ጋኔን** (*ganen*). While *säyṭan* – from the Hebrew *śāṭān* ('adversary') through the Aramaic *sāṭānā* or from Arabic *šäyṭān* – translates the Greek words for D. σατᾶν, σατανᾶς and διάβολος (DillmLex 394), *diyabəlos* is the phonetic reproduction of the last Greek term. *Mästema*, taken from the Hebrew *maśṭēmāh* 'animosity', is also used as a name of Satan (*Book of ↗Jubilees* 10, 17ff., 48) and plays an important role in Ethiopian demonology. *Belḥor*, the Ethiopian translation of the Gr. Βελιάρ (from Hebrew *bᵉlīyaᶜal* 'wickedness, depravity') in 2 Cor 6:15 is another name for the D. The form *bəryal* appears in the *Ascension of ↗Isaiah* (DillmLex 507) and often in the magic literature (Euringer 1928:306f.). Both of these forms appear in the *Book of Jubilees* (chs. 1, 15). *Ganen*, the Gəᶜəz term for demon, is only used in a few passages as an equivalent of διάβολος (Jas 4:7; 1 Pet 5:8; 1 Jn 3:8–10). The dragon or the ancient serpent ↗*arwe* or *arwe* ᶜ*abiy* of Rev 12, 20 is identified with the D. (in Rev 20 *ganen säyṭan*).

Säyṭan and *diyabəlos* were borrowed from Gəᶜəz to describe the idea of D. in modern Ethiopian languages. The old Gəᶜəz form occurs as *säyṭan* in Amharic and Təgrəñña, *šeṭan* in Təgre and as *siṭar*, *sēṭān*, *seṭan* and *šeṭan* in the Gurage languages. From Ethiopian languages it was taken as a loanword into Oromo *saitana* 'Satan, Demon, Devil, evil spirit' (Borello 1995:365) or *seeṭana* (TilDic 524).

In the late Gəᶜəz hexaemeric literature and its Amharic commentaries we find another name for the D. – Saṭnaʾel (**ሳጥናኤል**, or also Səṭnaʾel, Səṭna). In writings like ↗*Śənä fəṭrät* he is the first angel created by God who had fallen from heaven because of his pride and arrogance before God and Adam. The *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məsṭirä sämay wämədr* describes the rebellion of the apostate angel Saṭnaʾel against God, his defeat by the cross of light.

The D. is not only responsible for the temptation of Eve through the serpent but also for a large spectrum of sins and doctrinal errors, among which are heresies (YaqMist I, 182ff.) and black magic (Getatchew Haile 1991:10, 66). Non-Christians like Jews or Moslems are considered by many Christians to be worshippers of Satan.

The literature and practice of magic is an important source for describing the ambivalence of Ethiopian belief in the D. The portrayal of the D. in a ↗*mälkə*ʾ of Saṭnaʾel is of special importance: on the one hand, the D. is called here "holy" or "priest of heaven and earth", and on the other hand, he assists the practice of black magic (Strelcyn 1982). There also exist prayers to the D. in times of sickness or on great ↗feasts like New Year's Day, Christmas, and Easter. The frequency of the plural *säyṭanat* in the magic texts is a mechanism used to transfer the harmful activity of the Christian Satan to many indefinite evil spirits. This development stems from a background of Ethiopian ↗syncretism. The further one moves from the church environment and its theology the more one finds popular religious beliefs characterized by a holistic demonology. As the most powerful of the demons, the D. is conceived as a dark, Negroid type, who dwells in deep waters, woods, and caves and frequents murky hideouts at noon and midnight. He tries to harm people by pushing them into fire, making them sick or by tempting them to sin.

In nominally Christianized or non-Christian areas of Ethiopia the D. can become an evil spirit who causes illness through possession. These types of spirits are known by the Sidama people as *šatāna* (sg. *šatāni*; cf. Hamer 1966:393ff.). This idea is reflected in Gurage and sometimes in other modern Ethiopian languages, where the terms for D. also depict evil spirits (Leslau 1979:576f.; s. Muher *dabilos*).

Orthodox Christianity offers certain defences against the D.: ↗baptism, the sign of cross (YaqMist II, 16, 28f., 224f.), amulets and ↗magic scrolls. The scrolls are inscribed with prophylactic texts such as prayers to bind Satan (Dobberahn 1976:56), "Fanuʾel hymnus" (ibid. 23f.) or the anathematisation of Satan from **ሐጹረ፡ መስቀል** (↗*Ḥaṣurä mäsqäl*, 'Rampart of the Cross'; Lifchitz 1940:167–79, 191–203).

↗Religions, traditional; ↗Magic; ↗Gəᶜəz literature; ↗Hymns; ↗Demons; ↗Spirits

Src.: YaqMist I, 182ff. (text.) = 110f. (tr.); II, 16, 28f., 224f. (text) = 11, 18, 124 (tr.); TilDic 524; DillmLex 507; MARIO BORELLO, *Dizionario Oromo–Italiano*, Hamburg 1995 (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 10), 365; GETATCHEW HAILE (ed., tr.), *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob* (*Ṭomarä Təsbəʾt*), Louvain 1991 (CSCO 522, 523 [SAe 95, 96]), 10, 66 (text) = 8f., 52f. (tr.); GETATCHEW HAILE – MISRAK AMARE, *Beauty of the Creation* (*Śənä Fəṭrät*), Manchester 1991 (Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph 16); DÉBORAH LIFCHITZ, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*, Paris 1940 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 38), 167–79, 191–203; JULES PERRUCHON, *Le Livre des Mystères du Ciel et de la Terre*, Paris 1903 (PO 1,1).

Lit.: FRIEDRICH ERICH DOBBERAHN, *Fünf Äthiopische Zauberrollen*: *Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Walldorf-Hessen 1976 (Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients 25); SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Das Netz Salomons", *ZSem* 6, 1928, 76–100, 178–99, 300–14, here 306f.; *ibid.* 7, 1929, 68–85; JOHN HAMER – IRENE HAMER, "Spirit Possession and its Socio-Psychological Implications Among the Sidamo of Southwest Ethiopia", *Ethnology* 5, 1966, 392–408, here 393ff.; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (*Ethiopic*), vol. 2: *English–Gurage Index*, Wiesbaden 1979, 576; LevWax; STEFAN STRELCYN, "Un poème satanique éthiopien", in: JOSEPH TUBIANA (ed.), *Guirlande pour Abba Jérôme*, Antibes 1982, 83–115.

Bogdan Burtea

Devil in Ethiopian art

Ethiopian artists, strictly following the general Christian iconography, depicted the D. in various human or semi-human aspects, according to a widespread belief that he is a polymorphic being. His most popular representation derives from the figure of a satyr and shows him as a hairy creature with the upper body of a man, the legs of a goat, curled horns, pointed ears and a tail which often ends with a serpent's head.

The parts of the D.'s body considered most obscene, his belly, sexual parts and behind, are often oversized, as are his claws. If he has wings they resemble those of an angel or a bat. His face is generally human but marked by animal features, elongated, with large mouth, flared nostrils, exaggerated teeth, bristling hair and a long sharp tongue. His eyes are large and staring, with black pupils, sometimes surrounded by red. In order to avoid their malevolent glare, the D. is represented in profile, a rule which the Ethiopian artists apply consistently with exception of his figure which, from the 18th cent. onward, has dominated the depiction of Hell included into the Last Judgement. He is always a dark figure depicted in a black, grey-blue or green. Sometimes he wears clothing and is armed with a fork or a prod. The description of the D. which in some way may have inspired the artist appears in the ↗*Kidan zäʾəgziʾənä Iyäsus Krəstos*, the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Məsṭir* and the ↗Epistles.

The D. appears in some narrative scenes of the New Testament, e.g., in the Descent into Hell (up to the end of the 16th cent.) and above all in the Last Judgement, where he is portrayed defeated, and chained, sometimes lying on his back beneath the feet of Christ or prostrate before him. As a seducer of people and hunter of their souls he is depicted in several miracles from the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* and the ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel* – for instance, in a story about a woman who consigned her son to the D., or about a man, who, deeply devoted to St. Michael, was punished by a jealous D. with an illness. An unusual figure of a D. with one arm and one leg, described as the angel of darkness, appears in the Crucifixion scene in the Gospel book of Princess ↗Zir Ganela, dated to the beginning of the 15th cent. In certain instances a fully zoomorphic form is adopted for the representation of the D.: a snake in the Temptation of Adam and Eve, a dragon in apocalyptic scenes and, in connection with St. ↗George, a basilisk or a wild bull in the scenes with the other equestrian saints defeating the power of evil (e.g. St. Victor, Mar Beḥnam). Diabolical monsters and demonic figures frequently depict the D. in Ethiopian ↗magic scrolls.

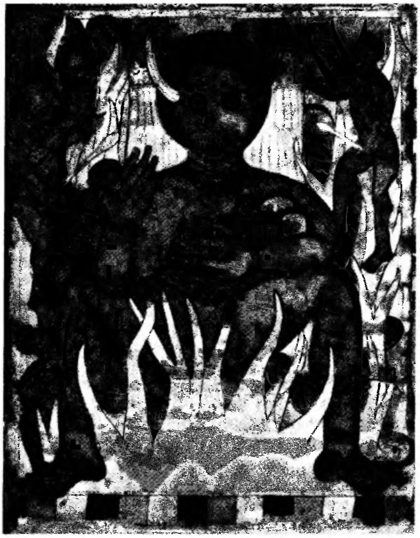
↗Painting

Src.: LOUIS GUERRIER – SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT (eds.), *Le Testament en Galilée de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ*, Paris 1912 [repr. Turnhout 1982] (PO 11, 3), 193; JULES PÉRRUCHON, *Le livre des mystères du ciel et de la terre*, Paris 1903, 12.

Lit.: WILHELM STAUDE, "Die Profilregel in der christlichen Malerei Äthiopiens und die Furcht vor dem 'Bösen Blick'", *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 9, 1954, 129–61; BEAT BRENK, "Teufel", in: ENGELBERT KIRCHBAUM, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Roma 1972, vol. 4, 295–300; EVERETT FERGUSON, *Demonology of the Early Christian World*, New York 1984.

Ill.: WALTER RAUNING (ed.), *Religiöse Kunst Äthiopien. Religious Art of Ethiopia*, Stuttgart 1973, fig. 22f.; BENT JUEL-JENSEN – GEOFFREY ROWELL (eds), *Rock-Hewn Churches of Eastern Tigray. An Account of the Oxford University Expedition to Ethiopia 1974*, Oxford 1975, fig. 74, 77, 81; JACQUES MERCIER, *Ethiopian Magic Scrolls*, New York 1979, fig. VII, XIV, pl. 5, 14, 24–26, 35; ID., *Le roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard. Art et médecine en Éthiopie*, Paris 1992, figs. 6, 8, 32f., 38f., 64, 119, 133; DAVID APPLEYARD, *Ethiopian Manuscripts*, London 1993, nos. 14, 16, 26, 42, 77; EWALD HEIN – BRIGITTE KLEIDT, *Ethiopia – Christian Africa. Art, Churches and Culture*, Ratingen 1999, figs. 192, 195, 227, 252f., 264ff.; AfrZion no. 120.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska



Hell: Satan and devils punishing the souls of sinners; cloth mural; Wəqro Maryam, Dära, southern wall of the *mäqdäs*; 19th cent.; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Dias, Ayres

D. (also Diz; b. ca. 1500, Coimbra, d. ca. 1545, Ethiopia) was a half-cast Portuguese soldier (Bermudez 1875, ch. 6) who participated in two expeditions to Ethiopia and served *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos. After being engaged in the embassy of Rodrigo da ↗Lima (BeckHuntAlvar ch.

113), and probably married in Cananor, India (Correia 1976:371), D. returned to Ethiopia with the military expedition of Christovão da ↗Gama. There he played an important role, skilfully using his experience of the country (with particular regard to knowledge of language and *milieu*). During a halt of the Portuguese army in mid-1542 at ↗Wäfla, he was sent to meet Gälawdewos at his palace of "Mangadafo" (Castanhoso 1936, ch. 17; cp. Mängäfo, Šəwada, HuntGeogr 106, 135); and later accompanied Gälawdewos to Wägära (end of 1542; ConzGal ch. 15). When captain Affonso Caldeira died, D., with strong support from Gälawdewos, was given charge of the Portuguese troops, by then already serving as a private guard of the Emperor (Bermudez 1875, ch. 30); the latter would later say: "I made Ayres Dias great among my people, and gave him valuable estates" (Gälawdewos to João III, s. Whiteway 1902:116). D.'s new position in the country was additionally strengthened by a re-baptism (Bermudez 1875, ch. 39) and adoption of a local name, Marqos. Having participated in at least one further imperial campaign to the land of the "moesteiro de Syão" (ibid. ch. 37) and after numerous clashes with other prominent Portuguese at the court – namely, with Gaspar de ↗Sousa (ibid. ch. 43) – D. was reported dead at the end of the 1540s (ibid. ch. 44).

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar ch. 113; Richard Stephen Whiteway (ed., tr.) *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543* ..., London 1902 [repr. Nendeln/Liechtenstein 1967] (Hakluyt Society Works 2nd series X), 115–18 [Letter of Galawdewos to João III, 6/7 December 1550]; João Bermudez, *Breve relação da embaixada que o patriarcha d. João Bermudez trouxe do imperador da Ethiopia* ...[1565], Lisboa 1875 [Typographia da Academia, Col. de Opusc. Reimpresos, t. I, n. iv.], ch. 6, 30, 37, 39, 43f.; Miguel de Castanhoso, *História das cousas que o mui esforçado capitão dom Cristóvão da Gama fêz nos reinos do Preste João* ... [1564], ed. by Augusto César Pires de Lima, Pôrto 1936, ch. 17; Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India* ..., vol. 4, Lisboa 1864 [repr. Nendeln 1976], 371; ConzGal ch. 15; HuntGeogr 106, 135.

Andreu Martínez

Diaspora

The term D. (from Gr. διασπορά, 'dispersion' or 'to sow', 'scatter'), originally used in the Septuagint to describe the enslavement, exile and displacement of Jews, was later extended to cover the experiences of other forcibly dispersed populations, including Africans and Armenians. Today D. is often used to describe any population which originates in a land other than that in which it currently resides and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states.

Reconstructing the history of the Ethiopian and Eritrean D. is often made problematic because of terminological uncertainties: Ethiopian Christians are often grouped with those of other Eastern Churches, and slaves (↗Slavery) identified as Ethiopian, Abyssinian, ↗Ḥabaš or Ḥabašī may, in fact, have been from areas in present day Somalia, Djibouti, or the Sudan. Moreover, prior to 1991 most of those in the Eritrean D. were identified as Ethiopians.

Since Ethiopia is located on the edge of the African continent in close proximity to ↗Arabia and the ancient commercial networks up the ↗Red Sea and across the Arabian Sea, it is not surprising that Ethiopians have been dispersed beyond the frontiers of north-east Africa for centuries. In some instances, their movement and eventual settlement in other lands were voluntary, but in most cases Ethiopians were part of the larger forced migration overseas that we associate with the slave trade. More recently, in the last decades of the 20th cent., D. of Ethiopians have swelled the ranks of the so-called "new African diaspora".

Although it is probable that some Ethiopians were enslaved in ancient Egypt, the earliest evidence we have for the existence of overseas Ethiopians relates to the history of Christianity in Ethiopia. Notwithstanding various references to "Ethiopian" pilgrims in ↗Jerusalem in the first centuries following the conversion of the kingdom of ↗Aksum (4th cent.), with the rise of Islam we encounter more suggestive testimonies for the presence of an Ethiopian Christian community in the Holy Land. A letter of the *ḫalīfa* ʿUmar (14 H. [636/37 A.D.]) specifically mentions an Ethiopian community in Jerusalem as one of three resident nations in contradistinction to those who only travelled there as pilgrims (*Correspondence* ... 1868, 38). Indeed, by the rise of Islam, there were also many Ethiopian Christian traders and craftsmen in Arabia (SerHist 192).

During the period of Crusader domination (1099–1187), Ethiopians – as part of a larger Monophysite community – established a monastic community in ↗Cyprus, while still others were settled in Egypt (SerHist 262). In the Holy

Land, Ethiopians were grouped together with other Eastern Christians, but when Ṣalāḥaddīn regained Jerusalem for Islam in 1187, he reportedly recognized their claims as long-time representatives of their own branch of the ↗Coptic Church (s. ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān).

Sorting out individual Eastern Christian sects from the early documentation sometimes makes identification of the Ethiopian D. difficult, but despite these problems and the fact that their group was small, it appears that this was indeed their first significant presence. Certainly, the fact that Ethiopians are named as one of the "nations" of the Holy Land in a document from the second half of the 13th cent. clearly reveals that the Ethiopian D. was well established in Jerusalem. European travellers later attested to this presence, as do the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Ethiopian Church that was financed by *aṣe* Mənilək II at the end of the 19th cent.

The community at Jerusalem was atypical, because its members were individuals who, while submitting to Church authority, had been chosen to serve their Church by representing its interests in the cradle of their faith. Most Ethiopians in the D., by contrast, found themselves enslaved in foreign lands and converted to Islam. The Ethiopian slave ↗Bilāl b. Rabāḥ is honoured by Muslims as an early convert to Islam and said to have been the first *mu'aḏḏin*. When reconstructing history of Ethiopian D. in the Islamic world we encounter same sort of definition problems as was the case with the history of Ethiopian Christian community in Jerusalem. As a consequence of the slave trade from their homeland, Ethiopians were scattered across the Islamic world from Arabia to India, Egypt to Zanzibar, where they were commonly known as Ḥabaš or Ḥabašī. In some of the European documentation, however, they are known as Abyssinians. The problem with the latter term is that it encompasses many more peoples than those we would now recognize as belonging into the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia. In this respect, Ḥabaš may more meaningfully correspond to the boundaries of Ethiopia and its people as this term has evolved historically, especially since we know that the Ethiopian slave trade drew primarily upon the border populations of the south and south-west of the country. That said, we must also recognize that the term Ḥabaš probably also included Somali and various Sudanese peoples depending on the historical context in which it was used.

Enslaved Ethiopians played a prominent role as soldiers, concubines and eunuchs in Muslim ↗India. As early as the second quarter of the 13th cent., Ḥabašī slaves had become one of several factors in the military and political arena of the new Turkish Ilyās Šāhī Sultanate of Delhi. During his travels in India (ca. 1333–42), the great Moroccan traveller ↗Ibn Baṭṭūṭa observed many Ḥabašī slaves employed as sailors and soldiers by rulers from north India to Sri Lanka. At Alapur, the governor was a Ḥabašī named Badr, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa encountered several other important Ḥabašī officials in his travels down the subcontinent.

Ḥabašī also reached the kingdom of Bengal directly by sea and became important as military slaves under Ruknaddīn Barbak Šāh (ca. 1459–74). In 1486, unhappy with the latter's son and successor, they usurped power. They ruled Bengal for seven years before being themselves overthrown as a consequence of the reign of terror imposed by the last Ḥabašī ruler, Šamsaddīn Muẓaffar Šāh (1491–94). In the aftermath of the Ḥabašī interregnum and the rise of the Ḥusayn Šāhī dynasty, the Ḥabašī were expelled from Bengal *en masse*. Over time they drifted to the Deccan, where the rulers of the Bahmanī kingdom had been employing Ḥabašī military forces since earlier in the century and where eventually several Ḥabašī also emerged as major military and political leaders. In the late 15th cent., two Ḥabašī ruled as governors of two of the kingdom's four provinces; another served as minister of revenue under *sulṭān* Šihābaddīn Maḥmūd (ca. 1482–1518). At Bīdar, the Bahmanī capital, there still stands the Habašī Kōt, or fortress, where tombs of prominent Ethiopians are located. Ḥabašī were especially important in the 16th-cent. kingdoms of Aḥmadnagar, Bīǧāpūr and Golconda. The most famous of these influential Ḥabašī figures in the political history of the Deccan was ↗Malik ʿAnbar, who was *wazīr* and virtual ruler of Aḥmadnagar from 1600 to 1626. Following Malik ʿAnbar's death, another Ḥabašī, Ḥamad Ḫān, replaced him as major-domo for the kingdom, while he in turn was followed by Malik ʿAnbar's grandson. During this same period, the Ḥabašī Iḫlāṣ Ḫān (1627–56) served as *wazīr* of Bīǧāpūr.

Related to the renown enjoyed by Ḥabašī military and court officials in the Deccan at this time was the emergence of a Ḥabašī force as the dominant naval power along the coast of western India. Following the defeat of the coastal region of the southern Konkan coast from Gujarāt early in the 16th cent., the ruler of Aḥmadnagar gave a Ḥabašī noble, Siddī Yāqūt, command of the island fort at Ǧanǧīra. For the next two centuries the Siddīs were unchallenged masters of the coasts, whether serving Aḥmadnagar, the Mughals, or their own interests. They maintained their independence until 1870, when they submitted to British overrule.

Ḥabašī were also prominent during the centuries of Muslim domination of northern India in Gujarāt, where they were found as soldiers in the armies of its rulers and as sailors in its ports as early as the 13th cent. During the reign of *sulṭān* Bahādur (ca. 1526–37) there were a reported 5,000 Ḥabašī in Aḥmadābād alone, most of whom were probably prisoners taken in the Muslim invasion of Ethiopia in 1527. According to traditions in the Sind and in Gujarāt, a network of Islamic ↗saints' shrines that are associated with Ḥabašī pioneers in the agate-bead trade to Africa was established during this era (perhaps in the 14th cent.). The most important of these is the shrine of Bava Gor at Ratanpūr in south Gujarāt.

Ethiopian slaves were in high demand in Egypt, as well. Although the prominent Ḥabašī of the ↗Mamluk period were mainly from the Sudan, rather than Ethiopia, during the 19th cent. Ethiopian slaves, mainly women, were desired in Cairo, where they were distinguished by their colour from other African slaves. Many of these women were manumitted and, according to Egyptian records, some inherited their own property, although many lived at the edges of society. One man, Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥabašī, gained his freedom by claiming his free birthplace in Ethiopia and through the assistance of Ethiopian students at the Ǧäbärti college of al-Azhar mosque (Petry 1994). Elsewhere, Ethiopian slaves appear during the 19th cent. at Mecca as concubines, where they introduced ↗*zar* possession. ↗Oromo and ↗Gurage male slaves are also mentioned by European travellers in Arabia during the 19th cent. During this century Ḥabašī were being introduced anew in India at Hyderabad, where they were employed in the Niẓām's military, although over time many of the special African troop that was formed were probably not from Ethiopia. Finally, among the many concubines of the Omani ruler of Zanzibar, Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān (1804–56), were several Ethiopians.

The European colonial partition of Africa in the late 19th cent., including the survival of Imperial Ethiopian independence, effectively ended the D. caused by the slave trade. No doubt some Ethiopians who travelled abroad as pilgrims did not return, but until the period of Italian hegemony in Ethiopia, when some Ethiopians settled in ↗Italy, the D. phenomenon was dormant.

After ↗World War II some elite Ethiopians began to study abroad and, as opposition to the imperial regime increased, some remained in exile. But the phenomenon of a new D. dates to the 1960s as part of the struggle between imperial Ethiopia and the Eritrean liberation movement. Like earlier forms of D. from Ethiopia, this latest version involves semantic complexities arising from the initial definition of these populations as "refugees". From 1967 thousands of Eritreans fled from imperial troops into the Republic of the Sudan; in 1970 still more refugees crossed the border, this time from an even wider region, including the highland fringes.

The Eritrean D. is normally considered to include those Eritreans who left Ethiopia or Eritrea between 1961 and 1991. Most of them happen to have been refugees, but there also were labour migrants, particularly to the Middle East, and those who moved for education, particularly to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The term is normally only applied to Eritreans who have settled outside the African continent, thus excluding, for example, over 500,000 Eritreans who fled as refugees to Sudan.

With the Revolution of 1974 and the beginning of the *Därg*'s brutal campaign against Eritrea, hundreds of thousands more sought asylum in the Sudan. As the *Därg* continued to oppress its internal enemies, various groups of Ethiopians soon joined the ranks of Eritreans in the Sudan. In the mid-1980s, drought and forced resettlement schemes caused another 50,000 to leave Ethiopia, so that the total population in the Sudan reached at least 656,000. Much of this population movement was temporary, but uncertainty about political conditions at home caused many thousands of these refugees to remain in the Sudan. Some moved on to Egypt, while still others made their way as secondary refugees to Italy and elsewhere in Europe.

Over 15,000 ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel were taken to Israel, mainly from the Sudan, during the late

1970s and early 1980s. In the 1990s another 35,000 reached Israel directly from Ethiopia. The Refugee Act of 1980 opened the doors of the United States of America to refugees from Ethiopia and Eritrea, who may have numbered at least 100,000 in 1995. While some have returned or visited home, continued political instability in the Horn and establishing roots where they settled have combined to create true D. communities of Ethiopians and Eritreans, not to mention Somali, in a number of countries. In the United States there are major communities in Washington, DC and Los Angeles.

There are no precise data on either the number or the characteristics of the Eritrean D. in most European countries, because Eritreans who arrived before 1991 were registered as Ethiopians. In the Middle East, many Eritreans remained unregistered. Other problems arise from the question of self-definition – some people who originated from Eritrea are unwilling to label themselves, or to be labelled, as Eritreans.

One indicator of the size of the Eritrean D. is the voting figures for the 1993 Referendum for Independence. According to these data, a total of 84,370 votes were cast by Eritreans outside Eritrea, most significantly in Saudi Arabia (37,785), the USA and Canada (14,941), and Germany (6,994). However, these figures only cover those Eritreans eligible to vote – over 18 years of age – and they are some seven years out of date. A more realistic estimate is probably in the region of 200,000.

It is clear that the vast majority of Eritreans outside Africa chose not to return to independent Eritrea after 1991. For many, the decision not to return was mitigated by having obtained permanent residence rights in their countries of settlement. In most of these countries, the Eritrean D. maintains a strong collective national consciousness, encouraged, for example, through community organizations and the celebration of Eritrean national holidays. At the same time there are divisions within the D., particularly on the basis of ethnicity and religion. Both as individuals and as families, but often as communities too, the D. maintains strong links with Eritrea. At an individual or family level, money and other goods are regularly remitted to family members in Eritrea. It is estimated that up to US$300 million was remitted by the D. during 1998.

During the struggle for independence, the D. played a crucial role by financing the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front in particular, as well as by contributing medicines, food and other goods. Since Independence, many within the D. have continued to contribute, for example, by making regular financial donations to the State, or more recently by buying state-issued bonds.

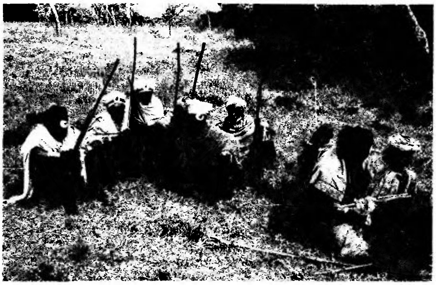
Src.: CerPal; *Correspondence Respecting Abyssinians at Jerusalem 1850–1867*, London 1868; Emily Reute, *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar*, Princeton ^{2}1996.

Lit.: Mordechai Abir, "The Ethiopian Slave Trade and its Relation to the Islamic World", in: John Ralph Willis (ed.), *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*, vol. 2: *The Servile Estate*, London – Totowa 1985, 123–36; Edward Alpers, "The African Diaspora in the Northwestern Indian Ocean: Reconsideration of an Old Problem, New Directions for Research", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa & the Middle East* 17, 2, 1997, 62–81; John Burton-Page, "Habshī", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 3, 14–16; CerPal; Raghu Raj Singh Chauhan, *Africans in India: from Slavery to Royalty*, New Delhi 1995; Tom Kuhlman, *Asylum or Aid? The Economic Integration of Ethiopian and Eritrean Refugees in the Sudan*, Avebury 1994 (African Studies Centre Research Series 2); Otto Meinardus, "The Ethiopians in Jerusalem", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 76, 1965, 112–47, 217–32; Kathryn Myers Moran, *Community, Cohesion, and Conflict: Ethiopian Refugees in Los Angeles*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles 1996; Richard Pankhurst, "The Habshis of India", *EthObs* 4, 10, 1960, 347–52; Carl Petry, "From Slaves to Benefactors: the Habashis of Mamluk Cairo", *Sudanic Africa* 5, 1994, 57–66; Atul Chandra Roy, *History of Bengal: Turko-Afghan Period*, New Delhi – Ludhiana, 1986; SerHist 192, 262; Omar Khalidi, "African Diaspora in India: the Case of the Habashis of the Dakan", *Hamdard Islamicus* 11–4, 1988, 3–22; Tekle Mariam Woldemikael, "Ethiopians and Eritreans", in: David W. Haines (ed.), *Refugees in America in the 1990s: a Reference Handbook*, Westport 1996, 147–69; Terence Walz, "Black Slavery in Egypt: during the Nineteenth Century as Reflected in the Makhama Archives of Cairo", in: John Ralph Willis (ed.), *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*, vol. 2: *The Servile Estate*, London 1985, 137–60.

Edward A. Alpers – Khalid Koser

Ḍibaayyuu

Ḍ. (also *ḍibayyu*, *ḍiibayyuu*; cp. the verb *ḍibaafaččuu* 'to make a libation') is an Oromo word which can be translated as 'libation' and/or 'anointment' (TilDic 162, cp. GraggDic 124) depending on the context. Ḍ. are offerings to ↗Waaqa, which are always accompanied by prayers because the offerings alone are not efficacious. Tablino's observation (1999:114, 165) that "d'ibaayu is perhaps the most personal of Gabra prayers" and "therefore subject to considerable variations" in response to the feelings of the offerer of the prayer, is probably true across the Oromo. Ḍ. can be uttered spontaneously or as part of a structured ritual and fea-



Ḍibaayyuu ceremony among the Boorana; the elders swinging their ceremonial stuffs between the knees, while fire is continuously blown; photo 1950/52 by Eike Haberland, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23–Ha 250–09a)

tures regularly and prominently in Oromo religious activities: daily domestic blessings, all rites of passage, rituals when enterprises such as digging wells or migrations are started or completed, at communal seasonal rituals and by participants in major national rituals.

In crop-growing areas the offering is likely to be of beer (*farsoo*), *bulbulla* (a honey and water drink), ↗*ṭäǧǧ* and in pastoral areas milk and butter. In ↗Boorana, for example, a sheep dedicated for sacrifice may either have milk dribbled along its back or be anointed with butter and sometimes both. The ↗Guǧǧi Oromo perform a ritual: "when the *kayoo* ['fate, luck'] are not good and the cattle become sick, the kraal will be 'anointed with butter', *moona diibafanna*" (van de Loo 1991:213f.).

Src.: TilDic 162; cp. GraggDic 124; oral communication with various Oromo elders.

Lit.: BartOrom 89; JOSEPH VAN DE LOO, *Guji Oromo Culture in Southern Ethiopia. Religious Capabilities in Rituals and Songs*, Berlin 1991 (Collectanea Instituti Anthropos 39), 213f.; PAOLO TABLINO, *The Gabra. Camel Nomads of Northern Kenya*, Nairobi 1999, 114, 165; VSAe I, 244–49.

Temesgen Negassa

Didəsqəlya

The Ethiopic D. (ዲድስቅልያ, 'Teaching [of the Apostles]', from Greek διδασκαλία, 'teaching') is a pseudo-apostolic text (Hammerschmidt 1964; Steimer 1992) corresponding to the first seven of the eight books of the "Constitutions of the Apostles" (cf. Metzger 1985-87); besides book VIII, the D. omits book I, 9; II, 48, 52; VII, 13, 18–26, and adds a preface at the beginning (cf. Harden 1920:xciiif.).

Both the Ethiopic D. ("Constitutions of the Apostles", I–VII) and the work generally known as *Didascalia* (cf. CPG I, nos. 1730, 1738) belong to the old Christian literature of canon law, but should not be confused with each other; nor should they be mistaken for the so-called "Teaching of the 318 Nicaean (Fathers)", quite a different text transmitted within the ↗*Haymanotä abäw* and the ↗*Senodos*. The *Didascalia* is likely to have been composed in northern Syria in the first half of the 3rd cent. Lost in the Greek original (apart from few fragments), it is preserved in a Syriac version (cf. Vööbus 1979). Approximately one third is also included in the Latin *Veronese collection*, one of the most important canonico-liturgical collections (in the palimpsest cod. Veronensis LV, copied in the 5th cent. and probably dating to the 2nd half of the 4th cent.; cf. CPG I, no. 1731). In the 4th cent. a Syrian compiler reworked the Greek *Didascalia* into the Greek "Constitutions of the Apostles" I–VI (= Ethiopic D. chs. 1–34 in Harden's 1920 translation), from which we can form an idea of the original Greek text. Book VII of the "Constitutions of the Apostles" (= Ethiopic D. chs. 35–43) was based on the oldest pseudo-apostolic text, the Greek Διδαχή (cf. CPG I, no. 1735), with the addition of a Jewish prayer (chs. 33–38 = Ethiopic D. chs. 36–39), a baptismal order (39–45 = Ethiopic D. chs. 39–42), and a list of the bishops ordained by the Apostles (46 = Ethiopic D. ch. 43).

The Ethiopic D. was most probably translated from an Arabic Vorlage no later than in the 14th cent. There are at least two recensions of the Arabic work known as *ad-Dusqūlīyya* (or *ad-Dasqūlīyya*, or *ad-Disqūlīyya*, cf. Baumstark 1900; 1903; GrafLit vol. 1, 564–69); almost nothing is known on the version in ms. St. Petersburg, State Public Library, Orient. 3 (cf. GrafLit vol. 1, 568, 571; Coquin 1974:171). Like the Ethiopic D., those recensions do not correspond to the Greek, Syriac or Latin *Didascalia*. Yet, they both have the same preface as the Ethiopic D. and parallel the "Constitutions of the Apostles" I–VI (for the 1st recension) or I–VII (the 2nd recension). The 1st Arabic recension is divided into 39 chapters and corresponds to "Constitutions of the Apostles" I–VI, though with omissions (V, 13–16; VI, 7–29), with a significant alteration in the order of the subject-matter and the addition of six chapters. It had already been translated in the 11th cent. from a

Coptic (Boḥairic) Vorlage (cf. GrafLit vol. 1, 565f., against Nau's 1911 hypothesis of a translation from Syriac). The 2nd Arabic recension is found only in the ms. VatLib Borgia Ar. 22 (*olim* K IV 24) from 1348 A.D.; it was translated into Arabic in 1295 A.D. by Abū Isḥāq b. Faḍlallāh from a Coptic (Sahidic) Vorlage of 926 A.D. It is divided into 44 chapters and perfectly parallels the "Constitutions of the Apostles" I–VII.

Notwithstanding Graf (GrafLit vol. 1, 566f.), but in keeping with Harden's statements (1920:xii–xvii), the Ethiopic D. (usually divided into 42 or 43 chs.) shows more similarity to the 2nd recension of the Arabic *Didascalia*. However, a direct derivation has not been proved.

The first 21 chapters of the D. were edited and translated by Pell Platt (1834), from a mutilated 15th-cent. ms. BFBS, 191 Eth. (Cowley 1982:74f.), now in the Cambridge University Library (cf. Beylot — Rodinson 1995:46f.); the French translation by Françon (1911-14) covers the first 30 chapters of ms. BritLib Orient. 799 (WrBriMus 278, no. 365), with references to Orient. 793 (WrBriMus 270, no. 361) and to ms. BN, d'Abbadie 79 (CRAbb 69, no. 44); Harden (1920) has provided a translation of the whole text from ms. BritLib Orient. 752 (WrBriMus 214, no. 321), with occasional references to Pell Platt's (1834) edition and other testimonies in London. An edition of the entire text of the D. is still lacking. Other manuscripts of the D. (apart from minor fragments and quotations in the *Haymanotä abäw* that have no value for the Ethiopic tradition) are: BritLib Orient. 797 and 798 (WrBriMus 277, nos. 363, 364); EMML nos. 675, 950 (also containing an Amharic translation of the text), 1188, 6522 (on the margins of a ↗*Senodos*), 6539, 7608, 7647, 8374, 8412; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. Orient. fol. 49 (SixDeu 463f., no. 235; noted already in ZanBibl vol. 2, no. 105); Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, MS. Aethiop. 12, which is Hugo Duensing's working draft, copied from the previous one (cf. SixDeu 278f., no. 123); Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Or. fol. 595 (cf. DillmBerl 35f., no. 42, mutilated); Ṭānāsee 46 = Kebrān 46 (cf. HamTana I, 191); Ṭānāsee 140 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 29 (cf. SixTana III, 156).

Like other pseudo-apostolic works, the D. is attributed to St. Clement. Starting at least from the 14th cent., and mostly in the 15th cent., the identification and the canonical status of the "Books of Clement" (↗*Qalemənṭos*) – as well as other controversies, such as the observance of the Saturday-Sabbath, also prescribed by the D. (cf. Getatchew Haile 1988) – were discussed in Ethiopic works on the basis of authoritative evidence, above the D., the *Senodos* (cf. Bausi 1992:51–67) and the ↗*Kidan zäᵓəgziᵓənä Iyäsus Krəstos*, played an important role. This is the case, in particular, for the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśṭir* by Giyorgis of Sägla, the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*milad* and the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*bərhan* inspired by *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (cf. Wendt 1964) and some hagiographical works.

↗Gəᶜəz literature

Src.: CRAbb; Roger W. Cowley, "Ethiopic", in: Maria Rosaria Falivene – Alan F. Jesson, *Historical Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Bible House Library*, London 1982, 166–221; DillmBerl; J. Françon, "La Didascalie éthiopienne traduite en français", *ROC* 16, 1911, 161–66, 266–70; 17, 1912, 199–203, 286–93; 19, 1914, 183–87 [introduction by François Nau, *ROC* 16, 1911, 161–63]; John M. Harden, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London 1920 (S.P.C.K. Translations of Christian Literature, Ser. IV. Oriental Texts), xciiif.; HamTana I (Lit.); Thomas Pell Platt, *The Ethiopic Didascalia: or, the Ethiopic Version of the Apostolical Constitutions, Received in the Church of Abyssinia*, London 1834; SixDeu (Lit.); SixTana III (Lit.); Arthur Vööbus, *The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac*, Louvain 1979 (CSCO 401, 402; 407, 408 [Scriptores Syri 175, 176, 179, 180]); WrBriMus 214, 270, 277f.

Lit.: Anton Baumstark, "Überlieferung und Bezeugung der διαθήκη τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ", *Römische Quartalschrift* 14, 1900, 1–45; Id., "Die arabischen Texte der Διαθήκη τοῦ Κυρίου", *ibid.* 291–300; Id., "Die Urgestalt der arabischen 'Didaskalia der Apostel'", *OrChr* 3, 1903, 201–08; Alessandro Bausi, "Alcune considerazioni sul «Sēnodos» etiopico", *RSE* 34, 1990 [1992], 5–73 (Lit.); Robert Beylot – Maxime Rodinson, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits éthiopiens*, Paris 1995 (Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes); CPG I (Lit.); René-Georges Coquin, "Le Testamentum Domini: problèmes de tradition textuelle", *Parole de l'Orient* 5, 1974, 165–88; Franz Xaver Funk, *Die Apostolischen Konstitutionen: Eine litterarhistorische Untersuchung*, Rottenburg/Neckar 1891; Id., "Die arabische Didaskalia und die Konstitutionen der Apostel", *Theologische Quartalschrift* 86, 1904, 233–48 [repr. in: Id., *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen*, vol. 3, Paderborn 1907, 350–62]; Getatchew Haile, "The Forty-Nine Hour Sabbath of the Ethiopian Church", *JSS* 33, 1988, 233–54; GrafLit vol. 1 (Lit.); Ernst Hammerschmidt, "Das pseudo-apostolische Schrifttum in äthiopischer Überlieferung", *JSS* 9, 1964, 114–21; Marcel Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, 3 vols., Paris 1985–87 (Sources Chrétiennes 320, 329, 336); François Nau, "Note sur le prologue de la Didascalie arabe et sur quelques Apocryphes arabes pseudo-Clementins", *JA* sér. 10, 17, 1911, 319–23; Bruno Steimer, *Vertex Traditionis. Die Gattung der altchristlichen Kirchenordnungen*, Berlin – New York 1992 (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 63) (Lit.); Kurt Wendt, "Der Kampf um den Kanon Heiliger Schriften in der äthiopischen Kirche der Reformen des XV. Jahrhunderts", *JSS* 9, 1964, 107–13.

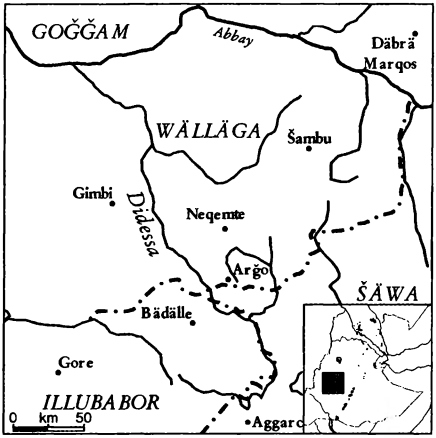
Alessandro Bausi

Didessa

The D. (ዲዴሳ, Orom. Dhidheessaa) is the main left-bank tributary of the ↗Abbay, originating between Dämbi and ↗Gore at an altitude of over 3,000 m A.S.L. in the forested mountains of ↗Limmu. It runs for more than 400 km swinging north to join the ↗Nile, carving on the way a deep canyon between the highlands of ↗Wälläga to the north and east and ↗Illubabor to the south and west. The southern part of its basin (28,130 km², s. *Guida*) includes the rainiest region in Ethiopia, where, over ten months, precipitation exceeds 2.2 m.

Interrupted by falls (Angär, Bereda), its flow is augmented from the right by the Angär river, a tributary draining the mountains which overlook the ↗Guduru plateaux. The discharge of this outlet is erratic, leaping from 20 m³/sec in May to 220 m³/sec in September, with great effect upon the flow of the D. (Daniel 1977). Densely populated by the Oromo, the highlands around Arğo (2,440 m) are widely cultivated. Scattered among cereal fields are clusters of hamlets and villages nestling among ↗*ənsät* and coffee plants. One thousand metres below and downstream, dry forests and bushes form grazing ground for agro-pastoralists, mainly ↗Gumuz, who practice extensive burning.

This hot and paludal valley formerly separated East Wälläga from West Wälläga. Since the 1960s, the expansion of the coffee harvest has led to the development of the road network from ↗Leqemt to ↗Gimbi, ↗Asosa and ↗Gambella to the west and from Arğo to Ğimma to the south. These roads cross the D. canyon at its deepest section and create an opening to the Illubabor enclave.



In 1976, the Relief Commission started a large mechanized commercial farm project in the D. valley, mainly to provide grain for relief purposes. The farm expanded into the lands of the Gumuz, Berta and other pastoralists which generated local conflicts and confrontations.

Src.: FRANÇOIS BALSAN, *Poursuite vers le Nil Blanc*, Paris 1947, 109–23, 144f. (photos 33–35), 160f. (photos 36, 36bis); JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale, journal de mon voyage aux pays amhara, oromo et sidama, septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 278, 284, 304 (map); ROBERT DE BRUN, *Voyage en Éthiopie méridionale, pays galla, changalla et dankali, 1905–1906*, n. d.; EMAtlas; *Guida* 504f.; MesfAtlas² 42.

Lit.: DANIEL GAMACHU, *Aspects of Climate and Water Budget in Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba 1977, 33; GasEth; MesfGeogr; ChTana.

Alain Gascon

Didessa ↗ Mao

Digaluu

D. (Digalo) was a powerful Oromo group that belonged to the ↗Baarentuu confederacy. One branch of D. migrated to the north while the other remained behind in the south, especially in the region of ↗Boorana. During the 16th-cent. pastoral Oromo migration, the D. spearheaded the movement into the central and northern part of the historical Ethiopian empire. The D. fought repeatedly against the soldiers of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, whom they defeated and by whom in turn they were defeated on a number of occasions. They settled among the Christian ↗Amhara population in Bägemdər and the surrounding areas, by whom they were absorbed and assimilated. By the beginning of the 18th cent. the D. who had migrated to the north and central parts of Abyssinia had ceased to be part of the Oromo nation and had become Amharic-speaking Christians, an integral part of the Ethiopian society. However, the other branch of the D., who remained behind in the region of ↗Sidama during the 16th cent. are important members of the Boorana (Bassi 1990:262), the core of the Oromo nation.

Src.: PerChron 83, 93, 384.

Lit.: ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Oromo Democracy: an Indigenous African Political System*, Lawrenceville 2000, 165, 167, 169f., 172; MARCO BASSI, *I Borana*, Milano 1990, 262.

Mohammed Hassen

Digil

The D. belong to the Sab branch of the ↗Somali people. Unlike other Somali clans, the D. are agriculturalists and are looked down upon by the nomads.

In the early 17th cent., the D. moved into southern Somalia from the ↗Ogaden but a few D.-related groups remained in south-east Ethiopia. They settled into the fertile agricultural region between the Juba (↗Ganaalee) and ↗Wabi Šäbälle rivers. Since then, the D. have relied on a mixed economy of camel husbandry, cattle raising, and cultivation. Traditionally, the D. have battled with the Raḫanween over commercial and religious matters and with nomads who sought to encroach on their territories.

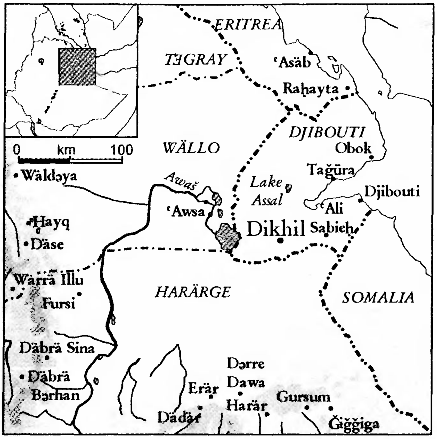
Because of their inferior status, the D. have not played a major role in Somali politics. After ↗World War II, the D. supported a local political organization called the Patriotic Union (EPU). On 25 March 1947, the EPU transformed itself into the Hizbia Digil Mirifle Somalia, which gained 13 seats in the 1956 Legislative Assembly elections but only three seats in the 1969 elections.

The term D. has also been used somewhat loosely for several Somali-related dialects of inter-riverine Somalia spoken both by the D. and other groups (s. Moreno 1955 for ↗May, Lamberti 1986 for the dialects of the ↗Garre, the Tunni, the Dabarre, and the Jiiddu).

Lit.: DAVID D. LAITIN – SAID S. SAMATAR, *Somalia: Nation in Search of a State*, Boulder, CO 1987, 28f.; MARCELLO LAMBERTI, *Die Somali-Dialekte: eine vergleichende Untersuchung*, Hamburg 1986; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, London 1988, 123, 125, 146, 156, 160, 204; HELEN CHAPIN METZ, *Somalia: a Country Study*, Washington, DC 1993, 77ff.; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, *Il somalo della Somalia: grammatica e testi del Benādir, Dārōd e Dighil*, Roma 1955.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Dikhil



Built on a small hilltop at the entrance to the plain where the Wadi Abᵓatu runs, the administrative and military post of D. (Diḫil) was founded in 1928 for the security of the southern borders of what was then French Somaliland (↗Djibouti). The town of D. is located 30 km east of the Ethiopian border (↗ᶜAwsa) and 52 km north of the Addis Abäba–Djibouti Railway (11° 11' N 42° 37' E). It holds a strategic position because of its control of the Hanle depression, one of the principal passages between Ethiopia and Djibouti. Before the arrival of the French, D. with its date-palm plantations and wells, was one of the stations along the caravan route which connected the rich province of ᶜAwsa with the natural salts of Lake ↗Assal and the port of ↗Tağūra.

The indigenous population of the region are the ↗ᶜAfar and the ↗Somali. Besides, there are numerous Arab and Ethiopian merchants attracted by the growing importance of trade with Ethiopia. D., which is located 120 km from the capital of Djibouti and is connected to it by an asphalt road, is also the administrative centre of a large administrative district of the same name and has taken the lead in the development of the region, where pastoral and agricultural activities still dominate. In the 1990s it became the fourth-biggest town in Djibouti, with a population of ca. 10,000 people, having a crucial position along the route between the port of Djibouti and Addis Abäba. It is used by many tourists as a starting point for excursions to Lake Abbe on the border of Ethiopia, famous for its large population of pink flamingos.

Lit.: AUBERT DE LA RUE, *La Somalie française*, Paris 1939; COLETTE DUBOIS, *Djibouti 1888–1967. Héritage ou frustration?*, Paris 1997; PATRICK FRILET – PATRICK EROUART-SIAD, *Djibouti*, Brumath 1999; ROBERT SAINT VERAN, *A Djibouti avec les Afars et les Issas*, Cannes 1977; PIERRE VELLUTINI – PATRICK PIGUET, *Djibouti. Itinéraires géologiques*, Djibouti 1994.

Colette Dubois

Ḏikr

In Islamic mysticism (*taṣawwuf* i.e. 'Sufism'), Ḏ. (ذكر, from the verb *ḏakara* 'to mention, to remember') is an exercise of religious piety, consisting in the recollection of God through repetition of His names or laudatory formulae. Generally meaning 'memory', Ḏ. derives its religious signification from Qurʾānic prescriptions such as: "You who believe, remember God with all your memory" (*sūra* 33:40). This form of prayer is distinct from the daily obligatory *ṣalāt*. Ḏ. can be practised either solitarily and in a whisper, especially in a spiritual retreat (*ḫalwa*), or collectively and loudly during the weekly ritual gatherings (sg. *ḥaḍra*). Besides the invocation of the names of God (e.g. *al-karīm* 'the Generous'; *ar-raḥmān war-raḥīm* 'the Clement, the Merciful'; *huwa* 'He', or simply the final consonant *h*), the most common sentences pronounced in Ḏ. are : *lā ilāha illā llāh* 'there is no god but God'; *al-ḥamdu lillāh* 'Praise be to God'; *Allāhu akbar* 'God is the Greatest'. According to the preferences of each congregation (*ṭarīqa*), Ḏ. is performed in a specific ritual order, with peculiar breathings and physical movements. In the *ḥaḍra* ritual, Ḏ. is usually associated with the recitation of litanies (*awrād*, pl. of *wird*, used as sg. by Ethiopian Muslims) or spiritual poems (*manẓūma*).

In Ethiopia Ḏ. (Harari *zikri*, Somali *digri*) formulae may be recited to cure people afflicted by evil spirits (e.g., ↗*zar*). The frontier between ecstasy sought in Ḏ. and possession rituals may thus appear rather blurred, even though religious leaders strongly assert the distinction between both practices.

↗Islam; ↗Islamic brotherhoods

Lit.: DUNCAN Black MACDONALD, "Ḏhikr", in: *EI¹*, vol. 1, 983–84; LOUIS GARDET, " Ḏhikr", in: *EI²*, vol. 2, 230–33; ID., "Un problème de mystique comparée: la mention du nom divin (*dhikr*) dans la mystique musulmane", *Revue Thomiste* 2, 1952, 642–79; *ibid.* 3, 1953, 197–216; ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill 1975, 167–78; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 200–17.

Éloi Ficquet

Ḏikr in Harär: Zikri

Zikri is the Harari equivalent to Ḏ., but in ↗Harär the term refers not only to the various forms of ritual recitation and their ceremonial contexts, but also to the individual devotional songs performed during the Ḏ. rituals. Among the ceremonial traditions developed by Ethiopian Muslims, *zikri* is quite a significant one, developed in the city that has been for centuries the main centre of ↗Islam in East Africa.

Zikri rituals are the result of a peculiar historical process during which ceremonial and doctrinal traits coming from the Arab countries were assimilated and transformed within the Harari culture. The rituals take place in the local Muslim shrines, in the *Nabi Gār* (lit. 'House of the Prophet'), during weddings and funeral mournings, in private houses or in the streets of the town. In the sacred places, weekly gatherings are held on the nights from Thursday to Friday, but also numerous other occasions such as the festivities of the Islamic ↗calendar or the anniversaries of the major saints are celebrated.

The religious hymns performed during the ceremonies probably originated from the repertoire of *qaṣīdas* brought to Harär from Arab countries, and still today most of the *zikri* performed are in Arabic. Additionally, a rich body of texts in Harari (and several other local languages, above all ↗Oromiffa) has developed. These texts play a relevant role in ↗Harari literature.

On the musical level, *zikri* songs are characterized by male responsorial singing, accompa-

Zikri ritual in Harär (right: reading from the *Mawlūd*, left: singing *zikri*), photos 2000 by Simone Tarsitani, courtesy of Archivi di Etnomusicologia, Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome nied by large kettle-drums (*karabu*) and pairs of wooden blocks (*kabal*). The large number of melodies, which bear no resemblance to either the Arab music or the neighbouring musical cultures, is generally based on portions of the diatonic scale, with ranges varying from a major third to the octave. The singing is almost strictly syllabic and generally monodic. Nevertheless certain elements of the performance should be taken into account: these include the heterophonic processes generated by the combination of several melodic variations sung at the same time and the overlapping of the soloist's voice with the chorus at the end of every stanza.

The rhythmic accompaniment is based on three main models: the *qaṣīda karabu*, the *quç quç* and a family of rhythms that has several forms named *ḥarat čala, sūt čala, asra siddist čala* etc. These models are quite far from the Arab rhythms and derive to some extent from elements of the local musical pagan cults. They have different functions relating to the rituals and to the moments of performance. The *qaṣīda karabu*, based on a binary form and played continuously, is suitable for dancing. The *quç quç* and the *čala* family, based on more complex patterns arranged depending on the text, are characterized by the interruption of the rhythmic part during the solo singing section, thus allowing the participants to follow more carefully the meaning of the religious lyrics.

Four main categories of *zikri* can be distinguished. The *zikris* performed during the ceremonial reading of the ↗*Mawlūd*, mainly accompanied by the *qaṣīda karabu*, are the most common and are currently performed on the occasion of weddings and of the most important celebrations in the shrines. The *zikris* of the *Nabi Gār*, usually with lyrics in Harari, are accompanied by the *quç quç* and the *čala* rhythms. These hymns are the most peculiar of the Harari culture and they seem to have developed in order to fulfil the teaching needs of the distinctive devotional place they are performed in. The *zikris* for the households in mourning (*amūta gār*) are similar to the ones of the *Nabi Gār*, but their texts are related to the funerary occasion and are typically performed by a man – singing and playing *karabu* – and a choir of women responding to him. The last category is that of the female *zikris*. These are generally performed during weddings or during the mourning time, accompanied by the small drum used by the women or only sung. Women rarely sing *zikris* in the shrines.

Lit.: CerIslam; ZENEBE BEKELE, *Music in the Horn. A Preliminary Analytical Approach to the Study of Ethiopian Music*, Stockholm 1987; CAMILLA GIBB, *In the City of Saints: Religion, Politics and Gender in Harar*, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford 1996; ECKHARD NEUBAUER, "Islamic Religious Music", in: STANLEY SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London 1980; CHRISTIAN POCHÉ, "Zikr and Musicology", *The World of Music* 20, 1, 1978, 59–73; GILBERT ROUGET, *La musique et la transe*, Paris 1980; AMNON SHILOAH, *Music in the World of Islam*, Detroit, MI 1995; SIMONE TARSITANI, "Zikri Rituals in Harar: a Musical Analysis", in: *PICES* 15, in preparation; AHMED ZEKARIA, "Some Remarks on Shrines of Harar", in: BERTRAND HIRSCH – MANFRED KROPP (eds.), *Saints, Biographies and History in Africa*, Frankfurt am Main 2003, 19–29.

Simone Tarsitani

Dilgāmis

D. (دلجامس) was the last *sulṭān* of the ↗Maḫzūmī dynasty in ↗Šäwa and ruled in the years 1263–69, 1278–79 and 1280–85. When he came to power after the abdication of his brother Girām Gazʾi on 6 December 1263, the dynasty was already in total turmoil: several lines of the family strove for supremacy. Rebellions of tribes and towns followed one after the other and droughts and plagues became the consequence.

In his first years, D. was quite successful. In 1264/65 he killed the prince of ↗Mora. In 1266/67 he subdued several notables (*umarāʾ wuzarāʾ wa-salāṭīn*) who must have been in opposition to him before, and in 1269 he killed the prince of ↗Ǧidāya. But then, on 2 October 1269, Dilmārra b. Mālzarra, who belonged to another line of the Maḫzūmī family, made himself *sulṭān*. Perhaps a fight with the people of Degun, which had occurred shortly before, was not successful. The deposed D. did not give up till he and his brothers were taken prisoners in June/July 1276 after losing a battle at Abut.

The problems with which Dilmārra was confronted were almost the same as those of D. More than that: with the newly established ↗Walašmaᶜ dynasty in ↗Ifat, an enemy appeared who was more dangerous than the petty tribal chieftains. First, Dilmārra tried to neutralize the new menace by marrying a Walašmaᶜ princess in 1271. That gave him only a short reprieve. At the end of 1276, Walašmaᶜ and his son ᶜAlī appeared in Šäwa. Dilmārra had to flee from one place to the next and finally to the Christian Emperor.

The chaos all over, this gave D. the chance to regain the throne in July/August 1278. The change of government did not hinder the

Walašmaᶜ from continuing their conquest. D. had to fight on different fronts: against the Walašmaᶜ, against ᶜAbdallāḥ b. Ǧanāḥ, a remote relative of his own family who made himself *sulṭān* for nine months (May/June 1279 – January/February 1280), against Dilmārra who returned in April/May 1280, but was taken prisoner and killed by the Walašmaᶜ in May 1283, and against several other rebels. The final end came in July/August 1285. Walašmaᶜ entered Šäwa again, deposed the Maḫzūmī and killed the entire family.

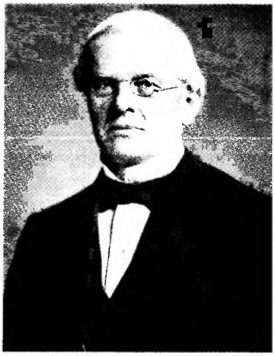
Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 3–36 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 207–43]; BELAYNESH MICHAEL, "Dil-Gāmis", in: *DicEthBio.*51.

Ewald Wagner

Dillmann, Christian Friedrich August

D. (b. 25 April 1823, Illingen, Germany, d. 4 July 1894, Berlin) was one of the most prominent Ethiopisants of the 19th cent.; oftentimes he is even referred to as the founder of modern-day ↗Ethiopian Studies. Various aspects of Gəᶜəz philology were at the centre of D.'s scholarly endeavours. A considerable number of his works in this field have not been superseded and quite a few of them are still indispensable for the philologist and the historian alike.

D. was a Protestant theologian by training. From 1840–45 he studied in Tübingen, where Heinrich von ↗Ewald probably first inspired to him an interest in Gəᶜəz and Ethiopian things. After an interlude of half a year of service as a curate, D. in 1846 received a Ph.D. from Tübingen University. Thereafter, he devoted his life entirely to scholarly work in the two fields of Ethiopian and Old Testament Studies. D. spent the years 1846–48 in Paris, London and Oxford, where he studied the local Ethiopian manuscript collections. The immediate outcome of these researches were his two model catalogues of the Ethiopian manuscripts in London's British Museum (↗British Library) and Oxford's ↗Bodleian Library (1847, 1848). After his return to Tübingen in 1848, D. became an instructor for O.T. and Oriental Languages at the Theological Seminar. In 1853, still in Tübingen, he was promoted to the rank of professor and thereafter held positions at the Universities of Kiel (1854), Gießen (1864) and, finally, Berlin (1869), where he spent the rest of his life. It was also in Berlin that D. in 1878 published the third and last of his great manuscript catalogues, a description of the Ethiopian collection in the German capital's Royal Library (today: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).


Christian Friedrich August Dillmann; from Hammerschmidt 1988

D.'s intensive work with Ethiopian manuscripts, be it in the elaboration of catalogues or in the preparation of text editions (see below), made him keenly aware of the lack of adequate philological tools for the study of Gəᶜəz. At the same time, this work offered him an opportunity to gather and excerpt much textual material. This laid the basis for D.'s own attempts to remedy the situation and to provide such tools. Within less than a decade, he published a Gəᶜəz grammar (1857), a monumental Gəᶜəz-Latin dictionary (1865) and a Gəᶜəz chrestomathy (1866), thereby single-handedly creating an apparatus of Gəᶜəz philology. All three of these works have been reprinted well into the 20th cent.

From the outset D.'s philological groundwork was no arid exercise undertaken for its own sake, but stimulated by an interest in Gəᶜəz literature and intended to facilitate its exploration. This is amply demonstrated by the numerous and often richly annotated text-editions which D. published throughout his career. In his selection of texts D.'s theological roots are easily discernible. As is well known, the O.T. canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church traditionally comprises a number of books absent from the canons of the Western and Greek churches. Evidently these "apocryphal" books are of particular interest to the Ethiopianist and the O.T. scholar alike. It therefore seems consistent that D. published editions of the three most important ones from among these "O.T. apocrypha". In 1851 the *Mäṣḥafä Henok* (s.

↗Enoch) was D.'s first Ethiopic text edition, complemented in 1853 by a translation and a commentary. The Gəᶜəz version of the *Book of ↗Jubilees*, of which he had already given a translation in the *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft* (2, 1849/50, 230–56; 3, 1850/51, 1–96), was published in 1859, and the *Ascension of ↗Isaiah* followed suit in 1877.

With respect to the standard O.T. in Gəᶜəz, D. had set himself the task of publishing all its books in critical annotated editions. According to his plan, this was to be achieved in five volumes. Vol. 1, the Gəᶜəz Octateuch, appeared as early as 1853. Over the years, however, the immense task proved to be beyond even D.'s capacities. Already vol. 2, comprising the Books of Samuel and Kings, had to be published in two instalments in 1861 and 1871, and the projected vols. 3 and 4 never materialized. Vol. 5, comprising the deuterocanonical books (*Baruch, Epistola Jeremiae, Tobith, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Sapientia, Esdrae Apocalypsis, Esdras Graecus*), appeared only posthumously in 1894. In 1879, however, stepping outside his comprehensive scheme, D. had already published the Gəᶜəz version of Joel in a collective publication devoted to this prophet. Beyond the biblical books, D. translated the *Gädlä ↗Adam* (*Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft* 5, 1852/53; 1853) and in his *Chrestomathia Aethiopica* offered editions of a number of shorter religious texts in Gəᶜəz.

Also in the field of O.T. studies proper, D. counted among the leading scholars of his day. His main contribution in this domain were a series of commentaries on major O.T. books (the whole Pentateuch, Job, Isaiah). All of these commentaries saw reprints during D.'s lifetime, those on Genesis and Isaiah even multiple ones. D., moreover, left a manuscript version of an O.T. theology, which Rudolf Kittel posthumously (1895) published as *Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie*.

As a virtual pioneer in Gəᶜəz philology, D. almost inevitably had to devote the greater part of his work to the basic tasks sketched above: manuscript description, creation of philological tools, publication of a corpus of texts. He was not, however, as a matter of principle averse to historical synthesis and interpretation. Hammerschmidt (1968:20) claims that D., early in his career, even conceived the idea of writing a comprehensive history of Ethiopia. Such a work never materialised, but D. published a number of shorter studies on the history of ↗Aksum and on the early Solomonic period, such as, e.g., "Über die Anfänge des Axumitischen Reiches" (1853; ^{2}1878/79) and "Die Kriegstaten des Königs ᶜAmda-Ṣion gegen die Muslim" (1883).

Src.: DillmLond; DillmBodl; DillmLex; DillmZarY; AUGUST DILLMANN, *Das Buch Henoch*, Leipzig 1853; ID., *Biblia Veteris Testamenti aethiopica, in quinque tomos distributa* ..., vol. 1: *Octateuchus Aethiopicus*, Lipsiae 1853–55, vol. 2: *Libri Rerum, Paralipomenon, Esdrae, Esther*, Lipsiae 1861–71; ID., *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache*, Leipzig 1857, ^{2}1899 [English tr.: *Ethiopic Grammar*, ed. by CARL BEZOLD, tr. by JAMES A. CRICHTON, London 1907]; AUGUST FERDINAND MICHAEL VAN MEHREN, *Codices orientales Bibliothecæ Regiæ Haviensis jussu et auspiciis regis Daniæ augustissimi Christiani Octavi enumerati et descripti* ..., part 3, Havniæ 1857, 78f. [2 ms. described by D.]; AUGUST DILLMANN, መጽሐፈ፡ ኩፋሌ *sive Liber Jubilaeorum* ..., Londini 1859; ID., *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, Lipsiae 1866 [repr. in: ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT (ed.), *Anthologia Aethiopica*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1988]; ID., *Ascensio Isaiae aethiopice et latine cum prolegomenis* ..., Lipsiae 1877; ID., "Der aethiopische Text des Joel", in: ADALBERT MERX, *Die Prophetie des Joel und ihre Ausleger*, Halle/Saale 1879, 449–58; AUGUST DILLMANN, "Zur Geschichte des Axumitischen Reiches im vierten bis sechsten Jahrhundert", *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Philosophische-historische Klasse* 1880–81, 1–51; ID., "Bemerkungen zur Grammatik des Geez und zur alte Geschichte Abessiniens", *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1890, 3–17; s. also Lockot I.

Lit.: WOLF WILHELM GRAF BAUDISSIN, "August Dillmann", Leipzig 1895 [offprint from: *Allgemeine Zeitung* (München), no. 123–25, 1895]; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopistik an deutschen Universitäten*, Wiesbaden 1968, 16–21, 70ff. (Lit.); ENNO LITTMANN, "August Dillmann, 1823–1894", in: MAX MILLER (ed.), *Schwäbische Lebensbilder*, Stuttgart 1940, vol. 1, 105–14 [repr. in: RUDI PARET – ANTON SCHALL (eds.), *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik. Lebensbilder aus der Feder von Enno Littmann und Verzeichnis seiner Schriften* ..., Wiesbaden 1955, 1–10] (Lit.); UllBibl.

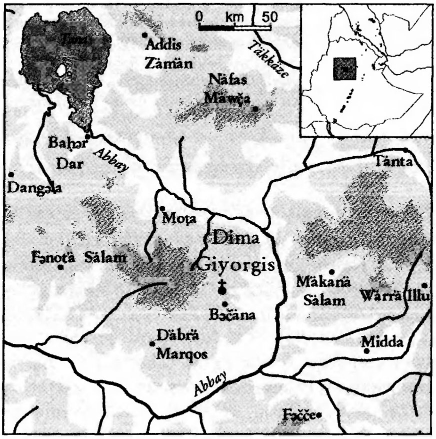
Michael Kleiner

Dima Giyorgis

The monastery of D.G. (ዲማ፡ ጊዮርጊስ, known also as Däbrä Dima or Däbrä Dəmaḥ [not to be confused with ↗Däbrä Dəmaḥ in Eritrea]) is located in Ǝnnämay *wäräda* (former ↗Bəčäna *awrağğa*) 8 km from Bəčäna, between the rivers Gäd and Ziya, in Goğğam. The word *dima* is traditionally believed to be derived from Gəᶜəz ድማኅ (*dəmaḥ*, 'head, skull'). It is said to refer to the honour and prestige of the monastery or its head-like form on top of a cliff.

D.G. is believed to have been founded by *abba* Bäkimos of Däbrä Asbo (↗Däbrä Libanos). According to a local legend, he drove away a female demon Ǝmmäwəlad and performed many miracles, including one involving a super natural heavenly light, hence his name ↗Täkäśtä Bərhan ('light has been revealed'). He evangelized the area and founded a church dedicated to St.Mary in a cave at Dima (ca. 1376), which was raised to the status of a ↗*gädam* by *aṣe* ↗DawitII in 1395. Täkäśtä Bərhan's successor as abbot, *abba* Ṭomos, visited the royal court in the time of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq and returned with the ↗*tabot* of George of Lydda. The position of D.G. was changed to that of a ↗*däbr* (cp. Cerulli 1943:1f.). *Aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl confirmed the autonomous status of D.G. During the period of incursions led by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ), the monastery was not destroyed, but the monks had to flee. In 1655, under *abba* Wäldä Giyorgis, a new church was built to replace the cave-church (called Qädamit Maryam). In the following centuries D.G. remained an ardent supporter of the ↗*Qəbat* faction. D.G.'s connection to Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa was always close.

In the time of the struggle against the Italians, D.G. was a centre of resistance. In 1938 the monastery was bombed, leaving the church undamaged but inflicting many casualties among the monks. At a major battle in 1939, the Italian forces led by Major Dabobo were defeated at D.G.



Dima Giyorgis, entrance gate; photo courtesy of the IES

As the locality was administered by *däǧǧazmač* Ṣäḥayä Ǝnq^{w}ä Śəllase (1960–68), D.G. lost its administrative and judicial rights and revenues. This led to an exodus of clerics as its prestige waned. D.G. was a prestigious centre of traditional education, specializing in ↗*qəne* poetry and ↗*tərg^{w}ame* interpretation; the treasury of the monastery is reported to be unusually rich (manuscripts, paintings on wood, liturgical vestments, paraphernalia, s. Henze 1977; particularly interesting is a Gospels manuscript, richly illustrated and very close to ms. BritLib, Orient. 510, ChojPaint 68).

↗Täklä Alfa; ↗Monasteries

Src.: KinBibl no. 148, 91; AmhChurchD vol.4., 31ff.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli Atti di Takla Alfa", *Annali IUO* 2, 1943, 1–85, esp. 1–5 (Lit.); PAUL BERNARD HENZE, *Ethiopian Journeys: Travels in Ethiopia, 1969–72*, London 1977; ChojPaint 68, s. index.

Joachim Persoon

Dimbo Garbaa ↗Lidia Garbaa

Dime

Dime language

D. is an ↗Omotic language of the Eastern subfamily (BendLang) spoken by 5,587 people in the district of Salamago in the southern Omo zone, 120 km from the administrative centre, Ǧinka. The D. speakers refer to their language as *Dim aaf* (also *Dim af*, *Dim ko af*, 'D. of mouth' or 'mouth of D.'). The two mutually intelligible dialects of D. are Garfa and Uṣa. Most of the D. speakers are bilingual or multilingual, since they interact with the neighbouring speakers of other languages, such as Bodi (↗Meʾen), ↗Basketo, ↗Gofa, ↗Amharic etc. (Mulugeta Seyoum 1998:1f.; 1999). Fleming

(1990) argues that there are D. speakers outside the D. land who are refugees in Basketo and the ↗Aari mountains, plus the few D. Amhara who have travelled elsewhere.

The consonant phonemes of D. include: stops (*p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, ʾ), fricatives (*f*, *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*, *x*, *y*, *kx*, *ʁ*, *h*), affricates (*ts*, *č*, *ğ*), nasals (*m*, *n*), liquids (*l*, *r*), ejectives and implosives (*p̣*, *ṣ*, *tṣ*, *ṭ*, *č̣*, *q*, *ɗ*) and glides (*w*, *y*). It has a total of 33 consonant and 9 vowel phonemes. The vowels are front (*i*, *e*, *ε*), central (*ɨ*, *ə*) and back (*u*, *o*, *ɔ*, *a*). Except for the central vowels and the lax front and back vowels *ε* and *ɔ*, the other five vowels have their long counterparts. In pre-vowel position, the non-geminated bilabial consonants *p* and *b* occur as *ɸ* and *β* respectively.

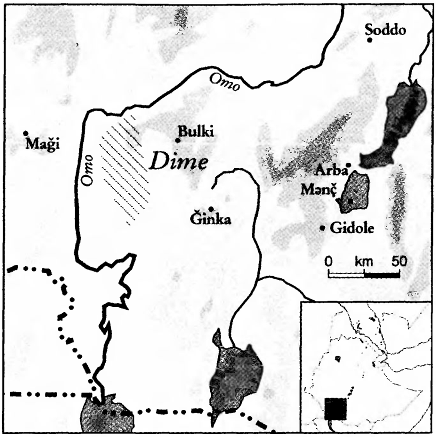
In D., word-medial and word-final clusters of two consonants do occur, while initial clusters do not occur in the words of the language. The following are the syllable types of D. (where C means consonant and V vowel): CV, CVC, CVV, CVVC, CVCC, CVVCC. The first two are considered as light syllables, while the other four types heavy.

Gemination is phonemic and results in minimal pairs in D., for instance, *ʾime*, 'breast' vs. *ʾimme*, 'give him', *guluu*, 'an owned land' vs. *gulluu*, 'a nucleus of wood' etc. However, gemination is not as common as in ↗Amharic and never occurs at word-initial position. The tones (high and low) are also phonemic. Examples of minimal pairs are: *góɸú* (high-high), 'navel' vs. *góɸù* (high-low), 'ribs' vs. *gòɸú* (low-high), 'pressed' (Mulugeta Seyoum 2002).

Plurals are usually formed by adding affixes to the noun stems. For instance, the following nouns use the plural suffix *af*: *gostu*, 'man' – *gostaf*, 'men', *diibi*, 'rain' – *diibaf*, 'rains'. The definite nouns are marked with the suffix *-is*, e.g., *gostafis*, 'the men'. The direct object is indicated by the suffix *-im* attached to the stem of the object noun, while the indirect object and benefactive are indicated by the suffix *-in*. The following is an example: *atu naʁ-im der-in baʾat*/I water-obj goat-to took-I/'I took water to goat'.

Fleming (1990) pointed out that the basic verb in D. is normally positive and active, as opposed to negative and passive, in its unmarked state. Normally, negation has to be marked by a special suffix and so does passivity.

The ten basic vocabulary items of D. are:



wokkəl	'one'	*maḥse*	'blood'
qəstən	'two'	*ʾiyyi*	'sun'
ṣeet	'three'	*ʾirfii*	'moon'
nunu	'fire'	*ʿáfé*	'teeth/mouth'
nəyay	'water'	*ɗootu*	'leg'

Lit.: BendLang 46–49; HAROLD FLEMING, "A Grammatical Sketch of Dime (Dim-Af) of the Lower Omo", in: Richard J. HAYWARD (ed.), *Omotic Language Studies*, London 1990; ID., "Omotic Overview", in: *BendNonSLang* 299–322; MULUGETA SEYOUM, *Phonology of Dime*, Addis Ababa University 1998 (ms.), 1–35; ID., የዲሜ፡ ብሔረሰብ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ፡ አጭር፡ ቅኝት (*Yädime bəḥeräsäb bahlənna qʷanqʷa ač̣č̣ər qəññət*, 'Some Brief Information about the Culture and the Language of Dime people'), *Journal of the Ethiopian Languages Research Centre* 1, 1, 1999; ID., *Dime Field Report*, Jinka 2002 (ms.); RALPH SIEBERT, "A Survey of the Dime Language", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 31, 1995, 2–14; AKLILU YILMA – RALPH SIEBERT, "Survey of Chara, Dime, Melo and Nayi, part 1", *ibid.* 25, 1995, 2–7.

Mulugeta Seyoum

Dime ethnography

The D. are an indigenous population of sedentary agriculturalists, living in a relatively isolated outlier of the highlands of southern Ethiopia around the mountain Ğimša (or "Mount Smith"), in the large bend of the ↗Omo River. According to official statistics of 1994, they numbered around 6,200 people. Neighbours of the D. are the Surmic-speaking Bodi (↗Meʾen) to the south and the ↗Basketo and ↗Gofa at some distance to the east. The Omo River is their north-western border.

Like the ↗Dizi, who live across the Omo to their south-west, the D. were an independent, hierarchically organized society of chiefdoms,

Dime market of Goldo; photo 1950/52 by Eike Haberland, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23–Ha071–11)

based on agriculture and cattle-raising. They were also one of the few remaining Ethiopian societies that until the late 1970s retained the traditional art of iron-smelting, carried out in 1.5-m-high earthen furnaces. The iron was used for spears, plough points and various other tools and sold to their neighbours.

Following their inclusion in the Ethiopian political economy after 1898, the relatively prosperous D. were heavily hit by the northern occupation, due to a particularly exploitative type of ↗*gäbbar* system established among them. Northern (mostly Amhara) settlers became the new administrators and lords of the D., although they became strongly assimilated to D. society and language. Many D. were enslaved and disappeared to the north. They were also vulnerable to frequent attacks and raids on life and property (cattle) from the Bodi agro-pastoralists, from whom they were not protected by the Imperial police or army – the latter had even disarmed the local D. highland population.

Since the early years of the 20th cent., D. has been a society in crisis and demographic decline, due to violence, disease, economic decline and emigration. In recent decades there has been some stabilization of their numbers.

D. now survive as subsistence farmers in a relatively fertile but precarious highland zone, in an uneasy relationship with the Bodi. They cultivate on terraced fields. Their main products are sorghum, *ṭef*, maize, *ənsät*, root crops, beans, bananas and coffee. Due to a lack of roads and transport, there is little or no connection to outside markets. Most "D. Amhara" people have also left the D. country in recent years. The Bodi have encroached on D. territory, virtually annexing it (Gärfa and Irka areas), and D. in the lower-lying areas bordering the Bodi have become their 'clients'.

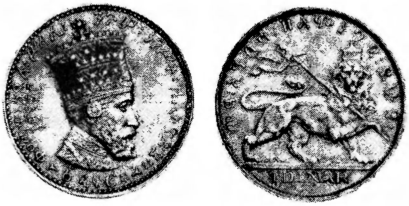
Lit.: HAROLD C. FLEMING, "The Dime of Gemu-Gofa: Ethnography of a Tragedy", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 449–51; EIKE HABERLAND, "Die Dime", in: *VSAe* I, 227–62; DAVE TODD, "Aspects of Chieftainship in Dimam, South West Ethiopia", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 71, 1978, 311–22; ID., "War and Peace between the Bodi and Dime of South-Western Ethiopia", in: KATSUYOSHI FUKUI – DAVID TURTON (eds.), *Warfare among East African Herders*, Osaka 1979, 211–25; JUDITH TODD, "Iron Production by the Dimi of Southern Ethiopia", in: RANDI G. HAALAND – PETER LEWIS SHINNIE (eds.), *African Iron Working – Ancient and Modern*, Oslo 1985, 88–101.

Jon G. Abbink

Dīnār

D. (دينار) is the name of the standard gold coin in the Arab world. It was known and also sparsely used in medieval Ethiopia as attested by Arab literary sources of the 13th cent. as well as by stray finds.

When *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I devised his first ↗currency reform in 1931, it was planned to be backed by gold. This might be the reason why the largest of the new coins was projected as a piece inscribed "1 Dinar". However, in the course of the international monetary crisis, the plan of a gold standard had to be abandoned and the coin did not go into circulation, only a few trial strikes (on silver planchets of half-*bərrs*) being known.



"1 Dinar" with coronation date 1923 A.M. [1930 A.D.]; photo courtesy of the author

↗Coinage

Lit.: PankSoc 295; DENNIS GILL, *The Coinage of Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Italian Somalia*, New York 1991, 52f., 147.

Wolfgang Hahn

Dinča ↗Č̣enča

Dīnī Muḥammad Burhān

D.M.B. (دينى محمد برهان) was *sulṭān* of ↗Raḥayta in the early 1860s. He was one of the more important ᶜAfar chiefs who agreed to sell the small port of Raḥayta to the French government by an agreement negotiated in Paris in February–March 1862 by the son of *sulṭān* ↗Abū Bakr of Zaylaᶜ. This French purchase was the first step towards the acquisition of ↗Obock and ↗Djibouti.

Lit.: JEAN DORESSE, *Histoire sommaire de la Corne orientale de l'Afrique*, Paris 1971; MARC FONTRIER, *Abou Bakr Ibrahim Pacha de Zeyla, marchand d'esclaves* ..., Paris 2003; RubActa II, s. index.

Sven Rubenson

Dir

Dir language

D. (Northern Somali, "Northern Somali in its proper sense", also called Isaaq) designates a group of Somali dialects spoken in the extreme north-western part of the Somali-speaking territory: the ↗Djibouti Republic, the three regions forming the former British Somaliland: Waqooyi Galbeed, Togɖeer and Sanaag of the Democratic Republic of ↗Somalia, as well as in eastern Ethiopia along the frontier with north-west Somalia (s. map in Lamberti 1986a:33). The D. cluster consists of three dialect groups, namely: (1) that spoken by the ↗ᶜIssa (Ciise) in Djibouti and in the district of Zaylaᶜ (Waqooyi Galbeed); (2) the one spoken by the ↗Gadabuursi (Geedabuursi) in the Somali region of Waqooyi Galbeed; and (3) D. dialect proper spoken in the Somali regions of Waqooyi Galbeed, Togɖeer and Sanaag as well as in eastern Ethiopia in the south of the frontier with north-west Somalia.

Among these dialects D. proper is the one with by far the greatest number of speakers, and which has received the most attention in scholarly literature. It may be the best analysed Somali dialect in general. This also explains why in the past the D. dialects have often been identified with D. proper (cf. Cerulli 1919; Moreno 1955:iii–iv). The D. cluster is part of the so-called "Northern Somali" dialects (cf. Lamberti 1986b:13–16, 1986a:30ff.), roughly corresponding to Andrzejewski's (1971) "Common Somali". The "Northern Somali" is a cluster of relatively homogeneous dialects (Lamberti 1988).

The northern Somali dialects differ from the other Somali dialects spoken in central and southern Somalia and along its central and southern coast, as well as in Kenya. The main peculiarities of the Northern Somali dialects are the presence of the pharyngeal phonemes /ᶜ/ and /ḥ/, i.e., *c* and *x* in Somali orthography, a clear distinction between /q/ and /ḵ/, i.e., *q* and *kh*, plurals of monosyllabic masculine nouns with partial reduplication (e.g., *sanan*, 'noses' from *san*), the occurrence of *-koo*/*-too* as one of the demonstratives, an opposition between inclusive 1st pers. pl. *innaga*, 'we (but not you)' and exclusive 1st pers. pl. *annaga*, 'we and you', etc. (for more details see Lamberti 1986a:49–57). Among the peculiarities that distinguish the D. dialects from the rest of Northern Somali the following should be pointed out:

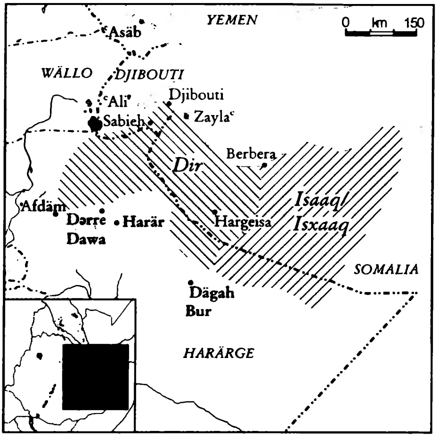
1. the phoneme /ɖ/ always maintains its realization as [ɖ] even between vowels and word-finally, while in the rest of Northern Somali it is realized either as retroflex [ɽ] or as plain [r] intervocalically, cf. Dir *wuu yi*[ɖ]*i* 'he said' vs. the rest of Northern Somali *wuu yi*[ɽ]*i* or *wuu/waa yi*[r]*i*;
2. the more restricted distribution of the plural morpheme *-yaal*, that occurs only in non-monosyllabic masculine nouns ending in a vowel;
3. in negated sentences the negation merges with the subject pronouns in a different way to what it does in the other Northern Somali dialects.

Pers.	Dir	rest of Northern Somali	meaning
1st sg.	*ma-ˀaan*	*ma/ maan/ ma-ˀaan-an*	'I did/do not'
2nd sg.	*ma-ˀaad*	*ma/ maad/ maad-an/ ma-ˀaad-an*	'You did/do not ...', etc.
3rd masc. sg.	*ma-ˀuu*	*ma/ muu/ maas/ ma-ˀuus-an*	
3rd fem. sg./3rd pl.	*ma-ˀay*	*ma/ may/ may-na/ may-n-an*	
1st pl.	*ma-ˀaannu*	*ma/ maan/ maan-an/ ma-ˀaan-an*	
2nd pl.	*ma-ˀaaydin*	*ma/ maad/ maydn-an/ ma-ˀayd-an*	

Language samples

Ten-word list: *koow*, 'one'; *laba*, 'two'; *saddeḥ* (*saddex*), 'three'; *biyo*, 'water'; *dab*, 'fire'; *qorraḥ* (*qorrax*), 'sun'; *bil*, 'moon'; *ɖiig* (*dhiig*), 'blood'; *ᶜarrab* (*carrab*), 'tongue'; *ilig*, 'tooth'.

Personal pronouns: 1st pers. sg. *ani-ga* (I/me), 2nd pers. sg. *adi-ga*, 'thou/thee'; 3rd pers. masc.



sg. *isa-ga*, 'he/him'; 3rd pers. fem. sg. *iya-da*, 'she/her'; 1st pers. pl. (incl.) *inna-ga*, 'we/us'; 1st pers. pl. (excl.) *anna-ga*, 'we/us'; 2nd pers. pl. *idin-ka*, 'you'; 3rd pers. pl. *iya-ga*, 'they/them'.

Demonstratives are highly developed in distinguishing different degrees of nearness/farness (here only the masc. forms are given): *-ka* the common article, *-kii* the remote article, *-kan* and *-ka-kan*, 'this' (near to the speaker), *-kaa* and *-kaas*, 'that', *-koo*, 'that' (in the middle distance) and *-keer*, 'that' (in the far distance).

The copula is *waa* ,'is/are'.

The most important works on the D. dialect include Reinisch's (1900–03) contribution with a comprehensive dictionary (Somali–German/German–Somali), numerous texts provided with German translation and a noteworthy grammar for the time; papers by von Tiling (1918, 1919–20, 1925) on morphology; Bell's (1953) textbook; and in the second half of the 20th cent. above all the contribution of Andrzejewski (cp. Lamberti 1986c). Mention should also be made of Hetzron's work on northern Somali syntax; and of a comparative description of the northern Somali dialects by Lamberti (1988).

Src.: author's own data.

Lit.: BOGUMIL WITALIS ANDRZEJEWSKI, "The Problem of Vowel Representation in the Isaaq Dialect of Somali", *BSOAS* 17, 1955, 567–80; ID., "Accentual Patterns in the Verbal Forms in the Isaaq Dialect of Somali", *ibid.* 18, 1, 1956, 103–29; ID., "Pronominal and Prepositional Particles in Northern Somali", *African Language Studies* 1, 1960, 96–108; ID., "Notes on the Substantive Pronouns in Somali", *ibid.* 2, 1961, 80–99; ID., *The Declensions of Somali Nouns*, London 1964; ID., "Inflectional Characteristics of the So-called Weak Verbs in Somali", *African Language Studies* 9, 1968, 1–51; LEO REINISCH – BOGUMIL WITALIS ANDRZEJEWSKI, "Some Observations on Hybrid Verbs in Somali", *ibid.* 10, 1969, 47–89; CHRISTOPHER RICHARD VINCENT BELL, *The Somali Language*, London 1953; ENRICO CERULLI, "Nota sui dialetti somali", *RSO* 8, 1919, 693–99; ROBERT HETZRON, "The particle baa in Northern Somali", *Journal of African Languages* 4, 1965, 118–30; JOHN WILLIAM CARNEGIE KIRK, *A Grammar of the Somali Language with Examples in Prose and Verse and an Account of the Yibir and Midgan Dialects*, Cambridge 1905; MARCELLO LAMBERTI, *Die Somali-Dialekte: Eine vergleichende Untersuchung*, Hamburg 1986a (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 5), 30ff.; ID., *Map of Somali Dialects in the Somali Democratic Republic*, Hamburg 1986b, 13–16; ID., *Somali Language and Literature*, Hamburg, 1986c (African Linguistic Bibliographies 2); ID., *Die Nordsomali-Dialekte: Eine synchronische Beschreibung. Studia Linguarum Africae Orientalis*, vol. 1, Heidelberg 1988 (Lit.); MARTINO MARIO MORENO, *Il somalo della Somalia. Grammatica e testi del Benādir, Dārōd e Dighil*, Roma 1955, iii–iv; MARIA VON TILING, "Adjektiv-Endungen im Somali", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenensprachen* 10, 1919–20, 208–40.

Marcello Lamberti

Dir ethnography

The D., the oldest of four pastoral ↗Somali clan families (others include ↗Daarood, ↗Isaaq and ↗Hawiye), are divided into the ↗ᶜIssa (ᶜIise), ↗Gadabuursi and Biyamaal clans. The ᶜIssa and Gadabuursi, most of whom are camel herders, live in northwest Somalia, Djibouti, and eastern Ethiopia. The Biyamaal, who are largely cattle herders and farmers, inhabit the area between ↗Mogadishu and ↗Merca.

Various traditions provide an explanation for the name of D. It might have been the apical ancestor of the ᶜIssa, Akiššo, Gurgurá, Bursúg, and G. (Bader 1999:242). The D., as opposed to the Daarood sub-grouping, are also collaterally descended, with the Hawiye, from a common ancestor, Irrir, son of Soomaali. According to this genealogy, Soomaali is the brother of Sab, father of the ↗Digil tribal confederation. The "noble" Somali are the sons of Soomaali (or- which has also a substitute called Samaale).

D. history began in the 10th cent., when ancestors of the D. occupied the region along the Gulf of Aden coast between ↗Tağūra and ↗Cape Gardafui. Somali tradition maintains that *šayḫ* Daarood Ismāᶜīl travelled from Arabia, settled among the D., and married a D. woman. Their offspring established the Daarood clan.

The ᶜIssa occupy the region where the boundaries of Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Somalia converge and extend inland as far as Dərre Dawa. During the Ogaden War (1977–78), many ᶜIssa fought against Ethiopia. ᶜIssa also participated in the struggle against the Siad (Siyaad) Barre regime (1969–91).

Lit.: HELEN METZ (ed.), *Somalia: a Country Study*, Washington D.C. 1993, xxi, 71, 73, 166; ROLAND OLIVER (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 3, Cambridge 1977, 139, 153; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *The Modern History of Somaliland*, New York – Washington D.C. 1965, 23f.; LEE VINCENT CASSANELLI, *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People, 1600–1900*, Philadelphia 1982.

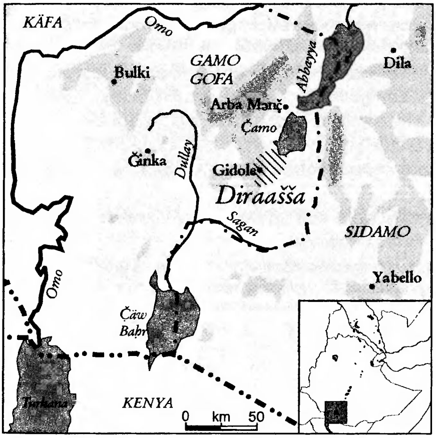
Thomas P. Ofcansky

Diraašša

Diraašša language

Genetically D. (diraašša, ɗirayta, Gidole, Gardulla) belongs to the ↗Konsoid group within Lowland East Cushitic. This affinity is attested in terms of shared lexicon (Bender 1971; Black 1973), as well as common phonological and grammatical features (Black 1973). Konsoid's nearest Lowland East Cushitic relative is ↗Oromo and apart from a shared stock of vocabulary, this relationship is apparent in both noun and verb morphology. Of special note here is the innovative group development (Hayward 1986) whereby a derivative of the 1st pers. sg. subject pronoun replaced the earlier complement form, which had involved suppletion; thus, Oromo *an-i(n)* 'I' : *na*, 'me'; D. *antu*, 'I' : *an* 'me'; cf. Proto-Lowland East Cushitic **an-i/u*, 'I' : **yi/u* 'me'.

Certain peculiar features of the Konsoid group are attributed to close contact with and substratum influences of speakers of the northern ↗Dullay languages, who now neighbour them to the west, but may once have inhabited the Konsoid territory (Black 1975). One well-remarked feature of the northern Dullay-Konsoid *Sprachbund* is the shared loss of phonemic voicing contrasts in plain obstruents, so that the Proto-Lowland East Cushitic oppositions **p* : **b*, **t* : **d*, **k* : **g*, **s* : **z* underwent neutralization.



Certain properties of D. itself have attracted the attention of linguists. One such property is its case-marking, which, while reflecting its East Cushitic ancestry (with a marked nominative in -*i* contrasting with an unmarked absolutive form of wide syntactic distribution), has been much obscured by a reduction of word-final short vowels to "shadow vocoids" and by the employment of a focus-system that shifts the nominal predicate or complement forms (in absolutive form) to the front of the sentence by a clefting operation (Tosco 1996; Hayward 1986, 1998). Another feature arising out of the focus-system is that affirmative declarative paradigms of verbs come in three sets, the occurrence of which correlates with the scope of focus being either the subject, the complement, or the entire predicate (Hayward 1986, Hayward – Saeed 1984).

↗Cushitic

Lit.: MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, "The Languages of Ethiopia: a New Lexicostatistic Classification and some Problems of Diffusion", *Anthropological Linguistics* 13, 5, 1971, 165–288; PAUL BLACK, "The Konsoid Dialect Chain: an Example of Extreme Dialect Differentiation", 1973 (ms.); ID., "Linguistic Evidence on the Origins of the Konsoid Peoples", in: *USCES* 291–302; HAILU KASSAYE, *Gidole Verb Morphology*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1988; RICHARD J. HAYWARD, "Some Observations on D'irayta (Gidole) Pronouns", in: *PICES* 6, 275–94; ID., "Vowel Reduction, Tone and Nominal Declension in D'irayta", in: MARK JANSE (ed.), *Productivity and Creativity: Studies in General and Descriptive Linguistics in Honor of E.M. Uhlenbeck*, Berlin – New York 1998 (Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 116), 503–19; RICHARD J. HAYWARD – JOHN IBRAHIM SAEED, "NP Focus in Somali and D'irayta: a Comparison of Baa and Pa", in: THOMAS LABAHN (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second International Conference of Somali Studies, University of Hamburg, August 1–6, 1983*, Hamburg 1984, vol. 1, 1–21; MAURO TOSCO, "The Strange Case of D'irayta Subject Case", *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 17, 1996, 27–45; DINOTE KUSIA [SHENKERE] – RALPH SIEBERT, "Second Survey of Language of the Gawwada, Tsamay and Diraasha Areas with Excursions to Birayle (Ongota) and Arbare (Irbore)", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 20, 1994, 2–12.

Richard J. Hayward

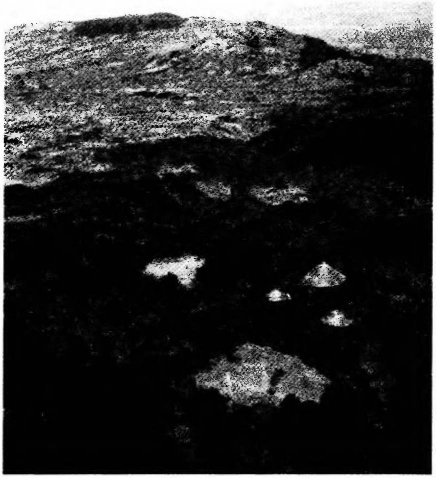
Diraašša ethnography

The D. inhabit today the area to the east of the ridge of the ↗Gardula Mountain down to the southern shore of Lake ↗Çamo. Before the conquest by the northern-Ethiopian armies the D. also occupied the Gumayde-highland in the ↗Rift Valley. During *aṣe* ↗Mənilək's reign, however, the district was divided between the soldiers of merit of the northern-Ethiopian army. Even the central territory of the D. (*kitoole*) and the ridge area were turned into an Amhara settlement zone. In the latter region the winners established there the ↗*kätäma* of Gardula on top of the mountain, which remained till the time of the Italian conquest (↗Italian war 1935) the most southern political and military centre of the Empire. Under the Italians, the administrative centre was moved about 300 m lower down to ↗Gidole (cp. *kitoole*).

In spite of those drastic changes the D. managed to preserve many of their cultural peculiarities (primarily to the south of Gidole) up to the Revolution of 1974. The ethnographical publications on the D. have, however, been rather limited – in contrast to those on, for example, the neighbouring ↗Konso – to very few narrow fields of research.

The urban-like centres of the southern *kitoole* region, divided into wards, belong along with those of ↗Burǧi, Konso and ↗Očollo to the cultural peculiarities of the area. The agricultural achievements of the D. can also be compared to those of Konso. Even if today the intensive land cultivation in many of the parts of the D. habitat belongs rather to the past, it was the D. who managed to develop Gidole into one of the most important agricultural markets in the southern part of the Rift Valley. The intensified agriculture was and is ensured and supported by differentiated handicraft products, manufactured by full-time ↗craftsmen (*hawḍa*). Their quality tools can even today compete with industrial products, even though the latter can be obtained at the Gidole market at a cheaper price. Even leather-working, having almost vanished in the rest of south-west Ethiopia, is still flourishing here.

One of the traits of the D. deserves to be emphasized. While most of the ethnic groups of the Burǧi-Konso cluster (a part of which the D. are also considered to be) have acephalous social structures, among the D. a dominant lineage (under the numerous lineages of nine clans) emerged in the course of the 19th cent. at the latest. Up to the Revolution of 1974, from this lineage emerged the hereditary priestly chief of the D., called *ɗaam*(*a*). In order to preserve the lineage of the *ɗaam*(*a*) institution even a *ɗaam*(*a*)'s chief widow (*haaʾet*) could take up the function of such a priestly chief – even though the society was patrilineally organized. The authority of the *ɗaam*(*a*) was mainly based on their power over the rain and epidemic diseases. They were acknowledged as rainmakers far outside their own territory among the neighbouring ethnic groups. Many of the *ɗaam*(*a*) features can be compared to those of the ↗sacred kingdom.



Diraašša landscape; photo 1999, courtesy of Hermann Amborn

Into recent times there has undoubtly been a certain rivalry between the egalitarian currents and centralization tendencies; D. society has at least tried to control the power by religious restrictions and an extremely complex system of political offices.

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, "Referenz und Abwehr. Der sprachliche Niederschlag der gesellschaftlichen Sonderstellung von Lineage-Ältesten in der Burji-Konso-Gruppe", in: RAINER VOSSEN – ULRIKE CLAUDI (eds.), *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur in Afrika: Vorträge, gehalten auf dem III. Afrikanistentag, Köln, 14./15. Oktober 1982*, Köln 1983, 305–29; HERMANN AMBORN, *Differenzierung und Integration: Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Spezialisten und Handwerkern in südäthiopischen*

Agrargesellschaften, München 1990; Hansamo Hamella, *Internal History of D'irasha (Gidole)*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1983; Gunter Minker, *Burji-Konso-Gidole-Dullay: Materialien zur Demographie, Landwirtschaft und Siedlungsstruktur eines südäthiopischen Kulturareals*, Bremen 1986 (Bremer Afrika Archiv 22).

Hermann Amborn

Dirree ↗Boorana

Diseases

D. can be defined as a physical and/or psychological state of condition in which the well-being of an individual is disturbed. Illness and health respectively are culturally defined. The distinction between a D. and other kinds of misfortune is often not clearly made.

In traditional concepts of D. various causes for the outbreak of D., natural and supernatural, are taken into consideration. D. are frequently seen as an expression of the will of God, but also as a response to the action of ambiguous or malevolent spirits and powers (↗*Buda*; ↗Possession cults; ↗*Zar*) or poisonous animals. For example hepatitis as well as a fungus of the head skin are believed to be caused by a bird or bat flying overhead. Immoral behaviour can predestine a person to divine punishment or certain spiritual affected D. In some traditional concepts of misfortune and D., even the bad deeds of ancestors can cause D. Traditional pathology includes some culture-specific D. not recognized by modern medicine, e.g., *q^{w}äräñña*, which is caused by spirit possession and includes symptoms like chronic stomach pain, listlessness and malaise (cp. Young 1975), *moñbagañ*, a headache with neurologic symptoms, and *hono qärä*, explained as a permanent pregnancy which has turned to bone. But beside these spiritual explanations the infectious character of some disease is traditionally known. For modern pathology e.g. s. Longe –Blanchfield 2002.

The Ethiopian and Eritrean population suffered in its history from a wide range of D., the risk of affection in lowlands being higher than in the highlands. The dangers caused by the environment were aggravated by the consequences of wars and instability. The population was afflicted by several ↗epidemics, many of which followed in the wake of ↗famine, and in some cases led to ↗migration from the more affected areas. In the following only a sample of physical D. is treated.

Nowadays Ethiopia is the country with one the highest rates of child and maternal deaths in Eastern Africa (in 2003, rates of child deaths in Ethiopia were recorded at 107 ‰; in Djibouti the rate was 117 ‰, in Somalia 126 ‰; Mozambique leads the statistics with 201 ‰). The same applies to protein-energy malnutrition and to long-term development retardation of survivors. Infections of respiratory organs and intestines with malnutrition are the main D., besides tropical D. (e.g. malaria; ↗bilharziasis) which lead to many deaths in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Among the D. which were and still are common in Ethiopia and Eritrea, one can list diarreahea, intestinal parasites, hepatitis, different eye D., meningitis, tubercolosis, dengue, smallpox, cholera, typhus, dysentry, ↗syphilis, ↗malaria and influenza. Today the human immunodefiency virus (↗HIV) became one of the biggest problems in the whole region. Unique diseases to Ethiopia include: relapsing fever, neurolathyrism, podoconiosis, fistula, epidemic fluorosis. Relapsing fever, caused by *Borrelia recurrentis* and transmitted by lice, is highly endemic in Ethiopia. It is likely that there are at least 10,000 cases annually, more than in any other country. It tends to be found in the highlands from August to December.

Neurolathyrism is a spastic paraparesis caused by a neurotoxin in a grass pea (lathyrus sativus), commonly known as guaya. Epidemics have been reported during famine times. In the Gondär area of Lake Ṭana, rates up to 3 % have been reported from certain villages, with an overall rate as 1.7/100,000, level also comparable to India and Bangladesh.

Podoconiosis is a non-filarial form of elephantiasis and can be found in highland areas with underlying basalt rock. A survey of 250,000 people in the fertile highlands showed that 27.2/1000 over age 15 were affected. It is possible that over 500,000 Ethiopians are affected. This is related to farming while barefoot. Ultra-fine particles of aluminum silicate in the clay soil enters the skin, along with silica, alumina, and iron. There is no treatment, but the use of footwear is thought to be protective.

The rate of fistula, a consequence of obstructed labour, in Ethiopia is 55/100,000 births, believed to be the highest in the world. The Fistula Hospital in Addis Abäba operates on over 1000 cases per year.

Epidemic fluorosis is common in the Ethiopian rift system, including the Ethiopian rift valley. 64 % of people living in Wonği for over 20 years had physical impairments consistent with this, including myelopathy and radiculopathy due to excessive fluoride in the water.

Diarrhea

Many D. are accompanied by diarrhea (Amh., Tgn. ተቅማጥ, *täqmaṭ*, also ውጽአት, *wəṣʾat*; Oromo *garaa kaasuu* or *gatteesuma*), which is a condition characterized by frequent bowel movements and feces that are soft or watery, and that may contain blood, pus, or mucus. It prevents the body from absorbing necessary water and salts into the bloodstream, which may lead to dehydration. D. can be acute or chronic.

Diarrheal D. have long been established as a leading cause of morbidity and mortality. In Ethiopia, the high mortality rate of children under 5 years is to approximately 40 % attributable to acute childhood diarrhea. According to the 2000 Demographic and Health Survey 13 % of the children having diarrhea were brought to a health provider and 44.9 % were treated by fluids, oral rehydration salts or homemade rehydration fluids and plant elixirs (e.g. ↗*kosso*). The survey reports that 84.5 % of the mothers in three Gondär villages believed that milk teeth extraction (especially of the lower incisors; called *gəg*) is useful in the treatment of diarrhea. 70 % of the children surveyed had undergone this procedure.

Intestinal parasites

Intestinal parasites or worm D. (Amh. የትል፡ በሽታ, *yätəl bäššəta*; Tgn. ሕማም፡ ሓሰኻ, *ḥəmam ḥasäka*) are rather common both in Ethiopia and Eritrea. The prevalence of A. lumbricoides infection and tapeworm infection is highest in the lowlands while the prevalence of Trichuris trichiura is equal for the highlands, temperate areas and lowlands.

The Ascaris worm is a round worm that lives in the small intestine. The infection, ascariasis, is the most common human worm infection. Children are infected more often than adults and mostly in the rural areas of both countries.

Two strains of the parasitic tapeworm (cestodes) are particularly dangerous to humans: taenia saginatus (beef tapeworm) and taenia solium (pork tapeworm). Cattle serve as the intermediate hosts while humans serve as the definitive host. Beef tapeworm is common, especially in Ethiopia, where raw or uncooked beef (*kətfo*; ↗Food) is eaten with some spices.

These worms are not an immediate health threat, although they can grow large enough to block the intestinal tract. It is also possible for tapeworms to lodge in the appendix, resulting in appendicitis. In rare cases, these parasites have also been known to infect the brain, skeletal muscles, the cerebellum, and the heart. Symptoms of infections include fits, personality changes, and paralysis. Cooking beef completely through can prevent infection.

Pumpkin seeds are used locally in Eritrea as traditional medicine to treat tapeworm. These seeds are said to be very rich in oil and proteins. But the mechanism is still unknown. For all worm D. *kosso* is used as a traditional remedy.

Dracunculiasis, or guinea worm disease, is a disabling infection caused by the nematode parasite *Dracunculus medinensis*. People become infected when they drink water containing tiny crustaceans, called copepods or "water fleas", that act as intermediate hosts of the organism and harbour infective larvae.

In Ethiopia *Drancunculiasis* is endemic in villages of the Bume (Ñaŋatom) of Gambella Region and the south-west region neighboured to the endemic East Sudanese area. The D. typically reappears every year during the agricultural season. In 1994 WHO reported 1252 cases in Ethiopia. Eritrea is not endemic for *dracunculiasis*. Mostly the females (2/3 of the prevalence) are highly affected in the age of 20–30 years. Water procured from water-holes drug in dry river beds provides an ideal medium for the transmission of this worm.

The worm mostly emerges from the feet, causing an intensely painful oedema, a blister and then an ulcer. Perforation of the skin is accompanied by fever, nausea and vomiting. Infected persons frequently remain sick for several months.

Onchocerciasis is the world's second leading infectious cause of blindness. In Africa *Onchocerciasis* is often called "river blindness" because of its most extreme manifestation and because the blackfly vector abounds in fertile riverside areas, which frequently remain uninhabited for fear of infection. *Onchocerciasis* is caused by *Onchocerca volvulus*, a parasitic worm that lives for up to 14 years in the human body. Each adult female worm, thin but more than a half metre in length, produces millions of microfilariae (microscopic larvae) that migrate throughout the body and give rise to a variety of symptoms: serious visual impairment, including blindness; rashes, lesions, intense itching and depigmentation of the skin; lymphadenitis, which results in hanging groins and elephantiasis of the genitals; and general debilitation. *Onchocerciasis* manifestations begin to occur in persons one to three years after the injection of infective larvae. Microfilariae produced in one person are carried to another by the blackfly, which in southwest Ethiopia belongs to the *Simulium damnosum sensu* and *Simulium ethiopiense* species complex. The blackfly lays its eggs in the water of fast-flowing rivers, Gälgəl Gibe and Goǧäb. Some seven million people are feared to be affected by the disease in western Ethiopia, Gambella, Təgray and the southern regions. In 1987 an ivermectin's manufacturer pledged to provide at no cost all the drug necessary for as long as necessary to overcome *Onchocerciasis* as a public health problem.

Hepatitis

Hepatitis (የወፍ፡ በሽታ, *yäwäf bäššəta*, lit. 'bird disease', s. above) is very common in Ethiopia. About 100 % have antibiotics to hepatitis A (transmitted by fecal-oral route) by age 15. Approximately 10–13 % of the population are carriers of the hepatitis B surface antigen. This is felt to be due to locally acquired transmission, and not mother-to-child transmission.

Heart diseases

Rheumatic heart disease due to consequences of rheumatic fever is the most common form of heart disease in young people and adults. Myocardial infarction is becoming more common, with several admissions per week at Black Lion Hospital.

Eye diseases

Eye disease like Trachoma and Conjunctivitis were very frequent during history. According to traveller's reports compiled by Pankhurst (PankEcon 628f.) especially the north-eastern lowlands and the Ṭana region were affected by eye infections while the highlands as well as the Oromo areas were struck less. The living environment of a great number of Ethiopians still today support eye problems. Factors are e.g. dust, smoke and insufficient hygiene. The rate of blindness in Ethiopia is 1.5 %. 80 % of this due to preventable or curable D. The most frequent cause for blindness is Trachoma (40 %). Another frequent cause is *Onchocerciasis* (s. above).

Tuberculosis

While Tuberculosis (TB) is not often reported in history, the 1988–90 TB (*yäsamba nägärsa*) survey found that there was a 1.4 % annual risk of infection. It is likely that this has increased in recent years due to the prevalence of HIV.

Meningitis

Ethiopia is located at the eastern end of the African meningitis belt. Since 1935 outbreaks of Meningitis are reported. Epidemics of the bacterium Meningococcus (Neisseria meningitidis, group A) occur most frequently in Amhara, Gambella, Somali, Təgray and Southern regions with sometimes up to thousands of affected people including a big number of fatalities. The infection is transmitted by mucus from nose and throat affects of the fluid and membranes covering the brain and spinal cord.

Dengue

Dengue is the most important mosquito-borne viral disease affecting humans; its global distribution is comparable to that of malaria, and an estimated 2.5 billion people live in areas at risk for epidemic transmission. D. is primarily a disease of the tropics, and the viruses that cause it are maintained in a cycle that involves humans and *Aedes aegypti* or *Aedes albopictus*, a domestic, day-biting mosquito that prefers to feed on humans. Infection with D. viruses produces a spectrum of clinical illness ranging from a nonspecific viral syndrome to severe and fatal hemorrhagic disease. The acute form of D. is characterized by sudden onset of fever, headache, myalgia, rash, nausea, and vomiting. The first reported epidemics of dengue fever occurred in 1779–80 in Asia, Africa, and North America. There is high prevalence of dengue in the Eritrean provinces Southern and Northern Red Sea, but the actual and potential distribution of *Aedes aegypti* covers both countries, Eritrea and Ethiopia. Epidemic D. has increased dramatically, especially in East Africa, since 1980.

No D. vaccine is available. Recently, however, attenuated candidate vaccine viruses have been developed in Thailand. These vaccines are safe and immunogenic when given in various formulations, including a quadrivalent vaccine for all four D. virus serotypes. Mosquito control is the only way to reduce the incidence of D. around the world.

Venereal diseases

UNAIDS estimates that 3 million Ethiopians are infected with ↗HIV (or AIDS), an adult rate of 10.6 %. This rate is no. 16 in the world, but the number is no. 3 in the world after South Africa and India.

Other sexually transmitted D. are, e.g., Syphilis and Gonorrhea (ጨብጥ, *čäbṭ*). The latter is very common. It is traditionally often attributed to urinating under a full moon.

↗Healers; ↗Medicine; ↗Leprosy

Lit.: PancEcon 615–65; RICHARD PANKHURST, *An Introduction to the Medical History of Ethiopia*, Trenton – New York 1991; ALLAN YOUNG, "Why Amhara Get *Kureynya*: Sickness and Possession in an Ethiopian *Zar* Cult", *American Ethnologist* 2, 3, August 1975, 567–84; JULIA A. WALSH – KENNETH S. WARREN, "Selective Primary Health Care: Interim Strategy for Disease Control in Developing Countries", *New England Journal of Medicine* 301, 1979, 967–74; JOHN D. SNYDER – MICHAEL H. MERSON, "The Magnitude of the Global Problem of Acute Diarrhoeal Disease: a Review of Active Surveillance Data", *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 60, 1982, 605–13; A. ASEFFA, "Viral Diseases in Ethiopia: a Review", *East African Medical Journal* 70–10, October 1993, 624–26; MINISTRY OF HEALTH – UNICEF (eds.), *Accelerated Child Health Development*, Addis Abäba, July 1988; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY, *Report on the 1998 Health and Nutrition Survey*, Addis Abäba 1999; ID., *Ethiopia Demographic and Health Survey 2000*, Addis Ababa May 2001; WORLD HEALTH ORGANISATION, *Dengue Haemorrhagic Fever: Diagnosis, Treatment and Control*, Geneva 1986, 12f.; F. RODHAIN, "The Situation of Dengue in the World", *Bulletin de la Société de Pathologie Exotique* 89, 2, 1996, 87–90; ETHIOPIAN MINISTRY OF HEALTH, *AIDS in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa November ^{3}2000; RICHARD M. HODES, "Pattern of Heart Disease in Ethiopia as seen in a Cardiology Referral Clinic", *Cardiology* 75, Basel 1988, 458–64; RICHARD M. HODES – HELMUT KLOOS, "Health and Medical Care in Ethiopia", *New England Journal of Medicine* 319, 1988, 918–24; RICHARD M. HODES – B. SEYOUM, "The Pattern of Tuberculosis in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia", *East African Medical Journal* 66, 1989, 812–18; RICHARD M. HODES – TEFEREDEGNE B., "Traditional Beliefs and Disease Practices of Ethiopian Jews", *Israel Journal of Medical Sciences* 32, 1996, 561–67; RICHARD M. HODES, "Cross-cultural Medicine and Diverse Health Beliefs – Ethiopians Abroad", *Western Journal of Medicine* 166, 1997, 29–36; M.B. DAGNEW – M. DAMENA, "Traditional Child Health Practices in Communities in Northwest Ethiopia", *Tropical Doctor* 20, 1990, 40–41; HELMUT KLOOS – ZEIN AHMED ZEIN, *The Ecology of Health and Disease in Ethiopia*, ^{2}1993; JACQUELINE L. LONGE (ed.) – DEIRDRE S. BLANCHFIELD, *Gale Encyclopedia of Medicine*, Detroit MI ^{2}2002.

Biniam Gebremedhin – Richard M. Hodes – Dirk Bustorf

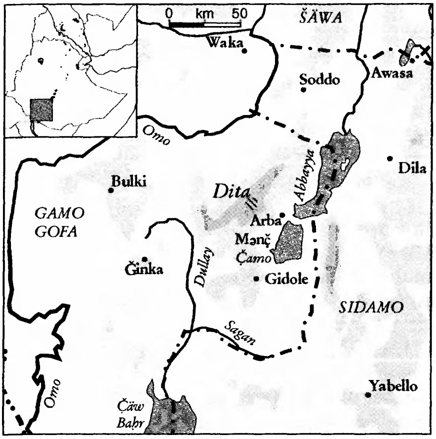
Dita

D. is one of over 55 *dereta* (sg. *dere*), traditional autonomous units of the ↗Gamo people. The people of D. occupy a central location in the Gamo Mountains (s. VSAe III, map 6; Bureau 1981, maps 1–3; Olmstead 1997:23). D. was one of the many small Gamo kingdoms prior to its conquest. Inhabitants of D. were in the past known to have been fierce mountain warriors. They subjugated a number of their neighbouring *dereta* and used the population of the defeated *dereta* for agricultural labour.

In D., as in other Gamo *dereta,* land is meticulously used. The complementarity of primary and secondary homes, of pastures and fields, of mountain and low-escarpment crop production, of the political and religious structures, of assemblies and kings are, as among most of the Gamo, a regular feature of D. life. As in other Gamo areas, the division of agricultural land between pasture and fields is crucial. This division is supplemented by groves of ↗bamboo and other hard wood grown along valleys and between various fields. Fields are owned by heads of families, and pastures communally, but with ritual and administrative responsibility of people referred to as "fathers of the pasture". In addition to fields and communal pastures, families maintain their own meadows and groves of bamboo and other woods. D. agriculture, like that of other mountain Gamo, is highly developed (VSAe III, 382). Terraced cultivation is very widespread (Jackson 1970:16f.), as is manure cultivation, in D. as well as in the rest of Gamo.

As is common among the Gamo, bamboo-craft, cotton-spinning and weaving and fibre-work for hats and sacks and raincoats, both from fibre and horsetail, are the main non-agricultural skills. All mountain-Gamo cultures, including D., can be referred to as bamboo cultures as bamboo plays a central role in their lives. Houses, fences, barns, water-containers, containers of various shapes, crop-measuring containers, clubs and trays, are made from bamboo. Some parts of weaving-tools are also made from bamboo.

The D., like the Bonke and Ganta Gamo to their south and south-east, the Gamo of Qogo, ↗Dokko, ↗Dorze and Çillaše to their north and the Zalla further to the south-west, are famous for their thick warm cotton blankets known as *bulluko.* The *bulluko* and other lesser blankets of the D. and Bonke are much in



demand in the markets of ↗Sidamo, ↗Gide'o, Guğğiland, Arsi Nägälle and Wälaytta. During the Imperial days, such blankets of various grades, together with a ram, were considered suitable gifts for officials in power. To this day they remain the preferred items for gifts and bribes. These blankets are worn for prestige and to reflect titles.

One can relate the D. tradition of weaving to the history of cotton and the development of weaving in this part of Ethiopia prior to the 19th-cent. conquest and one can understand one of the logics behind the use of spun cotton yarn, *šalo*, as currency together with iron bars in the markets covering a large area from Zala in the south to Borodda in the north and from Dawro across the Omo in the west to Koyra across the lakes in the east. Other Gamo speak about the beauty of D. women, but say that they are not good to marry because they have no skills other than spinning cotton. They particularly say that they are not good for carrying manure to the fields. This cultural stereotype partly testifies to a long tradition of weaving and it is wrong to conclude that weaving was introduced only after the Conquest and that the Dorze are the only weavers among the Gamo. This confusion arises mainly from Addis Abäba, where all Gamo are referred to as Dorze.

The existence of secondary homes (*motsa*) in the hot lowlands is linked to growing lowland crops, mainly cotton. Sheepskin products and thick cotton blankets are essential clothing for high altitudes.

In D., as in the rest of Gamo, potters, tanners and ironsmiths make various products. These categories of craftsmen have separate cemeteries and do not cultivate land. Their houses are situated on the side of paths, usually with a little land for a small garden. It is a taboo to contract marriage and consume food with craftsmen.

As in the rest of Gamo, land and people are linked in many ways. The landscape is dotted with sacred groves, graveyards, sacrificial spots and places of assembly (which form a central sacred place). Many taboos are observed which preserve the sacred and productive feature of the land. Regular animal and food sacrifices on fields, pastures and the homesteads are thought to perpetuate social and natural harmony. The D. are affiliated to their land through their links to neighbourhood sacred assembly places – *guta dubbuša* – and to the main assembly place, which incorporates elected officials of each neighbourhood who together form the *dere* assembly. Their affiliation with other Gamo is effected through allegiance to religious leaders whose spiritual province cuts across *dere* units and this is hierarchically ordered. *Dere* affiliation to larger Gamo is also effected through a rain province, which includes a constellation of *dereta.* Affiliation of the units of a *dere* is also effected by an entitlement each family unit has to ritual and/or trading stalls it has in the market place.

Lit.: JACQUES BUREAU, *Les Gamo d'Éthiopie: étude du système politique*, Paris 1981, maps 1–3; RICHARD THOMAS JACKSON, *Land Use and Settlement in Gamu Gofa, Ethiopia*, Occasional Paper 17, Department of Geography, Makerere University, Kampala 1970, 16f.; JUDITH VIRGINIA OLMSTEAD, *Female Fertility, Social Structure, and the Economy: a Controlled Comparison of Two Southern Ethiopian Communities*, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University 1976, 23; EAD., *Women between Two Worlds*, Urbana 1997; HUGH SCOTT, "Journey to the Gughé Highlands (Southern Ethiopia) 1948–49", *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London* 163, 1950–51, 85–189; VSAe III, map 6, 382; TADESSE WOLDE, "Some Gamo and Konso Public Places and their Social and Ritual Functions", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 341–58.

Wolde Gossa Tadesse

Diu

D. (also Dio; 62,101 inhabitants in 1991) is an island off the southern point of Gujarāt, India. Throughout the 15th cent., especially under Muẓaffar Ḫān, D. flourished as a major port of the Gujarāti state, with a notable fleet. From 1510 it became the seat of the governors of Surat and under Malik Ayāz a fort and harbour defences were built there (Harrison in EI², vol. 2, 322). In 1535 the viceroy Nuno da Cunha made a treaty with Bahādur Šāh, the *sulṭān* of Khambhat, for the use of the port by ↗Portugal. Despite several attacks by Ottomans and Arabs, the Portuguese, who by 1541 had completed their massive fort, would remain masters of the island until 1961, when it became a union territory with Ḍamān.

D. enjoyed a glorious period during the 16th cent. and part of the 17th cent., becoming one of the main sources of income for the *Estado da India*. The Portuguese, through the system of *cartazes* or passes, dominated the formidable trade that had in D. (and the nearby port of Surat) one of its main axes, connecting ports such as ↗Goa, Cochin, Malacca, Aden, Jiddah, Kilwa, Melinde, Mombasa, ↗Sawākin and ↗Zaylaᶜ. The major exports of D. were the textiles produced in the inland regions of Gujarāt, the port also serving as an exchange centre for products from abroad (spices, opium, silk). The trade was managed by Muslims and the Hindu cast of the *Baniya* ("baneanes" in the Portuguese sources; s. ↗Banyan).

The Ethiopian highlands, through the ports of ↗Massawa and Zaylaᶜ, were engaged in this commerce, exporting to D. slaves, wax, butter, civet and ivory and importing Indian textiles. A population of Ethiopian ("abexins") slaves is reported in Portuguese sources to have lived in D. and in the neighbouring area in the early 16th cent. (↗Diaspora). One of the leading captains in the army of Bahādur Šāh was a "Capitão Abexim chamado Juzarcão" (Couto 1947, vol. 1, 22f. et passim, vol. 2, 8; Correa 1864:477 et passim). Within this context, seeing D. as a convenient gateway to the Ethiopian coasts, around 1600 the ↗Jesuits set up a residence there (Guerreiro 1611:270v.; BecRASO XI, 30, 38f.).

With the establishment of British and Dutch trading posts in Surat in the early 17th cent. and the creation of the Bombay Presidency in the early 19th cent., D. lost control over most of its trade routes and its commercial importance vanished.

Src.: GASPAR CORREA, *Lendas da India*, vol. 4, Lisboa 1864, 477 et passim; DIOGO DO COUTO, *Decada VI*, vol. 1–2, Lisboa 1947 [Lisboa ¹1614], vol. 1, 22f.; vol. 2, 8; FERNÃO GUERREIRO, *Relaçãm annal das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Iesus, … nos annos de 607 & 608*, Lisboa 1611, 270v.; ELAINE SANCEAU (ed.), *Cartas de D. João de Castro*, Lisboa 1954; BecRASO XI, 30, 38f.; LUDOVICO DE VARTHEMA, *Itinerario* [1510], Milano 1928.

Lit.: J.B. HARRISON, "Diū", in: *EI²* vol. 2, 322; MICHAEL NAYLOR PEARSON, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: the Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1976; MALYN DUDLEY DUNN NEWITT, "East Africa and Indian Ocean Trade: 1500–1800", in: ASHIN DAS GUPTA – MICHAEL NAYLOR PEARSON (eds.), *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500–1877*, Calcutta 1987, 201–23.

Andreu Martínez

Diyaqon

In the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church D. (ዲያቆን 'Deacon') is the first of three ranks of clergy ordained by a metropolitan. Each priest (↗*Qäsis*) had to serve first as a D. In order to secure the succession of enough priests, a large number of boys were ordained D., since most of them, having reached puberty, became "impure" and entered a layman life. Just a small number continued their career in the Church as priests. Thus, the D.'s service is often considered a preparation for the priesthood, especially if the father of a young D. is himself a priest.

The ordination as a D. entitles the candidate to participation in the Divine Liturgy (↗*Qəddase*). In fact, as in all Oriental Churches, the D. has a special position, for his presence and participation in the service are mandatory. Usually at least two priests and three D. are needed for the liturgy.

The D.'s clothing consists of a shoulder-collar made of brocade with five long strips of cloth, a *qämis*, cap and a ↗crown. It is the D.'s duty to bake the bread for the ↗Eucharist and to make raisin wine in the *betä ləḥem* hut, while praying special prayers. D. also accompany the procession of the priests to the church, carrying the holy elements. In addition, the D. have to provide the ↗incense and charcoal for the censer. During the liturgy they respond to the priests, which requires some reading skills and a knowledge of the Psalms, prayers and their melodies (↗*Zema*) by heart.

The canonic regulations concerning the office of the D. are described in ch. 7 of the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*. In the ↗*Didəsqəlya*, one finds a detailed description of the D.'s tasks, responsibilities and liturgical functions, as well as of the procedure of his ordination by the bishop. According to the *Didəsqəlya*, it is the role of a D. to fulfil the bishop's commands. He is obliged to give relief to the needy (strangers, widows, orphans as well as the poor and the sick), to visit catechumens in their houses, to prepare the dead for burial, to search the coastline for the corpses of the shipwrecked, and to expel the unworthy from the services. It is the D.'s duty to add the "Proclamation" ("Those who feel hatred against their brother shall reconcile ...", s. Harden 1920:70, Beylot 1984).

The office of the sub-D. (**ንፍቀ፡ ዲያቆን**, *nəfqä diyaqon*), although not abolished in Canon Law (see *Fətḥa nägäśt*, ch. 8; cp. Beylot 1984:102), is rarely found today. In practice, one of the three D. acts as a sub-deacon. In the important churches there is still the office of the **ሊቀ፡ ዲያቆናት** (*liqä diyaqonat*, 'archdeacon', s. ↗*Liq*; cf. Kropp 1998:311), normally an ordained priest, whose main task is to supervise the D. and priests performing the liturgy.

↗Churches and church administration; ↗Kahənät

Src.: ROBERT BEYLOT (ed., tr.), *Testamentum Domini Éthiopien*, Louvain 1984; MANFRED KROPP, "«... der Welt gestorben»: ein Vertrag zwischen dem äthiopischen Heiligen Iyyäsus-Mo'a und König Yekunno-Amlak über *Memoriae* im Kloster Hayq", *ABoll* 116, 1998, 303–30, here 311; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), *Il "Fetha Negest" o "Legislazione dei Re" codice ecclesiastico e civile di Abissinia*, Napoli 1897, 1899, 57–64 (text) = 81–91 (tr.); JOHN MASON HARDEN, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, New York 1920, 70, s. index; *abba* TECLE MARIAM SEMHARAY SELAM, *De indumentis sacris ritus Aethiopici* ..., Roma 1930.
Lit.: CRAVEN HORWELL WALKER, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933, 105–09; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopien: Christliches Reich zwischen Gestern und Morgen*, Wiesbaden 1967, 120, 130; HARRY MIDDLETON HYATT, *The Church of Abyssinia*, London 1928, 57ff.

Friedrich Heyer

Dizi

Dizi language

A south-western Ethiopian Omotic language of the ↗Dizoid family, also known as Maǧi, so named from the principal town of the speakers. This variety was chosen as a basis for the name of the family because it is the most prominent one of the three (v. also Nayi, Šeko). The self-name is *dizi nuu*(*g*) 'D. word'. The town of Maǧi has nothing to do with the Swahili word *maǧi* 'water', being derived from D. *maašt* 'a high place' (the town being atop a huge mesa; for this and other nomenclature information s. Bender 2000:143, 239 notes 1, 2). According to *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996:261), there were about 18,000 D. speakers in 1982. D., Šeko, and Nayi are about equally distant from each other in terms of basic lexicon. The family is perhaps closer to the ↗Aroid family (Bender 2000 finds numerous grammatical similarities linking Dizoid and Aroid) than to the major *Ta/Ne* family of Omotic languages: with the latter, the basic lexical correspondence of D. is about 13 % against an internal *Ta/Ne* average of about 41 %.

Among the published sources for D., there are two grammatical sketches: Allan 1976 and Toselli 1939, the latter being predominantly devoted to verbal paradigms. Conti Rossini 1937 includes a brief sketch, drawing on Toselli's notes. More recent work includes Aklilu Yilma 1994, Breeze 1989, Claudi 1985, and Claudi and Serzisko 1985. In addition, there are a few minor articles and substantial unpublished fieldnotes from Edward Allan, M. Lionel Bender, Harold Fleming, James Keefer and William Muldrow. Bender 2000 (ch. 6) contains a grammatical summary of the major categories in D. There is no known written literature in D.

D. fits the standard Omotic syntactic type, having basic Subject-Object-Verb order. Phonologically, as several authors have noted (s. Aklilu Yilma 1994 and Breeze 1989), there are striking phonological similarities between Dizoid and ↗Benç̌ (Gimira); these are probably contactual in origin. While D. is surrounded by Nilo-Saharan ↗Surmic languages, Šeko and Nayi are neighbours of Gimira. The segmental phonemes of D. (synthesized from Aklilu Yilma 1994, Allan 1976, Breeze 1989) are:

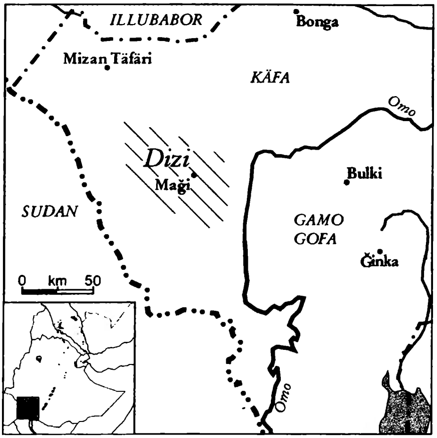
labials: *b*, *f*, *m*, *w*
denti-alveolars: *t*, *ts*, *ṭ*, *ṭṣ*,*d*, *s*, *z*, *n*, *l*, *r*
palatals: *č*, *č̣*, *š*, *ž*, *y*
retroflexes (Ǧaba dialect): *ç̌*, *ç̌'*, *ş̌*, *ẓ*
velars: *k*, *q*, *g*
glottal: *h*
vowels: *i*, *e*, *ə*, *a*, *o*, *u*
doubtful: *ʾy*

The vowel /*e*/ is often realized as [ɛ]. There are three levels of tone (high ´, low `, mid unmarked), rarely lexical but important grammatically. Stress is usually initial. Geminate consonants do not occur, but all vowels except *ə* may be long or short. Syllabic nasals (underlined herein) are a feature linking Dizoid and Benç̌; they are usually final, but may be initial. /*f*, *l*, *r*/ do not occur word-finally.

Sample lexical items from Allan fieldnotes (1974) are:

'one'	*qòy*	'moon'	*àtsm̩*
'two'	*taàgn̩*	'sun'	*caži*
'three'	*kàdú*	'blood'	*yàrm*
'fire'	*àlu*	'tongue'	*yàbl̩*
'water'	*áí*	'tooth'	*àžu*

Grammatical formatives to follow are taken from Bender (2000) and various fieldnotes.



The self-standing independent pronouns are: sg. 1st/2nd/3rd pers. masc./3rd pers. fem. *(y)ìnú/ yètù/ízú/íží*, pl. 1st/2nd/3rd pers. *ínú/ ítí/íší*. The resemblance of some of these to Nilotic is taken up in Bender 2000 (ch. 9) along with a lengthy discussion of their role in the development of Omotic pronouns, which appear to be quite aberrant in Afrasian. Demonstratives are 'this' masc./fem. *a+a/a+en*, 'that' masc./fem. *ɛk+e/ ɛk+ɛn*. A sample of interrogatives forms which have been recorded is: *íkí* 'who?'; *nákí, yir* 'what?'; *irga* 'where?'; *iram* 'why?'; *as*(*i*) 'how?'; *ais*(*i*) 'how much?'. Keefer (1968 notes) says D. has an interrogative marker *+i* suffixed to single words and *+ni* to sentences. Copula and connective citations include existence/locative *ist-*, possessive *ist-~yaf-*, identity/attributive *ti-~ki-~am-* (last of these = 'become'), negative *kay*, copulative *ka* ('and').

Lit.: AKLILU YILMA, "A Phonological Comparison of Bench and Two Majoid Languages", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 1053–63; EDWARD ALLAN, "Dizi", in: *BendNonSLang* 377–91; MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000 (Lincom Studies in African Languages 19), 143, 239, n. 1–3, ch. 6,9; MARY BREEZE, "Phonological Features of Gimira (Bencho) and Dizi", in: MARIANNE BECHHAUS-GERST – FRITZ SERZISKO (eds.), *Cushitic Omotic. Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages, Cologne, Jan. 6–9, 1986*, Hamburg 1989, 475–87; ULRIKE CLAUDI, "How to Explain an Alleged, Disproved, but nevertheless Existing Gender Distinction in Dizi", *AAP* 3, 1985, 85–91; ULRIKE CLAUDI – FRITZ SERZISKO, "Possession in Dizi: inalienable or not?", *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 7, 1985, 131–54; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il popolo dei Magi nell'Etiopia meridionale e il suo linguaggio", in: *Atti del III Congresso di Studi Coloniali*, Firenze 1937, 108–16; BARBARA E. GRIMES (ed.), *Ethnologue. Languages of the World*, Dallas ^{13}1996, 261; GIOVANNI TOSELLI, *Elementi di lingua Magi*, Torino 1939.

M. Lionel Bender

Dizi ethnography

The D. are one of the most ancient Omotic-speaking peoples in south-west Ethiopia, located in the rainy Maği mountains, at ca. 2,200 m A.S.L. They are a sedentary agricultural people numbering about 22,000, living in dispersed homesteads and cultivating barley, wheat, sorghum, *ṭef*, *ənsät*, lentils, cabbages and coffee (cash crop). They also practise apiculture. Until the conquest of the south-west in *aṣe* Mənilək II's time, they were a relatively prosperous peasant population, organized in local chiefdoms lead by hereditary chiefs, and then numbered an estimated 80,000–90,000 people. They formed an extremely complex hierarchical society with great internal differentiation (Haberland 1993; Deguchi 1996), including "castes" of hunters and craftsmen. Their agricultural system was intensive and made use of intricate terracing of fields. They had a ritual bond (centred on "rain making") with the lowland-dwelling pastoral neighbours, the Tirmaga and ↗Čai, who are later migrants into the Maği area and to whom they gradually lost their lowland cultivation sites.

The D. chiefly families (and presumably the common people as well) have a mixed origin from indigenous groups east and west of the Lower Omo River. Some of their chiefs trace descent from the "Təgre", perhaps Təgray Orthodox Christians who came to the area several centuries ago. (Some old material items, like the church bell, the ↗*tabot*, and certain northern types of horse-whip and saddle are adduced as evidence of this.) Another chiefly group is linked to the Bodi (↗Meʾen) agropastoralists east across the Omo; still another to the Šeko (↗Moča) people to the north-west.

The D. where incorporated into the Ethiopian empire in 1898 when *aṣe* Mənilək's troops under *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyyä passed through the area and founded the two villages (*kätämas*) of Bero and Maği, where northern traders and administrators came to settle. The D. area was at the remote edge of the empire and became a classic frontier zone for adventurers, big-game hunters, slave raiders and ivory and cattle traders (including Kenyan Swahili).

Like the ↗Benç̌, the D. were seriously affected by their subjection to the feudal system of the northern Ethiopian administrators and settlers (mainly Wällo Amhara), who dominated the indigenous authority structure, made the local economy subservient to their aims (↗*gäbbar* system) and over the years led thousands away as slaves. Decline in numbers and subversion of their production system led to disintegration and poverty within D. society.

Dizi chief Adiburği Adikyaz during the annual *bergu sèli* ritual; photo 1992, courtesy of the author

Under the *Därg* government, the D. political structure and culture received the final blow when their chiefs were dishonoured, humiliated and robbed of cultural insignia, with their economic development lagging behind. Relations of the D. with their ↗Suri (Ç̣ai and Tirma) neighbours have deteriorated significantly in the past fifteen years, leading to many violent incidents.

Lit.: EIKE HABERLAND, *Hierarchie und Kaste. Zur Geschichte und politischen Struktur der Dizi in Südwest-Äthiopien,* Stuttgart 1993; AKIRA DEGUCHI, "Rainbow-like Hierarchy: Dizi Social Organization", in: EISEI KURIMOTO — SHUN SATO (eds.), *Essays in Northeast African Studies,* Osaka 1996, 121–43.

Jon G. Abbink

Dizoid

The term D. was coined by Fleming (1976:300) for a distinct linguistic group within the then newly recognized ↗Omotic family; earlier Bender (1971) employed the equivalent term "Majoid". The group comprises three languages: ↗Dizi (Maği), Šeko (↗Šakačo), and ↗Nayi (Naʾo). The first two of these have three dialects apiece, respectively: Ğaba, Adikas, Maği; and Dorša, Bulla, and Daan. The continuity of the last-named is reported as under threat on account of being no longer spoken by the young generation. The 18,000 speakers of ↗Dizi are found around Maği (Grimes 1996:264). Šeko speakers, numbering 23,000 are located further to the north-east closer to ↗Bonga, in areas occupied by speakers of ↗Käfa and in proximity to ↗Dawro speakers. The speakers of all these languages are primarily subsistence farmers.

All too little research has been directed towards the D. languages. After the earlier work by Italians (Conti Rossini 1925, 1937; Chiomio 1941; and, most especially, Toselli 1939), we find no substantial advance until Allan's brief sketch of Dizi phonology and grammar in 1976. Subsequently, for most of the new substantive information gained concerning the languages of this group we are indebted to the field researchers of one man, Aklilu Yilma (1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1989, 1990, 1994b), though additional valuable – as yet unpublished – field materials were also collected by Fleming together with Aklilu Yilma during 1990. Ch. 7 of Bender (2000) represents a very useful comparative survey and summary of the present state of our knowledge of D. morphology.

Apart from the high group-internal lexicostatistic score of 58 % (Grimes 1996:264), certain very obvious phonological features furnish a priori convincing arguments for a distinct D. entity. Thus: 1. all its members exhibit moraic nasals which are tone-bearing, and occur not only as syllable codas but both pre- and postconsonantally, e.g. Dizi: *tàagŋ̄*, 'two', *kùbḿ̩*, 'four' (Allan in BendNonSLang 381), *kūšm̩̄bē*, 'small black ant', *ç̂ĩrns*, 'green' (Aklilu Yilma 1988a); 2. in spite of the frequent occurrence of consonant clusters, geminate consonants, such a salient feature of the Ethio-Eritrean language area, appear to be singularly rare, if not entirely lacking; 3. Šeko and Nayi, and the Dizi dialects of Ğaba and Adikas, have series of retroflex sibilant phonemes, e.g. Šeko: *ùt͡ṣù*, 'five' *qōẓ*, 'be strong’ (Aklilu Yilma 1988a); Ǧaba: *aṣu*, ‘foot’, *ket͡ṣ’u*, ‘cold’ (Fleming – Aklilu Yilma 1990); 4. all three languages have a sixth short (central) vowel e.g., Šeko: *nə́ṣtā*, ‘husband’, *wə̄skīn*, ‘when?’ (Aklilu Yilma 1988a); 5. there are labialized and palatalized consonants in syllable onsets (alternatively analyzable as components of light diphthongs), e.g. Adikas: *lyámtṣī*, ‘spleen’, *hyálù*, ‘finger’, *čuážù*, ‘snake’, *šùán*, ‘bald’ (Fleming – Aklilu Yilma 1990).

As far as geminate consonants (s. above 2.) are concerned, sequences of heteromorphemic nasals with identical place specifications occur, and since one or other of these is necessarily moraic, the phonetic result simulates a geminate, e.g. Nayi: *kēiń-ǹ̩*, ‘the bitch’ (Aklilu Yilma 1994b:3). Aklilu’s sketch of Nayi does, however, also contain one or two monomorphemic items containing geminate sonorants.

With the exception of 4., however, these features, which from a general Omotic, or indeed Ethiopian, perspective are unusual, are also shared by Benčnon Gimira (↗Benč), another language of this linguistically rich corner of south-west Ethiopia, and it has been suggested that this might indicate a genetic affinity (Breeze 1988, Aklilu Yilma 1994a). Nevertheless, innovative morphology seen in Gimira, most notably in the shared re-analysis of its 1st pers. sg. and 2nd pers. sg. personal pronouns firmly establishes that language as a member of the *Ta/Ne* group of Omotic. This means that the phonological similarities can only be accounted for as an areal phenomenon – in the case of certain features, it is perhaps appropriate to think of an areal retention from Ancestral Omotic.

At the time of the pioneer lexicostatistic survey and classification of Ethiopian languages (s. Bender 1971, Fleming in BendNonSLang), the D. group was constituted one of the primary branches of North Omotic – the other branch comprised the so-called *Ta/Ne* languages. Very recently, however, this position has been reassessed by Bender (2000:230f.), who now finds D. to have a closer affinity to the Aroid languages – erstwhile “South-Omotic”. Possibly the strongest among the features that can be considered as uniquely shared D. – Aroid innovations are: 1. a conjunction *ka*, *ke*, ‘and’, e.g. Nayi: *hā:s-kā nēās-kā*, ‘this and that’ (Aklilu Yilma 1994b:13), Dizi: *yīnū kā yētū kā*, ‘I and you’ (Allan 1976:390), cf. ↗Dime (an Aroid language): *its-ub-ka wuč̣-ub-ka*, ‘I eat and I drink’ (Fleming 1990:574); 2. an interrogative item *as*, *aas*, ‘how’, e.g. Nayi: *á:sé*, ‘how?’ (Aklilu Yilma 1994:4), Šeko: *á:z*, ‘how?’ (Aklilu Yilma 1988a), ↗Aari (an Aroid language): *a̤s-ní*, ‘how?’ (Hayward 1990). The earlier classification, however, also had its merits in terms of explaining certain other features that appear to be shared only with the *Ta/Ne* languages. Thus: 1. an accusative marker in *–n*, as opposed to the *-m* accusative of Aroid; 2. a nominative marker *-i*, which is found also in ↗Ometo and Gimira, but is quite absent from Aroid; 3. a palatal formative in derived feminine (often [definite]) nominals, e.g., Nayi: *kēiń-ǹ̩*, ‘the bitch’ (cf *kēónù*, ‘dog’), *kōíbn* ‘the hen’ (cf *kōbù*, ‘cock’), cf. ↗Gamo (an Ometo language): *kan-íy-o*, ‘the bitch’ (cf *kan-á*, ‘dog’), ↗Käfa (a Gonga language): *buš-e*, ‘bitch’, (cf *buš-o*, ‘boy’) (Daniel Aberra 1999:25). What is certainly true is the fact that D. preserves various archaic – and hence explanatory – features within Omotic grammar. The most obvious of these is its pronominal system; cf. discussion in Bender (2000:197ff.). Another feature that has been claimed to be archaic is a *-k* formative marking perfect aspect in verbs. Relics of this velar formative are found very widely across Omotic, but only in Dizi is still a fully functional grammatical element (Hayward 1996).

Lit.: Aklilu Yilma, *Sheko Phonology and Grammar*, mimeographed, IES, Addis Ababa University 1988a; Id., “Sheko Phonology and Morphophonemics”, paper presented at the *10th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Paris 1988b, 3; Id., “Aspects of Sheko Morphology”, paper presented at the *Second International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Torino 1989; Id., “A Phonological Comparison of Bench and Two Majoid Languages”, in: *PICES* 12, 1053–63; Id., “A Sketch of the Nayi Grammar”, *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 16, 1994, 1–20, here 4; Edward Jay Allan, “Dizi”, in: *BendNonSLang* 377–92, here 381; Marvin Lionel Bender, “The Languages of Ethiopia: A New Lexicostatistic Classification and Some Problems of Diffusion”, *Anthropological Linguistics* 13, 5, 1971, 165–288; Id., *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000 (Lincom Studies in African Linguistics 19), 197ff., 230ff.; Mary Breeze, “Phonological Features of Gimira and Dizi”, in: Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst – Fritz Serzisko (eds.), *Cushitic – Omotic, Papers form the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages, Cologne, January 6–9, 1986*, Hamburg 1988, 475–87; Giovanni Chiomio, “I Magi nell’Etiopia del Sud-Ouvest”, *RSE* 1941, 271–304; Ulrike Claudi, “How to Explain an Alleged, Disproved, but Neverthless Existing Gender Distinction in Dizi”, *AAP* 3, 1985, 85–91; Ulrike Claudi – Fritz Serzisko, “Possession in Dizi: Inalienable or Not?”, *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 7, 1985, 131–54, Carlo Conti Rossini, “Il popolo

dei Magi nell'Etiopia meridionale e il suo linguaggio", in: *Atti del III Congresso di Studi Coloniali*, Firenze 1937, 108–16; DANIEL ABERRA, *Linguistic Description of the Kafa Language*, ms., Department of Linguistics, Addis Ababa University 1999, 25; HAROLD C. FLEMING, "Omotic Overview, in: *BendNonSLang* 299–323; ID., "A Grammatical Sketch of Dime (Dim-Af) of the Lower Omo", in: RICHARD J. HAYWARD (ed.), *Omotic Language Studies*, London 1990, 494–583; RICHARD J. HAYWARD, "Notes on the Aari Language", *ibid.*, 425–93; ID., "The Velar Stem Alternation in Omotic", in: CATHERINE GRIEFENOW-MEWIS – RAINER M. VOIGT (eds.), *Cushitic and Omotic Languages, Proceedings of the Third International Symposium, Berlin, March 17–19, 1994*, Köln 1996, 167–81; RICHARD J. HAYWARD – AKLILU YILMA, *Fieldnotes on Dizi Dialects Collected during 1990*, ms.; GIOVANNI TOSELLI, *Elementi di lingua Maji*, Torino 1939; BARBARA F. GRIMES (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas ^{13}1996, 264.

Richard J. Hayward

Dizu ↗Benç

Djerrahian, Elias; Djerrahian, George
↗Armenians; ↗Artistic Printing Press

Djibouti

I. Geography

D. (République de Djibouti, جمهورية جيبوتي, Ǧumhūriya Ǧībūtī), called so after its seaport capital, is the smallest state in the ↗Horn of Africa. Covering some 23,000 km², D. has a population of about 700,000 (in 2003; additionally, there is a temporary refugee population of up to 300,000). The country of D. extends to inland frontiers, on average 88 km, from the northern and southern shores of the Gulf of ↗Taǧūra, a narrow inlet of the Gulf of Aden. The region contains the western shore of the ↗Bāb al-Mandab, a strategic 27-km-wide strait joining the Gulf of Aden to the ↗Red Sea, thus, via ↗Suez, linking the Atlantic to Indo-Pacific commerce. Besides the sea, ↗Ethiopia, Somaliland (having de-facto independence from ↗Somalia) and ↗Eritrea bound D. today. The country's greatly indented Red Sea coast stretches some 800 km from ↗Ras Dumera in the north to Loyada in the south.

Once called by Europeans "the valley of hell", D. is a land of permanent intense heat and drought. The Somali call the terrain *guban* (burnt land). The land consists, in part, of arid, rugged highlands, often 900 m or more in elevation, with peaks rising to 1,600 and 2,000 m A.S.L. (e.g., Mt. Mūsā ᶜĀli, 2,063 m A.S.L.). Basaltic steppe and desert plains having salt lakes and normally dry streams comprise the rest of the country. In its north-eastern third, the land is a tropical desert; the remainder is tropical steppe with a coastal desert fringe. Grass and herbaceous plants, such as thorn-bush, grow singly and in patches, awaiting seasonal rainfall, about 51 cm annually in the mountain heights and 13 cm in the deserts. Only a few mountainous heights sport continuous vegetative cover. At the end of the briefly seasonal flow in watercourses, herds of livestock depend on permanent wells. No surface rivers from the Ethiopian highlands penetrate as far as D. The only ↗forest in D. is the Day Forest.

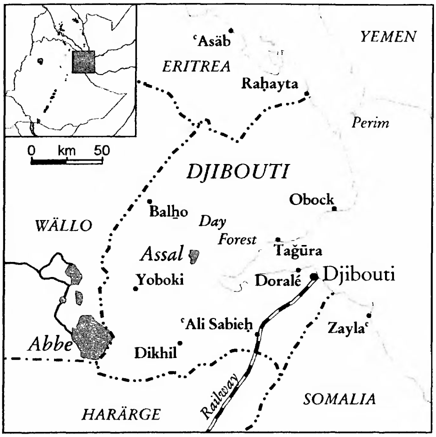
II. Peoples and languages

D. contains two indigenous ethno-linguistic groups, the ↗ᶜAfar (nearly 60 % of the population) and the ↗Somali (ca. 30 % of the population). The remaining part of the population is formed by the Arabs (ca. 11 %) and a small French minority (ca. 2.4 %). Over one million ᶜAfar live in Ethiopia, Eritrea and D., with perhaps 200,000 in D. self. The Somali, in the main, belong to the ↗ᶜIssa (Ciise) clan of the ↗Dir clan-family, which covers the southern two-thirds of D. and adjacent areas of Somalia and Ethiopia. Each people is united by its own links of language, culture, Islam and patrilineal kinship – reckoned through a person's father's line.

ᶜAfar and Somali have separate, patrilineally segmented descent groups. These are clan-families, putatively descended from a common ancestor and each segmented into a number of clans, having segmented lineages and sub-lineages. In recent decades, the clan-families have become less important than they traditionally were in everyday activities, but constitute a rallying-point for political parties and movements.

Whether among the ᶜAfar, Somali or Arabs, the religion of D. is Islam. The Somali and ᶜAfar generally follow the Sunnī tradition. Ṣūfī brotherhoods play a prominent role. Local Muslim saint's days associated with each of the two peoples are popular. Among the Somali, various devout Dervish (↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan) orders have their own particular observance, alongside universal ones, such as the Prophet's birthday. Among the ᶜAfar, remnants of the pre-Islamic cosmology of their sky-father deity Wak (↗Waaqa) are evident, including days for animal sacrifice and rain-making ceremonies.

Islam in the Horn has both orthodox and localized versions, with orthodoxy emanating



from the cities and towns, where the mosques and their religious schools are located. As elsewhere in the world, Islam accommodates local practices. For the orthodox, religious and community activities are governed by the ↗*šarīʿa*. Pilgrimage and scheduled prayer and fasting, such as during *Ramaḍān*, are prescribed. Islam does not transcend ethnicity and thus does not impose a unity on different Muslim peoples, for example, on the warring ʿAfar and Somali.

The Somali ʿIssa, and their close kin to the east, the ↗Gadabuursi clan, in their related genealogies tell of an ancestral ennoblement in that the separate eponymous ancestor of each clan was a holy man from Arabia. For the Dir ʿIssa, their particular sainted ancestor, ʿAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib (Somali: Caqil Abuu Taalib), has several laudatory hymns in his honour and his shrine is in D., where he is said to have appeared miraculously. Such evolving "received histories" of these two clans constitute a social charter for the still on-going processes of their Islamization. Islamic Arabian society is the ultimate prestigious reference group for Somali. Islamization processes and their charters, in which Somali clans trace putative patrilineal descent from Arabia, and thereby outside their own ethnicity, become the foundation upon which the Somali reconstruct their native culture and its encompassing cosmology—something all the world's peoples continuously reconstruct.

As among most of the peoples of the Horn, adult status for the ʿAfar and Somali requires a genital operation, with or without ceremony, usually in childhood. For ʿAfar and Somali, males are circumcised and females undergo excision of the clitoris (clitoridectomy) and infibulation (excision of the labia majora and sewing up of the vagina until marriage). Some Djiboutians do not cut girls beyond the clitoridectomy (s. ↗Circumcision).

Such multiple bonds do not prevent strife within ethnic groups, especially among the Somali. Each people speaks an Eastern ↗Cushitic language, respectively, ʿAfar and Somali (the latter is generally called ʿIssa in D.). Educated ʿAfar and Somali speak ↗French. Such Somali are thus linguistically and culturally distinct from other Somali elites, who speak either English or Italian, depending on their particular colonial history. Arabic is used in religion. The Somali language of D. belongs to the "common-dialect" group, found in much of Somalia and used in radio and television. In 1972, the government introduced Latin script for the Somali language and made it "national language"; ʿAfar soon followed, in both respects.

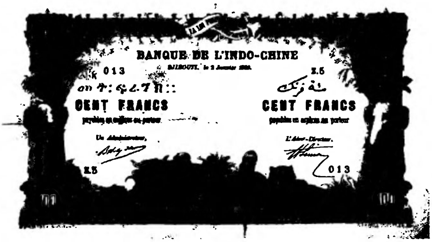
The education in D. is carried out in the two official languages (French and Arabic) and the two national ones (the first language of instruction is usually ʿAfar or Somali, the primary school education is carried out in French, with Arabic being added starting from the secondary school level). Until after ↗World War II, French Catholic missionaries provided the infrequent formal education, outside of Qurʾānic schools. A growing number of government schools use a French-style curriculum. In 1966 all of D. had 5,200 pupils in government and mission schools. Until this time, secondary schools were little developed. Throughout the 1960s, much education focused on manual training. Practical training of a limited kind is given to many pastoralists, who frequently must supplement their livelihood with seasonal working in the city or on the railroad. In 2000, the Pôle universitaire de Djibouti, a new university based on different already existing institutions of higher learning, opened.

III. History

During the past 150 years, direct and indirect interventions in the Horn of Africa by outside countries have steadily increased the technological intensity and socio-economic consequences of war in the region. These twin realities have repercussions in the recent or current conflicts between Eritrea and Ethiopia, Somalia and Ethiopia, Sudan and Eritrea, Somali factions and, in D., ᶜAfar and Somali. Intervention in the Horn by outside imperialist states resulted from the Franco-British development of the Suez Canal. Overnight, the Horn of Africa and the Bāb al-Mandab changed from a world backwater to a strategic choke-point of global commercial and naval traffic. The French opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and later British control of this strategic artery of global transportation changed the region's peoples from little-contemplated isolates to foci of Great-Power concern. The canal became the pivot for European domination of most of Asia, the eastern half of Africa and the Indo-Pacific seas.

As European powers competed for strategic dominance, coaling stations for steamships and maritime bases for warships provided competitive advantage. Thus, European colonies became necessary. These included Italian Eritrea and ↗Italian Somaliland; British Aden, ↗British Somaliland and the British coast of Sudan; and French Somaliland, which countered British regional hegemony. Recently, the Soviets and Americans competed through their client states of Ethiopia and Somalia for hegemony in this strategic region. France continues its historical independent global projection of power from D.

In 1839 Great Britain occupied Aden on the eastern shore of the Bāb al-Mandab, while its arch-rival, France, began expeditions, from the western shore, to the interior Amhara kingdom of Šäwa, culminating in a Franco–Amhara treaty in 1842. In 1861, as France began its conquest of Indo-China, it cultivated good relations with ᶜAfar leaders around the port of ↗Obock on the Gulf of Taǧūra. The following year, a treaty with the ᶜAfar *sulṭān* of Taǧūra, Dīnī Aḥmad Abū Bakr, ceded to France the area of what is today northern D. (called the "Territoire d'Obock). The first commercial concession was accorded there to Denis de Revoyre in 1872, followed by Pierre Arnoux; together they founded the Compagnie franco-éthiopienne in 1880. During 1881–83, Frenchmen opened four trading companies at Obock, including a coaling-station and a French settlement. Although the Obock ventures failed commercially, France's deepening colonial wars during the 1880s in Indo-China and Madagascar required a French coaling-station and base. in 1883, Léonce ↗Lagarde was nominated. He decided to move the seat of the colonial administration to D., becoming "governor of D." in 1884. However, the diverse territories controlled by France in the area (the Territoire d'Obock, the protectorates of Taǧūra, Gobaad, Ghoubbet-el-Kharab, of the ᶜIssa and the port of D.), remained administratively separated. An Anglo-French treaty of 1888 divided the land of the Dir-ᶜIssa between French Obock and the adjacent emerging British Somaliland. The ᶜIssa around D. had signed a treaty with France in 1885.



First banknote issued for Djibouti and the Franco-Ethiopian railway (first tranche: 1 May 1909); 100 Francs, with legend in French, Amharic and Arabic

In 1892 France astutely abandoned its former centre in ᶜAfar, Obock, and transferred it southwards, across the Gulf of Taǧūra, to ᶜIssa D. On 20 May 1896 the different territories were united as the "Côte française des Somalis et dependences". By 1899, the newly prosperous port city had 10,000 inhabitants, as it drained trade from nearby older ports. Planning began for a French railroad to Addis Abäba (↗Railways), the new capital of Ethiopia, recently unified and expanded under the Amhara. In 1894, the French governor of D. colony had signed a treaty with his carefully cultivated friend, *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, making D. city the designated port for the country's growing foreign commerce and communications. In its foreign relations, the Ethiopian government necessarily became Francophone.

Out of D., construction of the French railway progressed slowly. Legal trade in arms grew and illegal trade in slaves bound for the Near East prospered. The works started in 1897. The railway entered Addis Abäba in 1917, thus eliminating all remaining transport of freight by camel caravans to ports other than D. Commerce waxed in the city during the 1920s, while in the colony's hinterland, the ᶜAfar and ᶜIssa continued their fighting. By 1935, France had ended most open fighting between the two peoples and, occasionally, against French troops.

France proclaimed its neutrality during the ↗Italian war of 1935–36, even though Laval gave 20% of the shares to Italy (↗Hoare-Laval plan). From D., France sent troops to occupy the strategic Ethiopian railway terminal at ↗Dərre Dawa and, later, via its railway and port, rescued Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and his government from the advancing Italian Army. From D., France had previously aided its Ethiopian friends, who had defeated France's Italian adversaries in 1896 at the battle of ᶜAdwa.

From D., the French materially aided the Ethiopian resistance against their Italian occupiers and French military agents filtered into Ethiopia. The Italo-French armistice of April 1940, however, required the demilitarization of D. With D. neutralized, Italy conquered British Somaliland in August 1940. Thereupon, Great Britain began a naval blockade of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana and then Vichy-oriented D. Beginning in January 1941, a British counterattack with Empire forces blitzed through Italian and British Somaliland and liberated Addis Abäba in April. The British considered invading French Somaliland with its 8,000 veteran troops, but continued the effective blockade instead. Vichy-French Somaliland surrendered to British and Free French forces on 23 December 1942.

French Somaliland became an Overseas Territory of France (Territoire française d'outremer, TOM) in 1946. This made its inhabitants French citizens who could elect and send their own members of parliament to Paris. In part because of pressures from pan-Somali nationalists, and a bloody demonstration during President de Gaulle's official visit, in 1966 de Gaulle announced a referendum, held in 1967, to determine the future of the colony. This referendum reaffirmed the desire of the majority of the population (58.3 %) to remain part of the French Republic. The colony was renamed the Territoire Français des Afar et des Issa (TFAI, under the rule of Ali Aref Bourhan). Movements for independence, especially among the Somali, continued, however, and, after Somalia claimed large territories of D. in 1975, a new referendum was held on 8 May 1977, this time with 98.8 % voting for independence. Thus, the new state named République de D. emerged on 27 June 1977.

IV. Government and political system

D. was formerly a land made politically stable by the French Army. Today, however, this country is embroiled in the conflicts of the region. President Hassan Gouled "Aptidon" (in modern orthography Xasan Guleed Aptidoon), an ᶜIssa, became the first head-of-state in 1977. In 1981 D. formally became a one-party state headed by a directly elected president, the unitary party being the Rassemblement popolaire pour le progres (RPP). Aptidon was re-elected in 1981 and again in 1987. The ᶜAfar minority felt excluded from the political process. In 1991 an ᶜAfar-based armed rebellion led by the Front pour la restauration de l'unité et de la démocracie (FRUD) gained control of much of the countryside. On 4 September 1992 Aptidon presented a multi-party constitution, ratified by the citizenry. In 1993, Aptidon achieved a fourth term in D.'s first multiparty presidential election. The ᶜAfar opposition largely boycotted the election.

Aged 83, Aptidon resigned in 1999, and a new president, Ismaël Omar Guelleh, was elected as the RPP candidate. Delita Mohamed Dileita has been the head of goverment sine 2001 (when he replaced Barkat Gourad Hamdaou). The political power is thus shared by a Somali president and an ᶜAfar prime minister, with cabinet posts roughly devided. However, it is the ᶜIssa who dominate the government and the ruling party. In the elections of 2003, the 65 national assembly seats were taken by the four-party-block, the Union pour la majorité présidentielle (UMP), the FRUD opposition headed by Aḥmad Dīnī received no representation.

ᶜAfar-ᶜIssa fighting continues, despite a treaty in 2000 to end this strife. However, so long as the French military remains in D., the partitioning of the country along ethnic lines remains unlikely. D. consists of three regions which are divided into the following administrative disticts (cercles): the City of Djibouti (Ville de Djibouti, Région de Djibouti-Capitale), ↗Ali Sabieh (Région de Somali-Issa), ↗Dikhil, ↗Obock, Tağūra and since 2000 Arta (the last four forming together Région d'Afar and covering ca. 87% of the territory of the state). Recently, a new Arta district was created. Following the new decentralization policy, regional councils have been created, administering the districts with a high degree of autonomy.

D. served as France's base of operations during the 1991 Gulf War, provides the transportation link to Réunion and French Polynesia, site of France's nuclear tests until 1996, and otherwise supports France's status as a second-line power with a global reach. For France's projection of power in the Indian Ocean, D. became all the more important after the closing of French naval and air bases at Diego-Suarez (Anstiranana) in the Malagasy Republic. Across Africa, France has about 10,000 veteran troops. Since 1964, France has intervened on average every other year in strife in Francophone Africa, which it considers its post-colonial sphere of influence. D. is France's most strategic African bastion. In 2001 the USA opened a base in D.

V. Economy

D.'s commercial revenues come mainly from its transit trade as the rail-head of the Chemin de fer djibouto-éthiopien (CDÉ), the railway linking Ethiopia to some of its seaborne commerce, and also from servicing of ships calling at its port. Until the second Ethio-Eritrean war of the late 1990s, Ethiopia used ᶜAsäb as its main port. Serving as a French base generates revenue outside the commercial sphere for D. The national currency is the Djibouti franc. It is tied to the United States dollar with the rate fixed since 1973 at 177.72 Djibouti francs for US$ 1.

D.'s economy is dependent on subsidies from France, and most food is imported. Production of marine ↗salt is the only important industry. A large camel market has long been in the city. Some date palms are tended at oases. Only 10 % of the land is suitable for permanent grazing, with about 25 % of the population engaged in pastoralism. Some Djiboutians practice fishing. A few garden farms are irrigated on the outskirts of the city. For a few years after independence, substantial foreign aid caused a spurt in industrial growth, which has since declined owing in part to an overdependence on costly imports of materials. Industry related to food and beverages employs perhaps 80 % of the wage workforce. Apart from grazing, little economic activity occurs outside of the city and its environs. An average Djiboutian spends 60 % of per capita budget for ↗*č̣at* flewn into the city daily from Dərre Dawa. According to a 2002 estimate, the gross domestic product level was at $ 619,000,000.

VI. State symbols

The national anthem of D., The Flag Song, was adopted upon independence from France on 27 June 1977. Its lyrics (Somali) are by Aden Elmi and the melody is by Abdi Robleh. The flag consists of three fields, a white isosceles triangle based on the hoist side and two horizontal stripes, blue and green. White represents peace, green is the colour of earth and blue is the colour of the sea and the sky. The red star in the center of the white triangle symbolizes unity. The coat of arms shows a shield, two hands holding swords and a spear topped by a red star inside of a green wreath.

Src.: CIA World Factbook 2002, available from internet.

Lit.: ALI JIMALE AHMED, *Daybreak is Near: Literature, Clans, and the Nation-State in Somalia*, Lawrenceville 1996; ALI COUBBA, *Le mal djiboutien: rivalités ethniques et enjeux politiques*, Paris 1996; EDOUARD CHÉDEVILLE, "Djibouti", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 2, 535–36; LEE V. CASSANELLI, *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People, 1600–1900*, Philadelphia 1982; DEFENSE MAPPING AGENCY, *Gazetteer of Djibouti*, Washington, D.C. 1983; JOHN DRYSDALE, *The Problem of French Somaliland*, Africa Report November 1966; ECONOMIST INTELLIGENCE UNIT, *Country Profile: Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti*, London 1993; MARC FONTRIER, *Abou Bakr Ibrahim, pacha de Zeyla, marchand d'esclaves* ..., Paris 2003; FREDERICK C. GAMST, "Conflict in the Horn of Africa", in: MARY L. FOSTER – ROBERT A. RUBENSTEIN (ed.), *Peace and War: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, New Brunswick 1986, 133–51; ROBERT E. GORELOCK, "Pan-Somaliism vs. Territorial Integrity", *Horn of Africa* 3, 4, 1980–81, 31–36; FOREIGN OFFICE [Great Britain], *French Somaliland*, London 1920 (Handbook no. 109); CHARLES W. KOBURGER, *Naval Strategy East of Suez: the Role of Djibouti*, New York 1992; ROBERT SAINT VERAN, *Djibouti: Pawn of Africa*, Metuchen, NJ 1981; PETER J. SCHRÄDER, *Djibouti*, Santa Barbara, CA 1990; VIRGINIA THOMPSON – RICHARD ADLOFF, *Djibouti and the Horn of Africa*, Stanford, CA 1968; UNITED NATIONS, *Socio-Economic Aspects of Poverty. Case Study: Djibouti*, New York 1981; COLETTE DUBOIS, *Djibouti 1888–1967. Héritage ou frustration?*, Paris 1997; PHILIPPE OBERLE, *Histoire de Djibouti, des origines à la République*, Paris 1985 [^{2}1997]; LUKIAN PRIJAC, *Léonce Lagarde (d'Obock à la SDN) 1860–1936*, thèse INALCO, Paris 2001; RÉMI LEROUX, *Le réveil de Djibouti 1968–1977. Simple outil de propagande ou véritable reflet d'une société?*, Paris – Aix en Provence 1998; ALAIN ROUAUD, "Pour une histoire des Arabes de Djibouti (1896–1977)", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 37, 2, [146], 1997, 319–48.

Frederick C. Gamst

Djibouti city

D., now the capital of the Republic of Djibouti, was founded on 6 March 1888 by the Governor Léonce ↗Lagarde. In 1896 D. officially became the main town of French Somaliland as an important port supplanting both ↗Zaylaᶜ and ↗Tağūra. Today D. counts approximately 500,000 inhabitants, about three fourths of the population of the country. In the second half, especially in the last decades, of the 20th cent., this capital accumulated all the functions (eco-

Djibouti Parliament; view from the old fishing port; from Kulik 1983:55

nomic, banking, military, administrative) and is experiencing demographic explosion.

A paved road links D. to the heavy-duty ᶜAsäb–Addis Abäba highway, but a road into Somaliland is no longer fully passable. A metre-gauge railway operates to Addis Abäba (↗Railways). D. has an international airline and ship transport. Since 1949, the city has contained a free port. The harbour is enclosed by land, dredged to 40–65 feet, and accommodates up to ten ships along two moles. Modern fuelling services and a floating dry dock are facilities of this strategic port. The city uses subterranean water sources. It has an annual average temperature of 32° C, but summer temperatures rise beyond 43° C.

Beside ↗ᶜAfar (ca. 35 % of the population) and ↗Somali, the city has some 10,000 Arabs. An upper class of Arabs owns much of the real estate, controls much of the commerce and now lives in the European quarter. Other Arabs are small traders and manual labourers. Over the years, French presence has ranged up to 10,000 persons, depending on the number of troops based there. Some 1,000 Indo-Pakistanis, Greeks and others live in the city. From time to time, large numbers of refugees from Ethiopia and Somalia have burdened the government and citizens of D. Since 1977 (Ogaden war), D. has accommodated, according to the rhythm of the political sudden starts or the climatic accidents which strike the Horn of Africa, thousands of refugees (Somali, Ethiopians and ᶜAfar). This floating population makes impossible any precise census.

The old city centre, with its Yemeni-style buildings and their arcades framing the streets, houses the administrative, banking and commercial core of D. Barges keep arriving and leaving at the Mahmoud Harbi square (also Place Menelik), the architectural ensemble of which is dominated by the minaret of the Hamoudi mosque. The economic heart of the city is the Marabout square. It is here where the modern installations for a deep-water port, docks and warehouses are located. And it is here where the railway station – the end-junction of the Addis Abäba–Djibouti Railway – is located.

Lying on one of the world's main maritime routes, the port of D. became, thanks to the railway, one of the important import/export outlets for Ethiopia. The abundant international trade through the port also ensures the stability of the local currency, the D. franc (based on US dollars).

D. is surrounded by various sceneries. The Serpent Plateau and the Peninsula of Héron are covered by exquisite residences and green gardens. To the south lies the vast plain, which was in the past occupied by numerous salt-works and in recent times has become the subject of many urbanization programs (which resulted in appearance of the towns of Stade, Arhiba, Einguela etc). Until the 1980s Wadi Ambouli with its gardens, farms and palm-plantations separated the urban area from the arid hills where nomads live. There, three dwelling zones ("les quartiers" or *balbala* 1, 2 and 3) then emerged. These problematic districts, located between the sea and the communication-axis between the capital and the rest of the country, change little by little, thanks to international assistance (which allows the construction of mosques and educational establishments).

The Dubai Port Authoritiy, which now manages the port of D., is planning a new deep-water port with a container terminal in Dorale (8 km north from the capital).

D. has many economic problems, the central being insufficient water and electricity supply, as well as increasing numbers of the unemployed and the homeless.

Lit.: COLETTE DUBOIS, Djibouti 1888–1967. Héritage ou frustration?, Paris 1997 (Lit.); SERGEJ KULIK, *Am Horn von Afrika: Aethiopien, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenia*, Leipzig 1983, 55; PHILIPPE OBERLE, *Histoire de*

Djibouti, des origines à la République, Paris 1997; OFFICE NATIONAL DU TOURISME ET DE L'ARTISANAT DE DJIBOUTI (ed.), *Guide pratique de la République de Djibouti*, Djibouti 1987; JACQUES TRAMPONT, *Djibouti de 1887 à 1939*, Paris 1990.

Colette Dubois – Frederick C. Gamst

Dᶜmt

D. (Daᶜəmat or Daᶜamat, vocalization unknown) is mentioned ten times in six Sabaic pre-Aksumite royal inscriptions, to be dated approximately to the 8th–7th cent. B.C.:

1) in the royal titles "N.N., the *mukarrib* of D.": cp. RIE 3:1 [*mkr*]*b/dᶜmt*; RIE 9:1 *m*[*krb/*]*dᶜmt*, and "N.N., the *mukarrib* of D. and SBʾ": cp. RIE 5A:1, 8:1–2, 10:4–5 *mkrb / dᶜmt / wsbʾ*;

2) in the formula "when they [i.e., the king and the queen] reigned [or: "attained sovereignty"] over D., its eastern and western parts", s. RIE 5 A:2–B:1 *ywm /* [*mlkw / dᶜ*]*mt / mśrqhy / wmᶜrbhy*, RIE 9:3–4 *ywm / mlkw / dᶜmt /* [*m*]*śrqhy / wmᶜrbhy*, RIE 2:1 *mlkw / dᶜmt / mśrqhy / wmᶜrbhy*; cp. also RIE 8:3–4 *ywm / hḥdsw / ᶜ... ỉ mlkw / rbḥ / dᶜmt / mś*[*rqhy*] */ wmᶜrbhy*, RIE 10:7–8 *ywmy / mlkw / dᶜmt.*

D. must have been the name of a people settling in the region of ↗Aksum (where the inscriptions RIE 2, 3, 5 were found) and southern Təgray, between Mäqälä and ᶜAddigrat (RIE 8 was discovered at Addi Gälämo, RIE 9, 10 at ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima, ᶜAddi Kawəḥ) or the name of this territory. The rulers of D. bear the title *mlkn* ('the king') and *mkrb* (here meaning uncertain), their names LMN, RBḤ and RDʾM appear to be of Semitic origin. Only the rulers bearing the title "*mukarrib* of DᶜMT and SBʾ" call themselves *ygᶜḏyn* "he of [the tribe?] YGᶜḎ" (RIE 5 A:1, 8:1, 10:2–4), which is obviously of the same root as "Gəᶜəz", the language name (cp. ↗Agᶜazi). The kingdom seems to have been rather short-lived; how long it flourished and when it broke down is unknown. Script and style of the D. inscriptions are highly influenced by Old South Arabian culture.

↗Pre-Aksumite culture

Src.: RIE 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10 (Lit.).

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, *Les anciens Éthiopiens. Siècles d'histoire*, Paris 1990, 60f.; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "A proposito delle iscrizioni sudarabiche d'Etiopia", *Studi epigrafici e linguistici* 17, 2000, 95–113, here 99f.; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, *Ancient Ethiopia. Aksum: its Antecedents and Successors*, London 1998, 45–48.

Alexander Sima

Dobaʾa

D. (ዶባእ) is the name of a territory on the north-eastern borders of ↗Təgray which extended as far as the ᶜAfar-inhabited lowlands. It was visited, in the early 1520s, by the Portuguese traveller Francisco ↗Alvares, who reports that the area measured five days journey in length, and possessed "very fine cows, which cannot be numbered ..., and the largest that can be found in the world" (BeckHuntAlvar 187). Later, in 1679, *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I incorporated this or another territory of the same name administratively into Təgray province.

According to the *gädl* of ↗Märqorewos (Conti Rossini 1904:18 [text]) Doba (ዶባ) and Wäfla were two lowland peoples who, headed by a certain Yehya, fought against the local Christian chiefs in the days of *aṣe* Lalibäla (ca. 1186–25).

The name D. is also used for the non-Semitic group described by Henry ↗Salt as "Negroes", which was attacked, and defeated, by *aṣe* ↗Baᶜədä Maryam in a famous expedition of the 15th cent.

Src.: Guilohan 31; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum. I. Acta Marqorēwos*, Louvain 1904 [repr. 1955] (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 18 (text) = 18 (tr.).

Lit.: BeckHuntAlvar 187, 579; HuntGeogr 296, index.

Richard Pankhurst

Dobbi

D. (or Dobi) is the self-designation of a ↗Gurage ethnic group speaking the ↗Gogot language and often referred to as Gogot. The origin of the term "D." is uncertain. It means 'nettle' in D. and is used as a metaphor for the bravery of the D. warriors. D. is also the name of a village on the road to ↗Butağira.

Most of the D. live in an area which is called Dobbi–Säbat–Gogot. In addition, there is a small diaspora of Gogot-speakers in Addis Abäba (Dənbäru Alämu 1994/95:42). The Dobbi-Säbat-Gogot area stretches from the Rinzaf River in the south to the Mulg mountain or the region of Wägära in the north-west. The Akemuğa River forms the north-eastern border. Adjacent to the D. area live the Kəstane (↗Soddo) in the north, the ↗Mäsqan in the east and south, and the ↗Muḥər as well as the ↗Wälläne in the north-west and west. The Dobbi-Säbat-Gogot consist of the following larger ethnic units: D., Sägännät (Mähal Amba), Qäčən Amba, Lemamär, Gogga and Arguman. These units again are divided into several other smaller units (ibid. 43f.).

There are almost no written records on the Dobbi-Säbat-Gogot. According to Dənbäru Alämu (1994/95:42) the region was mentioned in the Chronicle of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob for the first time. Consequently there is no information on the ethnogenesis of the people. According to oral traditions, the Dobbi-Säbat-Gogot are, like other Gurage groups, not native to the area they inhabit now. It is believed that there were several migrations of people into this area which resulted in the establishment of the Dobbi-Säbat-Gogot. The first migration probably took place in the time of *azmač* Səbḥat, who settled in Aymälläl. Some of his followers moved on and settled the today's area of the Dobbi-Säbat-Gogot. Later, during the time of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (r. 1434–68) and Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ; ca. 1506–43), other migrants from northern Ethiopia should have entered this area as well (ibid. 44f.). It is also believed that people from other Gurage groups became members of the Dobbi-Säbat-Gogot, such as the Särṭo lineage of the ↗Zay (ibid. 46) or the Dənäččo from Wälläne. Furthermore, some groups from Dobbi-Säbat-Gogot became incorporated into other Gurage groups. Consequently, there exists a close interethnic relationship between the D. and the surrounding Gurage. However, the close relationship between the Kəstane and the Dobbi-Säbat-Gogot as mentioned in Lapiso Getahun Dəlebo (1990/91:190), does not exist today and is not mentioned in the collected oral traditions. In former times, however, there were many quarrels and local conflicts between neighbouring Gurage groups, in particular regarding the ownership and usage of land. One means for the settlement of these and further conflicts became the traditional judicial practices of the region, which are called *yädobbi gogot sera* or *yäsənano sera*. Members of the *yädobbi gogot sera* are the Mäsqan and Səlṭi alongside the D. The place of the assembly of elders of these groups is located at Färagäzañä inside the Mäsqan area (Dənbäru Alämu 1994/95:139).

The D. are Ethiopian Orthodox. They are farmers who depend on *ənsät* as their staple food. In addition, they plant wheat, barley and maize and own a few cattle. The main market place of Dobbi-Säbat-Gogot is near the village of D. The market is held on Mondays and visited by most of the surrounding Gurage groups. There is a primary school near the market.

Src.: *azmač* Bäqqälä Habtä-Maryam (80 years), *abägaz* Mətəku Sima (55 years) and Getahun Qənatu (50 years), village of Dobbi, 2001.

Lit.: DƎNBÄRU ALÄMU et al., ጎጎት፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብሔረሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ (*Gogot. Yägurage bəḫeräsäb tarik, bahələnna qʷanqʷa*, 'Gogot, the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.]; LAP̣ISO GETAHUN DƎLEBO, የኢትዮጵያ፡ የገባር፡ ስርዐትኛ፡ ጅምር፡ ካፒታሊዝም (*Yäʾityop̣ya yägäbbar sərʿatəñña ǧəmmər kappitalizm 1900–1966*, 'The System of *Gäbbar* and the Initiated Capitalism 1900–1966'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.].

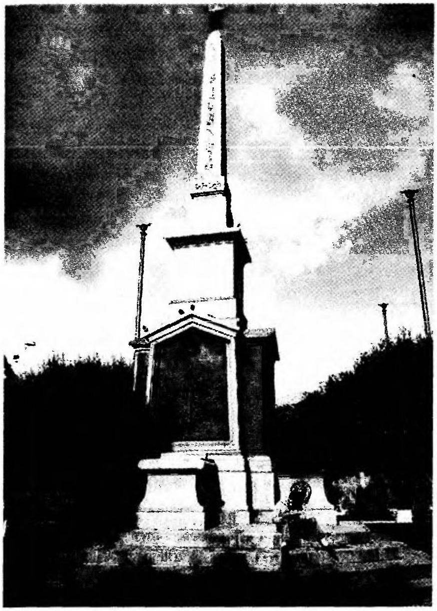
Ronny Meyer

Dogʿali, battle of

On 25-26 January 1887 Ethiopian forces, for the first time, inflicted a painful defeat on European imperialists at D. (ዶግዓሊ, ital. Dógali). This settlement lies some 25 km from ↗Massawa, which the Italians had captured in February 1885. *Ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda, leading the army he had assembled in his new capital of Asmära, tried on the first day to storm the Italian trenches in the water source of Sahati (also known as Saʿaṭi), and sustained heavy losses. The next day, at D. Alula ambushed an Italian battalion heading towards Saḥati. Some 500 Italian soldiers, practically the whole battalion, were killed and only 80 wounded managed to escape. The news came as a shock to Italy. On 5 June 1887 a monument (originally an ancient Egyptian obelisk unearthed in Rome in 1883) was inaugurated in a main square in Rome, which was then renamed Piazza dei Cinquecento, i.e. 'the square of the [fallen] five hundred' (from this location, in front of the Termini Station, the obelisk was moved to a garden area next to the Therms of Diocletian in 1925). The shock helped Francesco Crispi, an imperialist hard-liner, to power.

The British sent an envoy, Gerald H. Portal, to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, blaming Alula for a brutal massacre and demanding his removal from Asmära and the ↗Märäb Məllaš. Yoḥannəs refused and blamed the Italians for illegally penetrating Alula's territory. The June 1884 ↗Hewett Treaty had recognized that Massawa proper was supposed to be managed by the British, but inland Saʿati was never mentioned.

However, as relations with the Italians soon deteriorated – a large Italian army landed in late 1887 and advanced beyond Saʿati – Yoḥannəs grew angry with Alula for the D. incident. Alula's



The Dogʿali obelisk for the memory of the battle; Rome, Via delle Terme di Diocleziano; photo courtesy of Enrico Castelli

rivals at court blamed him for over-reacting to Italian encroachment. They also blamed him for pursuing a spectacular victory after his late-1886 campaign against the Mahdist town of ↗Kassala had failed. Unable to storm the entrenched Italians, *aṣe* Yoḥannəs, in May 1888 decided to evacuate eastern Eritrea and march to face the Sudanese Mahdists. He also decided in July to call Alula from Asmära to accompany him to the fateful battle of ↗Mätämma. Alula's removal from the capital of the Märäb Məllaš led directly to a smooth Italian occupation of Eritrea.

But while Yoḥannəs and his men were facing the Italians and the Mahdī, *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa had an easier time. In the very same January 1887 he defeated the army of the *amīr* of Harär and his man, *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾəl, established a Šäwan government over the Ogaden. Building his power in the south, conquering huge populations and territories, Mənilək would finally check the Italians in the north in the second, and much more decisive, victory of ↗ʿAdwa, March 1896.

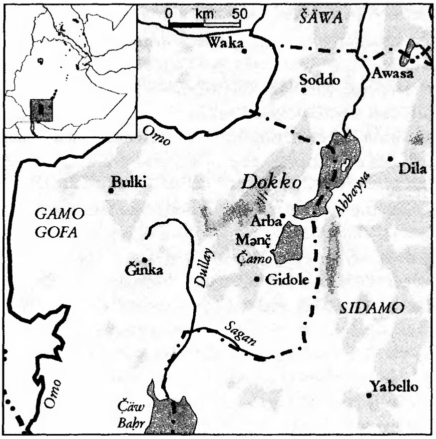
Lit.: *Guida* 189f.; HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ethiopia and Eritrea during the Scramble for Africa: a Political Biography of Ras Alula, 1875–1897*, Michigan – Tel Aviv 1983 [= *Ras Alula and the Scramble for Africa: a Political Biography, Ethiopia and Eritrea 1875–1897*, Lawrenceville — Asmara ²1996] (Lit.); TADDESSE BEYENE — TADDESSE TAMRAT — RICHARD PANKHURST (eds.), *The Centenary of Dogali*, Addis Ababa 1988; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale*, Roma 1976.

Haggai Erlich

Dokko

D. (also Doko) is a local unit (*dere*) of the ↗Gamo. Its approximately 20,000 residents occupying an area of about 110 km², located a few kilometres west of the small town of ↗Ç̌ença, at an altitude of approximately 3,000 m A.S.L. (Cartledge 1995:33). The majority of the people of D. are farmers. Women carry manure to the fields and men sow the seed and hoe the land. Nowadays most families also include at least one member who works as a weaver, either locally or in one of the urban centres throughout Ethiopia. Hidework and metalwork are carried out by a group of marginalized minorities called *degala*.

D. is composed of two smaller communities, or *dere*, known as D.-Mašo and D.-Gämbela, which in turn divide into yet smaller communities called Mašo, Šale, Woiśʾo, Eleze, Gedeno, Dambo, Yoira, Ç̌ento, and Kale, Šaye, Elo, Zolo, Upper Loš, Lower Loš, Śʾida, Dalo, Zadʾa respectively. Each of these *dere* of D. has their own particular version of the sacrifices and initiations found throughout the Gamo highlands Sacrificers are called *eqqa* and the senior *dere* sacrificer is known as *kawo*. Initiates in the smallest scale of *dere* are called *halaqa*, while those for



either D. Mašo or D. Gämbela are called *hudhugha*, and those for the whole of D. are called *dana*. The form of the *halaqa* initiations in the *deres* of D. Mašo and D. Gämbela is significantly different, with the D. Mašo form taking place over two years and the initiate becoming a symbolic 'wife', while in D. Gämbela the initiations take place over a few months and initiate becomes a symbolic "warrior" (Freeman 1999).

Many people in D. are nominally Orthodox Täwaḥədo Christians, although Orthodoxy is not as strong as it is in other parts of the highlands, such as in ↗Dorze and Ele. In recent years the Protestant church has attracted a large following in D.–Gämbela, but it has been less successful in D.–Mašo.

Lit.: DANIEL CARTLEDGE, *Taming the Mountain: Human Ecology, Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Resource Management in the Doko Gamo Society of Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Florida 1995; DENA FREEMAN, *Transforming Traditions: the Dynamics of Cultural Variation in the Gamo Highlands of Southwest Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1999; EAD., *Initiating Change in Highland Ethiopia, Causes and Consquences of Cultural Transformation*, Cambridge 2002; OSCAR NEUMANN, "From the Somali Coast through North-Ethiopia to the Sudan", *The Geographic Journal* 1902, 17 (ill.).

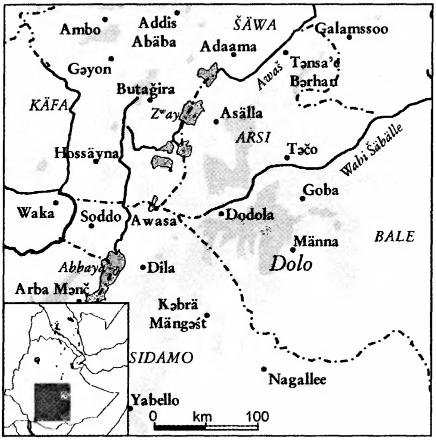
Dena Freeman

Dolo

D. (ዶሎ, after 1974 ድሎ, Dəlo) was an *awrağğa* of the Bale province, which was re-established in 1960 out of Harärge. At present it belongs to the Bale zone, a subdivision of the *kəlləl* Oromiyaa.

Its capital, known today as Männa (or Mäsəllo/Məsəllo, 1,340 m A.S.L.), is situated 110 km to the south of Gobba and is currently the chief town of the *wäräda* Männa – Haränna Buluq. The site, a former stop on a caravan route, had in 1938 about 100 inhabitants. Later on, the settlement developed into a secondary administrative centre and a local market. In the Ethiopian Empire, the town was the capital of the *awrağğa* of D. and the *wäräda* of Dəlu.

To the north of the town, the Afro-alpine lawns, the forests of *koso* (*heeto*) and the dense groves of podocarpus of Haränna hosted between 1963 and 1967 the rebellion of ↗Waqo Gutu. Consequently, between 1970 and 1984, the population of the Dəlo *awrağğa* grew by 25 %, only a third of the growth rate of the whole of Ethiopia. An increase in the density noticed by 2000 was, however, only a quarter if compared to the national average. The low areas around are still under dispute between the Oromo and Somali and between stock-breeders and sedentarized peoples.



The town is dominated in the north by the formidable escarpment of the Sanetti plateau (3,000 m–4,000 m A.S.L.), crowned by the volcanic solid masses of Mounts Batu and Tulluu-Diimtu (4,307 m A.S.L.). These mountains, often hidden by the clouds, are crossed by the highest road in Africa and shelter rare species of animals and plants, some of them protected. The tourists who visit the national park of Bale, one of the major attractions in Ethiopia, stay in Gobba and hardly ever venture to the south beyond the ↗Wälmäl river and towards Nägäle (Nagallee) Boräna. To the south of D. there is a green-forested steppe used by stock-breeders. In February–March 2000, with no rains during the short wet season, the forests of the mountains of Bale were subject to enormous fires that were partially contained with South-African and German co-operation.

Src.: CSA 2000; EMAtlas.

Lit.: JEAN GALLAIS, *Les tropiques: terres de risques et violences*, Paris 1994, 214–18; GasEth; ALAIN GASCON, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie. Les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanisation contemporaine", in: BENOÎT ANTHEAUME – FLORENCE PINTON (eds.), *Tropiques: lieux et liens*, Paris 1989, 435–44; ID., "Les Somali. Nomadisme, migrations et déplacements forcés", in: LUC CAMBRÉZY – VÉRONIQUE LASSAILLY-JACOB (eds.), *Populations réfugiées: de l'exil au retour*, Paris 2001, 77–94; GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest. Peasants' Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 1991; *Guida*; HuntGal; MesfAtlas² [showing Männa as the capital of the Fasil *awrağğa*]; MesfGeogr; MHasOr.

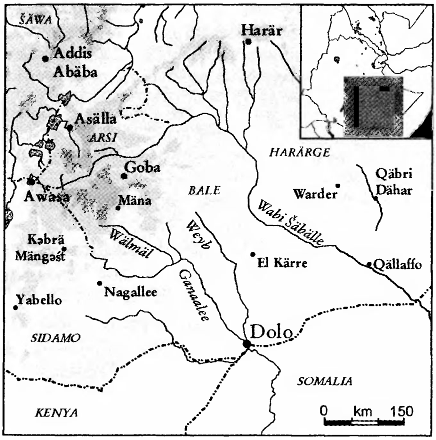
Alain Gascon

Dolo

D. (ዶሎ, also ዶሎ፡ ኦዶ Dolo Odo, Doolow; 23,595 inhabitants, 221 m A.S.L.) is the name of a town (4° 11' N, 42° 04' E) and a *wäräda* in the south of the Somali *kəlləl*, Liiban Administrative Zone (earlier it belonged to Boräna *awrağğa*, Sidamo province). The town lies near the Somali border, on a small hill overlooking the confluence of the ↗Ganaalee and the Dawa Parma where they form the Juba (↗Ganaalee). On the opposite bank of the Juba, the Somali twin-town of Doolow is situated. D. is also close to the Kenyan town of Mandera, where the borders of Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya meet. These three states share a territory that is disputed between Somali and Oromo stock-breeders.

A small Ethiopian military station, D. was conquered in 1910 and populated as of 1938 by 200 inhabitants. In October 1935, the town was devastated by the troops of General ↗Graziani, who then proceeded to take over ↗Nagallee (the capital of Boräna) in January 1936.

D. sheltered an important Ethiopian garrison during the war against the Western Somalia Liberation Front. This city remained one of the back-bases during the Ethiopian military interventions in Somalia. In the 1980s, camps of Somali refugees were placed around D., contributing to the increase in its population.



Lit.: LEE VINCENT CASSANELLI, *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People, 1600–1900*, Philadelphia 1982; EMAtlas; JEAN GALLAIS, *Les tropiques. Terres de risques et violences*, Paris 1994; ALAIN GASCON, "Ogadén/Ogaadeen", "Somalie", "Somaliland", in: YVES LACOSTE (ed.), *Dictionnaire de Géopolitique*, Paris 1995, 1148, 1410–17, 1417–18; ID., "Les Somali. Nomadisme, migrations et déplacements forcés", in: LUC CAMBRÉZY – VÉRONIQUE LASSAILLY-JACOB (eds.), *Populations réfugiées. De l'exil au retour*, Paris 2001, 77–94; *Guida* 594; RICHARD HOGG, "Changing Mandates in Ethiopian Ogaden. The Impact of Somali 'Refugees and Returnees' on the UNHCR", in: TIM ALLEN (ed.), *In Search of Cool Ground: War, Flight and Homecoming in Northeast Africa*, Trenton, NJ – Asmara 1996, 153–63; JULIUS HOLT, "Looking beyond the Towns: Facts and Conjectures about Rural Returnees in the Ogaden and 'Somaliland'", *ibid.*, 143–52; FRANÇOIS PIGUET, *Des nomades entre la ville et les sables. La sédentarisation dans la Corne de l'Afrique*, Paris – Genève 1998.

Alain Gascon

Dominicans

D. is the name used to designate the three orders of St. Dominic (1170–1221). Here we will deal only with the first order (Friars Preachers, Lat. Ordo Praedicatorum), the one with a proper missionary vocation.

The D. follow the three traditional monastic vows (obedience, chastity and poverty), but have also clear goals of preaching and "salvation of the souls", as well as learning and teaching. Thus, the history of the Order includes outstanding theologians (Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Tomás and Juan de Torquemada, the latter having played an important role in the Bull of Union with Copts and Ethiopians; s. ↗Florence, Council of), several saints and important missionaries.

The first contacts with the Orient and with Christian Ethiopia came shortly after the foundation of the order. Under Pope Gregory IX (r. 1227–41) an ambitious project of conversion of the "heretics" was launched in which the D., together with the ↗Franciscans, became a main bulwark. Around 1237, the prior of the D. convent in Jerusalem, Philip, was contacted by Ignatius II, Jacobite Patriarch of Antiochia, who out of rivalry with Alexandria named a certain Thomas metropolitan of the Ethiopian church. The issue, however, did not go much farther than arousing the opposition of the D. and the Catholic community (CerPal 62ff.; Richard 1998:56f.), eager not to provoke any discontent in Egypt. By the second half of the century, evidence seems to indicate D. having reached Ethiopia, although never establishing permanent missions (Richard 1976:325f.).

In the next century, with the pontificate of John XXII (1316–34) and a renewed spirit of Crusade, a formidable expansion of mendicant orders to the Far East took place. Henceforth, the attempts to contact Ethiopia became numerous, in most of the cases through the newly-created D. archdiocese of Sulṭāniyyah in Persia, the jurisdiction of which extended nominally to "Ethiopia" (Bull of erection *Redemptor noster*, 1 April 1318). Around 1315–16 the preachers Guillaume Adam, Archbishop of Sulṭāniyya, and Raymond Etienne reached the island of Socotra (Yemen), where a Nestorian (↗Nestorianism) community still existed, with the intention to visit Christian Ethiopia (Richard 1998:114, 1976:328; Conti Rossini 1940:98).

Later, the D. Jordanus Catalani (fl. 1302–30), nominated bishop of Quilon (Malabar, then a suffragan of Sulṭānīya), was entrusted with a mission to the Ethiopian ruler, but never succeeded (cp. with Golubovitch 1919:356). In his book *Mirabilia descripta* (c. 1330), he made one of the first identifications between the ↗Prester John and the Christian Ethiopian ruler (Jourdanus Catalani 1925:86–89). At the beginning of the 15th cent., another friar, John of Sulṭāniyyah, attempted a similar trip (CerPal 207–13). From this period dates also the work of the friar Pietro Ranzano (Palermo, ca. 1428–92), who wrote up the famous account of Pietro ↗Rombulo's travels. (On historiographical discussion around these medieval contacts with Christian Ethiopia, cp. Lefevre 1945:366–71 with Conti Rossini 1940:98.)

The last evidence of D. relating to Ethiopia goes back to the Portuguese expansion to India. Early in the 16th cent., during his trip to Massawa, the governor ↗Albuquerque referred – wrongly – to Ethiopian monks wearing the habit of "sam domingos" (Albuquerque 1884:224). Later, in 1539, the Pseudo-Patriarch ↗Bermudez was at the head of a mission to convert the "Preste", together with Brother Pedro Coelho and three other D. friars (Bermudez 1875:7; s. also Santos 1609:28). The friars never reached Ethiopia, but the project seems to have initially benefited from the support of the Pope (s. Paul III's letter, in: Schurhammer 1962, doc. 2880a). Finally, much turmoil was aroused by two D. with their books, published whilst the ↗Jesuit mission was fully active, and in part to diminish its achievements: the Tuscan Serafino Razzi (1577), whose stories were included in an important chronicle of the Orient (s. Santos 1609:13–23), and the Spanish Luis de ↗Urreta (1610) related various phantastic stories on D. saints, convents and influence in Ethiopia (s. Conti Rossini 1940:78–91; Van den Oudenrijn 1946). Although much discredited, these works are testimony to the vitality of old D. traditions on Christian Ethiopia. They were also to play – especially Urreta's – an important role in fostering serious Jesuit historiography on the country, starting with Pedro ↗Paez.

Src.: Affonso DE ALBUQUERQUE, *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque* ..., Lisboa 1884, 224; JOÃO DOS SANTOS, *Ethiopia Oriental e varia historia de cousas Notaveis do Oriente*, Evora 1609, 13–23, 28; JOÃO BERMUDEZ, *Breve relação da embaixada* ..., Lisboa 1875 [Lisboa 1565], 7; LUYS DE URRETA, *Historia eclesiastica politica, natural, y moral, de los grandes y remotos reynos de la Etiopia* ..., Valencia 1610; SERAFINO RAZZI, *Vite dei Santi et Beati del Sacro Ordine dei Predicatori*, Firenze 1596; GEORG SCHURHAMMER, *Die zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens* ..., Rom 1962, doc. 2880a; GIROLAMO GOLUBOVICH (ed.), *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano*, vol. 3, Firenze 1919, 356; JORDANUS CATALANI, *Les Merveilles de l'Asie* [c. 1330], ed. by HENRI CORDIER, Paris 1925, 86–89.

Lit.: JEAN RICHARD, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Age (XIIIe–XVe siècles)*, Rome ²1998, 56f., 114; ID., "Les premiers missionnaires latins en Ethiopie (XIIe–XIVe siècles)", in: ID., *Orient et Occident au Moyen Age: contacts et relations (XIIe–XVe siècles)*, London 1976, no. XXIV, 323–39, here 325f., 328; RENATO LEFEVRE, "Riflessi etiopici nella cultura europea del Medioevo e del Rinascimento", *Annali Lateranensi* 9, 1945, 331–444, here 366–71; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Sulle missioni domenicane in Etiopia nel secolo XIV", *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia d'Italia* ser. 7a–1, 18, 1940, 71–98, here 78–91, 98; CerPal vol. 1, 62–76, 207–13; MARC-ANTOINE VAN DEN OUDENRIJN, "L'évêque dominicain Fr. Barthélemy, fondateur supposé d'un couvent dans le Tigré au 14e siècle", *RSE* 5, 1946 [1947], 7–16.

Andreu Martínez

Donga

The D. constitute nine peasant associations of the Kačabiira *wäräda* in the present zone of Kambaata-Alaaba-Ṭimbaaro. They border the ↗Dubamo in the north, the ↗Ṭimbaaro in the west, the ↗Wälaytta and Baadawwaačč̣o-↗Hadiyya in the south and the ↗Kambaata in the east. The D. peasants are intensive cultivators, mainly growing *Ensete ventricosum* (↗ *ənsät*) as a staple food and coffee as a cash crop. Their first language is a dialect of Kambaata, but many of them also speak the Hadiyya language.

After the turbulence of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's wars, a number of clans (*säbat bet*, 'seven houses') started establishing a federation, which gained some regional importance under the leadership of a hero called Hanagassa during the first half of the 17th cent. From the early 19th cent. onwards, the D. were politically dominated by the Sooro-Hadiyya, invading from the north, but they were able to maintain a royal institution (*woma*) and an ethnic identity of their own.

Lit.: BrKam 49, 53f., 127, 196.

Ulrich Braukämper

Dongola

The medieval Nubian kingdom of Makuria was sometimes known in neighbouring lands by the name of its capital, D. It lies on the east bank, just below the foot of the great bend, of the ↗Nile. Today it is often called Old D. to distinguish it from the 19th-cent. colonial town of New D. on the west bank near the opposite end of the district within which Dongolese Nubian is presently spoken.

D. entered the historical record in 652 A.D. as the site of a major battle in which the Nubians repulsed the invading forces of Islam. During the same period, Makuria absorbed the northern Nubian realm of Nobatia; for half a millennium to follow D. was the capital of a "United Kingdom of Nubia" that extended from Aswān to beyond the Fourth Cataract. After a difficult transitional era in which Islam replaced Christianity in the 14th and 15th cent., D. became the seat of a line of district governors within the northern province of the large ↗Funǧ kingdom of Sinnār. The civil wars of the later 18th cent., however, virtually emptied the town.

D. figured prominently in the itineraries of travellers who chose to follow the Nile route between Egypt and Ethiopia; because the district could not easily be avoided, the good will of its governor was vital. Actual contemporary descriptions of the town, however, are rare, late and less than satisfactory. To Krump (1710:248), from across the river it was "a beautiful place on a hill, built so that each house adjoins the one higher up. I have never seen a place which, in my opinion, could be made into a better fortress than Dongola". Poncet (s. Foster 1949:99f.) actually entered D. in 1698 and reported that the "houses are ill built and the streets half deserted and fill'd with heaps of sand ... The castle is in the very centre of the town. It is large and spacious, but the fortifications are inconsiderable". Happily, since 1964 an extended series of excavations at D. by a team of Polish archaeologists promises to open whole new levels of understanding as their annual discoveries build toward a synthesis and become more widely accessible.

↗Nubia

Src.: THEODOR KRUMP, *Hoher und fruchtbarer Palm-Baum des heiligen Evangelij*, Augsburg 1710, 248; WILLIAM FOSTER (ed.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century, as Described by Joseph Daniel William Pitts and Charles Jacques Poncet*, London 1949 (Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society ser. 2, 100), 99f.

Lit.: UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Storia della Nubia chriatiana*, Roma 1938 (OrChrA 118), s. index; STUART MUNRO-HAY, "Kings and Kingdoms of Ancient Nubia", *RSE* 29, 1982-83, 87-137, here 96-115, 135ff.; WILLIAM YEWDALE ADAMS, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa*, Princeton 1977; WLODZIMIERZ GODLEWSKI, "The Fortifications of Old Dongola", *Archéologie du Nil Moyen* 5, 1991, 103–28; BEATRICE PLAYNE, *St. George for Ethiopia*, London 1954, 73–79; JAY SPAULDING, "Medieval Nubia and the Islamic World: a Reconsideration of the Baqt Treaty", *IJAHS* 28, 3, 1995, 577–94; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, Roma 1938 (OrChrA 118), 79–95, 143–46, 182ff., 215–20.

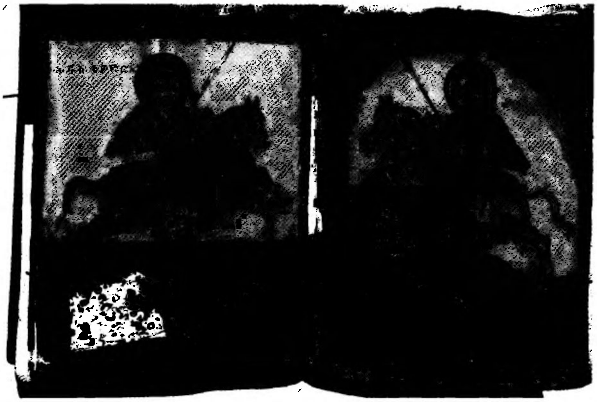
Jay Spaulding

Donkeys ↗Animals, domestic

Donors

Representations of D., kings, queens, nobles and churchmen are to be found in manuscripts, on wall-paintings, paintings on wood, and crosses. They are portrayed separately or in connection with a holy intercessor, in the first place St. Mary, the Crucified Christ, the Archangel Mikaʾel, the Trinity and the saints, most often *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot and ↗George of Lydda. Only in rare instances is a portrait of a D. attached to a narrative biblical scene or to an episode from the life of a saint. As a supplicant the D. is depicted in an attitude of reverence, either kneeling and bowing to the ground or lying face down (proskynesis).

The way the D. approach their intercessors in the pictures differs. With a few exceptions, in representations occurring up to the early 18th cent. their figures appear in two clearly distinct registers: a holy protector occupies the large, upper part of the composition, a D. the lower and narrow part. From the mid-18th cent. this division gradually disappears until finally both figures are shown on the same picture. Sometimes the idea of protection is underlined – the



Equestrian saints with donors: St. Theodore (Tewodros) with *abunä* Mälkä Ṣediq and St. Mercury (Marqorewos) with Zämmäda Maryam; miniatures from a 18th cent. *Täʾammərä Maryam*, fols. 3v-4r; Maryam Tənsaʾe, Śəllase church; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

supplicant embraces the bar of the Cross, touches the cloak of the Virgin Mary or grasps the garment of a saint. From the end of the 18th cent. representations appear in which the D. are supported by their holy intercessors, an iconographic formula which originates from the scene depicting Christ saving Adam and Eve from Hell.

Ethiopian representations of D. are never portraits in the real sense, but conventional images. Deprived of individual features, they are regularly accompanied by an inscription bearing the D.'s name. If for some reason the name is replaced by another – a common procedure in manuscripts – the image remains unchanged. It should also be noted that usually the portraits depict in detail various pieces of garments, weapons or jewellery of the represented persons and are thus an important source of information on everyday life in Ethiopia.

In Ethiopia, as everywhere in the Christian world, a donor-portrait commemorates both the donation and the person responsible for it. Its association with the representation of a holy intercessor emphasizes the pious nature of the donation, while also providing the D. with the assurance of heavenly protection – an idea which is strongly projected in Ethiopian images.

The oldest known portrait of a D., from the end of the 13th cent., is in the church of ↗Gännätä Maryam and shows *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak on the throne, flanked by two dignitaries (s. SerHist 291; Lepage 1975, fig. 3). In the Gospel Book of Iyäsus Moʾa (↗Däbrä Ḥayq Əsṭifanos), from the same period, the abbot is depicted on a separate miniature under an arch, while in the Gospel Book which belonged to his successor Krəstos Täsfanä (Addis Ababa, IES, ms. A5, cf. Chojnacki 2000 and TadTChurch 158f., pl.2), the owner is portrayed together with his three predecessors.

In the ↗*Gädlä sämaʿətat* written in the middle of the 15th cent. for Prince Yəmrəḥannä Əgziʾ (monastery of ↗Däbrä Maryam, Qʷäḥayn), he and his wife Amätä Ləʿul, accompanied by a group of attendants, are represented in two miniatures facing each other. The governor of the northern provinces of Ethiopia at the end of the 15th cent., ↗Bəlen Sägäd, is portrayed as a horseman in a Psalter which probably belonged to him (ms. BN, d'Abbadie 105). The 15th-cent. ms. of ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* from the monastery of Gəšän Maryam (↗Amba Gəšän) contains six miniatures which represent *aṣe* ↗Dawit II adoring the Virgin Mary, this act being shown in several stages from standing to making a deep bow.

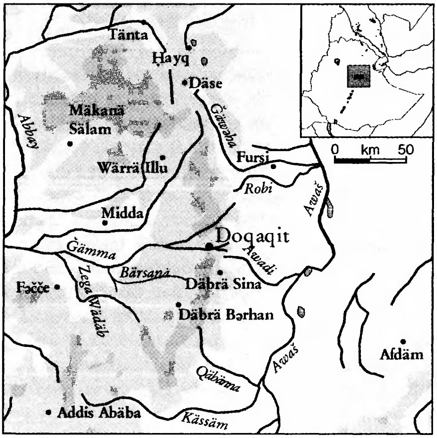
The custom of including the representation of a D. in a holy image became widespread in the second half of the 18th cent. It seems that among Ethiopian royal persons, *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa and Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) especially were interested in being depicted as supplicants, cf. e.g. the ms. London, BritLib, Or 715, fol. 133v, 134r; the wall-painting in Närga Śəllase church; and the processional cross, IES, no. 4193. From the end of the 18th cent. representations of D. accompanied by several members of their families, and in the case of the rulers by large courts, became part of the iconographic programmes decorating the socle of the eastern wall of the ↗*mäqdäs*.

Lit.: ChojPaint; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "A Note on the Costumes in 15th and Early 16th Century Paintings: Portraits of the Nobles and their Relation to the Images of Saints on Horseback", in: STANISŁAW SEGERT – ANDRAS J.E. BODROGLIGETI (ed.), *Ethiopian Studies Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday*, Wiesbaden 1983, 521–53; ID., "Les portraits des donateurs comme source de l'histoire politique, religieuse et culturelle de l'Ethiopie du XIIe au XIXe siècle", *NÆ* 4/5, 1999, 233–59; SerHist 291.
Ill.: JEAN DORESSE; *Ethiopia*, London 1959, fig. 53; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Peintures murales de Gannata Maryam (rapport préliminaire)", *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la civilisation éthiopienne* 6, 1975, 59–84, here fig. 3; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gonder Dynasty*, London 1967, fig. 11, pls. 23, 38, 40, 49; WALTER RAUNIG (ed.), *Religiöse Kunst Äthiopiens*, Stuttgart 1973, nos. 29–31, 35, 47; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea", [I], *RSE* 38, 1994 [1996], 13–69, fig. 7; EWALD HEIN – BRIGITTE KLEIDT, *Ethiopia – Christian Africa: Art, Churches and Culture*, Ratingen 1999, fig. 44, 57, 199, 200, 234–38, 262, 264; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons. Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, figs. 94ff., 101, 134f., 144, 150, 177, 192, 203, 227, 255; MARIO DI SALVO, *Churches of Ethiopia. The Monastery of Narga Sellase*, Milano 1999, figs. 154, 172, 174, 215, 217; TadTChurch 158f., pl. 2.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Doqaqit

D. (ዶቃቂት), a mountainous locality in Yəfat, 35 km north-east of Däbrä Bərhan, was one of several short-lived capitals of ↗Šäwa. Believed to have been first occupied by *abeto* ↗Nägaśi Krəstos Wärädä Qal, the founder of the modern Šäwan dynasty, it was established by the latter's son *märədazmač* ↗Səbəstyanos (r. 1705–20), who, however, also resided at other settlements, among them ↗Ayne and ↗Ḥarr Amba.



The growth of D., according to local traditions, also owed much to his son *märʾədazmač* ↗Abbəyye, who founded the church of Mikaʾel and supplied it with a *tabot* stolen from his father's church at Ayne. His own son, *märʾədazmač* ↗Amməḫa Iyäsus, also for a time resided at D., which was his first capital, but later abandoned it in favour of Astit, and later ↗Ankobär, which was to remain the capital of Šäwa until the late 19th cent.

Lit.: PankHist I, 185ff. (Lit.); LefAbyss vol. 3, 28; GueCopMen I, 57.

Richard Pankhurst

Dorho: Mäṣḥafä dorho

The name M.d. (መጽሐፈ፡ ዶርሆ, 'The Book of the Cock') is given to the first of nine texts bearing the title ድርሳን፡ ወትምህርት፡ ዘአበዊነ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ቅዱሳን (*Dərsan wätəmhərt zäʾabäwinä ḥawaryat qəddusan*, 'Homily and Teaching of our Fathers the Holy Apostles'). All these pieces, including the M.d., can be found in the Holy Week's Lectionary (↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*), sometimes even in the Miracles of Jesus (↗*Täʾammərä Iyäsus*), either together or scattered separately (s. Cowley 1985).

The M.d. is a short apocryphal passion narrative, possibly translated into Gəʿəz from an ancient Greek original, upon which the newly discovered Arabic version is also depending via a hitherto unknown Coptic translation (Lucchesi 2005:92). Unattested in other Oriental Churches, the work seems to have been known to the Copts in the 17th and 18th cent. (Thévenot 1665:502; cp. Colombo 1996:254). Like the *Dərsan* in which it belongs, the M.d. does not appear in Ethiopic manuscripts before the beginning of the 16th cent. Its text may have been produced earlier, during the epoch marked by the conducive literary activity of *abunä* ↗Salama "the Translator" (ca. 1348–86; Piovanelli 2003:435f., Lucchesi 2005:91f.).

The narrative focuses on the last three days of Jesus' life and chiefly on his betrayal by Judas: Jesus tells his disciples that one of them will betray him and Judas is indicated as betrayer by "a pillar of stone". Jesus then goes to Bethany to the house of Simon the leper and his wife Akrosena, who prepares a meal of roast cock for him. Following the episode of the unction at Bethany and the washing of the feet, the proper story of the cock begins. Jesus announces that he is going to spend the night on the Mount of Olives and Judas goes to inform the Jews of Jerusalem about this. In the meanwhile, Jesus revives the cock and sends it after Judas; the bird listens to the talk, returns and tells Jesus about the conspiracy. The mission of the cock is completed and Jesus sends it to heaven for a thousand years. The text closes with a long prayer of Jesus addressed to the Father.

The sources of the M.d. are to be sought in the four canonical Gospels – especially Matthew, Luke and John – and some apocryphal or legendary traditions. Likewise, the *Dərsan* is closely dependent upon the canonical Gospel of John and the *Tä'ammərä Iyäsus* (a direct translation from the Arabic apocryphal Gospel of John), which has in turn suggested a "Johannine inspiration" for the M.d. as well.

Although a fragment of the M.d. (= 4, 1-6) published by Chaîne (1905) on the basis of one single manuscript has long been familiar to scholars and in spite of the place the work enjoys in the Ethiopian liturgy, the antiquity of the material it preserves has only recently been recognized: there is now evidence to suggest that the original narrative of the M.d. is rather an apocryphal text from Late Antiquity written in or around Jerusalem in the 5th or 6th cent. A.D. (Piovanelli 2003, listing 25 mss.).

Src.: Marius Chaîne, "Le Livre du Coq («Matzhafa Dorho»)", *RevSem* 13, 1905, 276–81; Wäldä Mika'el Bərhanä Mäsqäl (ed.), ግብረ፡ ሕማማት (*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*, 'Acts of the Passion'), Addis Abäba 1942 A.M. [1950/51 A.D.], repr. 1982 [1990/91 A.D.], 223b–30b; Enzo Lucchesi (ed., tr.), *Le «Livre du Coq». Version arabe inédite et traduction française, avec une traduction française de la version éthiopienne par* Gérard Colin, Géneve (Cahiers d'Orientalisme), in preparation; Pierluigi Piovanelli, "Le *Livre du Coq* à la croisée des chemins", *Bulletin de l'AELAC* 12, 2002, 12–16 [summary, partial tr.]; Jean de Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, Paris 1665, vol. 1, 502.

Lit.: Roger Wenman Cowley, "The so-called Ethiopic '*Book of the Cock*' – Part of an Apocryphal Passion Gospel, '*The Homily and Teaching of our Fathers the Holy Apostles*'", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1985, 16–22; Angelo Colombo, *La nascita della Chiesa Copto-Cattolica nella prima metà del 1700*, Roma 1996 (OrChrP 250), here 254; Enzo Lucchesi, "La 'Vorlage' arabe du *Livre du coq* éthiopien", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 74, 2005, 91–92; Philippe Luisier, "De Pilate chez les coptes", *OrChrP* 62, 1996, 411–25; Pierluigi Piovanelli, "Exploring the Ethiopic *Book of the Cock*, an Apocryphal Passion Gospel from Late Antiquity", *Harvard Theological Review* 96, 2003, 427–54.

Gérard Colin

Dori Gugsa

Ras D.G. (ዶሪ፡ ጉግሳ) was son and, briefly, successor to his father, *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa. His birth-date is unknown, but he ruled from February to May 1831, when he died. His immediate predecessor was *ras* ↗Marəye, another son of Gugsa. Marəye was killed at the battle of Däbrä Abbay, one of the climactic battles of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, in which the forces of the Wärräsek (↗Yäǧǧu) rulers of Däbrä Tabor, supported by armies from Goǧǧam and Səmen, confronted and defeated an army led by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu of Təgray. D.G. had been appointed by his father to rule the Wällo districts of Wəčale and Wärrä Himano. His rule is reported to have been benevolent (Conti Rossini 1916). Later he was appointed over Damot. There was tension between him and each of the brothers, Yəmam and Marəye, who preceded him as ruler, but his choice to succeed Marəye was quick and smooth. During his brief rule he made his mark as a ruler of compassion, who disciplined his army not to oppress the poor. He appointed ↗Iyasu IV to the Solomonic throne.

Src.: Samuel Gobat, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia in Furtherance of the Objects of the Church Missionary Society*, London 1834, 245; Carlo Conti Rossini, "La cronaca reale d'Abissinia dall'anno 1800 all'anno 1840", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916, 779–922, here 803, 807, 834, 836; CRNuov ch. I, nos. 5, 14, 15, 17, 23, 27, 22, 34.

Lit.: AbPrince 36 (Lit.).

Donald Crummey

Dorn, Johannes Albrecht Bernhard

D. (in Russia known also as Boris Andreevitch Dorn; b. 11 May 1805, Scheuerfeld, Sachsen-Koburg, d. 1881, St. Petersburg), a prominent Orientalist, finished gymnasium in 1822. He studied philology and theology at the Universities of Halle and Leipzig, which implied courses in Hebrew and Arabic, as well as Syriac. He independently learned Persian, Pashto, Turkish, Sanskrit and Gəʿəz. In 1825 the University of Leipzig awarded him the degree of Doctor of Theology and Philosophy for his dissertation on the Ethiopic translation of the Psalter (*De Psalterio aethiopico commentatio*, Lipsiae 1825). There was a special chapter in it devoted to Ethiopic multi-radical verbs (*De verbis Aethiopum plurilitteris*).

Johannes Albrecht Bernhard Dorn; from Kračkovskij 1955: 88

In 1826 Kharkov University established its own chair of Oriental languages. Dorn was invited there as a staff professor. During his stay there (1829–35), he taught Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Sanskrit, Hebrew and Gəᶜəz.

D. was the first (and throughout the 19th cent., the only) professor in Russia who taught Gəᶜəz. In 1835 he was transferred to St. Petersburg and remained there for the rest of his life. In 1836 D. completed the first scholarly description of Ethiopian manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Languages of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Imperial Public Library. D.'s scholarly and teaching activities in St. Petersburg were extensive and diverse and in many of his academic undertakings he was a pioneer in Russia. However, Ethiopian studies were not D.'s main interest, his principal achievements were in the field of Afghan studies.

D. was considered by the Russians as a Russian scholar, and both in the pre-revolutionary Russian *Brockhaus* and *Ephron* encyclopaedias and in the *Large Soviet Encyclopaedia* D. was invariably referred to in the way he had been named by his Russian contemporaries and colleagues: Boris Andreevitch Dorn. From 1839 he was an adjunct fellow, from 1842 a Member Extraordinary of the Academy and Director of the Asian Museum and from 1852 a full member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. He died in St. Petersburg and was buried at Smolenskoye Lutheran cemetery.

Lit.: BORIS TURAIEV, *Efiopskie rukopisi v Sankt-Peterburge* ('Ethiopian Manuscripts in St.Petersburg'), St. Petersburg 1906, introduction; G. DUGATS, *Histoire des orientalistes de l'Europe du XIIe au XIX siécle*, Paris 1868, vol. 1, 72–79 (Lit.); IGNATIJ KRAČKOVSKIJ, *Vvedenie v efiopskuju filologiju* ('Introduction into Ethiopian Philology'), Leningrad 1955, 85–89; A.M. KULIKOVA, "B.A. Dorn i universitetskoe vostokovedenie v Rossii" ('B.A. Dorn and Oriental Studies in Russian Universities'), *Narody Azii i Afriki* 2, 1975, 220–28; *Bolshaya sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* ('Great Soviet Encyclopaedia'), Moscow ²1952, vol. 15, 125.

Sevir Chernetsov

Dorsa/Dorša ↗ Šeko

Dorze

Dorze language

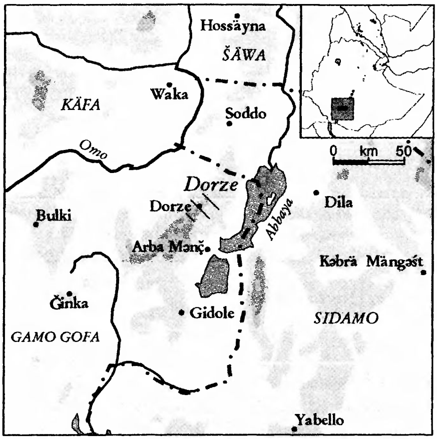
D. belongs to the North-Ometo branch of the Omotic language family. It is spoken by about 29,000 people (1994 census), of which some 6,300 live in and around ↗Çenča town, which is considered to be the centre of the community (CSA 1996:119). It has a larger number of speakers outside the home area: about 23,000 (CSA 1998:67).

D. has 97 % and 94 % lexical correspondence with ↗Malo and ↗Gamo respectively, which, together with ↗Dawro, ↗Gofa, ↗Očollo and ↗Wälaytta, form the North-Ometo cluster.

In nouns, morphological distinction is made for definiteness (only for masculine nouns by the morpheme -*z*-, as in *naʾa* 'a child' versus *naázi* 'the child/boy', while feminine definite and indefinite are unmarked), number, of which only the plural is marked by the suffix -*t*-, while singular is unmarked, e.g. *naʾa* 'a child' vs. *naitá* 'children', and case. The structurally important cases are nominative and accusative. The case suffixes simultaneously express gender and number. Thus nominative masculine and all plural nouns are marked by *–í*, while nominative feminine is marked by *–á*.

As modifying categories, adjectives must occur in their citation form without reflecting the gender and/or number of the noun they modify. In inchoative derivations, adjectives may take verbal inflection, while in noun phrases, where the head noun is dropped, they occur with nominal inflection such as number and case.

D., like most North-Ometo languages, has a rich verbal morphology. Tense-aspect (present, past and future), negation and mood (imperative and optative) are marked on the verb. With the



exception of the future form, the verb is further marked with subject co-indexing morphemes.

Independent 1st, 2nd and 3rd (masc. and fem.) sg. subject pronouns are: *taáni, neéni, ˀízí, ˀízá*. The plural subject pronouns for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person are: *núní, ˀínte, ˀhistí*. The corresponding singular and plural object pronouns are respectively, *taána, neéna, ˀíza, ˀízo* and *nuúna, ˀíntena, hísta*. Possessive pronouns are illustrated next with the noun *naˀa* (shortened to *na* in fast speech): *tá na*, 'my child', *né na*, 'your child', *ˀíza na*, 'his child', *ˀízi na*, 'her child', *nú na*, 'our child', *ˀísta na*, 'your child', *ˀeéta na*, 'their child'. Interrogative pronouns include: *ˀoóni*, 'who', *ˀoóna*, 'whom', *ˀaabi*, 'what (Nom.)', *ˀai*, 'what (Acc.)', *ˀawde*, 'when', *ˀainage*, 'how much' and *ˀaizana*, 'why'.

D. has a typical head-final syntax with Subject-Object-Verb order in simple declarative sentences, e.g. *kanázi ˀašó míres* 'dog:DEF-MASC-ACC meat:INDEF:ACC eat-PAST-3rd:MASC-PAST'). Accordingly, in phrases the modifier precedes the head (e.g. *ˀórde káfo*, 'big bird'), dependent clauses precede main clauses and the language uses only suffixes and no prefixes.

The standard ten-word list for D. is: *ˀissí/ˀistá*, 'one', *namˀá*, 'two', *heedzá*, 'three', *tama*, 'fire', *haats*, 'water', *ˀagína*, 'moon', *ˀawa*, 'sun', *suts*, 'blood', *ˀinsˀársa*, 'tongue', *ˀačča*, 'tooth'.

↗Ometo

Src.: CSA 1996; CSA 1998.

Lit.: ALEMAYEHU ABEBE, "Ometo Dialect Survey – A Pilot Survey Report", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 4, 1993; CSA 1994; CSA 1998; YESIGAT ASSAYE, *Dorze Verb Morphology*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1988; LIONEL M. BENDER, *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*, Carbondale, Ill 2003; ID., *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, Munich 2000 (Lincom Studies in African Linguistics 19); HAILE EYESUS ENGDASHET, *A Phonetic and Phonemic Study of Dorze*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1981.

Azeb Amha

Dorze ethnography

The D. are one of over 55 *dereta* (sg. *dere*), traditional "autonomous units" of ↗Gamo. It is also the name of a settlement (6°16' N, 37°33' E) and its constituent neighbourhoods, *guta*.

As understood by the Gamo people, D. is neither a language nor an ethnonym, although many scholars do use it as the latter (Garretson 2000). In Addis Abäba it is also popularly used as an ethnonym denoting a person of Gamo origin, usually making a living in the city by ↗weaving (there is a district of Addis Abäba is known as Dorze Säfär). Previously, settlement and neighbourhood names were often erroneously used to denote ethnic groups and languages, followed by government documents. This is the case with the last two censuses, where the Gamo are labelled as a sub-group of ↗Wälaytta and the D. as an ethnic group (CSA 1996).

There are 14 D. *guta* (or *qomme*) neighbourhoods, such as Bodo, Amarra, Laka, Matso, Holˀo, Maldo, Dˀartse, Hirpo, Haizo, Aira, Gimbilo, Woqate and Godiye (Olmstead – Halperin 1976; Sperber in USCES). Each *guta* has its own assembly place (VSAe III), which is attended by "fathers of the land". Three of the *guta* assembly places, however, serve as the *dere* assembly places for Dorze: those of Amarra, Laka and Bodo. The first fire of *mäsqäl* (D. *máskala*, VSAe III, 205), the New Year festival, was traditionally lit at the Amarra and Laka assembly places, followed by fires lit at other assembly places depending on their seniority (cf. Sperber in PICES 5). Rituals of *sofe*, marking the end of seclusion of a bride and groom, used to be initiated in Laka and now take place at the Bodo market. Currently, the church of *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot occupies part of the location. The construction of churches in sacred groves is suggestive of the "triumphalism" of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church's belief over the traditional practices in D. and other Gamo areas.

The Bodo market of D. is held on Mondays and Thursdays. Being one of the largest markets of southern Ethiopia, it attracts traders from all over the Gamo highlands, Amaro, Sidamo and from as far as Kambaata and Addis Abäba. It is from Bodo that much home-woven cloth is transported to markets in central and southern Ethiopia. The Bodo market and its *dubbuša* ('public place') assembly are central to the D. The smooth running of exchange in the market and order are observed by this assembly, which is attended by "heads" (*halaqa*) from all over the neighbouring Gamo territories. Cases involving members of other *dereta* can only be handled together in the presence of the *halaqa* of that respective *dere*. Currently, however, police also involve themselves in this (cf. Forster et al. 1969, Jackson et al. 1971 on the markets of northern Gamo).

An interesting fact about Bodo and some other Gamo markets is that the market space is owned by families and is inheritable. For instance, families and other Gamo *dereta* such as Očollo own the annual meat-slaughtering spot in Bodo market. Families own *sofe* grounds and spaces for stalls where women sell *dana* beer. Anyone who forgets the exact location of their *sofe* grounds must, for example, pay elders with a sheep for being reminded. The market assembly place is another site permanently owned by the assembled "fathers of the land".

As in all of Gamo, mountain pastures, sacred groves, rivers and spaces where peace treaties have been concluded, as well as assembly places and markets are administered under the patronage of families that are responsible for performing rituals, as well as taking care of them (cf. Tadesse Wolde in PICES 11).

The D. have one of the Gamo ↗*tabots* of old times, known as Gergesa (devoted to St. ↗George of Lydda), which is said to originate from the early centuries A.D. However, researchers date Gamo churches back to the 15th cent. (Bureau 1976:298, 300; Caquot 1955:109f.). The Gamo *tabots* are believed to have been there since ancient times. This is reflected in deep genealogical traditions of some *qeso* ('priest') families that claim that their ancestors brought these *tabots* and became the keepers of the Christian faith, as well as in the senior position these families enjoy in these areas. The D., like other Gamo, make their living from agriculture, growing *ənsät*, barley, wheat, peas etc. for food and bamboo and other trees for construction, from mountain pastoralism, trading and migrant weaving. Young children sometimes accompany a kinsperson on weaving journeys to help with spinning. In earlier days, the D. traded in all commodities, including firearms and ammunition. Today, they participate in long-distance trade between home and Addis Abäba and also act as members of the network of mountain-markets in Gamo country. Their other expertise, which is shared by nearly all Gamo in the bamboo belt, is their skilful use of bamboo for cutlery, for fences of different kinds and for the construction of ↗houses (cf. Olmstead 1972:27ff., Forster 1969).

The D. consider themselves to be "descendants of Tenkele", a man they sing about in self-praise. D. men spend much time as migrant weavers within Gamo and southern and central Ethiopia (mainly Addis Abäba). Meanwhile, women keep house, do farming, care for children, travel in the mountains to other Gamo markets to trade or accompany their husbands on their migrations (cf. Forster et al. 1969 on the economy of the Gamo Highlands; Burley in PICES 5b for the genesis of Gamo weaving in Addis Abäba). Ownership and inheritance in D. follow the patri-lineages with a bias towards the eldest, as in all of Gamo.

Lit.: Jacques Bureau, "Note sur les églises du Gamo", *AE* 10, 1976, 295–301; Dexter Lisbon Burley, "The Despised Weavers of Addis Abeba", in: *PICES* 5b, 145–49; André Caquot, "Note on Berber Maryam", *AE* 1, 1955, 109–16; CSA 1996; Peter P. Garretson, *A History of Addis Abäba from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49); John A. Forster, "Economy of the Gamu Highlands", *Geographical Magazine* 41, 1969, 429–37; Richard Thomas Jackson – Timothy Peter – James Russell et. al., *Report of the Oxford University Expedition to the Gamu Highlands of Southern Ethiopia, 1968*, Oxford 1969; Richard Thomas Jackson, "Periodic Markets in Southern Ethiopia", *Transactions* 3, 1971, 31–41; Judith Virginia Olmstead, "The Dorze House: a Bamboo Basket", *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 27–36; Rhoda Halperin – Judith Virginia Olmstead, "To Catch a Feastgiver: Redistribution among the Dorze of Ethiopia", *Africa* [London] 46, 1976, 146–65; Dan Sperber, "Paradoxes of Seniority among the Dorze", in: *USCES* 209–21; Id., "The Management of Misfortune among the Dorze", in: *PICES* 5, 207–15; VSAe III, 148–214; Tadesse Wolde, "Social and Ritual Function of Some Gamo and Konso Public Places", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 325–39.

Wolde Gossa Tadesse

Doum palm

The D.p., or dioecious fan palm (*Hyphaene thebaica*), grows up to 15 m and can be recognized by dichotomy of its stem, which forms up to 16 crowns. It belongs to the family of *Palmae*

Doum palms in Gaš-Setit; photo 1997, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

and subfamily of *Borassoideae* and can be found throughout northern Africa (e.g. in Ethiopia, Eritrea and the Sudan, but also in Egypt and east Tanzania) where it grows in forests along rivers and wadis.

Its leaves, fruits and timber are highly valued by the Eritrean and Ethiopian populations and exploited for commercial, ritual and personal purposes. Women use its dried leaves to pleat mats, various household utensils (baskets, containers for storing staples, cosmetics and valuables, trays for serving food, coffee-pots and coffee-cup holders, milking-vessels, fans for fires, food coverings, grain containers and chicken baskets), clothing and for decorative handicrafts (wrist-bands, bed-screens and mattress-coverings), some of which are intervowen with goat-leather strips, cloth, beads, cowries and coloured fibres. The mats play an important role as a building material, e.g., for the traditional dome-shaped houses of the Təgre-speaking people of Eritrea. They are also used as floor-coverings to sit on, as prayer-mats and for women's ritual smoke-baths. These mats have a hole in the middle for the smoke to penetrate and ritually clean or cure the woman's body. Dried D.p. leaves are also the raw material for ropes, which are knotted into nets that serve as carriers for, e.g., jerrycans, food and firewood.

A ritually tied bundle of D.p. leaves sat above the entrance of a Beğa house indicates the birth of a child. The smooth, shiny orange-brown fruit, when ripe, is an important source of carbohydrates, niacin and iron. The pulp, which is extremely hard and tastes like gingerbread, is eaten by the children as a snack and is used as animal fodder during the dry season. Because of its hard and dry texture, the D.p. fruit is easy to preserve and therefore stockpiled for times of food shortages or famines. The hard kernel is skillfully crafted and used as a container for antimony – a popular eye – cosmetic and an antiseptic treatment for the eyes of newborn babies (↗Cosmetics).

In 1927 Italian colonists started to manufacture buttons from the D.p. kernels for export to Europe. The kernel is also known as a popular children's toy. D.p. trunks, when deposited on river shores as drift-wood, are used for constructing and stabilizing river-bed and river-bank wells. For women and men alike, especially those from the Eritrean lowlands, the D.p. products are an important (trading) asset and constitute a major source of income.

Lit.: FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS (ed.), *Traditional Food Plants, a Resource Book for Promoting the Exploitation and Consumption of Food Plants in Arid, Semi-arid and Sub-humid Lands of Eastern Africa*, Rome 1988 (FAO Food and Nutrition Paper 42, 333–36); HANS-JÜRGEN VON MAYDELL, *Trees and Shrubs of the Sahel. Their Characteristics and Uses*, Weikersheim 1990; MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (ed.), *Indigenous Trees and Shrubs of Eritrea*, Asmara 1994; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea, 1882–1941*, Uppsala 1987, 44, 188.

Kerstin Volker-Saad

Drinks

D. – both alcoholic and non-alcoholic – and drinking are an integral part of the culture and social life of the large majority of Ethiopians from the elite to the lowest classes: meeting one another without offering or taking a D. of some sort is unthinkable.

D. in Ethiopia could be categorized in a number of ways, but here we limit ourselves to D. as nutrition, as an item in ritual and as an aspect of socializing. In this category fall most of the alcoholic D. There is a wide divergence according to region, religion, social standing and wealth as to what D. are consumed and by whom. Notable is the fact that all traditional, non-imported D. in Ethiopia are prepared, served or sold by women, including **አረቂ** (*aräqi*, 'arrack, anise liquor') or **ካቲካላ** (*katikala*, 'homemade arrack').

Ethiopia has indigenous D. of both the alcoholic and non-alcoholic kind. Among the non-alcoholic D., ↗coffee and ↗tea are without doubt the most important ones. Among other D. as part of the diet one can mention (sour) milk, tea, **ብርዝ** (*bərz*, unfermented honey-mead), **ቅራሪ** (*qərrari*, a weak *ṭälla*-like beverage), local beer (**ጠላ**,

↗*ṭälla* and ቦርዴ, *borde*, especially in southern Ethiopia) and increasingly also honey-wine (ጠጅ, ↗*ṭäǧǧ*). ↗Blood is also drunk, often mixed with milk, especially among the southern pastoralists, except when they are Muslims.

Non-alcoholic drinks

Coffee is a daily D. among most people in the highlands, but is ritually used in some contexts, such as the Wällo ↗*wädaǧǧa*, and among various southern peoples, e.g. the Boorana, Garii, and Maçça Oromo. One example is the "coffee slaughter" ceremony (↗*Buuna qallaa*; s. Bartels 1983:287f.; Getachew Kassa 1990). Coffee is usually freshly roasted and ground, but among certain southern groups the leaves of the coffee-plant are boiled in water with spices, or the beans are eaten with butter. The Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church initially rejected the drinking of coffee, although not on any doctrinaire grounds.

Tea in Ethiopia was originally an imported, rather expensive D. which became common only fairly recently; it is prepared with much sugar and a variety of spices. In addition, in the fasting periods, D. made with flax, safflower, linseed and fenugreek are consumed.

To convalescing young mothers and sick people, D. like አጥሚት (*aṭmit*, 'gruel') are given. There exists a great variety, but ingredients – in varying composition – are milk, fine ↗*ənsät* flour, barley flour, *əmmər*-wheat flour, butter, honey, eggs and spices such as fenugreek.

There is also a large domestic market for soft D., and local factories are licensed producers of Coca Cola, Pepsi and other varieties.

Alcoholic drinks

Alcoholic beverages have seen a rapid expansion in the 20th cent., in both their production and use. The use of alcohol has been known in Ethiopia from time immemorial across a wide variety of ethno-cultural groups in the country, especially in the form of fermented D. (local beer) on the basis of grain. In Islamic areas the alcoholic D. are predictably less widespread. The stronger alcoholic D. are the distilled types. The distillation process, yielding strong liquor like *aräqi*, is a recent innovation, probably imported from abroad – or copied from resident Greeks or Armenians – during *aṣe* Mənilək II's reign. The Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church and its priests did not officially reject the use of alcohol, in contrast to Islam, and priests join in drinking, but usually the Church has pleaded for moderation in its use.

Among the most common alcoholic beverages across the country are *ṭäǧǧ* and local beer, e.g. *ṭälla* and *farso* (in the Oromo area) or *borde*, a fluid grain porridge. *Ṭälla* and *ṭäǧǧ* are known under various names, differing according to language or ethno-region; e.g. in Təgray and Eritrea *ṭälla* is called ሰዋ (*səwwa*). The *ṭälla* beer is made from either barley, corn, wheat, sorghum or a mixture of these. *Ṭäǧǧ* is the typical Ethiopian honey-wine or mead, made of water, honey (and occasionally sugar in the cruder blends) and a fermenting leaf (↗*gešo*). In popular bars it was, and often still is, served in long-necked ብርሌ (*bərəlle*), old perfume bottles, a custom dating from the late 19th cent. The best *ṭäǧǧ* is considered to be the filtered kind. *Ṭäǧǧ* or *daadhii* (in Oromo) has become the most popular D. of many Ethiopians, not only in the towns but also in countryside bars. In parts of southern Ethiopia there are similar indigenous types of fermented honey-wine, e.g. *boke*. In the early 20th cent. there has been a notable expansion of bars and drinking-houses in urban Ethiopia, especially Addis Abäba, and strong alcoholic beverages – both indigenous and imported – are rapidly gaining ground as popular status D.

There is a large variety of local alcoholic beers in Ethiopia, among them: ኰረፌ (*kʷäräfe*) in the Gondär area, made from barley, and አሚት (*amit*) in the Gurage area (lighter in alcoholic content, made from ↗*ṭef* and germinated/roasted barley). In the south of the country, the local beers *farso* and *borde* are usually made from fermented maize, sorghum and sometimes barley (or a mixture of them), and are typical for the Southwest. *Borde* is a thick, nutritious and heavy beer. Its alcoholic content is estimated to be around 6–10%. The production (and sale) of the traditional beer is always controlled by women. Producing it is a laborious process, taking from eight to ten days. This *borde* beer is not only drunk at social gatherings, but is also an essential element in collective work-parties in rural areas in the south, as is attested by many ethnographies (e.g. Donham 1994:130). It is also sold in special bars in the provincial towns. Among several groups, alcoholic D., especially the local beer, are used and consumed in ceremonies such as name-giving, the initiation of new fields and certain harvest rituals. But in contrast to coffee and milk, alcohol has not assumed major ritual functions in the life of Ethiopian peoples.

The strongest alcoholic D. are *aräqi* and *katikala* (similar, but different), home-made distilled D. originating in the highland areas of Ethiopia, but now spread to most rural areas as well. They are made on the basis of germinated grains, especially maize or finger-millet, sometimes mixed with wheat and with added agents like sugar and the fermenting leaf *gešo* (Belachew Desta 1977).

There are also imported and local factory-produced varieties of *aräqi*, but these are not considered as good as the home-made ones, e.g. the variety from the town of Däbrä Sina. They are consumed in urban areas by the wealthier upper- and middle-class people. The range of alcoholic D. in Ethiopia has expanded rapidly, both by local production of gin, ouzo, ↗wine, vermouth, cognac, champagne, etc., and by import. Here, whisky is the most prestigious strong beverage. There are also several large local beer-factories in Ethiopia, such as St. George, Bäddäle, Meta and in Eritrea Zäbib and Melotti. Most of the local factories which used to belong to the state have been privatized and sold to French groups.

Alcoholic D. are mostly consumed during festive occasions such as weddings, certain religious holidays and other ceremonies, but also on market days throughout the country. Christian religious festivals, the breaking of fasts and Saints' days, as well as life-cycle rituals (baptisms, weddings, funerals) are not complete without the consumption of (alcoholic) D., in particular *ṭälla*. Due to the recent expansion of Evangelical Christianity in parts of the country, notably in the South, alcoholic D. (including *borde*) are getting more competition from non-alcoholic ones made from sugar-cane or roasted barley. Travellers often take *bässo*, roast barley-flour, consumed after mixing with water. The local, *borde*-like beer made of sorghum and/or maize, known under different names in various regions (esp. in the South), is not only drunk at social gatherings, but is also an essential element in collective work-parties in rural areas, which are based on reciprocity (exchange of labour for beer, but also in the sense of "taking turns", in coming to work on some-one's land and inviting others to work). These beer work-parties are found among many groups, from the Kunama in Eritrea to the Suri in the Maǧi area. The wife (or wives) of a man whose land is to be prepared or harvested, gets the job-order for preparing the beer. Women themselves also can order work-parties, providing their own beer. In urban areas, strong alcoholic beverages – both indigenous and imported, especially whisky – are rapidly gaining ground as popular status D., and urban weddings without whisky are not considered good.

In most towns and villages the bars are often the principal or only public meeting-places. This in itself is conducive to the over-consumption of alcoholic beverages. In addition, the consumption of alcohol in rural settings often tends to "substitute" for people's (esp. males') food intake, and alcoholism seems to be on the rise. In general, very little research has been done in Ethiopia on alcoholic D., their use, abuse and social context.

↗Ambo; ↗Food; ↗Water

Src.: KaneDic 721, 889, 895, 1134, 1148, 1334.

Lit.: JON G. ABBINK, "Competing Practices of Drinking and Power: Alcoholic "Hegemonism" in Southern Ethiopia", *NEASt* 4, 3, 1997, 7–22; BartOromo; BELACHEW DESTA, "A Survey of the Alcohol Content of Traditional Beverages", *Ethiopian Medical Journal* 15, 1977, 65–68; DONALD LEWIS DONHAM, *Work and Power in Maale, Ethiopia*, New York 1994; GETACHEW KASSA, "A Descriptive Account of Coffee Slaughter (bun qalle) Ceremony of the Garri of Southern Ethiopia", in: *PNCES* 1, 13–28; MARIO NASTRUCCI, "Preparazione delle levende alcooliche abissine nell'Harar", *Agricoltura coloniale* 34 (1940), 408–25; RUTH SELINUS, *The Traditional Foods of the Central Ethiopian Highlands*, Uppsala 1971; ETHIOPIAN NUTRITION INSTITUTE (ed.), *Traditional Ethiopian Recipes*, Addis Ababa 1980; RITA PANKHURST, "The Coffee Ceremony and the History of Coffee Consumption in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 515–39.

Jon G. Abbink

Drugs

D., which form part of an extensive, and well developed, local pharmacopoeia based principally on plants, have played a significant role in Ethiopian life. The country's two best-known hallucinant narcotics are derived from the fruit of the *Datura stramonium*, or Thorn apple, and from the leaves of the *Catha edulis*. The former, widely used in the highlands, is variously known as **አጠፋርስ** (*aṭäfarəs*) or **ዕፀ፡ ፋርስ** (*ʿəṣ́ä fars*, lit. 'plant of Persia', from which country the plant is said to have originated), and **አስተናግር** (*astänaggər*, lit. 'what helps to speak'; Strelcyn 1968:60; 1973:147). This drug was traditionally used by Ethiopian Church scholars, to assist them in memorisation (Cacciapuoti 1941:302; Lemordant 1959:12f.; Rodinson 1967:59; Strelcyn 1968:60, 1973:147). *Catha edulis*, locally known as ↗*čat*, was formerly mainly chewed by Muslims in the Harär area, and by the neighbouring Somali, but its cultivation has now spread to other regions, where it is also widely consumed by Christians. *Čat* is today a major export to Djibouti, Yemen, and even parts of Europe (Griaule 1930:153; Mercier 1980/82:143–79).

Perhaps the best known of Ethiopia's numerous purgative drugs is ↗*koso* (*Hagenia abyssinica*), which constituted the most important of a number of medicines used in the traditional treatment of tapeworm. Infestation with this parasite was common in the Ethiopian highlands on account of the widespread practice of eating raw meat. An extremely bitter infusion of the flowers of the *kosso* tree was widely employed to expel the worm, but usually failed to do so entirely, with the result that it grew again from the head, thus necessitating the taking of *kosso* literally every two or so months (Pankhurst 1969:323–34).

The most widely used imported drugs were traditionally those employed for the treatment of ↗syphilis, a complaint which was not uncommon in many parts of the country. Such medicines, some of which were already used in urban centres in the 17th, 18th and early 19th cent., included sarsaparilla and mercury compounds, both of which were frequently administered in association with sudorific treatment and vapour baths, known in Amharic as **ወሻባ** (*wäšäba*). Prominent among later 19th cent. medicines for syphilis were silver nitrate and copper sulphate, which were replaced in the early 20th cent. by Salvasan (Pankhurst 1973:210–15).

"The more extensive use of foreign drugs was popularized, and greatly facilitated, by the coming of European diplomats, traders and missionaries, as well as Arab and Indian merchants. Imported medicines were dispensed, in late 19th and early 20th cent., at the Italian, British and French Legations in Addis Abäba, as well as at the Russian Red Cross hospital, which latter began to function in 1896. Foreign drugs were by then also sold at Addis Abäba's principal French, Indian and other foreign groceries. These handled a wide range of "modern" medicines, such as iodide of potassium, Ricord's pills, quinine, castor oil, Epsom salts, laudanum, and phenic acid, as well as a considerable number of balms, and antiseptic cotton (Mérab 1912:41). The first Addis Abäba pharmacy, "Dr Mérab's Pharmacie la Géorgie", was founded in 1910, and the second, established by a German, Walter Zahn, in 1914, after which "modern" drugs and medicines gradually spread to the principal towns, and in the course of time to a number of provincial hospitals and clinics. (Pankhurst 1965:114–60).

↗Healing; ↗Magic; ↗Medicine;
↗Possession cults

Lit.: MARCEL GRIAULE, *Le livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin*, Paris 1930 (Université de Paris. Travaux et mémoires de l'institut d'ethnologie 12); RAFFAELE CACCIAPUOTI, "Farmacoterapia vegetale indigena in Eritrea ed Etiopia", *Archivio Italiano di Scienze mediche coloniale di Parassitologia* 22, 1941, 350–69; DENIS LEMORDANT, *Les plantes éthiopiennes*, Addis Ababa 1959; MAXIME RODINSON, *Magie, médicine et possession en Éthiopie (à Gondar)*, Paris 1967; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Médecine et plantes d'Éthiopie*, vol. 1: *Les traité medicaux éthiopiens*, Warszawa 1968, 60; vol. 2: *Enquête sur les noms et l'emploi des plantes en Éthiopie*, Napoli 1973, 147; JACQUES MERCIER, "Un mythe éthiopien d'origine du café et du kat", *Abbay* 11, 1980–82 [1983], 143–79; PAUL MÉRAB, *Médecines et médecine en Éthiopie*, Paris 1912; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Traditional Taenicides of Ethiopia", *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 24, 1969, 323–34; ID., "Old-time Ethiopian Cures for Syphilis, Seventeenth to Twentieth Centuries", *ibid.* 30, 1975, 199–216; ID., "The Beginnings of Modern Medicine in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 9, 1965, 114–60; EZEKIEL GEBISSA, *Leaf of Allah. Khat & Agricultural Transformation in Hararge, Ethiopia, 1875-1991*, Oxford 2004.

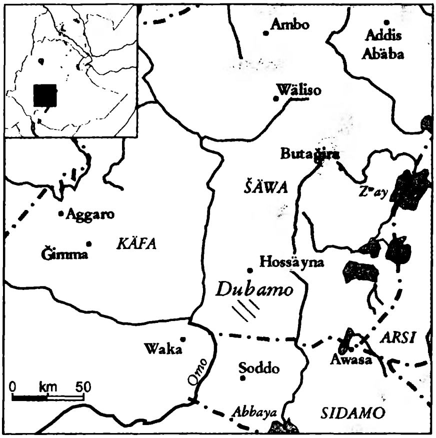
Richard Pankhurst

Drums ↗Käbäro, ↗Musical instruments, ↗Nägarit

Ḏū Nuwās ↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar

Dubamo

The D. inhabit the southern part of the Sooro *wäräda* in the region of ↗Hadiyya (today Hadiyya Zone), bordering ↗Ṭimbaaro in the south. The centre of their settlement is the highland area of Danta, after which they are sometimes named. Like the neighbouring Donga, they were organized in a small kingship whose rulers claim descent from "King Solomoon" of Gondär, i.e. from Amharic nobility. The D. consist of seven original clans and some groups which immigrated in the 18th and 19th cent. from ↗Boša and Hadiyya. They formerly spoke a dialect of ↗Kambaata, but, following the political domination of their area by the Sooro since the beginning of the 19th cent., they



subsequently underwent a linguistic change to Hadiyya. A minority still speaks Kambaata as a first or second language.

The D. are intensive cultivators of *Ensete ventricosum* (↗*Ǝnsät*) and barley and they were formerly famous for their horse- breeding. Numerous relics of Orthodox ↗Christianity could be traced back to the time when the Kambaata area was part of the Ethiopian Empire before the mid-17th cent. In the syncretic religion which then evolved among the D., the medium of the spirit Hawzulla gained a supra-regional importance. After ↗Mənilək II's conquest in the late 1880s, many D. converted to Orthodox Christianity and, from the 1970s onwards, Protestantism became their primary confession. After the introduction of the federal system in the 1990s they increasingly developed a consciousness of individual cultural identity within Hadiyya Zone, resulting in the foundation of a political party called "Denta, Debamo and Kitchenchia Democratic Organization".

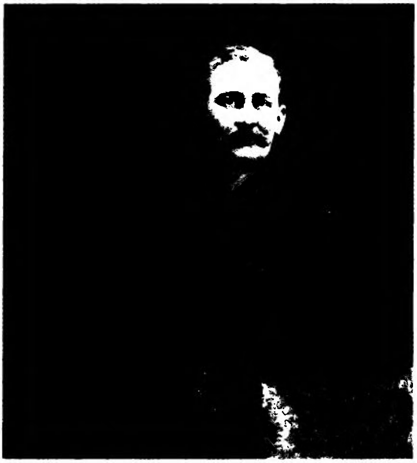
Lit.: BrKam 30–34, 49, 55f., 137f., 149f., 157f., 195, 219f., 261–69.

Ulrich Braukämper

Duchesne-Fournet, Jean

Born in the Normandy from a family involved in national political life (his father was a senator), D. (b. 1875; d. 1904) studied in the School of Oriental Languages (↗INALCO) and political science, and in the Colonial School in Paris. More specifically concerned with economic questions, he travelled to Romania, Russia and to South America, where he studied the problem of labour, later publishing his findings as *La main-d'œuvre dans les Guyanes* (1905).

Entrusted by the French Government with a scientific mission in Ethiopia (geography; geology, anthropology and zoology), D. left Djibouti with his team (composed of Lieutenant Octave Ernest Collat, Sergeant-Major Fontenaud, L. Lahure, Henri Arsandaux, Goffin and Moreau) and in 1901 reached ↗Addis Abäba, then Lake ↗Ṭana, passing through Goğğam, Damot and Agäw Mədər, before going back to Addis Abäba in 1903. But D. died before he could write the account of his mission. In his memory, his associates used their own log-books to outline the story of the expedition, entitled *Mission en Ethiopie* (*1901–1903*), and published it in 1908–09 under the name of D. The trip was described by Henri Froidevaux ("Histoire du voyage", vol. 1, 1–236), while Collat wrote a study on the Ethiopian economy ("L'Éthiopie économique", vol. 1, 237–88), Arsandaux provided a geological analysis ("Contribution à l'étude des roches de l'Est africain", vol. 2, 1–100), Pierre Lesne described the entomological collection ("Coléoptères recueillis en Abyssinie par la mission Duchesne-Fournet", vol. 2, 101–14), R. Verneau provided an anthropological study ("Anthropologie et ethnographie", vol. 2, 115–356) and Charles Régismanset wrote a bibliographical review ("Bibliographie abyssine", vol. 2, 357–88). J. Blanchard gave a study of eight manuscripts



Jean Duchesne-Fournet; from Duchesne-Fournet 1909 brought from Ethiopia and now preserved in the ↗Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. He translated one of them: the Acts of ↗Täklä Haymanot ("Notes sur les manuscrits rapportés d'Abyssinie", vol. 1, 289–432; "Vie de Takla Haymanot", vol. 1, 340–431).

Src.: JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Ethiopie, 1901–1903*, 3 vols., Paris 1908–09; ID., *La main-d'œuvre dans les Guyanes*, Paris 1905.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "I principali studi pubblicati in occasione della missione Duchesne-Fournet in Abissinia (manoscritti etiopici e ricerche antropologiche)", *Bolletino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 4ª, 11, 1910, 1060–71.

Marie-Laure Derat

Duensing, Hugo

D. (b. 15 April 1877, Hannover, d. 1961, Goslar near Göttingen) was a German Protestant theologian, pastor and orientalist, who on several occasions contributed to Ethiopian studies in the fields of history and Gəʿəz ecclesiastical literature. D. made his debut with two short but carefully worked historical studies. In his Ph.D. thesis (1900), he assessed the historical value of the ↗*Sənkəssar* and in 1904 he published and analysed a letter of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos to Pope Paul III. Virtually no information is available about D.'s life and career between 1900 and 1926, when he became a pastor in Goslar. It seems most likely that at least since 1906, when he earned his theological licentiate, D. had already held one or several pastoral positions elsewhere. Such an assumption also helps to explain why D. published only three original contributions to Ethiopian studies between 1906 and 1926 (cf. bibl.); in addition, however, he wrote a considerable number of thorough reviews. In any case, D.'s publications after 1904 testify to a shift in his interest away from history to ecclesiastical literature. His *opus magnum* in this field is the edition of the Gəʿəz version of the so-called "Canons of Hippolytus" (1946). Towards the end of his life D. worked on an edition of the Gəʿəz ↗*Didəsqəlya*. He did not, however, live to finish this work. His notes are kept in the Göttingen University Library (Cod. Ms. Aethiop.12).

Src.: HUGO DUENSING, *Liefert das äthiopische Synaxar Materialien zur Geschichte Abessiniens? Für den zweiten, die Monate Magābīt bis Pāguemēn enthaltenden Teil des Synaxars untersucht*, Göttingen 1900 (Lit.); ID., *Ein Brief des abessinischen Königs Aṣnāf Sagad (Claudius) an Papst Paul III. aus dem Jahre 1541*, Göttingen 1904; ID., "Ein Stücke der urchristlichen Petrusapokalypse enthaltender Traktat der äthiopischen pseudoklementinischen Literatur", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 14, 1913, 65–78; ID., "Die Abessinier in Jerusalem", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 39, 1916, 98–115; ID., *Epistula Apostolorum nach dem äthiopischen und koptischen Texte herausgegeben*, Bonn 1925; ID., "Mitteilung über eine äthiopische Psalmenhandschrift", *Theologische Literatur-Zeitung* 56, 1931, col. 143; ID., *Der äthiopische Text der Kirchenordnung des Hippolyt. Nach 8 Handschriften herausgegeben und übersetzt*, Göttingen 1946; Lockot I, index (Lit.).

Lit.: ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopistik an deutschen Universitäten*, Wiesbaden 1968, 47–51.

Michael Kleiner

Dufton, Henry

D. (b. Yorkshire, d. Ethiopia, 28 May 1868) was a British traveller who visited Ethiopia in 1862–63 and 1867–68. The son of a wealthy cloth-merchant in Leeds, he entered Ethiopia on his first visit by way of Gədaref, on the Sudan frontier, and he left via ʿAdwa and Massawa. During these travels he inspected *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II's colony of European craftsmen at Gafat, and in his *Narrative of a Journey through Abyssinia* describes their cannon-making (Dufton 1867:84ff.). He draws a sympathetic picture of the monarch, whom he regards as a "true patriot" and "crusader", and tells of his road-making, legal and church reform, opposition to polygamy and the slave trade and concern for the poor. D. nevertheless supported the British expedition to ↗Mäqdäla. He declared Tewodros "the first and only patriot Abyssinia ever saw, as well as the last" (116), and prophesized that the Emperor, "if hard pressed by us, rather than fall into our hands, ... would certainly put an end to his life" (297). He joined the expedition's intelligence department. D., who had earlier supervised road-building near the coast, was mortally wounded on 28 May 1868 by Šohos (↗Sāho) in the Kumayli pass, 20 km from the port of Zulla (Markham 1869:80, 385f.).

Src.: HENRY DUFTON, *Narrative of a Journey through Abyssinia in 1862–3, with an Appendix on "The Abyssinian Captives Question"*, London 1867, 84ff.

Lit.: CLEMENTS ROBERT MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 80, 385f.; TREVENEN JAMES HOLLAND – HENRY MONTAGUE HOZIER, *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, London 1870, vol. 2, 101.

Richard Pankhurst

Dulbahante ↗Daarood

Dullay

Dullay dialect cluster

The D. dialect cluster is constituted by eleven members: Dihina (Tihina, Digənti), Dobase (Đoopase, Gowäze), Lohu (Loohu), Mašolle (Mašəle, Mašile), Gaba (Kaapa), Gawwada (Gäwwada, Kawwaaɗa), Gergere (Gärgärä, Qärqärte), Gollango (Kollanko, Wällängo), Gorrose (Gorräse, Korrose), Harso (Harse, Wäraze) and Ṣamakko (Ṣamay, Kule).

This group represents one of the main branches of East Cushitic. The degree of mutual intelligibility is high. A possible sub-dialectal grouping is between Harso-Dobase-Lohu-Mašolle, Gawwada-Gollango-Gergere and Ṣamakko-Gaba. The D. dialects are spoken in the highlands between Konso-Gidole and the plane of the Wäyto (or D.) River. Ṣamakko is the only variety spoken in a lowland area on the west side of the Wäyto.

Black (in BendNonSLang) shows the first data on the D. group (called Werizoid). Amborn, Minker and Sasse (1982) marked a big progress in the knowledge of this cluster-describing Harso, Dobase, Gollango and, to a lesser extent, Ṣamakko and Gawwada. Hayward (1989) represents the best descriptive and comparative work on Ṣamakko.

Due to cultural contact, bilingualism in Konso and Gidole is high for the varieties spoken in the highlands; Ṣamakko are often bilingual in ↗Hamar-Banna and ↗Arbore. Oromo and Amharic are also very influential in all the D. speaking area. No D. dialect is endangered by neighbouring languages. The Ongota (or Birale) people speak Ṣamakko in place of their traditional language.

Below are some characteristics of the D. dialect cluster:

The series of glottalized sounds /ɓ/, /ɗ/, /c̣/, /g/, /ṣ/ or /ṭ/; the pharyngeals /ḥ/ and /ᶜ/ (pre- or postglottalized in Ṣamakko: [*zaᶜ’ko*]~[*za’ᶜko*] ‘heart’. The vowel system is the Cushitic one based on five short and five long cardinal vowels. Each word hosts one phonemic tone and one accent. These can fall on different syllables.

Masculine and feminine nouns end in *-o* and *-e*, respectively. Singulative suffixes contain -(V)k-, -(V)t-(~-(V)c-) and/or -(V)n-, -(V)m- (ex. *-ko*, *-atto*, *-itte*/*-ičče*, *-anko*, *-ano*, *-umo*). The plural noun suffixes are *-e* and *-aɗɗe*.

Attribution is expressed by ordinary and verbal adjectives. Most of the numerals have a D. origin. Ṣamakko follows a traditional system based on the human body. The tense suffixes are: *-i* past, *-a* present, *-na* future. The negative/subordinate forms are respectively *-a*, *-i* and *-ni*. Verbal derivation is highly productive. Nominal and verbal focus markers are *k-* and *t-* respectively. Subject clitics are used (except in Ṣamakko), but not if the subject is in focus. The D. dialects are Subject-Object-Verb. Modifiers follow their head.

Below is a word-list of some D. dialects:

	Harso	Dobase	Gollango	Gawwada	Ṣamakko
‘one’	*to’o*	*to’o*	*to’o*	*to’o*	*dookko*
‘two’	*lakki*	*lammay*	*lakki*	*lakki*	*lakki*
‘three’	*ezzaḥ*	*sise*	*ḥizzeḥ*	*iseḥ*	*zeḥ*
‘fire’	*hac̣c̣e*	*hac̣c̣e*	*hatte*	*xatte*	*katte*
‘water’	*anɗe*	*anɗe*	*‘anɗe*	*‘anɗe*	*‘anɗe*
‘sun’	*hallikko*	*hallikko*	*hallikko*	*kallikko*	*kallikko*
‘moon’	*le‘o*	*le‘o*	*le‘‘o*	*le‘ayyo*	*le‘ˣ’o*
‘blood’	*c̣axte*	*c̣axte*	*qeekte*	*čaxte*	*čegde*
‘tongue’	*arrapko*	*arrapko*	*arraapko*	*arrapko*	*arrapko*
‘teeth’	*ilge*	*ilge*	*ilke*	*ilqe*	*’ilge*
‘I’	*ano*	*ano*	*ano*	*ano*	*ano*
‘you’	*aco*	*aco*	*ato*	*ato*	*ato*
‘he’	*uso*	*uso*	*uso*	*uso*	*ufo*
‘she’	*ise*	*ise*	*ise*	*ise*	*ise*
‘we’	*ino*	*ino*	*ine*	*ine*	*ine*
‘you’ (pl.)	*huno*	*huno*	*hune*	*xune*	*atunde*
‘they’	*isino*	*usuno*	*usunɗe*	*usunɗe*	*ufuni*
‘this’ (masc./ fem.)	*husi/c̣isi*	*husi/c̣isi*	*husi/ tisi*	*xusi/ tisi*	*kutta/ titta*
‘that’ (masc./ fem.)	*hussa/ c̣issa*	*hussa/ c̣issa*	*hussa/tissa*	*xussa/issa*	*kussa/ tissa*
‘where?’	*aha*	*aha*	*aha*	*aha*	*ahaa*
‘How?’	*male*	*male*	*malá*	*malaa*	*mala*
‘who?’	*yaḥa*	*yaḥa*	*yaḥa*	*yaḥa*	*yahaa*
‘what?’	*mo’o*	*mo’o*	*mo’o*	*mo’o*	*Mo*

There is no written literature in any D. variety.

The description of the D. group is at a germinal state. Some varieties are extremely poorly described or completely unknown. Due to lack of comparative data, their internal subgrouping, the degree of influence played by neighbouring languages and their position in East Cushitic are still uncertain matters.

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN – GÜNTER MINKER – HANS-JÜRGEN SASSE, *Das Dullay: Materialien zu einer ostkuschitischen Sprachgruppe*, Berlin 1980 (Kölner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 6); PAUL BLACK, “Werizoid”, in: *BendNonSLang* 222–31; ID., *Werizoid*, ms., 1976; RICHARD J. HAYWARD, “The Qawko Languages and Yaaku”, *Abbay* 9, 1978, 59–70; ID., “Comparative Notes

on the Language of the S'aamakko", *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages* 1, 1989, 1–53; GRAZIANO SAVÀ, *Field Material on Tsamakko*, ms., 1999.

Graziano Savà

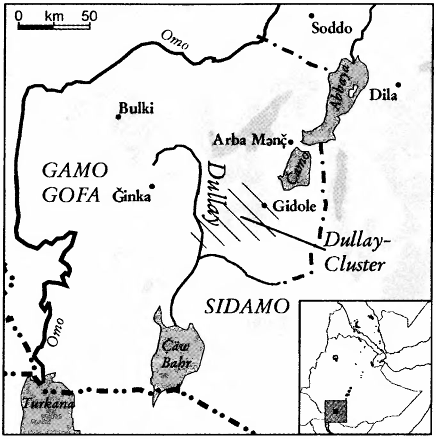
Dullay ethnography

The term D. is used to refer to the community of D.-speakers, who are in fact a group of culturally closely related ethnic entities. The D. inhabit today the west and the south of the Gardula Dobase mountain region in the south of the Ethiopian Rift valley. In the course of history these groups, mainly characterized by acephalous social structures, underwent numerous fissions and fusions. Today one can name the following separate groups: Dihina, Dobase, Gaba, ↗Gawwada, Gergere, Gollango, Gorrose, Ḥarso and ↗Ṣamay.

All D. are sedentary agriculturists. Ṣamako are the only group to have started concentrating on cattle-keeping instead of pure land cultivation, during the last 80 years. The other groups proceed with their once highly developed intensive agricultural practice (with sorghum and ↗ənsät as main crops and balanced cattle-raising) – in spite of the drastic social and economic changes brought about by the north-Ethiopian conquest – and they still manage to maintain it successfully in modified forms under modern requirements. Formerly in Gollango, for example, dammed-up water was channelled. In order to dig out this channel, rocks had to be blasted in places by local smiths.

Nowadays, the clan system with nine exogamous patrilineal clans is the most important social institution. The clans are subdivided into lineages. The lineage regulates marriage arrangements and in this way takes care of the continuum of the living, the ↗ancestors and the unborn. Lineages also control the availability of land. Certain lineage founders are believed to have been born in a supernatural way. Their descendants carry out spiritual (priestly) functions in the community. Some of them gain more than religious influence and even act politically. During the imperial era their influence could be especially high through their appointment as ↗*balabbats*.

The organization in generation groups (similar to the ↗*gaadaa* structure of the Konso) collapsed as a result of critical demographic and economic changes. The process began during the famines and epidemics which followed the radical political changes of late 19th cent. and ended in the middle of the 20th cent., when the last of the D., Gawwada, abandoned the *gaadaa* system. However, even today *gaadaa* terminology is used to define a person more closely. Many of the *gaadaa* functions remained as well, though most of them became hereditary.



Another socio-political order consists of territorial units. Their main function is their effective responsibility for labour and the organization of working gangs. In addition, committees are elected to regulate the internal matters of such territorial units.

Agrarian intensification was only possible because, concomitantly with its development, a division of work took place, namely the emergence of full-time artisans (*hawḍo* and *orre*). Without professional craftsmen and their products, the agriculturists would be forced to give up intensified cultivation. A case in point are the Ṣamako, who, after some of their craftsmen-lineages, had died out, shifted largely to cattle-breeding. Craftsmen constitute a socially distinct group (with endogamy rules, avoidance regulations etc.). This has been mostly misinterpreted by anthropologists as scorn. The D. example shows that such an opinion cannot be maintained. The division of work did not lead to marginalization of craftsmen, but to the development of mutually independent groups (tillers and craftsmen).

With the D. there is no religious ceremony of any communal importance without a *hawḍo* or *orre* officiating. The craftsmen are mostly

Dullay market, in the foreground a boy carrying a roof attachment; photo 1999, courtesy of the author

engaged in ceremonies concerning the whole country, while the lineage-elders are responsible for ancestral duties. Only the *hawḍo* are able to pray directly to god (*haallikko*). Lineage-elders of the agriculturalists, by their genealogical links with the first ancestors, represent the continuity side of the society. The craftsmen with their activities introduce a special dynamic principle into society. In the myths, the first craftsman was a demiurge and his descendants continue to be creative to this day. Through their crafts and their trade connections they bring society in contact with new and stimulating elements from the outside.

Lit.: Hermann Amborn, "Wandlungen im sozioökonomischen Gefüge der Bevölkerungsgruppen im Gardulla-Dobase-Horst in Südäthiopien", *Paideuma* 22, 1976, 151–61; Id., "Referenz und Abwehr. Der sprachliche Niederschlag der gesellschaftlichen Sonderstellung von Lineage-Ältesten in der Burji-Konso-Gruppe", in: Rainer Vossen – Ulrike Claudi (eds.), *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur in Afrika: Vorträge, gehalten auf dem III. Afrikanistentag, Köln, 14./15. Oktober 1982*, Köln 1983, 305–29; Id., "Agricultural Intensification in the Burji-Konso Cluster", *Azania* 14, 1989, 71–83; Id., *Differenzierung und Integration. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Spezialisten und Handwerkern in südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990; Id., "Soul and Personality as a Communal Bound", *Anthropos* 96, 2001, 41–57; Hermann Amborn – Gunter Minker – Hans-Jürgen Sasse, *Das Dullay: Materialien zu einer ostkuschitischen Sprachgruppe*, Berlin 1980 (Kölner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 6).

Hermann Amborn

Dungur

The archaeological site of D. (ዱንጕር, also Dəngur, lit. Tgn. for 'impassable road; path full of stones') is located on the western edge of the city of ↗Aksum in ↗Təgray. Archaeological investigations led by Salvatore M. Puglisi in 1939 (Puglisi 1941) and then by Francis Anfray in 1966–68 (Anfray 1968 and 1972) indicated the existence of two ancient Aksumite structures, including one interpreted to be a "villa" and "castle", dating to the 6th or rather 7th cent. A.D. (Munro Hay 1989:30f.). In spite of these imposing remains, with appendices revealed by sondages north and east of the "castle", neither the site's function nor its relation to other homogeneous areas are yet clearly understood in detail. In local traditions D. is associated with "the palace of the Queen of Sheba" (↗Makədda).

The "villa" was of typical Aksumite form, 15 m square, with nine rooms, the three central ones (east to west) containing circular column-bases; in the centre of each side, in rough masonry without corner blocks, was a recess or re-entrant and the walls were rebated on the outside (Munro Hay 1989:30).

The "castle", in D. ʿAddi Kilte (about 250 m west of the "villa"), is approximately 3,000 m^3 and is built of stones in mud-mortar, with fine masonry evident in corner blocks and staircases; it included a central edifice, multiple interior courtyards, elaborate staircases, baked-brick ovens and approximately 40 individual rooms. Stone piers that may have served as bases for pillars or crossbeams and the existence of stairwells suggests that it once contained no less than two stories (Anfray 1972:68ff., pls. I, II).

Both structures at D. may have served as élite residences (Anfray 1981): especially the "castle", similar in its general form to what is known of the "palaces" of Täʾak̠a Maryam, ↗Ǝnda Səmʿon and ↗Ǝnda Mikaʾel documented at Aksum by the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition (MHAksum 118–25; Phillippson 2001:273, 379). Such multiple élite complexes were all designed on a symmetrical plan, with blocks of square or rectangular rooms and open courtyards surrounding a central pavilion-like structure built on a raised podium with staircases.

Src.: Francis Anfray, "The Civilization of Aksum from the First to the Seventh Century", in: Mohammed Gamal Eddin Mokhtar (ed.), *General History of Africa*, Paris 1981, vol. 2, 362–79; Id., "Aspects de l'archéologie éthiopienne", *JAH* 9, 1968, 345–66; Id., "L'archéologie d'Axoum en 1972", *Paideuma* 18, 1972, 60–78; Salvatore Maria Puglisi, "Primi risultati delle indagini compiute dalla Missione Archeologica di ʾAksum", *Africa Italiana* 8, 1941, 95–153; Stuart C. Munro-Hay, *Excavations at Aksum: an Account of Research at the Ancient Ethiopian Capital Directed in*

1972–74 by the Late Dr. Neville Chittick, London 1989 (Memoirs of the British Institute in Eastern Africa 10), 30f., s. index; MHAksum 118–25; David W. Phillipson, *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993–7*, London 2000, vol. 2, 273, 379.

Matthew C. Curtis – Red.

Dye, William McEntyre

D. (b. 26 January 1831, Washington County, PN, d. November 1899, Muskegon, MI) was a US-American colonel in Egyptian service, who played a leading role during the ↗Egyptian-Ethiopian War of 1875–76. A graduate of West Point, he had served in the US army as a Brigadier-General, and in 1868 was a witness in the treaty with the Sioux. In late 1873, he accepted the offer to serve in Egypt in the "Abyssinian Campaign", like around 50 other American officers, most of whom had fought in the Civil War on the Unionist side. D. became the assistant chief of staff of General ↗Loring and was wounded during the battle of ↗Gura^{c} in March 1876.

His book *Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia* (1880) is an important source on the war. His harsh criticism of Loring and Muḥammad Ratīb, the Commander-in-Chief, provoked the publication of an account of the War by Loring himself.

After his return from Egypt in 1879, D. became the chief of police of Washington, D.C., and in 1888, for eleven years, chief military advisor to the Korean government.

Src.: William McE[ntyre] Dye, *Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia, or: Military Service under the Khedive, in his Provinces and Beyond their Borders, as Experienced by the American Staff*, New York 1880, ^{2}1969; William Wing Loring, *A Confederate Soldier in Egypt*, New York 1884.
Lit.: Brigham Johnson, *Iowa: its History and its Foremost Citizens*, Des Moines, IA 1918; Pierre Crabitès, *Americans in the Egyptian Army*, London 1938.

Wolbert Smidt

Dyes

D., both local and imported, had a notable impact on Ethiopia's traditional material culture. The earliest references to such ↗colours are in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. It refers to the import at Adulis of lac, i.e. the Indian red insect dye, perhaps used to beautify women's nails and feet; and of "mallow", or yellow, cloth (Huntingford 1980:22). Imported colour, then as later, thus took two basically different forms: D. for local colouring, and already-coloured material.

D. in one way or another were widely used. Harari and other Muslim men and women often wore red or other brightly-coloured clothing, made from either imported or locally-made cloth (Johnston 1844, vol. 1, 165; HarAeth vol. 1, 364, 385; Burton 1894, vol. 1, 144; vol. 2, 17). Christians of both sexes were garbed mainly in white, but their ሻማ (*šamma*), or wraps, were in many cases adorned with coloured woven borders. These were made from imported thread often unravelled from foreign cloth (Parkyns 1853, vol. 2, 41). Clothes were also dyed black, frequently with earth, as a sign of mourning (HarAeth vol. 3, 161). Monks – and pilgrims – often wore yellow (BeckHuntAlvar 70; BruNile, vol. 5, 372; CecZeila, vol. 1, 293).

Some carpets made from the wool and hair of sheep and goats were locally dyed, red and light blue, but more owed their decoration to the natural colours of white, brown and black sheep (Valentia 1809, vol. 3, 162; Salt 1814:426). Baskets, including መሶብ (*mäsob*) were woven from brightly coloured, locally dyed straw, while the inner roofs of some churches were similarly decorated with coloured reeds (BeckHuntAlvar 337; Burton 1895, vol. 2, 281; Cohen 1920:22). Some wood-work, at least by the 20th cent., was likewise painted in bright hews. Locally tanned, and also imported, leather was often dyed in many different colours, mainly for the production of saddle-cloths (Mérab 1927–29, vol. 3:402). D. were also used as cosmetics: to beautify women's eyes and eyebrows, to brighten, or darken, their hair, and in the tattooing of necks and foreheads, as well as hands and feet (Burton 1895, vol. 2, 17; Mérab 1927–29, vol. 3, 388).

D. employed for colouring in Ethiopia included a wide range of vegetable substances, among them charcoal and soot; crushed stones; and imported chemicals and colours (for recent enumeration s. Strelcyn 1968 and 1973, and Tournerie 1986:31–139.)

↗Clothing

Src.: George Wynn Brereton Huntingford, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London 1980, 22; BeckHuntAlvar 70, 337; BruNile, vol. 5, 372.
Lit.: George Annesley Viscount Valentia, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt*, 3 vols., London 1809, vol. 3, 162; Henry Salt, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, London 1814, 426; Charles Johnston, *Travels in Southern Abyssinia …*, London 1844, vol. 1, 165; HarAeth vol. 1, 364, 385, vol. 3, 161; Richard Francis Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa …*, 2 vol., London ^{1}1856, ^{2}1894, vol. 1, 144, vols. 2, 17, 281; Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*

…, 2 vols., London 1853, vol. 2, 41; CecZeila, vol. 1, 293; MARCEL COHEN, *Documents éthnographiques d'Abyssinie*, Paris 1920, 22; PAUL MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1927–29, vol. 3, 388, 402; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Médecine et plantes d'Éthiopie …*, Warszawa 1968, Napoli ^{2}1973; PATRICIA IRWIN TOURNERIE, *Colour and Dye Recipies of Ethiopia*, London 1986, 31–139.

Richard Pankhurst

Dynasties

The term is used, in Ethiopia as elsewhere, for a succession of rulers, of the same family or line, and, by extension, the historical period in which they lived.

Traditional Ethiopian ↗historiography, for the empire as a whole, recognises six broad dynastic periods (also reflected in the traditional "king lists"; ↗Genealogy):

1) from Adam to Ǝbnä Ḥakim, or ↗Mənilək I;
2) from Ǝbnä Ḥakim to ↗Bazen, whose reign at Aksum coincided with the birth of Christ;
3) from Bazen to the brothers ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəha, the first Aksumite rulers to adopt Christianity;
4) from Abrəha and Aṣbəha to the ↗Zagʷe rulers (of the late 10th cent.);
5) the Zagʷe rulers to *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak (1270–1285), the first of the Solomonic line;
6) the Solomonic rulers, from Yəkunno Amlak to modern times.

The kings from Ǝbnä Ḥakim to the Zagʷe are known almost exclusively from traditional king lists, which give no details of dynastic relationships. Additional information on Aksumite rulers can, however, be gleaned from their coins (↗Coinage) and ↗inscriptions, but these bear virtually no resemblance to the king lists.

The Zagʷe rulers are conventionally described as a "usurping" dynasty, though three of them, Lalibäla, Yəmraḥannä Krəstos and Nä'akkʷəto Lä'ab, were canonized by the Ethiopian Church. The only other rulers so honoured are Abrəha and Aṣbəha. All five are the subjects of Acts (↗*Gädl*), containing much traditional information.

Traditional historiography claims that Yəkunno Amlak was a descendant of ↗Dəlnaʿod, the last Aksumite king, and hence a descendant of Mənilək I, son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Yəkunno Amlak was therefore considered the "restorer" of the Solomonic line. This claim is formulated in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, and affirmed in many chronicles. There is, however, no evidence that Aksumite rulers ever claimed Solomonic descent, or that there was in fact a continuous blood lineage from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba to Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. Yəkunno Amlak is therefore now generally considered by scholars as the founder of an entirely new D. (TadTChurch 66ff.).

The reigns of the post-Zagʷe period are better documented than those of earlier monarchs. Most Solomonic rulers produced chronicles. These begin with *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I, and continue almost without interruption to Empress ↗Zäwditu (d. 1930). Royal descent was not always from father to son, but to almost anyone within the "Solomonic" family, though usually, but not necessarily, by male descent. Only one interruption to the ruling line is recognized: the usurper ↗Yosṭos (1711–16). Several rulers, such as ↗Bäkaffa, Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa), and her son and grandson may, however, be considered to form a "dynasty within a dynasty".

Though traditional Ethiopian historiography was primarily concerned with imperial rulers, virtually all the polities of the region had their own D. Some were independent; others at times appointed by the imperial state. Such D. included the ↗Walašmaʿ D., founded in Ifat, by *sulṭān* ʿUmar b. Dunyā-huz, in the late 13th cent.; the ʿAdal D. established by *sulṭān* ↗Ṣabraddīn, two centuries later (MaqIlmam); the ↗ʿAlī b. Dā'ūd D. of the late 17th cent., which developed within the city of Harär (Cerulli 1942; Tedeschi in PICES 4); and the ʿAfar D. of *sulṭān* ↗Kāmil ad-Dankālī which was already flourishing in the early 17th cent. Other D. included those of Däwaro, Aräbabni, Bale, Šarka, Därha, and Wälaytta, in the south; Hadiyya and Ǝnnarya, in the south-west; and, in the west, Ǧangäro and Käfa, both founded in the 15th cent., as well as Leqa and Ǧimma, by ↗Bakaree and ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar respectively, in the early 19th cent. (Bieber 1920–23, vol. 1, 1–120).

Local, or subordinate, D. also existed within the Christian state. One of the most remarkable, that of the *wag šum*, or chiefs of ↗Wag, claimed descent and privileges, inherited from the old Zagʷe rulers of the area. Other important D. were those of Šäwa, and Wällo/Yäǧǧu. The former was founded, in the 1690s, by ↗Nägaśi Krəstos Wärädä Qal, whose uninterrupted line ran directly to *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa (1813–47), and to his grandson, *aṣe* Mənilək II (LevWax 22). The ↗Yäǧǧu D., founded by Gʷangul in the 18th cent., likewise comprised seven rulers, ending with *ras* ↗Ali Alula (d. 1866), the last ruler of Bägemdər prior to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II (TrIslam 110). Prominent rulers of many other areas, lived and reigned, however, without establishing D. This was the case in Təgray, for example, with such notable figures as *ras* ↗Mika᾿el Səḥul, *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam.

Lit.: BudHist; SerHist; TadTChurch; DerDom; MaqIlmam; TrIslam; LevWax; PankBord; STEPHANOS PIERRE PÉTRIDÈS, *Le livre de la dynastie salomonienne d'Ethiopie*, Paris 1964; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli emiri di Harar dal secolo XVI alla conquista egiziana (1875)", *RSE* 2, 1, 1942, 3–20 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 365–82]; FRIEDRICH JULIUS BIEBER, *Kaffa: Ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, 2 vols., Münster 1920, Wien 1923; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "L'emirato di Harar secondo un documento inedito", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 481–500.

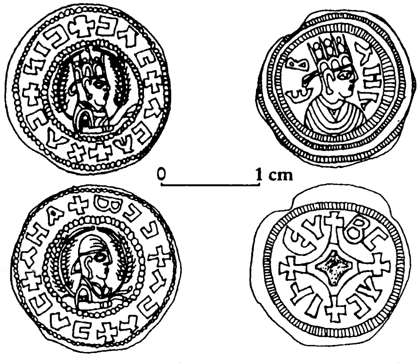
Richard Pankhurst

E

Easter ↗ Fasika

Ebana

E. was an early-5th-cent. king of ↗Aksum, known from his ↗coinage alone. This bears, inscribed in Greek on the reverse: *Ebana basileus* ('King E.'). Here he appears wearing a tiara (obv.) or headcloth (rev.), and robes with either the curving V-neck above a round collar or the early version of the humped style, the front part of the V-neck projecting forward to join the similarly projecting collar. His name, formerly misread as *Esbael* or *Anaeb* (due to the blundered impression that also results from palaeographic peculiarities, certain letter forms being used for a variety of alphabetic characters), may be derived from a Semitic word designating a (sacred) stone, yet with a Christian connotation (cf. Mt 3:9, 1 Pet 2:5). Thanks to the large Yemenite hoards buried in the time of ↗Kaleb, E. happens to be the king of whom the most Aksumite-type gold coins are known (more than 700 pieces). However, the number of dies involved in their minting suggests no significantly higher production than under his immediate predecessors or successors. The king's name is written in two halves on the left and right of his head; as on the coins of his predecessor (attributed to Eon or Noe), on the obv. the much debated Greek + BAX + ACA + BAC + CIN (with variants) should be read *basileus* (*choras*) *Abassinōn* ('king of the [land of] Abyssinians'). The frequency of E.'s silver coins lies within normal limits; on the reverse they display a characteristic central lozenge, partially gilded, the extremities of which form a cross-crosslet with the eight letters of the legend *basileus* 'king' interspersed in four groups of two each – thus symbolizing the universal rule of the Christian empire. The contemporary copper coinage was struck anonymously.



Gold and silver coins of Ebana; drawing; courtesy of the author

Lit.: BrakKirche 78; DicEthBio 21, 53; STUART MUNRO-HAY, "Mhdys and Ebana, Kings of Aksum: some Problems of Dating and Identity", *Azania* 14, 1979, 21–30; ID. – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 166–79, ms. 71–75; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Noe, Israel und andere Könige mit biblischen Namen auf axumitischen Münzen", *Money Trend* 33, 12, 2001, 124–28; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica*, ser. 1ª, 15, 1–2 [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 119f., nos. 250–60.

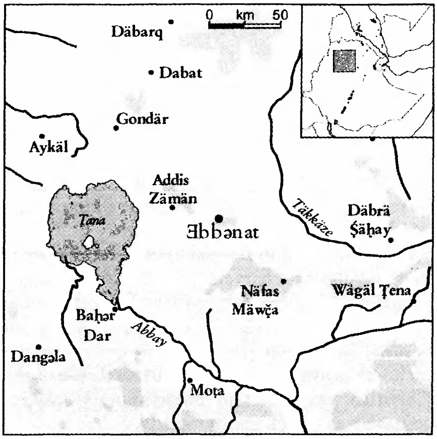
Wolfgang Hahn

Ebäṭi ↗Dorze

Ǝbbənat

Ǝ. (**እብናት**, 38°2'N, 12°7'E, 2,120 m A.S.L.) is a small town located in Ǝ. *wäräda*, the former Libo *awrağğa*, in southern ↗Gondär. It is the *awrağğa* capital and hosts a major regional market for Libo and the surrounding regions. According to the 2000 Census, the town of Ǝ. has a population of 12,812. With the opening of the Addis Zämän – Däbrä Tabor road, Ǝ. has today become much more accessible by road throughout the year; before this, people had to walk and use pack-animals to reach Ǝ.'s market.

Other than being a regional market centre, very little was known about Ǝ. until 1984, when a feeding-camp/shelter for victims of the 1984/85 Ethiopian ↗famine was established at Ǝ. Ethiopia's largest famine relief camp, it was supported by governmental and non-governmental relief organizations. At the height of the drought period, it is estimated that as many as 60,000 people fleeing Gondär, Wällo and Təgray were sheltered in Ǝ. The camp entered headlines after



the incident of 28–29 April 1985 when Mälaku Täfärra, the party Secretary for the Gondär region, ordered the people to be forcefully ousted and dispsersed (reportedly by gunpoint) and the camp to be burnt down. The negative publicity of the incident created a near governmental crisis in Ethiopia. The camp was retaken in use two weeks later, on 11 May.

Src.: *Guida* 328; CSA 2000.

Lit.: KURT JANSSON – MICHAEL HARRIS – ANGELA PENROSE, *The Ethiopian Famine: Revised and Updated Edition*, London 1988, 59–64; DAWIT WOLDE GIORGIS, *Red Tears: War, Famine and Revolution in Ethiopia*, Trenton – New York 1989, 244–50; *Washington Post* 1-12 May, 2 June 1985; *Time* 13, 20 May 1985.

Mulatu Wubneh

Ǝbnä Ḥakim ↗Mənilək I

Ǝččäge

Ǝ. (**እጨጌ**) is the title given to the abbot of ↗Däbrä Libanos monastery in Šäwa. It is not clear when and how the title first came into use; most probably, the title is as old as the monastery itself. It is important to point out that Ǝ. is also the title used to designate the administrative head of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, the native Ethiopian appointed by the emperor.

According to tradition, the ruler gave this position to the abbot of Däbrä Libanos because of the role Däbrä Libanos's first abbot, *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, played in the establishment or restoration of the Solomonic dynasty in 1270, when *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak ascended to the throne. In truth, however, this authority lay with the abbot of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos in the Amhara province – who bore the title ↗*ʿaqqabe säʿat* – long before Däbrä Libanos rose to power, and did so even during the reign of Yəkunno Amlak. It therefore seems more accurate to say that when the centre of political power moved from Amhara to Šäwa so did the centre of church power, with Däbrä Libanos assuming leadership from Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos.

A lavish ceremony bestowed the abbot of Däbrä Libanos, already titled Ǝ. (or **እጨ**, *əččä*), with authority to head the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in a lavish ceremony. The directive of the ceremony, a copy of which we have from the time of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl (1563–96) and which is largely corroborated by the royal chronicles, is detailed as follows: "When the Ǝ. is installed, the king arrays him, at (the royal upper chamber called) *rasge bet*, with two calico shirts, a *šabori/šobari* shirt, (a pair of) white trousers, and a *šämäṭ* (white?) turban. The king sits in a tent; and they seat the (Ǝ.) on a throne before the king, with a carpet for his feet. The king, for his part, wraps a sash round the head of the Ǝ. and crowns him (with a golden coronet). The Ǝ. blesses the king and rises up (to leave. As he is leaving,) the king accompanies him as far as the gate of his palace. The Ǝ. is mounted on the king's mule and is seen off with drum and flute, (accompanied) by a multitude of people ... If a court case is ever brought against the Ǝ. or he brings one, (the proceedings) take place while he is sitting. He is daily provided at his house by the palace with a gelded steer, mead, and bread" (Varenbergh 1915–16:20, 36; Guidi 1922:80).

Once officially installed, the Ǝ. was authorized to administer matters relating to the national church. It is possible that the word used to designate the abbot was just *əččä*, to which the suffix ↗*ge* was then added (as it was added to ↗*aṣe*) when the abbot took on the leadership of the entire church.

Unlike that of the metropolitan, the office of the Ǝ. was not conferred by divine or ritual ordination. The Ǝ. was a political appointee who could be replaced at the will of the monarch. Although conflicts between metropolitans (↗*Abun*; ↗*Pappas*) and Ǝ. did occur, in general the two authorities worked together harmoniously because their spheres of authority were relatively well defined and understood. The role of the metropolitan was limited to sacramental matters, such as the anointing of monarchs, the ordination of priests and deacons, and the consecration of ↗*tabot*s, whereas administrative responsibilities and dealing with issues such as the settlement of disputes among the clergy, including theological controversies, were handled by the Ǝ. who, because he was a native who spoke the language, could better understand the issues and follow the arguments. Although rare, there have in fact been instances in which a theological stand of the metropolitan was questioned by the monks and the Ǝ. and ultimately rejected.

Kidanä Wäldä Kəfle claims (KWKDic 457, cf. "Ḥaṣ̌ege") that the Ǝ. played the role of bishop (anointing, ordaining and consecrating) in the metropolitan's absence. However, there are no historical sources, other than the Vita of *abunä* Täklä Haymanot, corroborating this assertion even though the church was without a metropolitan for extended periods of time (s. ↗*Eppisqoppos*).

The decision to place a native Ethiopian in the position of the Ǝ. may have resulted from the fact that the metropolitan, the titular head of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, being a Copt from Egypt, rarely spoke the local language and was therefore unable to communicate with the local Christian community, including the clergy and the palace. Seen this way, the position of Ǝ. was an alternative to a native metropolitan.

It is also possible to see the Church as a state within the Ethiopian state, requiring a ruler for its domain – an Ǝ. – parallel to the emperor, *aṣege*, "ruler of the land". In fact, the two titles could be etymologically related as they are similar in significance. Because having an Ǝ. was as much a sign of autonomy as having a monarch, it might be expected that the head of a politically autonomous region would appoint a separate Ǝ. to administer the church in his/her dominion. This is precisely what the region of ↗Lasta did in the 17th cent.

The close association of the abbot (Ǝ.) of Däbrä Libanos with the palace, and its practical replacement by the ↗*ʿAqqabe Säʿat*, a title that became purely honorary, seems to have started with the movement of the state's centre to the west (Dämoz, Ǝnfraz and Gondär). The history of the rulers of the Gondärine kingdom shows, furthermore, that the Ǝ "of Däbrä Libanos" could come from any monastery and would reside close to the Royal Palace.

The secular authority associated with the office of Ǝ. has now been unofficially discarded. Since 1951, the head of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church has been an ordained native, thus removing the primary reason the post was originally created for.

Src.: BassÉt I 349, 361, 379, 388, 406; GuiIohan 63f.; KWKDic 457; Joseph Varenbergh, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (Šerʿata Mangešt)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45, here 20, 36; Ignazio Guidi, "Contributi alla storia letteraria di Abissinia", *RRALm* 31, 3–4, 1922, 65–94 ["I. Il 'Serʿata Mangest'", 65–89, here 80].
Lit.: Enrico Cerulli, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos, capi del monachismo etiopico ...", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 12, 1943, 226–53; *ibid.* 13, 1944, 137–82; *ibid.* 14, 1945, 143–71; CrumMis; Ernst Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopien: Christliches Reich zwischen Gestern und Morgen*, Wiesbaden 1967, 119f.; George Wynn Brereton Huntingford, "The Lives of Saint Takla Haymanot", *JES* 4, 2, 1966, 35–40, here 37.

Getatchew Haile

Ǝč̣č̣äge Bet

Ǝ.B. (**እጨጌ፡ ቤት**) was the name given to the house of the ↗*əč̣č̣äge*, or head of the monks, in ↗Gondär, and by extension to the area around it. This area, which lay west of the palace compound, resembled the district known as Abunä Bet, or area inhabited by the *abun*, or Metropolitan (↗*Abunä*), in that it was under ecclesiastical control. The Ǝ.B., which was surrounded by a high wall, thus constituted a place of ↗asylum, in which criminals were free from both civil jurisdiction and military interference. "No one, even if guilty of murder", could be apprehended in the area, the early 19th-cent. British traveller William Coffin reports. This immunity from trouble made the quarter a desirable locality in which to reside (Pierce 1831, vol. 1, 234). Wilhelm Rüppell stated that many persons of wealth and influence had therefore sought to live in the area (1840:76, 81f.), which, by the early 19th cent., comprised some 200 houses, some of the finest in the city, with a population, we may assume, of around 1,300 inhabitants. The immunity was, however, not alway respected, as Arnauld d'Abbadie noted in the 1840s (AbbSéjour).

Src.: AbbSéjour passim; Wilhelm Rüppell, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main 1840, 76, 81f.; Nathaniel Pearce, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce ...*, London 1831, vol. 1, 234.
Lit.: PankHist I, 247f., 255.

Richard Pankhurst

Ecological zones

"Ecology" has a complex and sometimes confusing meaning. Today, its highest acceptance as a scientific term might be found in a most general definition as being "the interactions of organisms with each other, their biotic and abiotic environments, and the outcome of these interactions" (Dictionary of Human Geography 2000:193). "Ecological zones" is based rather on a geo-ecological than a bio-ecological idea of modelling the space: "zones" is used for subdivisions of a geographical space, in which physical conditions are similar or equal (s. Leser 1997:1019). E.z. are primarily defined by a certain rainfall and temperature regime. But locally, geological, pedological and hydrological features can modify the ecological conditions to a certain extent.

Beyond a strictly physical definition of E.z. ecological zones, Ethiopia has a well-accepted model of so-called "agro-ecological zones", corresponding largely with traditional concepts of space. Within this model the physical conditions, especially the climate (and altitude) of a certain area, generate a typical vegetation and – dependent on this – a typical or dominant land-use in the area.

The broad variety of E.z. in Ethiopia specifically results from its topography, i.e. lowlands lying even under sea level up to mountains of more than 4,600 m A.S.L. There are basically six (agro-)ecological zones in Ethiopia (Hurni 1995: 9): **በረሃ**, *bäräha* [also **በረኻ**, *bäräk̲a*] (below 500 m A.S.L.; less than 300 mm average amount of rainfall), ↗*qʷälla* (500 m to 1,500 m A.S.L.; 300 mm to 1,400 mm), ↗*wäyna däga* (1,500 m to 2,300 m A.S.L.; 300 to 2,200 mm), ↗*däga* (2,300 m to 3,200 m A.S.L.; 900 to 2,200 mm), **ውርጭ** (*wərč̣*, lit. 'frost'; 3,200 m to 3,700 m A.S.L.; 900 mm to 2,200 mm), high *wərč̣* (more than 3,700 m A.S.L.; more than 1,400 mm). In Šäwa there are also the E.z. of *meda* and gʷ*assa*. Depending on the mean annual rainfall and evaporation, some of these zones can be subdivided into two or even three different sub-zones (dry/moist/wet).

Soils and natural vegetation: from *bäräha* to high *wərč̣*, soils change from yellow sandy (*bäräha*, *qʷälla*) to red (*wäyna däga*), brown (*wäyna däga* and *däga*) and black types (*wərč̣*, high *wərč̣*). According to the variations in climate, the natural vegetation varies from ↗Acacia bushes and trees (*bäräha*, *qʷälla*, parts of *wäyna däga*) to cordia, ficus, ↗bamboo (*wäyna däga*), on to ↗juniper, hagenia (↗koso), podocarpus (*däga*) and on to heather, hypericum or St. John's wort (*wərč̣*) and mountain grassland (high *wərč̣*).

From the lowest to the highest zones the mean temperatures differ greatly, in the Səmen Mountains even snowfall being possible. Rainfall for the most part is relatively high in the middle and upper zones because of topographical effects. In general, the annual rainfall is higher in southern and western than in northern Ethiopia. The variation of temperatures throughout the year increases from south to north, as does the rainfall variability. Hence, the risk of drought is higher in the northern than in the southern highlands, but is generally high in the semi-arid and arid lowlands (*bäräha* and *qʷälla*). Besides the desert and semi-desert climates, there exists quite a significant difference between dry and rainy season, varying regionally from about four to eight months per annum.

Land-use can be divided mainly into two types: 1) agriculture, first and foremost on the basis of the "ox-plough-complex", 2) cattle-breeding, partly as a nomadic or semi-nomadic system, sometimes combined with certain basic agriculture. In general, land-use is linked heavily to the surrounding physical environment (water supply, temperatures, soils), but there are various modifications of this because of ethnic/cultural or politico-economical particularities.

1) Agriculture is predominantly found between ca. 1,000 m and 3,500 m A.S.L. (*qʷälla* up to *wərč̣*). The most productive zones are *wäyna däga* and the lower parts of the *däga*, with two or even three harvests a year. Irrigation in general is not very common. Irrigated land often can be found in areas with low annual rainfall and/or high evaporation (especially *qʷälla* and *bäräha*), particularly along riversides and in valleys, and also in areas with market-orientated production. The most important crops are: cotton, fruits, sugar-cane (irrigated *bäräha* and *qʷälla*), sorghum, ↗*ṭəf* (*qʷälla*), maize, ↗*ənsät*, ↗coffee, various cereals and vegetables (*wäyna däga*), barley, wheat, pulses (*däga*), barley (*wərč̣*).

2) Cattle-breeding is – beyond the agricultural areas, where it is an integrating part of the system – concentrated in the less productive parts of the lowlands (*bäräha*, *qʷälla*) and highlands (*wərč̣* and high *wərč̣*). In the highlands, small cattle, especially sheep, are dominant.

↗Environment, ↗Environmental degragation

Lit.: FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (ed.), *Assistance to Land-Use Planning, Ethiopia. Production Regions and Farming Systems Inventory*, Rome 1984; ID. (ed.), *Assistance to Land-Use Planning, Ethiopia. Vegetation and Natural Regions and Their Significance*

for Land-Use Planning, Rome 1984; HANS HURNI, *Soil Conservation in Ethiopia. Guidelines for Development Agents*, Reprint, Addis Abeba 1995; RONALD J. JOHNSTON – DEREK GREGORY – GERALDINE PRATTS – MICHAEL WATTS (eds.), *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, Oxford ^{4}2000 (Lit.); HARTMUT LESER (ed.), *Diercke-Wörterbuch: Allgemeine Geographie*, München – Braunschweig 1997 (Lit.).

Alfons Ritler

Economy

Economy until 1941

Ethiopian civilization, throughout its recorded history, was essentially rural, and based on a subsistence E. ↗Pastoralism and ↗plough agriculture emerged at an early period. The existence of pastoralism is evinced by the representation of zebu, or hump-back and other cattle in prehistoric rock paintings, while the emergence of ↗agriculture is evident from the depiction of sprigs of wheat or other cereals on Aksumite ↗currency (Phillipson 1998:33–49).

Significant urban settlements, notably at ↗Yǝḥa, can, however, be traced to at least half a millennium B.C. The ensuing Aksumite period witnessed the issue of currency for several centuries, as well as the development of an ancient market E. This was based primarily on the export of ↗ivory and ↗gold and the import of textiles and manufactured goods, as well as on the use of money, partly for local trade, but, more importantly perhaps, for international commerce, as evident from the use on the coins of Greek, then the principal language of Red Sea trade (↗Coinage; MHAksum 166–95).

There is, however, every reason to suppose that barter predominated in the Aksumite kingdom, and the early 6th cent. Egyptian merchant and monk ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes reported the use, in the gold-producing areas to the west of Aksum, of "primitive money", notably bars of ↗salt (↗*Amole*) and pieces of iron (↗Currency, traditional). Both articles continued to circulate instead of money up to the early 20th cent. (PankIntro 16–44).

Evidence for the earlier Solomonic period, embodied in the writings of the Portuguese traveller Francisco Alvares and others, indicates that Ethiopia was then largely self-sufficient, whether regarded from the point of view of the empire as a whole, the province, the village, or even the individual household. This was scarcely surprising in view of the mountainous character of the land, and the existence of several large malaria-infested rivers, impassable except at the height of the dry season. Spatial differences, notably between areas of different elevation, nevertheless led to a certain amount of local trade, carried out largely in small local markets, usually held weekly. There was, in addition, a sizeable import-export trade, based on caravans plying between the interior and the coast (and the Sudan frontier). This commerce was carried out mainly by travelling merchants, mostly Muslims (↗Ǧäbärti), who organized long-distance caravans, and bought and sold at the country's more important weekly fairs.

Many remarkably beautiful artefacts, including icons, crosses and illustrated manuscripts, were produced for the church, as well as for a succession of emperors, who took a keen interest in innovation. ↗Handicraft activity as a whole tended, however, to be limited. It was largely carried out by ↗marginalized people, mainly ↗blacksmiths, ↗weavers and potters (↗pottery), many drawn from religious minorities, among them Muslims and ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel.

Agricultural prosperity and the growth of a market economy were hampered throughout this period by three harmful institutions: 1) "moving capitals", which militated against urbanization, 2) an unpaid soldiery, which constituted a serious and highly destructive burden on the countryside, and 3) local customs posts, which acted as an impediment to long-distance commercial trade. The establishment of ↗Gondär as the capital in 1636 led to some urbanization and the resultant commercialization of agriculture in the area. The advent, in the late 18th cent., of the silver ↗Maria Theresia thaler, which came in the course of trade also to some extent facilitated commerce throughout most of the country. On the other hand, frequent civil wars, particularly after the decline of the ↗Gondärine kingdom in the mid-18th cent., were detrimental to the E., as was the hostile foreign control of the coast (PankIntro; AbPrince 44–72).

Despite the great transformation in international transport resulting from the European industrial revolution and some upsurge in trade, the Ethiopian E. remained remarkably static throughout most of the 19th cent. Progress was seriously hampered by internal disunity and political instability as well as by fighting against external enemies: the ↗British in 1867/68, the ↗Egyptians in 1875/76, the ↗Mahdists in the late 1880s and the Italians, in 1895/96. The coming of the Italians to ↗Massawa in 1885, and the establishment of the Italian colony of ↗Eritrea in 1890 led, however, to some modernization and internationalization of the E. in the north and a significant growth in the Italian-dominated import-export trade, which extended across the frontier into independent Ethiopia itself. Foreign imports also increased in the east of the country, where there was growing importation, much of it by Indian merchants in the Harär area, of American and other foreign factory-produced textiles (↗India, relations with). Trade with the rich gold- and ivory-producing lands south of the Blue Nile was also expanded. This period was likewise noted for a considerable, and expanding, import of ↗fire-arms, as well as by extensive hunting of wild ↗animals and the export of their ivory and skins.

Modernization in the country at large was subsequently facilitated by the innovations of the ↗Mənilək II period, as well as by the foundation in 1887, and the subsequent steady growth of a new capital, ↗Addis Abäba, which exercised a hitherto unprecedented demand for foreign imports, and services. The last decades of the century witnessed tax reform and the curtailing of looting by the soldiers, as well at the introduction of a new, multi-denominational currency, postage stamps and the beginning of a ↗postal system and ↗telegraphic and telephonic systems. Reforms of importance to economic life in the early 20th cent. included the founding of the first bank, the Bank of Abyssinia (↗Banking system), the opening of the first modern schools, notably the Mənilək II School, and, above all, the establishment of the Addis Abäba–Djibouti ↗railway, which gave a considerable fillip to trade (PankEcon 478–86).

Further, if limited, modernization of the economy took place in the ↗Zäwditu–↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I period, which was characterized by more road-building, the coming of the radio and the aeroplane, and increasing numbers of cars and lorries, as well as by the curtailing of local customs posts, the limited monetarization of the tax structure (↗Taxation), the development of some commercialized agriculture, particularly along the railway line, and the first beginnings of light industry: the establishing of a few small brick and alcoholic-drink factories (↗Drinks), the founding of a printing-press (↗Printing), tailoring with the help of Singer sewing machines and the setting up of bakeries, hotels, restaurants etc. These developments were, however, materially hindered by fluctuations in the world price of silver, which rendered the Maria Theresia thaler an unsatisfactory currency, and later by the Great Economic Depression of the 1930s (PankEcon 486ff., 696–715).

Despite the above innovations, Ethiopia, on the eve of the Italian fascist invasion, was, however, still an overwhelmingly agricultural country. Its economy was predominantly based on subsistence and characterized by barter, "primitive money", weekly markets and long-distance caravans, but with only a small, though emergent, modern sector.

The ensuing Fascist occupation, which for the first time brought the greater part of the whole Horn of Africa under one administration (↗Africa Orientale Italiana), was accompanied by unprecedented government expenditure and investment. The immediate need for "pacification", as well as long-term economic considerations, caused the Italian government to devote an excessive part of its budget to road-building, on which for a time as many as 60,000 Italian workmen were engaged. The basis of an empire-wide road network was thus established, but at the expense of gravely restricting most other fields of economic activity. The need to cater for a growing Italian population, which exceeded 130,000, led to the construction of numerous "European-type" houses in Addis Abäba and the main regional capitals. ↗Urbanization was thus greatly accelerated on the basis of strict racial segregation. Some 20,000 Ethiopian citizens of the capital were moved to a specially designated "native quarter"; the movement of the remainder was, however, arrested by the outbreak of the European war. A policy of large-scale European settlement by Italian peasants and workers was envisaged, but was largely frustrated, in part due to military opposition by the Ethiopian patriots, and in part on account of the Fascist administration's near bankruptcy. Attempts to replace the silver Maria Theresia thaler by Italian paper money, the xenophobic expulsion of long-established Indian merchants and the establishment of highly bureaucratic, and corrupt, state trading corporations led to a serious disruption of economic activity (Haile Mariam Larebo 1994; Pankhurst 1971b).

Lit.: DAVID PHILLIPSON, *Ancient Ethiopia. Aksum: its Antecedents and Successors*, London 1998, 33–49; MHAksum 166–95; BeckHuntAlvar; AbPrince 44–72; HAILE-MICHAEL MESGHINNA, "Salt Mining in Enderta", *JES* 4, 2, 1966, 127–36; KEVIN O'MAHONEY, "The Salt Trade", *JES* 8, 2, 1970, 147–74; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopian Records of the Menilek Era: Selected Amharic Documents From the Nachlass of Alfred Ilg*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 54); HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844–1935*, Oxford 1875; BZHist; DAVID FOOTMAN, *Antonin Besse of Aden: the Founder of St. Antony's College, Oxford*, London 1986; HAILE MARIAM LAREBO, *The Building of an Empire: Italian Land Policy and Practice in Ethiopia 1935–1941*, Oxford 1994; PankIntro 916–44; PankEcon 478–88, 695–715, passim (Lit.); RICHARD PANKHURST, "A Chapter in Ethiopia's Commercial History: Developments during the Fascist Occupation of Ethiopia, 1936–1941", *EthObs* 14, 1971a, 46–67; ID., "Economic Verdict on the Italian Occupation of Ethiopia", *ibid.*, 1971b, 68–82.

Richard Pankhurst

Modern economy

After 1941 Ethiopia's E. continued to be based mainly on agriculture and in some parts of the country on pastoralism. The networks of local and regional markets stayed to become the main means of distribution of trade goods. Ethiopia's main exports to the rest of the world were dominated by cereals and pulses in the immediate post-war years till they were overtaken by ↗coffee later. In 1944 Ethiopia exported about 33,000 tons of cereals and pulses, which more than doubled to 67,000 in 1946 and 148,000 tons two years later in 1948. Cereals alone constituted a little less than half of this export and reached about 10 % of total exports at its peak (cp. Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce 1954). The difficulties of the agricultural sector in terms of supplying sufficient food for its increasing population started to be more and more apparent in the last decade of the imperial regime, culminating in the ↗famine of 1972/73, and have been going downhill since then. Currently Ethiopia faces a food deficit estimated at more than 25 % of its minimum requirement at the best of times, or an average of about 700,000 tons of food every year.

Shortly after the end of occupation, in 1944–45, the imperial government, with technical support from the "United States Technical Project Mission in Ethiopia" elaborated a ten year "program of industrial development" with the aim of accelerating economic growth and development in a wide area of economic activity. The programme included exploitation of the country's water resources (particularly in the Lake Ṭana and Blue Nile area) to foster agricultural development and the power requirements for industrialization, a five year programme for agricultural development, a plan for improvement in infrastructure (particularly roads, telecommunication and the ↗ᶜAsäb port development) and an elaborate ten-year plan for the expansion of education. Although Ethiopia did not get most of the resources it needed to implement this plan, it nonetheless served as the first clear attempt at establishing a long-term development strategy (subsequently a series of 5-year-plans was elaborated).

The partial implementation of some of the elements of this programme, along with detailed policy guidelines to encourage domestic and foreign private investment in all areas, the modernization of administration and the justice system, and other similar measures contributed to an impressive economic performance in the first decade after the war. Productive activity, interrupted by the war, revived both in agriculture and industry. A number of industrial enterprises were established, largely by foreign interests. Partly owing to the improvements in communications and largely because of the continuation of the Second World War in other parts of the world, which generated a very high international demand for primary products, Ethiopia's exports rose steadily, thereby facilitating essential imports and creating a generally favourable balance-of-payments position. Still, broadly speaking, this period can be characterized as a period of political consolidation and economic reconstruction. By the end of the 1940s no more than 63 industrial establishments were operational, with an estimated total capital of 16 million Ethiopian *bərr* and employing a little less than 5,800 persons (approximate numbers; Eshetu Chole 2004b:ch. 3).

Ten years after the implementation of this first programme, the structure of production in the country has changed very little. In 1954, agriculture constituted about 75 % of Ethiopia's Gross National Product (GNP), while industry accounted for about 6 % and services accounted for the remaining 19 % of national output. The combined foreign-trade sector was about 18 % of GDP, of which exports account for about 9.2 % and imports about 8.8 % of GDP. Earnings per capita or the income of the average Ethiopian in 1954 was about 102 Ethiopian dollars per year. This is roughly equivalent to about 277 *bərr* or about US$ 112 in 1980/81 constant prices. In terms of employment, in 1954 about 90 % of the Ethiopian active labour force was living in rural areas, engaged in agricultural activity, while the remaining 10 % lived in urban areas, engaged in various non-agricultural activities, of which over 8 % is involved in the service sector (exchange rate: at that time, one US-$ was slightly above two Ethiopian dollars [changed to Ethiopian ↗*bərr* later; ↗Currency]).

The 1950s showed a much better industrial performance and can be characterized as the origins of Ethiopian industrialization. Between 1953 and 1957 alone, manufacturing production nearly doubled, while industrial employment increased by more than 40 % (Eshetu Chole 2004a: 35). Gross output in manufacturing grew by an impressive rate of 15.8 % per year in 1951–60 (CSO 1963), while the broad industry category was growing by 12.5 % per year in 1954–59. This is actually the highest growth rate registered since systematic data has started to be collected. Exports at this time were also growing at a healthy 8.8 % per annum, while imports were growing at about 8.4 %, enabling the country to maintain a healthy balance-of-payments position. In addition to manufacturing, the trade and transport sector also registered a healthy performance during this time, growing at an annual average rate of about 11 %. The volume of domestic savings directed to productive purposes and the inflow of foreign investment contributed to this healthy economic performance. Total investment in the second half of the 1950s averaged 80 million Ethiopian *bərr* per year, out of which net investment outside agriculture amounted to 50 million Ethiopian *bərr*. Overall, GDP was growing at about 5 % per year, while population was growing at a moderate rate of about 1.5 %, implying a per-capita output growth of about 2.5 % per annum during the second half of the 1950s.

The second half of the 1950s is also significant, for it was during this period that the First Five Year Plan (FFYP) was prepared and launched. Although the FFYP was prepared in 1954/55 with the help of Yugoslav experts, it was officially launched in 1957 signalizing the first serious attempt to consciously plan the course of the country's economic development. The plan put heavy emphasis in developing the country's infrastructure along with investment in processing industries financed by a combination of foreign capital and government direct investment. Accordingly, of the total investment planned for 1957–61, the plan allotted about 45 % for transport and communications and about 11 % for manufacturing industry. Although the growth in manufacturing output during the plan period was impressive, the sector's performance was short of what was envisaged in the plan even though investment in the sector was much higher than what was envisioned.

The 1960s saw two more five-year plans. The second five-year plan (1963–67) put emphasis in developing the industrial sector, including mining and electricity, along with the development of commercial agriculture and transport. The third five-year plan, again with heavy emphasis on agriculture, was expected to cover the 1968–73 period, although it was later extended by one year and most of the plan targets revised later to a sluggish performance in the beginning of the plan period. Overall manufacturing performance during the first half of the 1960s was quite healthy and similar to the second half the 1950s. According to some estimates, manufacturing output at current prices doubled between 1960–65, while it grew by about 17 % per year in constant prices. Manufacturing employment also grew rather rapidly during this period, increasing from about 28,000 in 1961 to more than 48,000 in 1965 (s. Eshetu Chole 2004a:44). This period also saw a promising growth in commercial agriculture, which continued to register a sharp increase in the second half of the 1960s, only to be snuffed out with a change in government following the 1974 ↗Revolution (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council).

The modest achievement in economic performance during the first two plan periods, however, could not be sustained during the third plan period in the second half of the 1960s and early 70s. Economic performance in all sectors not only failed to reach the plan targets by far, but was significantly lower than what was achieved during the first two plan periods. In the second half of the 1960s, the growth in industrial production was significantly reduced to about half the level of the 1950s growing at about 8 % per annum, which was further reduced to only 5.5 % in 1970–73 at the eve of the fall of the imperial regime. However, exports were actually growing at a much faster rate of 10.9 % per annum during this period mainly because of the export boom of the early 70s. Employment creation in manufacturing was also reduced to a trickle of less than 2,000 jobs per year at a period when larger and larger number of educated youth were joining the labor force. Still, growth in the non-agricultural sector, which showed a per capita income growth of about 4.3 % per year during the entire period of the 1960s and early 1970s was significantly better when compared with the performance of the agricultural sector.

Growth in the agriculture sector slowed down below the rate of growth of population in rural areas. The relatively healthy performance in agriculture registered during the early to mid 1960s following the quick expansion of commercial agriculture could not compensate for the sluggish performance of the predominantly peasant sector, which was stifled by moribund agrarian institutions that simply refused to change. Particularly, the unheeded calls for moderate land reform, which the imperial government simply failed to implement owing to pressures from the conservative landed aristocracy, proved to be the main weakness of the system, that led to its violent overthrow. Average growth in agriculture and allied activities was about 2.3 % per year in the first half and 2.2 % in the second half of the 1960s. It dropped even further to 1.3 % in the final three years of the imperial period from 1971 to 1973. During 1960–73, the last 13 years of the imperial period, value added in agriculture increased by a mere 2.1 % per annum. As a consequence, earnings per capita of the agricultural population declined by about one-tenth of one per cent (0.1 %) per year during these 13 years.

This sluggish performance in the various sectors of the E. combined to provide a weak macroeconomic performance during the 1960s and early 1970s compared to the 1950s. Gross domestic product grew at an average of 3.7 % from 1960–73 while the rate of growth of population significantly increased to 2.2 % per annum, providing rather weak earnings-per-capita growth of about 1.5 % per year during the entire period.

Partly owing to the rather rapid growth in manufacturing in the 1950s and early 1960s and an appreciable expansion of the service sector, there was a small but noticeable change in the structure of production in the 1960s. In 1960/61 agriculture's share in the GDP was reduced to 69.2 %, while industry increased its share from about 6.2 % in 1954 to about 10.8 %. The service sector accounted for the remaining 20 %. By the end of the imperial period in 1972/73, agriculture's share in national output had declined to about 54.6 %, while the share of the industrial sector had more than doubled to 15.4 % of GDP and services jumped to 30 % of gross output.

Despite this modest growth in the share of industry and services in national output, however, there has not been a significant shift in the structure of employment. By the end of the imperial period, over 85 % of the population was still living in rural areas, engaged in agriculture, while the remaining 15 % lived in urban areas, engaged in non-agricultural activities, predominantly in the service sector. The spatial distribution of population between urban and rural areas has remained more or less the same up until now. The significant increase in population during this period from an estimated 17.5 million in 1950 to about 30 million by the end of the imperial period without any meaningful urbanization has meant increasing pressure on the agricultural resources of the country. In addition to the soil degradation (↗environment) resulting from traditional farming practices, population pressure on the rural E. has led to a continuous decline in the available land for cultivation. Per-capita land holding, for example, declined from about 0.28 hectares in 1960/61 to 0.13 hectare in 1979/80. It is this absence of alternative employment for the growing rural population, combined with the absence of meaningful modernization of the sector that made life increasingly more difficult for the Ethiopian peasant population and made a growing fraction of the rural population dependent on food aid for its mere survival.

The inability of the government to implement political and economic reforms, particularly in relation to the institutional rigidities that suffocated the agricultural sector – culminating in the embarrassing famine of 1972/73 – led to the overthrow of the imperial regime. The desperate rural condition, combined with weak overall economic performance, generated a simmering dissatisfaction among the population in general and an open revolt among the radical intelligentsia in particular. The *Därg* regime (↗Provisional Military Administration Council), taking power in 1974, promised faster economic growth and structural transformation. Prosperity for the masses was to be achieved via a radical land reform and a state-led industrialization drive along the lines pursued by the Soviet Union (↗Russia, relations with) and the socialist Eastern Bloc. Unfortunately for Ethiopia, economic growth and structural transformation proved to be elusive. The Ethiopian E. deteriorated from bad to worse in the 1970s and 80s.

In the 17 years of the *Därg* era, economic growth declined to 1.9 % per year, while population was growing at about 2.8 % per year, reducing earnings per capita by 0.9 % annually. Although the radical land-reform programme of the *Därg* provided usufruct rights to peasants and was expected to encourage agricultural production, the associated socialist policies of fixing agricultural prices at a low level to provide cheap food for the urban population and support "socialist industrialization" and the quota system that forced peasants to supply their produce to state trading agencies, proved to be more powerful disincentives to agricultural production. Growth in agricultural production during the entire *Därg* period was only 0.6 % per year, while the agrarian population was increasing at a very high rate of 2.8 %, leading to a decline in rural earnings per capita of about 2.2 % per year during the entire 17 years of its rule. The embarrassing famine of 1972/73, which was used by the *Därg* as an indictment against the imperial regime, resurfaced with vengeance in the infamous 1984/85 famine that killed over a million peasants. The promised structural transformation of the E. did not materialize either. By the end of the *Därg* period, agriculture still dominated economic activity despite its weak performance. Although there were attempts at state-led industrialization during this period, the 3.6 % annual growth in the value added of the industrial sector was less than half what was obtained during the imperial period. In fact, considering almost any economic indicator, the *Därg* period was an unmitigated disaster for the Ethiopian E. With the break-up of the Soviet Union and the collapse of international socialism, the *Därg* introduced all kinds of reforms in its "mixed E." policy in 1990. However, these reforms were too little and certainly too late to save the government from demise in 1991.

Economic performance improved quite a bit with a change in government in 1991. The new government of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) implemented a number of market-friendly reforms and reversed a number of the suffocating policies and practices of the *Därg* era, including abolishing the quota-delivery system in agriculture, lifting the ceiling on private investment and even venturing into the privatization of some of the state-owned enterprises. New policies were introduced to encourage private investment with a package of incentives that were broadly similar to the incentives provided by the imperial government in the 1960s. The government also issued a broad development strategy known as Agriculture Development Led Industrialization (ADLI) to highlight its commitment to increase productivity in the agriculture sector as the core of its development programme. The government, however, maintained the land policy of the *Därg* by keeping ownership of urban and rural land exclusively to the state. Instead of introducing institutional reforms associated with land ownership, the government sought to increase agricultural output and productivity by implementing a massive extension programme that provides modern technology (particularly fertilizers and improved seeds) to small-holder farmers.

These reforms did help in improving economic performance, but not significantly enough to address the key problem of the structural rigidity of the Ethiopian E. Agricultural output increased by about 1.7 % per annum between 1991 and 2003, which helped to slow down the rate of decline in per-capita agricultural output, but failed to push it to a positive territory. Despite strong efforts by the government to improve the agricultural sector, the growth rate in agriculture was slower during this period compared with what was achieved in the last 13 years of the imperial period. Per-capita output in agriculture continued to decline by about 1 % per year during this period. The growth in industrial production also recovered marginally to 5.6 % from the 3.6 % registered during the *Därg* period, although it was significantly lower than what was achieved during the imperial period.

Two notable but interrelated improvements in investment and the foreign-trade sector can be observed. The government's ability successfully to mobilize foreign funds in the form of foreign aid and loans has enabled the E. to increase its gross domestic investment compared with the previous two regimes. The foreign-trade sector has also expanded quite significantly during the EPRDF period. Gross fixed investment as a percentage of GDP has increased from around 12.5 % during the three decades since the 1960s to over 16 % during the 13 years of the EPRDF period. However, as alluded to earlier, this increase in investment was not financed from domestic sources. Gross domestic savings decreased from over 11 % during the imperial period to about 6.3 % during the *Därg*, further declining to a mere 4.1 % during the EPRDF era. A combination of the ready availability of foreign finance helped the growth of imports, while an adjustment in the exchange rate among other liberalization measures helped the expansion of exports. Exports as a percentage of GDP increased to about 15 % in 2001/02, while imports grew to an enormous 33.8 % of GDP in 2001/02, compared with a high of 11 % in the early 1970s and about 12 % by the end of the *Därg* period. Such a huge expansion of imports without a commensurate increase in exports has meant a deterioration in the balance-of-payments position of the country.

Considering the key issue of structural change, the Ethiopian E. has made little progress. In 1950 90 % of the estimated 17.5 million population was making a difficult living in subsistence agriculture. Over 50 years later, in 2002, the population has increased to over 65 million and 85 % of this population still lives in subsistence agriculture with significantly depleted natural resources. In real terms, with earnings per capita of 273 *bərr*, the average Ethiopian is not better off than in 1954 when per capita income was 277 *bərr*. More significantly, the earnings per capita for the agricultural population in 2001/02 were only 133 *bərr* per year in 1980/81 prices or about 12 U.S. cents per day at today's prices.

Despite numerous attempts by succeeding governments at structural transformation over the past half century, the basic features of the economy largely remained the same. Lack of structural change in agriculture combined with high population growth has made a once ↗food-surplus country into a nation that requires continuous food aid for the survival of a significant portion of its massive peasant population.

↗Agriculture; ↗Trade

Lit.: BEFEKADU DEGEFE – BERHANU NEGA, *Annual Report on the Ethiopian Economy*, vol. 1, Addis Ababa 1999/2000; CSO, *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa 1971; CSA, *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa 1984; CSA, *ibid.*, Addis Ababa 1996, CSA, *ibid.*, Addis Ababa 1998; CSA, *ibid.*, Addis Ababa 2000; ESHETU CHOLE, *Underdevelopment in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2004a (OSSREA Publications 35, 44); ID., "Running to Keep in the Same Place: Industrial Activity in Ethiopia, 1941–1974", in: *Underdevelopment in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2004b, ch. 3; ETHIOPIAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, *Annual Report on the Ethiopian Economy*, vol. 2, Addis Ababa, 2000/2001; IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT, *First Five Year Development Plan, 1957–61*, Addis Ababa 1956; ID., *Second Five Year Development Plan, 1963–67*, Addis Ababa 1962; ID., *Third Five-Year Development Plan*, Addis Ababa 1968; THE ETHIOPIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, *Guide Book of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1963.

Berhanu Nega

Economy of the Colonia Eritrea

Italian colonialism in Eritrea proved to be contradictory as regards the colonizers' attitude towards the traditional socio-economic structure of the population. The pre-colonial economic power of local chiefs and nobles, based on taxation and land rental, was slightly reduced. On the one hand, the colonial system of monetary taxation preserved the share of tributes that the chiefs collected from the peasantry. At the same time, the colonial government limited the confiscation of land, especially in the plateau, because of the fear of native rebellions, thus respecting property rights. On the other hand, the official abolition of slavery contributed to lessening the obligations that serfs were compelled to fulfil towards their masters. However, although increased economic opportunities became available to serfs during Italian colonization, the pattern of social relationship between serfs and masters was not deeply affected.

In fact, Italians tried to integrate the natives into a superimposed capitalist colonial system, without restructuring the basis of the traditional socio-economic system. The Italians imposed in Eritrea a centralized economic system based on the exploitation of raw materials and on commerce. Until the 1930s, the colonizers devoted their main efforts to agriculture. But, as Eritrea proved to be a resource-poor country, both private and state capital investments were always lacking. The agricultural legislation, passed in 1903–09 and revised in 1926 and 1931, on the one hand, respected the traditional communal land-holding system (↗Land tenure; ↗*Däsʾa*) on the plateau, but suppressed kinship ownership (↗*Rəst*), thus promoting the birth of an individual private form of land possession. On the other hand, the colonial state defined the rural areas that had to be considered government lands (↗Terra demaniale) and offered them in concession in order to develop capitalistic mechanized farming, especially in the eastern and western lowlands.

The Italians encouraged pre-colonial subsistence farming on the plateau, while they introduced veterinary medicine to improve the health and productivity of livestock and tried to encourage horticulture and fruit-growing. Land expropriations hit Eritrean peasants who practised traditional farming, preventing them from fulfilling their fiscal duties, so that many peasants had to work as waged rural labourers for Italian settlers (e.g., in the concession of

↗ᶜEla Bärᶜəd). From 1926 the colonial government decided to forbid further confiscation on the highland and to limit the number of farming concessions in the lowlands, which were meant to produce new export-oriented crops, such as cotton and coffee. In 1931 Eritreans were granted concessions because the colonial state hoped to avoid the scantiness of Italian settlers and to increase the poor record of agricultural productivity. However, the expansion of capitalistic agriculture, as in the Täsänäy dam (20,000 ha), was unsuccessful, restrained by the modest contribution of Italian public capital, as well as by the shortage of confiscated lands (from 1907 to 1939, the lands granted in concession decreased from 6,483 to 4,479 ha in the plateau, while the decrease in the lowlands ranged from 4,569 to 1,564 ha). In 1941 the cultivated lands in the whole colony amounted to 53,930 ha, with a total output of 28,950 tons. In fact, despite the livestock's improvement, Eritrea was never self-sufficient, either in foodstuffs or in cotton textiles depending on external trade.

About 60 % of the total trade of the colony was with Italy and was essentially based on the exchange between Eritrean raw materials and Italian industrial products. The terms of trade were unequal, as Italian products were protected by the *ad valorem* tax. Commercial relations with the neighbouring countries involved Ethiopia, the Sudan and Saudi Arabia. Italy considered northern Ethiopia as belonging to her economic sphere of influence and the commercial importance of Eritrea consisted in draining a considerable share of Ethiopian import/export trades, about 25 %. In any case, the lack of the commercial balance of Eritrea was striking, as exports represented 37 % of the terms of trade in 1925, declining to 25 % in 1935. Local public revenues were only sufficient to meet in part the administrative expenses that were therefore covered by annual fixed subsidies from the government of Rome (about 22,5 million lire for the period 1929–33).

Eritrea essentially represented for the metropolis a reservoir of resources for the colonial army. Recruitment into the auxiliary troops was voluntary, elevated ranks, high salaries and privileges – i.e. exemption from traditional duties and pensions – being offered. Eritrean soldiers were appreciated for their loyalty and skills and were recruited for the military pacification of other Italian possessions: they served in Somalia from 1906 and in Libya from 1912 and 1932. Regarding the social effects of the recruitment, it appears clear – from demographic evidence – that it determined a shortage of labour that was resolved by the hiring of northern Ethiopian and Yemenite immigrants.

Until the beginning of the 1930s the industries in Eritrea only 56 consisted of business institutions, mainly connected with the processing of raw materials. Capitalistic industrial development was limited and salt-mining in Massawa and ᶜAsäb proved to be one of the few profitable extractive industries. According to the protectionist economic policy, Italian private capital invested in Eritrea demanded concessionary rights and was encouraged through duty exemptions. Nevertheless, concession companies invested the bulk of their capital in trade rather than in production or in the exploitation of raw-material resources. For a more suitable exploitation of the colony's resources, the Italians established a telecommunication system and built the necessary infrastructures for a well-developed transport system: telegraph, postal and telephone systems and an extended rail and road network (354 km for a total investment of 100 million lire; ↗Railways). This communication network connected the urban centres of Eritrea and allowed new forms of mobility for the population.

These public works were spurred when Italy decided to conquer Ethiopia. Thanks to the strategic positions, Eritrea was a suitable military springboard and, from 1932, preparations for war were continuous. Besides, there had been political manoeuvring to gain the support of northern Ethiopians since the late 1920s. After the Ethiopian conquest, Eritrea was joined to Ethiopia and to ↗Italian Somaliland to form the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana (AOI). 'Greater Eritrea' (including Təgray) became a centre of a flourishing war-economy. However, during the following British occupation (↗British Military Administration) and the ↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation, Eritrean industry witnessed continuous decline (more cp. the article ↗Eritrea).

Lit.: GIAMPAOLO CALCHI NOVATI, *Il Corno d'Africa nella storia e nella politica*, Torino 1994; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli italiani in Africa orientale*, 4 vols., Roma 1976–84; JORDAN GEBRE-MEDHIN, *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea*, Trenton 1988; LUIGI GOGLIA – FABIO GRASSI, *Il colonialismo italiano da Adua all'impero*, Roma 1981; FEDERICA GUAZZINI, *Le ragioni di un confine coloniale: Eritrea 1898–1908*, Torino 1999; STEPHEN H. LONGRIGG, *A Short History of Eritrea*, London 1945; YEMANE

MESGHENNA, *Italian Colonialism: a Case Study of Eritrea, 1869–1934: Motive, Praxis and Results*, Lund 1988; JEAN-LOUIS MIÈGE, *L'imperialismo coloniale italiano dal 1870 ai nostri giorni*, Milano 1976; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea, 1882–1941: Policies, Praxis and Impact*, Uppsala 1987; REDIE BEREKETEAB, *Eritrea: the Making of a Nation, 1890–1991*, Uppsala 2000; ROMAIN RAINERO, *I primi tentativi di colonizzazione agricola e di popolamento dell'Eritrea (1890–1895)*, Milano 1960; AMBAYE ZEKARIAS, *Land Tenure in Eritrea (Ethiopia)*, Addis Ababa 1966.

Federica Guazzini

Ecumenical dialogue

The ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church has been a full member of the World Council of Churches (WCC) since its inauguration in Amsterdam in 1948. However, it has only been active in the ecumenical movement within the family of the Oriental Orthodox Churches. Each member of this group of independent churches – Coptic, Armenian, Syriac, Ethiopian and Indian (Malankara) – is in communion with each other and has as its common theological basis the rejection of the Christological teaching of the Council of ↗Chalcedon (451 A.D.).

Under the auspices of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, for the first time in history the heads of these churches came together in the year 1965 in Addis Abäba. This initiated a process of collaboration on all ecumenical levels.

In the context of the WCC, the Faith and Order Commission paved the way for ecumenical encounter between theologians of the Byzantine and Oriental Churches. A series of four unofficial conversations took place at Aarhus (1964), Bristol (1967), Geneva (1970) and Addis Abäba (1971). Agreed statements on ↗Christology were produced in the first three of these meetings, while the last one dealt mainly with the condemnation of false doctrines. In 1985 an official Joint Committee for Theological Dialogue between the two Church families was constituted. Its work subsequently resulted in official Christological Agreements in 1989 and 1990. Since 1993 they have focused on practical implications on the way towards unity.

In 1971 the Pro Oriente Foundation (↗Austria, relations with) gathered Catholic and Oriental Orthodox theologians for the first non-official consultation and this led to a common Christological formula. Further consultations on various ecclesiological issues have been held in Vienna in 1971, 1973, 1976, 1978 and 1988. Alongside these consultations, official visits took place: Patriarch *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot met Pope John Paul II at the Vatican in 1981, as did Patriarch *abunä* Ṗawlos in 1993. So far no official theological agreement has been achieved between the Ethiopian and the Roman Catholic Church.

↗Christianity

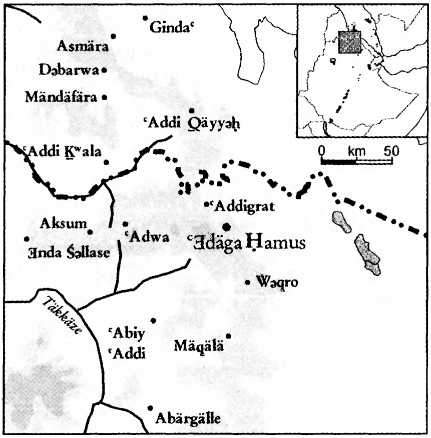
Src.: *Wort und Wahrheit*, supplementary issues 1–5, 1972–89 [Pro Oriente Consultations]; PAULOS GREGORIOS – WILLIAM H. LAZARETH – NIKOS NISSIOTIS (eds.), *Does Chalcedon Divide or Unite?*, Geneva 1981 [Byzantine/Oriental Orthodox Consultations].

Lit.: FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: Eine Bestandaufnahme*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), V–VIII, 283–324; DIETMAR W. WINKLER, *Koptische Kirche und Reichskirche: Altes Schisma und neuer Dialog*, Innsbruck 1997 (Innsbrucker Theologische Studien 48) [Lit.].

Dietmar W. Winkler

ʿƎdäga Ḥamus

The town of ʿƎ.Ḥ. (**ዕዳጋ፡ ሓሙስ**, 14°10' 60" N, 39°34' 0" E) is located in the ʿAgamä region of northern Təgray approximately 20 km south-east of ʿAddigrat at an elevation of about 2,660 m A.S.L. ↗Aksumite and possible pre-Aksumite cultural-period sites and ancient rock-cut tombs have been documented in the immediate vicinity of ʿƎ.Ḥ. An Aksumite building with cut stone architectural features underlies the church of Maryam Ṭəhot at ʿƎ.Ḥ. In the area surrounding ʿƎ.Ḥ. there is a number of important historic ↗rock-hewn churches, including, among others, Ǝnda Maryam Ṣəyon, Saʿət Maryam, Tähaqot Maryam Ṣəyon, Lähəlen Maryam Ṣəyon and



the famous church of ↗Maryam Dängälat southwest of ᶜƎ.Ḥ.

The role of the town of ᶜƎ.Ḥ. in the Italian army's invasion of Təgray in 1895–96 is described by Oreste ↗Baratieri (1898). During the 1935 invasion, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa submitted to Emilio de ↗Bono at ᶜƎ.Ḥ.

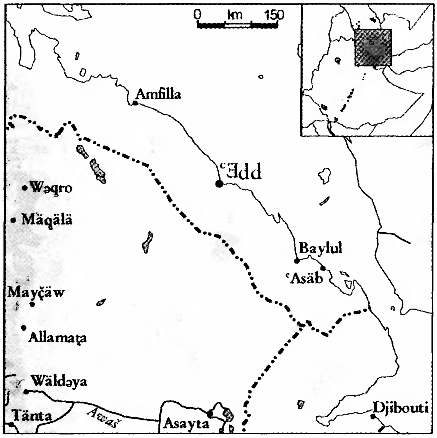
Src.: ORESTE BARATIERI, *Memorie d'Africa* (*1892-1896*), Milano – Roma – Firenze 1898; EMILIO DE BONO, *Anno XIII: the Conquest of an Empire*, London 1937.
Lit.: JEAN GIRE – ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Études des églises rupestres du Tigré", *Abbay* 1, 1970, 73–79; *Rock-hewn Churches of Eastern Tigray; an Account of the Oxford University Expedition to Ethiopia, 1974*, Oxford 1975; ERIC GODET, "Répertoire des sites pré-axoumites et axoumites du Tigré, Ethiopie", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 19–58; MHAksum; ROGER SAUTER, "Eglises rupestres au Tigre", *AE* 10, 1976, 157–75, here 162f.; RUTH PLANT, "Greek Altar Cloth and Other Objects at Maryan Dengeleat, Edage Hamus Woreda, Agame Awraja, Tigre Province, Ethiopia", *Abba Salama* 10, 1979, 157–62.

Matthew C. Curtis

ᶜƎdd

ᶜƎ. (**ዕዲ**, or ᶜIddī, ᶜAfar spelling: Ciddi) is a Red-Sea port, lying in the southern region of the Red Sea coast (sub-zone of central Dankali) between Tiᶜo in the north and ↗Baylūl and ↗ᶜAsäb in the south.

The ancient and medieval history of the Red-Sea port of ᶜƎ. is unclear. It is very difficult to tell when it was first settled and who its first settlers were. However, according to the oral tradition, among the oldest ᶜAfar subgroups on the ᶜƎ. coast and the hinterland were the ᶜAdola and Bur Eali. They survived on fishing and trade with the Yemen (Aden, Mokha, Hodeida) and were supposed to have constructed boats for these purposes (Ǧamāladdīn – Hāšim 1997: 442). It is known that ᶜƎ. was a port at least 500 to 600 years before the arrival of the Portuguese in the area in the 16th cent., as the first mentions of the trading community there date back to the 8th cent. Later, the port lost its importance and soon disappeared from history, to be replaced by other ᶜAfar commercial centres such as the Dahlak Islands, Massawa, Zula in the north and Raḥayta, Baylūl, ᶜAsäb and Tağūra in the south.



According to popular ᶜAfar belief, the name ᶜƎ. is said to be a corruption of the ᶜAfar name *ᶜidde* for 'sand', given to the port by the Portuguese when they arrived at ᶜƎ. in the 16th cent. – either by mistake or because the port of ᶜƎ. was surrounded by lots of sands.

The importance of the port of ᶜƎ. was due to its proximity to northern Ethiopia (Təgray province) and its location on the route to the ᶜAfar hinterland. ᶜƎ. was also connected to the ↗ᶜAgamä region of Təgray by a caravan route and continuously supplyed Ethiopia with different goods, especially salt from the surrounding areas, which was vital to Ethiopia's economy (AbPrince 4).

The political situation of the Red-Sea coast from the late 18th cent., especially after the Egyptian expansion, the growth of European interest, and the revival of trade in the area, renewed ᶜƎ.'s importance. In the 1840s French agents claimed that they had bought the port; however, the claim was not supported. In 1862 the Turks took control of ᶜƎ. (RubInd 219) and the Egyptians took it over in 1866. Finally, Italians included ᶜƎ. into their possessions in 1885. However, no development took place beyond the appointment of traditional chiefs as salaried colonial officials (s. KilHDic 170). During the "Dankalia" offensive in May 1991, ᶜƎ. was conquered by the forces of the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (Fontrier 1999).

The population of the city is small and consists mostly of older people, as younger people migrated to ᶜAsäb, Djibouti and the Yemen. ᶜƎ. enjoys a certain popularity among tourists.

Lit.: RubInd 219, s. index; KilHDic 170; AbPrince 4; ǦAMĀLADDĪN AŠ-ŠĀMĪ B. IBRĀHĪM B. ḪALĪL AŠ-ŠĀMĪ – HĀŠIM ǦAMĀLADDĪN AŠ-ŠĀMĪ, *Al–manhal fī tārīḫ wa–aḫbar al–ᶜAfar* (*al–Danākil*), Cairo 1418 H. [1997 A.D.], 442; MARC FONTRIER, *La chute de la junte militaire éthiopienne* (*1987–1991*), Paris – Montréal 1999.

Abdulkader Saleh

Ǝddər

Ǝ. (Gurage, Amh. etc. **እድር**) is a term referring to associations of mutual help. Originally Ǝ. were established to organize the ↗burial ceremonies of its members and support of the bereaved. In the context of urban migration Ǝ. developed into a voluntary multifunctional institution of self-help and solidarity.

The ↗Gurage and neighbouring groups, who already knew institutions similar to Ǝ. as elements of their ↗*seera*, were the first to introduce Ǝ. into ↗Addis Abäba society. The burial-Ǝ. probably acquired new functions after the Italian occupation. Ǝ., in combination and sometimes amalgamation with other systems of mutual help, such as ↗*ʿəqqub* and ↗*maḫbär*, became an instrument for integrating migrants into the multi-ethnic urban society, for the establishment of neighbourhood networks, and for the continuation of ethnicity-based solidarity.

In the process of ↗urbanization the model of Ǝ. was adapted almost all over Ethiopia. The term "Ǝ." became a very large category for a variety of urban forms of mutual help organizations with different cultural origins. Associations of occupational groups are sometimes labelled as Ǝ. as well. The number of members can vary from under 100 to more than 1,000 people. An Ǝ. is sometimes ethnically or religiously heterogenous, the degree of which, however, differs as well as the number of its functions. Many Ǝ. are based more on vicinity than kinship, but in other cases the term is used for an urban "clan-like" organization, continuing functions of the traditional rural society and its council of elders including jurisdiction and mediation, preservation of oral traditions and religious duties. In such a case, ties to the original homeland are strong and often include development activities in the rural area. For self-development some Ǝ. even promote road-construction and the establishment of new schools and clinics. Kinship-based, religiously linked, territorial and neighbourhood-based, as well as occupational Ǝ. may all function as an urban pressure-group.

Every member has to pay a certain amount of money monthly to the Ǝ. In cases of death, sickness, house-fires, accidents and other kinds of misfortune, the Ǝ. distributes money for the support of the victims, e.g., the closest relatives of the deceased. In defined cases, such as death of a member, an extra fee is collected from all members for the arrangement of the funeral. In addition to these payments, all members have to attend the burial. Under certain circumstances the Ǝ. also helps with man-power and material, such as kitchenware and tents for family meetings. Anyone who disrespects the regulations of the Ǝ. is charged with a fine and in instances of repeated infringement faces other social sanctions or even exclusion.

Modern Ǝ. are registered at the municipality with their written regulations. The highest body of the Ǝ. is the general assembly of all members, whose decisions are conducted by the executive committee. Originally full membership was limited to men, wives being only indirect members. In kin-based Ǝ., one reason for this was that the wives, due to exogamy, were considered external to the group. Today, some change can be observed in the position of women: in many Ǝ. they form their own sub-committees for addressing their own issues, but also those on behalf of the whole Ǝ., e.g. organizing food for Ǝ. events.

Increasingly throughout the late 1950s and 1960s, Ǝ. became associated with certain industries or bureaucracies, such as those in private manufacturing and government ministries to provide insurance, workers' compensation and even strike-funds. "The solidarity created by these [institutional] Ǝ.", Killion (1985:147) contends, "formed the basis for workers' organizations and action against their employers", from which the nucleus of the leadership and membership of legal labour unions developed after the 1960 ↗coup d'état.

Besides manufacturing, institutional Ǝ. were fairly common in government ministries and private firms, yet collectively they accounted for only a fraction of the self-help associations present in Ethiopia. The others were the ethnically defined ("tribal") Ǝ. and community Ǝ. The latter became ubiquitous in every neighborhood.

During the 17 years of the *Därg* dictatorship, 1974–91, institutional and ethnically defined Ǝ. were not tolerated. Among the first victims of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam's purges were the labour unions, anything that hinted of organized labour was routed out. Ironically, institutional Ǝ. survived and even flourished in government offices and in the military, which suggests how much confidence those most loyal to the regime had in it. Ethnically defined Ǝ., or more accurately **መረዳጃ፡ ማህበር** (*märrädağa maḫbär*, 'self-help association'), were considered too threatening to Mängəśtu. Organizations or associations

Ǝddər meeting in Gore (Šeka); photo by Wener Jürgen Lange, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (37–La 001–33)

that developed ethnic-political consciousness were considered subversive.

The history of Ǝ. reflects two distinct changes after 1984: first, its spread into the countryside, second, its imitated of formal sector services such as insurance in the urban environment. During the famine of 1984, peasants were forced to leave their homes and migrate to food-distribution centres and towns; in doing so they lost the network of family and community institutions that assisted them in difficult times. So ravaging was the famine that traditional voluntary institutions proved inadequate because the population was either dead or displaced. In other instances knowledge of the same safety-nets were lost to the social memory of the population. Admittedly, some region-specific voluntary associations remained, but to a large extent younger generations were forced to invent or adapt different strategies. In this light, the adoption of Ǝ. took place in Təgray, Wällo and parts of northern Šäwa, where younger peasants simply adapted Ǝ., with which they had become familiar while in food-distribution camps, to fit rural conditions.

To elaborate, Ǝ. made their way into the countryside from the overcrowded camps encircling food-distribution centres. What had been small towns became ever-expanding camps of tens of thousands of displaced people. Although chaotic in appearance to the outsider, these camps developed their own structure and organization. The camps were essentially administered by Ethiopian educated urbanites, who imposed norms with which they were familiar. One component of this was Ǝ. to help with burials, bereavement and the list of other functions mentioned above (Baker 1994:152-71).

When donor fatigue set in ca. 1986–87, healthier peasants returned to their communities, bringing with them useful, social-mobilization techniques that they had learned in the camps. In a very real sense, mutual self-help associations, which had originally developed in the countryside as religious *maḫbärs* and were adapted and formalized as Ǝ. in the urban environment, returned to the countryside only after the traditional safety-nets, perhaps including some of the progenitors of Ǝ., were forgotten or found inadequate to deal with changing conditions. While this example discusses the situation in northern Ethiopia, crisis conditions brought about by weather, war, pandemics and population dislocation racked Ethiopia through the 1980s and 1990s, causing much the same process to repeat itself in different parts of the country, as the growing literature on peasant responses clearly demonstrates (for geographical distribution s. papers presented at "The Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers, and Anthropologists").

In the urban setting, Ǝ. expanded their services, thereby attracting additional members. In the 1990s, the concept of assisting members encountering hardship was expanded and Ǝ. became what was tantamount to insurance companies covering such items as: medical expenses, loss of property and short-term disabilities. The "Ethiopian Teachers Association Iddir [Ǝ.]" and one run by employees of the Telecommunications Authority have accrued significant capital reserves and have bridged the gap between the formal and informal sectors in two ways: first, by offering insurance-company-type services, and second by depositing their capital in the National Bank (in the case of the "Telecommunications Authority Iddir [Ǝ.]" that amounted to 12 million *bərr*), thus tying the two sectors together (Tirfe Mammo 1999:193-94). The Teachers' and Telecommunications' Ǝ., which may be the largest, illustrates a growing trend in 21st-cent. Ethiopia.

↗Däbo; ↗Geyz

Src.: interviews with elders of the *əddər* of the Abäke clan of Səlṭe, Addis Abäba, May 2003; papers presented at "The Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers, and Anthropologists", Addis Ababa, 25-26 June 1998.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST – ENDRIAS ESHETE, "Self-Help in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 2, 1, December 1958, 358; FEKADU GEDAMU, "The Social and Cultural Function of Gurage Association", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 3, 1966, 203–14; ID., *Urban Polyethnic Group Association and National Integration*, Addis Ababa University 1993; ABAYNESH MERGA, *The Role of Gurage Iddir: a Case Study of Konchcha Iddir in Addis Ababa*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa, June 1999, 5, 7–10, 31, 39, 43ff.; KIBEBEW DAKKA, *Cooperative Movements in Ethiopia*, B.A. thesis, Faculty of Law, Addis Ababa University 1978; PETER P. GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Abäba from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49), 76, 79, 83; ShGurage 79, 80; DAVID C. KORTEN, *Planned Change in a Traditional Society: Psychological Problems of Modernization in Ethiopia*, New York 1972; THOMAS KILLION, *Workers, Capital and the State in the Ethiopian Region*, Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University 1985, 145ff.; JONATHAN BAKER, "Small Urban Centers and their Role in Rural Restructuring", in: ABEBE ZEGEYE – SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG (eds.), *Ethiopia in Change: Peasantry, Nationalism, and Democracy*, London 1994, 152–71; TIRFE MAMMO, *The Paradox of Africa's Poverty: the Role of Indigenous Knowledge, Traditional Practices and Local Institutions–the Case of Ethiopia*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1999.

Dirk Bustorf – Charles G.H.Schaefer

Eden, Robert Anthony

Sir Anthony E. (b. 12 June 1897, County Durham, d. 14 January 1977, Wiltshire) was a British politician and Member of Parliament.

E. attended Sandroyd School in Eton and Christchurch in Oxford. In 1923, he was elected to Parliament and, in June 1935, he became minister without portfolio for League of Nation's Affairs. After Italy invaded Ethiopia, E. maintained that the League should apply sanctions against Rome. During the war, he repeatedly said that he would welcome the reappearance of an independent Ethiopia and would recognize *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase's claim to the throne. However, on 4 February 1941, E., who had become Foreign Secretary, told Ḫaylä Śəllase that Ethiopia's independence would be restored, but that Britain would offer "temporary measures of guidance and control". Thus, on 6 April 1941, London approved the establishment of the British Military Administration in Ethiopia. On 31 January 1942, Britain and Ethiopia concluded an Agreement and Military Convention that recognized the latter's independence, but placed many restrictions on its sovereignty.

↗Italian War 1935-36; ↗League of Nations; ↗World War II

Lit.: ROBERT BLAKE, "Eden, (Robert) Anthony", in: ID. – CHRISTINE STEPHANIE NICHOLLS (eds.), *The Dictionary of National Biography 1971–1980*, Oxford – New York 1986, 262–72

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Edessa

E. was the Greek name of a town in northern Mesopotamia, in native Syriac called Orhāy, in Arabic ar-Ruhā (or ar-Ruhāʾ), nowadays known as Urfa in the Turkish province of Diyarbakır.

Founded (or re-founded) by the early Seleucids, who gave Orhāy the name of the old Macedonian capital, E. later became the capital of the small state of Osrhoene. In the early 3rd cent. A.D. Christianity became the official religion of Osrhoene. A widespread legend, known also in Ethiopia, claims that King ↗Abgar V Ukkāmā had already exchanged letters with Jesus Christ and acknowledged him as the Son of God, and that the Mandylion, a portrait of Jesus, that was preserved in E., had been painted in the course of these events. From the 4th cent. on, E. was the centre of Syriac-speaking Christianity.

In 639 E. fell to the Muslim armies. The Mandylion was handed over to the Byzantines in 942 with the approval of Caliph Muttaqī-billāh in return for 200 Muslim prisoners. From 1098 to 1144 E. was ruled by the Crusaders as the "County of Edessa". In 1146 the town was destroyed by Nūraddīn Zanǧī (Mālik al-ʿĀdil) after the Crusaders tried to regain it. Only in the Ottoman period was the town rebuilt.

The view expressed by certain scholars, e.g., Cerulli (CerLett 209), Sergew Hable Sellassie (SerHist 273), Witakowski (1989–90:195) and, with some reservations, by Ferenc (1985:261), that E. was so dear to the Ethiopians that they named an Ethiopian town after it, i.e. Roḥa (later renamed ↗Lalibäla), is problematic. The model of Roḥa/Lalibäla was Jerusalem (van Donzel 1996, 1998), and it seems that the Abgar legend became known in Ethiopia only at a later date (but see GuiSLett 76f.). The similarity of Arabic *ar-Ruhā* and Ethiopian *Roḥa* is probably mere coincidence.

Lit.: ERNST KIRSTEN, "Edessa", in: FRANZ JOSEPH DÖLGER – HANS LIETZMANN – JAN HENDRIK WASZNIK et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 4, Stuttgart 1950, 552–97; JUDAH BENZION SEGAL, *Edessa, "The Blessed City"*, Oxford 1970; SURAIYA FAROQHI, "Al-Ruhā", in: *EI²*, vol. 8, 589–93; SEBASTIAN P. BROCK, *Syriac Studies. A Classified Bibliography (1960–1990)*, Kaslik 1996, 73–77; GuiSLett 76f.; CerLett 209; SerHist 273; ALEKSANDER FERENC, "Writing and Literature in Classical Ethiopic (Giiz)", in: BOGUMIL WITALIS ANDRZEJEWSKI – STANISLAW PILASZEWICZ – WITOLD TYLOCH (eds.), *Literatures in African Languages: Theoretical Issues and Sample Surveys*, Cambridge – New York 1985, 255–300, here 261; WITOLD WITAKOWSKI, "Syrian Influences in Ethiopian Culture", *Orientalia Suecana* 38–39, 1989–90, 191–202, here 195f.; EMERI VAN DONZEL, "Ethiopia's Lalibäla and the Fall of Jerusalem 1187", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 27–49; ID., "Lālibalā and Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century", in: KRIJNIE CIGGAAR – ADELBERT DAVIDS – HERMAN TEULE (eds.), *East and West in the Crusader States: Context, Contacts, Confrontations*, Leuven 1996 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 75), 73–80.

Stefan Weninger

Education

Traditional Christian education

Traditional E. in Christian Ethiopia was the domain of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. As Gəʿəz was a dead language that was used for liturgical and literary purposes, it was necessary to study it and to maintain an elaborate educational system. It consisted of church schools of various levels: 1. the so-called ↗*nəbab bet* ('House of reading'); 2. the ↗*qəddase bet* ('Liturgy House'); 3. the ↗*zema bet* ('School of chanting'); 4. the ↗*qəne bet* ('School of poetry'); and 5. the ↗*mäṣḥaf bet* ('School of exegesis').

House of reading

The *Nəbab bet* was an entry-level school that existed in practically every parish near the church. Its pupils were boys, numbering from 10 to 30, who entered this school between the ages of five and seven and attended lessons twice a day (except Saturdays, Sundays and holidays). In the morning (from 8 to 12 a.m.) they studied reading and writing, beginning with the alphabet (↗*Abugida* and *Hahu*), and in the afternoon (from 2 to 5 p.m.) recited the most-popular prayers and hymns, such as ↗*Mälkəʾa Maryam* and ↗*Mälkəʾa Iyyäsus*. The goal was the command of reading, and the curriculum ended with the Psalter, which the pupils finally learned by heart. This is probably why they were called ደቀ፡ መዝሙር (*däqqä mäzmur*, 'children of the Psalter'). They practised writing on sheep's shoulder-blades, because parchment was too expensive. These studies were completed in some two or three years and crowned with a family celebration, in which the teacher was rewarded with a cow or sheep and the pupil with new clothes (Ǝnbaqom Qalä Wäld 1964/65:9).

Liturgy house

Those who sought an ecclesiastic career entered the next school, the *qəddase bet*. Such schools functioned at local churches, where a teacher (usually a graduate of a *zema bet*, a certified specialist in liturgy) taught the duties of deacon and priest. The books which a student had to learn by heart were: *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*qəddase* with 14 ↗Anaphoras used in the Ethiopian Church, *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*säʿatat*, *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*krəstənna*, *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*qändil*, *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät* and some other liturgical works. This knowledge was supported by everyday practice during church services. As a rule, the entire E. in the *qəddase bet* was completed within one year and graduates were then ready to be ordained as deacons or priests.

The Church also needed specialists in other fields: ↗*däbtära* for choral chanting ↗*zema*, experts in ecclesiastical poetry ↗*qəne*, in the ↗Calendar, in the ecclesiastical ↗Canon, in patristic studies and ↗exegesis. These were taught at higher levels, *zema bet*, *qəne bet* and *mäṣḥaf bet*. Usually these schools were few and scattered all over the country, so an aspirant had to leave home for a long time, sometimes for ever, and to become a wandering student (የቆሎ፡ ተማሪ, *yäqollo tämari*, lit. '*qollo* student'). Such students, dressed in sheep- or goat-skin, living by begging, with *qollo* (fried cereals) their main food, left their native district in groups of three or five and assumed new names to hide from their parents and to protect themselves from evil spirits (Ǝnbaqom Qalä Wäld 1964/65:21).

School of chanting

The chanting schools were the next stage in E. The *zema bet* schools of ↗Bägemdər were considered the best. They were headed by one teacher – ↗*märigeta* – who divided students into separate groups. The first studied the ↗*Ṣomä dəggwa* and the ↗*Məʿəraf*, their E. usually taking three years; the second specialized in ↗*Dəggʷa*, also for three years; the third group learnt ↗*Zəmmare* and ↗*Mäwaśəʾt*, which usually took two years (Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh 1969/70:74). All students learnt the system of notation ↗*mäläkkät*. Those who had mastered ↗*qum zema* hymns usually chose to continue their studies and master the art of choral singing (↗*Aqʷaqʷam*) in one of the schools in ↗Gondär. After graduating from a school of chanting, a student would not be referred to as a *tämari* any more, but as a ድጓ፡ አድራሽ (*dəggʷa addəraš*, 'accomplished in *dəggʷa*').

School of poetry

The best *qəne bet* schools were those in the province of ↗Goǧǧam; the most-famous ones sometimes attracted up to 200 students simultaneously (Ǝnbaqom Qalä Wäld 1964/65:50). Only a *dəggʷa addəraš* could study there. It was here that the students obtained their knowledge of Gəʿəz grammar and vocabulary and began to understand the texts they had had to memorize at previous levels. At first the teacher explained to his students the meaning of the next holy day which should be the theme for their verses and prescribed the necessary form and melody. After a day or two they presented their compositions and received the teacher's criticism. To stimulate poetic inspiration, some students took አብሾ (*abšo*), a powder of *Datura stramonium* seeds mixed with honey, which had a hallucinogenic effect (Haile Gabriel Dagne 1971:9). It usually took some four or five years to learn all forms of religious poetry.

School of exegesis

Probably one-tenth of the graduates of a *qəne bet* thereafter entered a *mäṣḥaf bet*, which had four faculties: 1. commenting the ↗Old Testament (ብሉይ፡ ኪዳን, *Bəluy kidan*); 2. commenting the ↗New Testament (ሐዲስ፡ ኪዳን, *Ḥaddis kidan*); 3. commenting the patristic literature (ሊቃውንት, *liqawənt*) and 4. study of monastic canons and writings (መነኰሳት, *mänäkʷäsat*). At the patristic-literature faculty the following books were studied: ↗*Qerəllos*; Commentary of ↗John Chrysostom on Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews; ↗*Haymanotä abäw* and ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*. The students of the same faculty spent half a year on studying the ↗calendar and ↗computus, using ↗*Baḥrä ḥassab* and ↗*Märḥa ʿəwwur*. The third book on computus, ↗*Abušakər*, was seldom studied. At the monastic-canons faculty three books invariably were studied and commented upon: ↗*Arägawi Mänfäsawi* by John Saba, *Mar Yəsḥaq* by ↗Isaac of Nineveh and the ↗*Filkəsyos*. A graduate from the school of exegesis enjoyed considerable authority as a traditional scholar (↗*Liq*) and could obtain a high post, both in the ecclesiastical and the court hierarchy. Such an opportunity was one of the motives for many to live half of their life (up to 30 years) as a wandering student.

Mädḫane ʿAläm church school, Gondär: the head teacher *liqä liqawənt* Mänkər Makʷännən (d. 1996) with students; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

There are many positions specific to traditional church schools. A ሊቀ፡ ጉባኤ (*liqä gubaʾe*) is in charge of teachers' salaries and pupils' regular rations, as well as other financial matters. His deputy is known as መጋቤ፡ ሥርዓት (*mäggabe śərʿat*). A ሊቀ፡ አርድእት (*liqä ardəʾət*) is in charge of pupils, their discipline and the quality of their learning. The teachers of the alphabet and the Psalter are called, respectively, መጋቤ፡ ሕፃናት (*mäggabe ḥəṣ́anat*) and መጋቤ፡ ላእካን (*mäggabe laʾəkan*). The teachers of the liturgy are called መጋቤ፡ ኅሩያን (*mäggabe ḫəruyan*); while those of *zema* are called መጋቤ፡ ስብሐት (*mäggabe səbḥat*). The teachers of liturgical *aqʷaqʷam* dance are መጋቤ፡ ሐዋዝ፡ ስብሐት (*mäggabe ḥawaz səbḥat*); *qəne* teachers are called መጋቤ፡ ምስጢር (*mäggabe məsṭir*); the professors of patristic and ascetic books are መጋቤ፡ ምክር (*mäggabe məkr*); the teachers of *Haymanotä abäw*, *Qerəllos* and *Fətḥa nägäśt* are called ሊቀ፡ ማእምራን (*liqä maʿəmran*) or መጋቤ፡ ማእምራን (*mäggabe maʿəmran*); the teachers of O.T. and N.T. books are respectively መጋቤ፡ ብሉይ (*mäggabe bəluy*) and መጋቤ፡ ሐዲስ (*mäggabe ḥaddis*). Professors who have mastered all the fields of traditional learning are called አራት፡ ዓይን (*arat ʿayn*).

Lit.: HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, ጥንታዊ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ትምህርት (*Ṭəntawi yäʾityopya śərʿatä təmhərt*, 'The Ancient Order of Ethiopian Learning'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 74; KIDANÄ MARYAM GETAHUN, ጥንታዊው፡ የቆሎ፡ ተማሪ (*Ṭəntawiw yäqollo*

tämari, 'The Wandering Student of Old Days'), Addis Abäba, 5 *Ṭərr* 1954 A.M. [1961/62 A.D.]; ƎNBAQOM QALÄ WÄLD, ኢትዮጵያ፡ ባሕል፡ ለማጥናት፡ የተሰበሰቡ፡ ጽሑፎች፡ ስለ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ትምህርቶች (*Ityop̣ya baḥəl lämaṭnat yätäsäbässäbu ṣəḥufočč səlä Ityop̣ya betä krəstiyan təmhərtočč*, 'The Writings about the Teachings of the Ethiopian Church, Collected for the Study of the Ethiopian Culture'), Addis Abäba 1957 A.M. [1964/65 A.D.], 9, 21, 50; GIRMA AMARE, "Aims and Purposes of Church Education in Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Journal of Education* 1, 1, June 1967, 1–11; HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "Education Magic in Traditional Ethiopia", *ibid.* 4, 2, 1971, 3–12, here 9; ID., "Non-Government Schools in Ethiopia", in: *BendLang*; FRIEDRICH HEYER, "The Teaching of Tergum in Ethiopian Orthodox Church", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 140–50; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY – PETER JEFFERY, *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: an Anthology*, vol. 2, Madison 1994, 4ff.; ROGER WENMAN COWLEY, *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Cambridge 1983.

Sevir Chernetsov

Islamic traditional education

General remarks

The basic purpose of Islamic E. is the transgenerational transmission of its religious, moral and behavioural precepts, as well as the strengthening of the knowledge and of the practice of Islamic tenets within the community. In connection with the social dimensions of Islamic dogma, Islamic educational activities aim at keeping alive the Islamic scale of values, the Islamic conception of licit (*ḥalāl*) and illicit (*ḥarām*), and the Islamic legal framework (↗*šarīʿa*) within which the everyday relationships among the faithful are developed. The training of the teachers and scholars who work practically in the different sections of the educational system is another object of traditional Islamic E. (cp. Hussein Ahmed in PICES 9, 97).

Traditional Islamic E. is generally structured in several different levels of learning. The elementary level is based on the Qurʾān, which is taught to children who have to learn as many verses from the sacred text as possible: they are usually taught the Arabic alphabet and then they start to read and write on their small boards (↗*lawḥ*) sections of the Qurʾān in Arabic, which they recite all together at the same time, following the schoolmaster's voice and trying to memorize it (*ḥifẓ al-qurʾān*; Haile Gabriel Dagne, in BendLang 349–53; Hussein Ahmed 1988:99; Leslau 1965:172–81; Abdurahman Garad — Wagner 1998:71–78). Courses in Arabic writing and reading for children are held in local languages (Haile Gabriel Dagne 1976:351; s. Qurʾānic extracts in Mittwoch 1906).

Elementary courses in Qurʾān usually finish with joyous ceremonies which underline the importance of the knowledge of the sacred text and its language for every Muslim (e.g., Harär: *qalam mäsbär* [Leslau 1965:181f.]; Wällo: *ḥitma* [Hussein Ahmed, in PICES 9, 99f.]). These elementary schools are named differently according to the region: *dugsi* in Somali (Dizionario Somalo-Italiano 1985:197; Mohamed Mohamed-Abdi 2003), *qurʾān gey* in Harär (Abdulnasir Edris 1992; Abdurahman Garad — Wagner 1998:69; *gē qurān gē* in Leslau 1965:172), *tehaǧǧi* in Wällo (but s. Hussein Ahmed, in PICES 9, 100), *meǧilis Qurʾān* in Harär, Ǧimma and Arsi, *šayḫi* in some urban areas (Haile Gabriel Dagne, in BendLang 350) and *ḥalawi* in Asmära (Yassin M. Aberra 1983–84:219). All these local names correspond to the general Arabic term *kuttāb*, which also has its local variations. A great part of the average faithful does not go any further this first step of learning.

Those who wish or are able to continue, attend higher-level courses which take them into the *mare magnum* of Islamic traditional heritage: after *ḥifẓ al-qurʾān*, usually Law (*fiqh*) is taught. The *uṣūl al-fiqh* ('sources of the Law'), *tawḥīd* (theology), *manṭiq* (logic), *naḥw* (Arabic grammar), *tafsīr* (Qurʾānic exegesis) and *ḥadīṯ* (Prophetic sayings) are other fields of study for more advanced learning, which necessarily imply a sound knowledge of classical Arabic, at least to be able to read texts and handbooks in *ʿarabīya fuṣḥā*. Seldom, perhaps under influence of modern E., some notions of mathematics, geometry and geography are added to these subjects (Abdurahman Garad — Wagner 1998:79).

Among those who manage to deepen their knowledge in one or more of these subjects, future teachers will come up. "Higher Islamic schools" to teach them can be called *ilm* (Arab. *ʿilm*). In Harär the institution is called *Kabīrgār*. For students coming from outside the city, there is a higher-level school, the *masgid gale* (Haile Gabriel Dagne, in BendLang 353; Hussein Ahmed, in PICES 9, 100f.; Abdulnasir Edris 1992:26–29, 31f.; Abdurahman Garad — Wagner 1998:79–83).

In Ethiopia and Eritrea, the lack of a lasting support by a stable state and the apparent slightness of financial support by the indegenous population, which was so important in founding educational centres elsewhere in the Islamic world, especially through the ↗*waqf* system, reduced the possibility of a diffused flourishing of Islamic educational institutions and limited the capability of the existing teaching-centres. In connection with this situation, one should consider the fact that Muslim teachers in Ethiopia were not regularly paid for their work, for which they usually received only symbolic rewards, and they had to earn their living mostly from other activities, such as trade and agriculture (Hussein Ahmed, in PICES 9, 97; Leslau 1965:188f.). This was a handicap for the implementation of a fully developed educational system. Centres of learning thus became characterized by the experience and knowledge of the main teacher who was working there and who, as a matter of fact, could offer advanced courses only in one branch of knowledge.

As a consequence of these structural limits in the educational organization, advanced students and learned men had to travel to find the best teacher in the field they wished to research. During their travels, students had to live on alms or to look for the support of a wealthy family (Hussein Ahmed, in PICES 9, 102). Some even studied abroad: the *madrasa* in Zabīd and Taᶜizz in the Yemen were probably the easiest to attend, but students and scholars from the whole of the Horn made their way also to the Ḥaramayn (Mekka and Medina), to al-Azhar University in Cairo and to the Omayyad Mosque in Damascus (TriIslam 62, 138). This situation has only partially changed in modern times.

Historical data

Due to the scanty historical evidence currently at our disposal, it is difficult to ascertain when and where Islamic educational institutions were first established in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

We may surmise that on the ↗Dahlak islands and in coastal towns, as well as in other Islamic communities in the interior, Muslims organized schools for their children since the very beginning of their presence.

We may imagine that, since the earlier times of the Islamic presence, sessions to teach the Qurʾān to little children were most probably held under the guidance of a school instructor who, using the local language, exerted his efforts making pupils read the Arabic text of Qurʾān aloud and memorize it, as often as possible in a way that was probably not so different from that of contemporary Qurʾānic schools of the area.

A difference between schools operating in towns (*megala*) and those of the countryside (*bādiya*) is supposed by Haile Gabriel Dagne (in BendLang 349f.), who underlines the decisive role of the teaching of the Arabic of the Qurʾān in traditional Islamic syllabi. As for pastoral groups, the form of the itinerant school (*xer* in Somali) can be considered as one of the early venues for the penetration of Islamic culture and values among nomadic tribes (Abdisalam Yassin Mohamed 1979–80:127:9f.).

Orally transmitted traditions keep some more detailed information about the origin of Islamic schools, linking it with the activities of saints and mystical brotherhoods.

For rural Wällo, Hussein Ahmed (2001: 91f.) suggests that Islamic E. found its original establishment in a multifunctional institution called *zāwiya*, which is the word that in other Islamic countries refers to a holy man's shrine. The *zāwiya* in Wällo was a "prayer house, a study and meditation centre", a venue where the faithful held religious meetings and ceremonies and a resting-place for travellers. These kinds of Islamic centres of religious practice and E. were very often attached to ṣūfī centres. Chronologically they preceded the foundation of mosques, which were, moreover, typical of urban Islamic life.

Among the Somalis of the Ogaden it is related that the famous saint ᶜUmar Barhadle created a peculiar way to teach the Qurʾān in Arabic script to Somali children (Lewis 1966; Abdisalam Yassin Mohamed 1979/80; Mohamed Mohamed-Abdi 2003), using a Somali notation for the Arabic short vowels.

In Harär, the birth of the first Qurʾānic school is linked with the saint *āw* Sūf Yahya, who came with *šayḫ* Abādir ᶜUmar ar-Riḍā and his 405 companions from Arabia in 1216 and founded the first *qurʾān gēy* in a place called Āw Qurʾān gēy or Āw Sūf Yahya, 10 km south-east of the town (Abdulnasir Edris 1992:6).

As for higher E., we may suppose that the basic elements of *fiqh* (Law) were also taught for older and more motivated students since a very early time in the Islamic communities and that some *fuqahāʾ* were able to train their disciples in more advanced learning.

We do have some hints that point to the fact that E. was apparently quite developed in the medieval Islamic states that ruled the southern part of Ethiopia. For the ↗Maḫzūmī sultanate of Šäwa in the 13th cent., Cerulli (1941:20f.) underlined the fact that the presence of a *faqīh* Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥasan (d. 1255) bearing the title *of qāḍī al-quḍāt* of Šäwa proves the existence of some individuals versed in the theory of Islamic Law and its juridical casuistic and also working in a

Islamic-founded judicial organization (*qaḍāʾ*). Nothing is known about the personality of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥasan and about his studies and the disciples he might have trained in Šäwa.

It is apparent, in any case, that the Islamic learning-system in medieval Ethiopia was not able to offer all the curriculum up to the highest level. According to al-ᶜUmarī (writing between 1332 and 1338), Muslims living in the seven Islamic sultanates of Ethiopia did not have *madrasas* (TriIslam 73). The tight relationships not only with the learning centres in the Yemen, but also with al-Azhar and Damascus, seems to have filled this lack of higher educational institutions. Additionally, some foreign learned men came to Ethiopia, especially from the Yemen, to teach Muslim communities (Cerulli 1943:288ff.). At the same time many Ethiopian Muslims who wished to deepen their Islamic E. went abroad. The necessity to look for higher E. seems to have pushed Muslims coming from Ethiopia and the whole of the Horn towards the most-renowned Islamic learning centres: al-Azhar in Cairo, where a *riwāq* ('portico') was reserved for them (*riwāq al-ǧabartīyyīn*; ↗Ǧäbärti), and the Omayyad Mosque in Damascus, where in the 14th cent. Muslims from the Horn (*Zayālīᶜa*) owned "a big separate section in the eastern part of the mosque where a water reservoir was" (TriIslam 62; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1969:204).

In Yemen the presence of Ethiopian students and of Ethiopian *fuqahāʾ* looking for more specialized training is a well-documented fact. Some of these *fuqahāʾ* came back to their country after they had completed their higher E. and started to teach and to practise as judicial experts.

This was the case with the Ethiopian *faqīh* Mūsā al-Muqriʾ, who went to the Yemen to study Law according to the *Šāfiᶜī* school with *šayḫ* Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. ᶜUǧayl (d. 1291) and *šayḫ* Ismāᶜīl al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 1298), who granted him the *iǧāza* ('permission') permitting him to teach the *Kitāb al-Tanbīh* and the *Kitāb al-Muhaḏḏab* of al-Šīrāzī, two very common handbooks of *Šāfiᶜī fiqh* (Gori 1996:60ff.). On their return to Ethiopia they were strongly supported by *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn of Bale, who protected them against the envy of their fellow *fuqahāʾ* of the *Ḥanafī* school and thus facilitated the spread of the *Šāfiᶜī maḏhab.*

The role played by *šayḫ* Ḥusayn of Bale in helping the action of the *faqīh*, is a further witness to the tight relationship between the mystical milieux and E.

As noted, it was and still is a very common pattern that Islamic educational centres come into existence thanks to the efforts made by learned men who frequently were also active members of brotherhoods. Pupils started gathering around the master when he was alive and then, when the saint-founder passed away, they continued to attend courses held at his shrine by his successors as the head of the school. This led to the creation of many centres of Islamic learning and E. throughout Ethiopian Muslim regions, side by side with the shrines of their founders. A great part of these educational establishments are still operating nowadays.

Here we may mention in Wällo (Hussein Ahmed, in PICES 9, 101f.) the centres of Gaddo in Dawway, founded by *muftī* Dāwūd b. Abī Bakr (d. 1818/19), who is said to have studied in Zabīd and to have contributed to the spreading of the *Šāfiᶜī* school of Law; Šonke, where *al-ḥāǧǧ* Ǧawhar b. Ḥaydar (d. 1935) taught; Ǧama Nəgus, Albukko, is linked to the famous scholar *šayḫ* Muḥammad Šātī (d. 1806–07); at Gata in Qallu, *al-ḥāǧǧ* Bušrā ay Muḥammad (d. 1863) was a very renowned teacher; Anna in Rayya was the educational centre of the *qādirī* scholar Ǧamāladdīn Muḥammad (d. 1882), while Dana in Yaǧǧu was another *qādirī* establishment, where Aḥmad b. Ādam (d. 1903) taught. In Gurageland, Qatbare, about 10 km from Wälqiṭe, is an Islamic centre of learning, teaching and religious promotion founded by *šayḫ* ᶜĪsā Ḥamza al-Qatbare (d. 1949), where *tawḥīd* (Islamic theology), *ḥadīṯ* and *fiqh* and also ↗*ḏikr* and *awrād* (mystical practices) were studied.

As for the situation in Harär (↗Education: Islamic Education in Harar) at the end of the 19th cent., Muhammed Mokhtar noticed that primary E. was very well-developed among children, and that Law was also studied by adults under the guidance of advanced teachers in evening special sessions. Other European travellers of the same century were struck by the vast knowledge of Arabic and Qurʾān that Ethiopian Muslims had acquired in their local schools (Bowen 1976:309f.).

Modern situation

For the Muslim communities, the evolution towards a modern organized form of E. is mainly traceable in cities and towns and in higher-level schooling, while rural centres of traditional learning remained more or less unchanged.

Protagonists of this modernist trend were several Muslim learned men who were trained in a traditional way but felt the necessity of a renovation of the educational system. Contact with the contemporary evolution of E. in the Arab world was sometimes decisive in pushing these personages forward on the road of change.

A common characteristic of the modern Islamic E. is the widening of syllabi to include subjects which were unusual in traditional E., but which became useful tools in finding one's way in a quickly developing country. The challenge of Government schools also forced Muslim educators to look for a more competitive range of subjects which had to achieve a balance between the necessity to safeguard the traditional Islamic heritage and that of training proficient and skilful students able to match the requests of the job market and the emergence of new professions. Amharic and English, besides Arabic, started to be taught. Mathematics, geometry and science were also added.

In Addis Abäba the Islamic Council Convention (*Yäʾəslam səməmmənnät maḫbär*) founded a modern school where, in 1926 A.M., the great Muslim scholar *šayḫ sayyid* Mäḥammäd Ṣadəq (d. 1969 A.M.) started teaching Amharic.

In Harär a modern school called *Gey madrasa* was established (apparently as a private school) in 1927 by *kabīr* Kāmil, who had been trained in Egypt. In 1942 the school fell under government control and the teachers were removed (Abdulnasir Edris 1992:33). In 1961 *šayḫ* Abū Bakr ʿUmar opened his school, but it never gained official recognition by the state. Subsequently, *ḥāǧǧī* Ture managed to found the Abādir school, active in Harär, but also in Addis Abäba and among the Harari communities of Dərre Dawa. The Abādir school was recognized by the Ministry of Education. Their curriculum is that of the corresponding classes in Government schools, in addition Qurʾān, *fiqh* and Arabic (Abdulnasir Edris 1992: 35; Abdurahman Garad — Wagner 1998:85–89).

In Asmära, in 1943, the Islamic Institute Šayḫ l-Mahad was founded, its curriculum including science, arithmetic and agriculture. In the city the *awqāf* Council took charge of the supervision and the improvement of the educational system with long term programmes (Yassin M. Aberra 1983/84).

In Däse, in 1938 A.M., the above-mentioned *šayḫ sayyid* Mäḥammäd Ṣadəq obtained from the state 10 ↗*gašša märet* to help Muslim pupils in their studies, especially young girls. He managed to open a modern and organized school next to Šäwa Bärr Mosque, where 1,500 students were given the opportunity to study up to the sixth grade. This Islamic school was the second to be built in Ethiopian Islamic history after Addis Abäba's Islamic Council's school. Besides the traditional religious topics, Amharic, English, mathematics and geography were also taught there. Pupils who had achieved best results at the end of their sixth year of their schooling could be admitted directly into *wäyzäro* Səhən School in Däse.

Lit.: ABDISALAM YASSIN MOHAMED, "Early Muslim Education and its Role in Northeast Africa", *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* 1, 1979/80, 125–31, here 127f.; ABDULNASIR EDRIS, *Traditional Islamic Centres of Learning in Harar*, part of B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1992, 6, 33, 35; JEAN DONALD BOWEN, "Historical Background of Education in Ethiopia", in: BendLang, 305–23, here 309f.; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42, here 20f.; ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94, here 288ff.; *Dizionario Somalo-Italiano*, Roma 1985, 197; ABDURAHMAN GARAD – EWALD WAGNER, *Harari-Studien: Texte mit Übersetzung, grammatischen Skizze und Glossar*, Wiesbaden 1998 (Semitica Viva 18), 69, 71–79, 83, 85–89; ALESSANDRO GORI, "First Studies on the Texts of Shaykh Ḥusayn's Hagiographies", *RSO* 70, 1996, 53–82, here 60ff.; HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "Non Government Schools in Ethiopia", in: *BendLang*, 339–70, here 349–53; HUSSEIN AHMED, "Traditional Muslim Education in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 3, 94–106, here 97, 99–102; ID., *Islam in Nineteenth Century Wallo, Ethiopia: Revival, Reform and Reaction*, Leiden — Boston – Köln 2001, 91f.; IBN BAṬṬŪṬA, *Voyage d'Ibn Battûta: Texte arabe, accompagné d'une traduction par C. Defremery et le Dr. B.R. Sanguinetti.* Réimpression de l'édition de l'année 1854, vol. 1, Paris 1969, 204; KEBREAB WOLDE GIORGIS, "Muslim Education in Ethiopia", *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* 3, 1981, 75–85; WOLF LESLAU, *Ethymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1963; ID., *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background*, part I: *Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1965 (Near Eastern Studies, vol. 7), 172–82, 188f.; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, "Sharif Yusuf Barkhadle: the Blessed Saint of Somaliland", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 75–81; EUGEN MITTWOCH, "Exzerpte aus dem Koran in amharischer Sprache", in: *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalischen Sprachen*, 9, 2, 1906, 111–47; TrIslam 62, 73, 138; MOHAMED MOHAMED-ABDI, "Retour vers les *dugsi*, écoles coraniques en Somalie", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 43, 2003, 351–69; YASSIN M. ABERRA, "Muslim Institutions in Ethiopia: the Asmara Awqaf", *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* 5, 1983/84, 203–23, here 219.

Alessandro Gori

Islamic education in Harär

In addition to standard modern government schools, there are modern Muslim schools in Harär today which tend to combine religious

Islamic teachings with a modern curriculum, and until very recently traditional ↗Qurʾān schools were also still functioning.

Boys and girls were expected to study the Qurʾān, although for girls the demands were less stringent than for boys. A full study took up to ten years. Poorer families were often not able to send their children to school for the full length of time, since the children had to help at home. However, most of the students had studied at least part of the Qurʾān. Classes took place in the house of the *kabīr*, the Qurʾān teacher, who was also the person who prepared the traditional manuscripts and book bindings. The *kabīr* could delegate the teaching to teachers working under him.

There were two examinations: the *kahfāya* examination after having completed the study of half of the Qurʾān, and the *abaqāra* examination after the study of the full Qurʾān. *Kahfāya* refers to *sūrat al-Kahf* (ch. 38 of the Qurʾān), whose study concludes the first grade of the curriculum; *abaqāra* comes from (*sūrat*) *al-Baqara* (ch. 2 of the Qurʾān) which ends the course.

In addition, a bride had to undergo a Qurʾān examination on her wedding-day. After the *abaqāra* examination and the examination of the bride, the writing pens were ceremonially broken. The ceremony itself is called *qalam masbar* (s. Leslau 1965:181–88). All examinations were connected with festivities and smaller or larger presents to the *kabīr*.

Lit.: ELISABETH-DOROTHEA HECHT, *Die traditionellen Frauenvereine (Afōča) der Harari in Marar und in Addis Ababa, Äthiopien*, Berlin 1993 (Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde, Serie A: Afrika, vol. 30); PETER KOEHN – SIDNEY R. WALDRON, *Afocha: a Link between Community and Administration in Harar, Ethiopia*, Syracuse 1978; WOLF LESLAU, *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background*, part I: *Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1965 (Near Eastern Studies, vol. 7), 171–89; ABDURAHMAN GARAD – EWALD WAGNER, *Harari-Studien: Texte mit Übersetzung, grammatischen Skizzen und Glossar*, Wiesbaden 1998 (Semitica Viva 18), 69–95; ABDUNNASIR JOHIS, *Traditional Islamic Centres of Learning in Harar*, B.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 1992; EWALD WAGNER, "Ein arabischer Text zur traditionellen muslimischen Erziehung in Harar", in: *Kaškūl: Festschrift zum 25. Jahrestag der Wiederbegründung des Instituts für Orientalistik an der Justus-Liebig-Universität Giessen*, Wiesbaden 1989, 170–85.

Elisabeth-Dorothea Hecht

Modern education

Formal E. in Ethiopia was carried on for centuries by a system of religious instruction presented by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and by Islamic traditional E.. Modern E. in Ethiopia started only in the late 19th cent. when *aṣe* Mənilək II permitted foreign Catholic and Protestant missionaries to establish a number of schools. The ↗missions, viewing E. as an effective means of proselytizing, frequently taught in local languages and sent promising students abroad (a practice begun earlier by Mənilək). Later, during the reign of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, the mission schools were required to advance Addis Abäba's view of national unity. In Eritrea, Catholic missions and the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission (SEM) established a number of schools. The SEM began an English language school in Addis Abäba in 1905 and by 1924 it had established eight schools in Ethiopia. In 1921 the Brothers of Saint Gabriel founded the École Française in Addis Abäba. Other missionary groups that operated schools of note in Ethiopia included the *Bibeltrogna Vanner* (Friends of the Bible), the Seventh-Day Adventist Mission and the United Presbyterian Church of North America. The general public's fear and suspicion of foreigners and the antagonism of Orthodox Church clergy hindered the work of mission schools. Nevertheless, by the time of the Italian invasion in 1935, about 2,000 students were enrolled in denominational schools.

Following the Battle of ʿAdwa in 1896, the failure of the traditional E. system to meet the needs of a modern nation in preparing people for work in statecraft, diplomacy, commerce and industry was apparent. To address this concern, Mənilək II set up the first modern state-sponsored school in 1908 when he established the ↗Mənilək II School in Addis Abäba. The faculty, mainly Egyptian Coptic teachers and a few Ethiopians, used French as the medium of instruction in a curriculum that included French, English, Arabic, Italian, Amharic, Gəʿəz, mathematics, science, physical training and sports. In 1925 Täfäri Mäkʷännən, at that time the Regent, opened the Lycée Tafari Makonnen in Addis Abäba. The principal and teachers were French from the Lebanon and most students were boarders. To finance this educational initiative, *ras* Täfäri established a special E. tax of 6 % on all imports and exports, the first government E. budget. The Regent also sent the most promising boys abroad, most of them at his own expense.

After his coronation as Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1930, the progress of public E. quickened. The Emperor sought to improve E. because he thought it directly related to the creation of a skilled civil service and to modern and efficient government. A central Ministry of Education and Fine Arts was set up to co-ordinate E. and, in addition to the E. tax, the Ministry received 2 % of the national treasury revenue. In Addis Abäba, Empress ↗Mänän started public E. for girls by founding the Ǝtege Mänän School in 1930, the same year that the ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I School was established to provide technical and linguistic training. In addition, several elementary schools in Addis Abäba and the provinces were founded between 1908 and 1935. In all, there were 21 government schools with an enrolment of 4,200 students at the time of the Italian invasion.

In Eritrea, the Italian colonists established a variety of racially segregated schools: government and missionary schools for Italian children, traditional Christian and Muslim schools, run by the local people, and Catholic or Protestant schools for the colonial subjects. Elementary level "native schools" were segregated on the basis of ethnicity and religion and were of lower quality. After the 1935 invasion of Ethiopia, the Fascists boasted 33 government schools for Eritreans, although most of them had been hastily organized to impress the outside world with Italy's "civilizing mission".

During the Italian occupation of Ethiopia from 1936 to 1941, the schools of Ethiopia were closed and all meaningful E. for the Ethiopian people was terminated. In addition, the Fascists systematically hunted down and executed educated Ethiopian men and women. According to Sylvia Pankhurst, 75 % of the young graduates and intellectuals were murdered.

After the restoration of Ethiopian independence in 1941, schools reopened, but the ministry faced a shortage of teachers, textbooks and facilities. The government recruited foreign primary and secondary teachers to offset the shortage. The British were a dominant force in the empire's E. in the decade following the end of the Italian occupation. Heads of the schools in Addis Abäba and the important advisers in the Ministry of Education were British. In 1944 the government declared that English would be the medium of instruction for all subjects taught in schools. Two secondary schools were established in Addis Abäba in the 1940s: the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School in 1943 and the General Wingate Secondary School, a joint venture of the Ethiopian and British governments, in 1946. The Princess Zännäbä Wärq School, the English School, later known as the Sandford School, and the Alliance Française were private schools that opened in Addis Abäba in the early 1940s. In 1944 the first Teacher Training School was founded to prepare Ethiopians for the expanding profession. The ↗Sudan Interior Mission built the first secondary school outside Addis Abäba, the Mädḫanä ʿAläm Academy, in 1948. Lycée Guebre Mariam, managed by the Mission Laïque Française in Addis Abäba, was opened the same year and became one of the most important lycée in Africa. In addition, the Ministry of Education, other governmental departments or private societies operated technical, vocational, and special schools. Most notable of these were the Technical School, founded in 1943; the Commercial School, in 1943; and the Ambo Agricultural School, in 1946. E. received about 20 % of the national budget during the 1940s, the second largest allocation of funds. During this era, the Ministry of Education appointed provincial E. officers to promote the expansion of E. outside the capital. The Education Land Tax Act was promulgated in 1947, earmarking 30 % of the ordinary land tax for E. in the provinces. A short time later, a government secondary school was opened in Harär. By 1952 there were 60,000 students enrolled in 400 primary schools and eleven secondary schools.

Missionary education in the 1920s in a "scuola per indigeni"; Missione Cattolica, Asmära; photo courtesy of Enrico Castelli

After the liberation of Eritrea, the British reorganized or started schools to replace the Italian system of segregated E. By 1950, two years prior to Eritrea's federation with Ethiopia, 59 primary schools and one middle-level school had been set up. English was the medium of instruction in upper grades, while the choice of language in primary schools was left to local committees that favoured Təgrəñña in Christian areas and Arabic in Muslim ones. Between 1955 and 1961, during the time of the federation with Ethiopia, there were 154 Eritrean schools in operation. The federal government set up the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School and the Eritrean government added a ninth grade to the Prince Makʷännən School in Asmära, the first two secondary-level schools operating in Eritrea.

During the 1950s, the empire made a concerted effort to expand its system of E. The post-war period of reconstruction and improvisation was followed by a time of consolidation and planned expansion. From 1953 till 1955 American advisers under the Point Four Program worked with the Ministry of Education and encouraged Ethiopians to adapt the E. system to the conditions and needs of the Empire. The report of the Long Term Planning Committee under the Vice-Minister of Education became the blueprint for a revitalized system of E. Amharic was made the language of instruction for the first six school years, with English used in the later grades. A new curriculum was drawn up for the secondary schools and textbooks began to be written specifically for Ethiopia. Under Ethiopia's first Five-Year Development Plan (1957–61), which stressed the need for manpower planning, several academic and technical-vocational professional schools were built. Although E. plans were never fully funded, by 1960–61 there were 26 secondary schools, 14 of them in the provinces (with at least one in each of the provincial capitals), including two in Eritrea, which by then had become a province, and 12 in the capital. In the 1960s, 310 mission and privately operated schools with an enrolment of 52,000 supplemented the nation's public school system.

The gains made by Ethiopian E. were put in perspective, however, by the findings of the 1961 UNESCO Conference of African States on the Development of Education, which was held in Addis Abäba. Among other things, the conference pointed out Ethiopia's educational deficits: primary and secondary E. were ranked at the bottom among African nations; there were shortages of schools and teachers, a high drop-out rate and low overall attendance rates. Challenged by these findings, the Ministry of Education developed a new E. policy which remained in effect until 1974 (in the form of a second and third Five-Year Development Plan). The grade structure of schools was reconfigured into six years of elementary school (taught in Amharic), two years of junior-secondary and four years of senior-secondary schooling (taught in English). The curriculum was revised to provide a mix of academic and non-academic subjects and precedence was given to establishing technical-training schools. By the mid-1960s the Ethiopian School-Leaving Certificate had become the only valid secondary-school diploma.

Between 1961 and 1971, the government expanded the public school system more than fourfold and declared universal primary E. a long-range objective. Most of the expansion in buildings and equipment was financed by a series of World Bank loans. In 1971 there were 1,300 primary and secondary schools and 13,000 teachers and enrolment had reached 600,000. During this time the U.S. ↗Peace Corps provided teachers with college degrees for the general, secondary, special and middle schools and increased the ranks of instructors in those schools by 50 %. By 1965, when the Peace Corps' numbers were highest, there were 440 Peace Corps Volunteers teaching in 58 cities and towns, a significant factor in the quality of instruction and in the opening of new schools in the provinces. Some 2,700 students in Ethiopian University Service, a compulsory year of national service between the third and fourth years of college, also taught in the schools from 1964–74. After de Gaulle's visit to Ethiopia (1966), alternative national service volunteers (Volontaires du service national actif or VSNA) were sent to teach French in Ethiopian secondary schools, ca. 700 volunteers in the years 1967–74/75. Expenditures on E. increased from 10 % of total government expenditures in 1968 to 20 % in the early 1970s, but funding remained inadequate. Educational expenditures in Ethiopia as a percentage of the gross national product (1.8 %) were about half that of other African countries.

By 1974, despite efforts by the government to improve the situation, more than 90 % of the population remained illiterate. Primary E. was available to only 12 % of primary school-age children (in 3,196 schools with enrolments of 957,300). Only 1,000,000 students were enrolled in all the nation's schools. The E. system was criticized for being elitist, inflexible and unresponsive to local needs. Educational opportunity was limited to urban areas at the expense of rural areas (55 % of senior secondary schools were in

Eritrea and Šäwa, including Addis Abäba) and the E. system remained inadequately financed. In the early 1970s the Ministry of Education's Education Sector Review addressed many of these concerns and proposed far-reaching educational reform and expansion. Its report was not published until February 1974, however, and was never implemented.

Lit.: TESHOME G. WAGAW, *Education in Ethiopia. Prospect and Retrospect*, Ann Arbor 1979; TEKESTE NEGASH, *The Crisis of Ethiopian Education: Some Implications for Nation-Building*, Uppsala University, Department of Education 1990; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 2, 1962, 241–90; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Rethinking Education in Ethiopia*, Uppsala 1996.

Theodore M. Vestal

Ǝdug ras

Ǝ.r. (**እዱግ፡ ራስ**, also *ḫədug ras*) is the name given to a representative, a substitute or, according to current definitions, a vicar (GuiIohan 347). Thus, the title could properly be translated as the representative of the ↗*ras*. The degree of authority of this charge is, however, not clear: was the Ǝ.r. only a simple representative of the *ras*, like the ↗*bitwäddäd*, or rather a dignitary within the emperor's entourage? The ↗*Śərᶜatä mängəśt* is of little help here since it only refers to a list of the gifts (*mämalğa*) that the different Ǝ.r. had to give to the ruler to purchase a position (Varenbergh 1915–16, §25, 25, 41; Guidi 1922:85). The *Śərᶜatä gəbr* clearly refers to the Ǝ.r. as the organizer of the royal banquet. The **ግራ** (*gəra*) and **ቀኝ** (*qäññ*) Ǝ.r. ('Ǝ.r. of the left' or 'of the right') seem to have been under the charge of the two *bitwäddäds* (Kropp 1988:66). The position was thus twofold, a fact confirmed by the Jesuit Pedro Paez, who wrote that each of them replaced the *bitwäddäds* during their absence (BecRASO II, 52). It is, however, difficult to say if the position evolved like that of the *bitwäddäd*, which became unique in the second half of 16th cent. (Varenbergh 1915–16, §17, 21f., 37f.; Guidi 1922:81f.). In this sense, a ↗*gʷəlt* from 20 April 1626 made by *aṣe* ↗Susənyos to his brother *ras* ↗Səᶜəlä Krəstos specifically refers to two Ǝ., of the right and of the left (BeckHuntAlvar 61, PerChron ch. 76, 222). But it is not possible to identify whom they served. In addition, one of the two, **ዘበርስባሔል** (*zäbärsəbaḥel*), was also **ቃላ፡ ሀጼ** (*qala haṣe*, lit. 'voice of the emperor'), which indicates that he was a dignitary at the service of the ruler (PerChron ch. 91, 245).

In the years 1620–30, the Jesuits Almeida and Mendes confirmed the existence of one (or two?) Ǝ. The first wrote that this charge corresponded to the "president of the *azzaž*" and was a "principal man" (BecRASO VII, 113). Mendes, in turn, commented that the title was like "our president of the palace" (BecRASO XII, 489). The "adugraz" or "adrugaz" of Francisco Alvares (year 1520) did not appear to be specifically attached either to a *bitwäddäd* or to the emperor. As a spokesman of the ruler, this figure also seems to have been in a position to replace the *bitwäddäd* of the right in leading an army (BeckHuntAlvar 266, 385–88, 430, 434). Perhaps this "adrugaz" incorporated two different charges, to serve the *bitwäddäd* and the ruler. Therefore, it can be concluded that Ǝ.r. was at the same time a substitute of the *bitwäddäd* and a representative of the emperor and, as such, one of the most important dignitaries in the court, higher than the ↗*azzaž* in the hierarchy.

Src.: BecRASO II, 52; BecRASO VII, 113; BecRASO XII, 489; BeckHuntAlvar 61, 266, 385–88, 430, 434; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Contributi alla storia letteraria di Abissinia: I. Il Seraʾata Mangest", *RRALm* 5, 31, 1922, 65–89, here 81f., 85; GuiIohan 347; MANFRED KROPP, "The Śerātā Gebr, a Mirror View of Daily Life at the Ethiopian Royal Court in the Middle Ages , *NEASt* 10, 1988, 51–87, here 66; PerChron ch. 76, 222, ch. 91, 245; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (Šərʿata Mangəšt)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45, here §25: 25, 41; §17: 21f., 37f.

Dimitri Toubkis

Eebba

E. is an ↗Oromo custom that may come in the form of a blessing bestowed by a human intermediary, or directly received from god (Venturino – Tablino n.d.). E. may be reciprocal and is closer in meaning to the Hebrew concept of *bᵊrāḵā* than it is to "blessing". E. are uttered at almost every occasion when the peace of men and/or of God might be disturbed, for example, when a group of people meet to eat, to offer an animal or coffee beans for sacrifice (↗*buuna qallaa*), to discuss a serious issue or to perform a ceremony. Spontaneous E. and formally structured E. are both frequent and require verbal reciprocation between the giver or transmitter and the receiver(s). E. are part of that "inner consistency within the local varieties of expression" which, despite the influences from religions of the Book, forms a remarkably homogenous Oromo religious culture (BartOrom; Baxter 1990). The frequency and intensity of E. are such that Oromo societies sometimes appear "to float on a river of prayers and blessings" (Baxter 1978:155). The most wide-spread E. formulas are *guddaḍu* 'grow big', *gabbaḍu* 'be prosperous' and *balaḍu* 'be spacious'. It is the elder's knowledge and control of God's E. which continues to be a bulwark of their power in the face of economic, cultural and religious changes (Aguilar 1998).

Src.: interviews with Borbor Bulee , age 50, of Booranaa; Kinfee Dhinsaa Utaalaa, age 70, and Abunee Warjee, age 42, of Arsii.

Lit.: Mario I. Aguilar, *Being Oromo in Kenya*, Trenton NJ – Asmara 1998, 179; BartOrom; Paul Trevor William Baxter, "Boran Age-Sets and Generation Sets: Gada, a Puzzle or a Maze?", in: Paul Trevor William Baxter – Uri Almagor (eds.), *Age, Generation and Time: Some Features of East African Age Organisations*, London 1978, 155; Id., "Oromo Blessings and Greetings", in: Anita Jacobson-Widding – Walter van Beek (eds.), *The Creative Communion: African Folk Models of Fertility and the Regeneration of Life*, Uppsala 1990; B. Venturino – Paolo Tablino, *Borana–English Dictionary*, ms., n.d.

Aberra Nefa

Ǝggäla

Ǝ. (**እገላ**) is the name of several interrelated kinship groups of Təgrəñña speakers in the Eritrean and Təgrayan highlands after whom districts in both regions are named. The Ǝ. tend to be endogamic. The Ǝ. of Eritrea are said, in oral tradition, to descend from migrant groups from Təgray. The two main Ǝ. groups of Eritrea, in Akkälä Guzay, are the Ǝ. Ḥaṣən and the Ǝ. Ḥämäs. The Ǝ. Ḥaṣən are located in northern Akkälä Guzay at the border of Ḥamasen near Däbrä Bizän. Further south-east are the Ǝ. Ḥämäs, who give their name to the district Ǝ., with the town of ↗Däqqämḥare, near Guraʿ, Dəgsa and Sägänäyti (to differentiate they are also called Ǝ. Guraʿ in 19th-cent. tax records, s. Pankhurst 1978:61). A part of this group is also to be found living close to the border with Təgray and Säraye near Ṣorona on the Hazämo plains (Eastern Ǝ.).

The Ǝ. had an ancient code of law, the Statute of May ʿAdgi. Traditionally, the Ǝ.'s kinship-group delegates, the **ሹም፡ እገላ** (*šum əggäla*), hold their assemblies at May ʿAdgi. Established at an unknown date, the Statute underwent subsequent amendments in 1861 and in 1902. During this latter meeting the earlier customary law was set forth by the *baḥər nägaš* Gäbrit of Korbarya. Gäbrit had previously participated in the consolidation process of the region's customary laws, including those reformed in the times of *däggiyat* Wəbe (r. 1831–55; s. Capomazza 1909: 93ff.). The Ǝ. were traditionally represented by seven elected elders, called *šum əggäla*, who were responsible for the preservation and amending of the law (Ostini 1956:5). They were thus upholders of the duties of the 'law-villages' (*ʿaddi ḥəggi*, the local legislative).

Ǝ. genealogies often reach back ca. 24 generations (as the Irob's), which permits the conclusion that they migrated to the north around the late 13th cent., a time seemingly marked by major population movements (Merid Wolde Aregay 1974:274). As early as the 15th cent. one source mentions Ǝ., Filəp̣p̣os having founded a community there (LusStud 107). A (copied?) 15th-cent. land-charter of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob shows that the Emperor had given the district of Ǝ. to ↗Däbrä Bizän (HuntLand 36). In a late-15th-cent. legend about *qəddus* Libanos, the "*hagär* Ǝ." ('land of Ǝ.') is mentioned as being led by the *śəyyume əggäla* Awʿalo, he and his army becoming blind as a result of a miracle (Bausi 2003:181). In the time of *aṣe* Gälawdewos, in the mid-16th cent., Ǝ. again appears in land-charters as one of the northern regions, given to Däbrä Bizän (HuntLand 54; HuntGeogr 120). Documents of that period say that the ancient Aksumite king ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl had given in ancient times the land of Ǝ. "with its valley and high plateau from the (river) Marab to Guerguer" to the monastery of ↗Däbrä Damo (HuntLand 30). In 17th-cent. geography Ǝ. was noted as a sub-province. It was, together with Ḥamasen, Säraye, Märätta (in Akkälä Guzay) and Bäqla (today's Saḥəl) among others, one of the seven districts within the realm of the *baḥər nägaš* (s. HuntGeogr 98), at that date still being much more extensive than later. The modern smaller districts seem to be remnants of the original Ǝ.

The Ǝ. are known for their musical traditions. The *waṭa* (Tgn. *masinqo* players and singers) coming to Ṣorona are traditionally Ǝ. from the surrounding regions, e.g., ʿAddi Ahfärom.

The Ǝ. of Təgray live in the districts of Bizet, Ǝntiččo (up to Ṣorona, called there the Ǝ. ləʾälay and Ǝ. tahatay) and ʿAddi Arbaʿətä (ʿAdwa *awrağğa*) on the left side of the Bäläsa river. They are also known as the Ǝ. Daq Azmay

(HuntGeogr 98), who seem to have been a fairly ancient subgroup of the Ǝ. When, in 1597, *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl led his army against *baḥər nägaś* Yəsḥaq and the Turks, passing by Yəḥa, Yəsḥaq camped at Ǝ. Daq Azmay and then lost his life in the battle near Ǝntiččo (HuntGeogr 145).

Lit.: HuntGeogr 98, 120, 145; HuntLand 30, 36, 54; ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed.), *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]), 58, 181; LusStud, 107; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yohannes di Dabra Bizen", *RRALm* 5, 8, 1903, 62–126, here 120; KolTrad 2, 19, 36, 137, 278, 287; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Population Movement as a Possible Factor in the Christian-Muslim Conflict of Medieval Ethiopia", in: *Symposium Leo Frobenius*, I: *Perspectives des études africaines contemporaines (Yaoundé, Cameroun)*, Pullach 1974, 274; RICHARD PANKHURST (ed., tr.) – GERMA-SELASSIE ASFAW (tr.), *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Téwodros of Ethiopia (1855–1868)*, London 1978, 10, 61; ILARIO CAPOMAZZA, *Il diritto consuetudinario dell'Acchele'-Guzai*, Asmara 1909, 93–127 ["Legge detta di Mai-Adghi"]; FELICE OSTINI, *Trattato di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Asmara 1956, 5.

Tsegay Berhe – Wolbert Smidt

Ǝgubba

Ǝ. (**እጉባ**, also **እጕባ**, Ǝgʷəba), a locality in Tägulät in northern Šäwa, was at times used by *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob as a royal residence. According to his chronicle, in the seventh year of his reign he celebrated the ceremony of baptism there during the feast of *Ṭəmqat*. The Emperor apparently liked the local landscape so much that he and his court spent a long time there.

During his stay he was informed by a letter from Patriarch John XI (1428–53) that in Egypt the baptismal monastery al-Maġṭas had been burnt down by the Muslims. Subsequently, Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob ordered a church to be built in honour of the Virgin Mary, to which he gave the name of ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq.

It was also while Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob was in Ǝ. that he heard about the campaign of ↗Aḥmad Badlāy. With a small army and assuming the name Ḥasab Bä-Wäsän (which neither belonged to any specific troop-commander nor to a separate unit, as has often been assumed, cp. DillmZarY 21f.; PerrZarY 58, 62; PankBord 116), the Emperor set out for ↗Däwaro. There, in the battle fought at Gomīt, he defeated Aḥmad Badlāy and his brother Ḫayraddīn, on Ethiopian Christmas Saturday, 29 *Taḫśaś* 1437 A.M. [26 December 1445 A.D.]. In commemoration of both the Nativity and the victory over Aḥmad Badlāy, Zarᵓa Yaᶜəqob issued a decree proclaiming the 29th of each month a holiday.

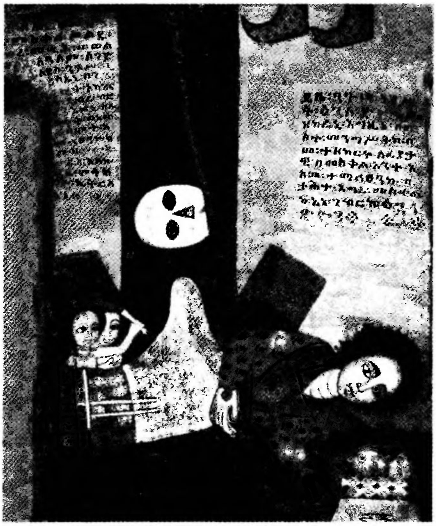
Src.: DillmZarY 21ff., 26, 29f.; PerrZarY 55–63, 75 [cp. summary 88–91], 117; KURT WENDT, *Das Maṣḥafa Milād (Liber Nativitatis) und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē (Liber Trinitatis) des Kaisers Zarʾa Yāʿqob*, 2 vols., Louvain 1962 (CSCO 221, 222 [SAe 41, 42]), 15–19 (text) = 13, 15f., 17f. (tr.); DombrChr II, 156, n. 40.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Catalogo dei nomi propri di luogo dell' Etiopia, contenuti nei testi gĭʿiz ed amhariña finora pubblicati*, Genova 1894 (Estratto dagli Atti del primo Congresso Geografico Italiano, Genova 2, 1, 1892, 387–439), 24; TadTChurch 261–63, 294; ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Geschichte Äthiopiens, von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by RENATE RICHTER, 2 vols., Berlin 1978, vol. 1, 55, 77; HuntGeogr 103, map no. 16; PankBord 116; MARIE-LAURE DERAT, "Élaboration et diffussion du récit d'une victoire militaire, la bataille de Gomit, décembre 1445", *OrChr* 86, 2002, 87–102, here 89f.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Ǝgʷalä Ṣəyon

Ǝ.Ṣ. (**እጓለ፡ ጽዮን**, r. 1801–18), commonly known as Gʷalu, was one of the shadow rulers of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. He was a son of *aṣe* ↗Həzqəyas and brother of *aṣe* ↗Iyoᵓas II, who ruled after him. Ǝ.Ṣ. was on the throne under the aegis of *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa, although, like other rulers of the period, he did suffer a brief dethronement.



Ǝgʷalä Ṣəyon bowing at the foot of the Cross; cloth mural ca. 1820; Gondär, Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase Church, eastern wall; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Ǝ.Ṣ. was prototypical of the Solomonic dynasty during this period. His chronicler described him as "doing nothing", because power lay with *ras* Gugsa Märsa, and mentioned that an upstart accosted him in the streets of Gondär. Nevertheless, the margins of several manuscripts in the British Library (BritLib Orient. 604, 777) record that he made over twenty grants of land to individuals, many of the lands being tributary to the church of ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase in Gondär.

Ǝ.Ṣ. was buried at the church of Adäbabay Täklä Haymanot in Gondär, as had been his father before him. He has received little attention from modern historians.

Src.: BlunChr 187–92, 194 (text) = 469, 471, 473f., 476ff. (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La cronaca reale abissina dall'anno 1800 all'anno 1840", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916, 779–923; CRNuov; WrBriMus 143ff., 255, mss. 216, 350 [Orient. 604, 777].

Donald Crummey

Egypt, relations with

Cultural and political relations in early times

Pre-Aksumite polities had most probably longstanding contacts with Pharaonic E. Modern authors have been speculating as to whether Təgray or the Ethiopian–Sudanese borderlands may have been the mythical "God's Land" located by the ancient Egyptians somewhere along the Red Sea – the celebrated land of ↗Punt, producer of incense and other exotic treasures to which the pharaos had sent their ships since Old Kingdom times, in the 3rd millennium B.C. The best-known memories of such foreign trading expeditions are linked with the name of Queen Hatshepsut in the 15th cent. B.C., and the detailed reliefs of them she had carved on the walls of her funerary temple at Dayr al-Baḥrī, next to her capital, Thebes. Trade was carried out between the two sides for a long time, and developed along the Nile Valley too. Occasional finds of Egyptian goods – pottery, glass, scarabs, metals – in northern Ethiopia confirm that this area of the ↗Red Sea was included in Egypt's southward trade. Nor was the commerce exclusively Egyptian-carried, for the local people were already seafaring – eager both to trade the product of their land and to convey goods by water for themselves.

From as early as the 7th cent. B.C., Egyptians and Greeks from Egypt played a major role in Red Sea navigation, centring on the port of ↗Adulis as their base of operation. By the time of the Ptolemies, a complete system of ports was created along the western coast of the Red Sea, thus fostering trade all the way to ↗India for the subsequent centuries. Within this Hellenistic framework, also characteristic of Roman and Byzantine E., ↗Aksum was soon to assert its own civilization, with a strong impact of Greek cultural features – including the language – ostensibly reflected in the Ptolemaic overtones of such documents as the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum. As witnessed by the anonymous ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean See* and ↗Pliny, and then by ↗Procopius and ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes, E.'s relevance to Ethiopia's history became central since the beginnings of the Aksumite state, and even more so since the spread of ↗Christianity into the latter in the first half of the 4th cent. *Abunä* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan (Frumentius) was sent there as bishop ca. 334 A.D.; his appointment by ↗Athanasius of Alexandria established the tradition of Ethiopia's dependency upon the See of St. Mark as a source of patriarchal legitimacy for the local metropolitanate. The ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church remained a bishopric of the ↗Coptic Church until 1959; its head, the metropolitan (↗*Abun*; ↗*P̣ap̣pas*) was an Egyptian monk from the 4th cent. until 1950.

In Ethiopic, E. was referred to as **ግብጽ** (*Gəbṣ*, from Gr. Αἴγυπτος/Αἰγύπτιος, cp. Arab. *Qibṭ*, 'Copt') and later **ምስር** (*Məsr*, from Arab. *Miṣr* 'Egypt, Cairo'); the older term, also in the adjective form *Gəbṣawi(yan)*, applied to 'Egyptian(s)' as well, but acquired soon the wider meanings of 'Arabic-speaking Christian' and, then, 'man of white race' (Amh. *Qəbṭ* etc., s. Ricci 1955-58:96 n. 112, 98 n. 138; cp. ↗*Färänǧ*).

Most of Ethiopia's medieval Christian culture developed out of fairly continuous intercourses with E., which are responsible for its essential components: translations of literature (from Greek and Arabic, almost no traces being known for Coptic), i.e. canonical and apocryphal scriptures, as well as liturgical and hagiographical texts (↗Gəʿəz literature; ↗Hagiography); the spread of ↗monasticism; the establishment of an ecclesiastical hierarchy and a standard of Orthodoxy; the introduction of the ↗calendar (s. the names of the months); a certain religious imagery and iconography, showing both in painting and in carved decoration (especially from the period of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty); a few elements of civil administration and military technology. Contacts with E. were chiefly granted through the metropolitans and the learned members of their retinues (as is attested by such an outstanding Egyptian document as the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*), who acted more often as intermediaries to and from E. – via ↗Nubia or the Red Sea – and thither to Palestine and Europe. On the route to ↗Jerusalem, where an Ethiopian community has been residing since the Aksumite age (later, alongside the Copts), a series of "Abyssinian" monastic settlements formed in E. that are also important for the transmission of the Mediterranean cultural heritage to the Ethiopian highlands (s. below: Monks in Egypt).

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Egitto ed Etiopia nei tempi antichi e nell'età di mezzo", *Aegyptus* 3, 1922, 3–18; Id., "Aethiopica", *RSO* 9, 1923, 365–468, here 375ff. [§9], 467 [§26]; Id., "Aethiopica (IIa serie)", *ibid.* 10, 1923, 481–520, here 495f. [§33]; Id., "Pubblicazioni etiopistiche dal 1936 al 1945", *RSE* 4, 1944–45 [1946], 1–132, here 38f.; CRStoria 39–64; Ugo Monneret de Villard, "Note sulle influenze asiatiche nell'Africa Orientale", *RSO* 17, 1938, 303–49, here 306–09, 321–31; Id., "Su una possibile origine delle danze liturgiche nella Chiesa abissina", *Oriente Moderno* 22, 1942, 389–91; Id., "Perché la Chiesa abissina dipendeva dal Patriarcato di Alessandria", *ibid.* 23, 1943, 308–11; Lanfranco Ricci, "Le *Vite* di Ĕnbāqom e di Yoḥannĕs, abbati di Dabra Libānos di Scioa", [II], *RSE* 14, 1955-58 [1959], 59–107, here 96 n. 112, 98 n. 138; Salvatore Tedeschi, "L'Etiopia nella Storia dei patriarchi alessandrini", *RSE* 23, 1967–68 [1969], 232–71; Ṣaᶜīd ᶜAšūr, "al-ᶜAlāqāt bayna Miṣr wal-Ḥabaša fī l-ᶜuṣūr al-wusṭā" ('The Relations between Egypt and Ethiopia in the Middle Ages'), *al-Maǧalla aṭ-Ṭaʾrīḫīya al-Miṣrīya* 14, 1968, 1–43; Zāhir Riyāḍ, *Miṣr wa-Ifrīqiyā* ('Egypt and Africa'), Cairo 1976; Jean Doresse, "Nouvelles recherches sur les relations entre l'Égypte copte et l'Éthiopie: XIIe–XIIIe siècles", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* 1979, 557–66; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Per una nuova iscrizione etiopica da Aksum", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 4, 1981, 357–67; Id., "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57 (Lit.); MHAlex [I], II (Lit.); Haggai Erlich, *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder, CO 1994; Id., *The Cross and the River – Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Nile*, Boulder, CO 2002; Ugo Zanetti, "Les chrétiens du Nil: Basse et Haute Égypte, Nubie, Éthiopie", in: Robert F. Taft (ed.), *The Christian East, its Institutions and its Thought: a Critical Reflection. Papers of the International Scholarly Congress for the 75th Anniversary of the Pontifical Oriental Institute (Rome, 30 May–5 June 1993)*, Rome 1996 (OrChrA 251), 181-216, here 206–14; Federico De Romanis, *Cassia, cinnamomo, ossidiana. Uomini e merci tra oceano Indiano e Mediterraneo*, Roma 1996 (Saggi di storia antica 9), passim; Alessandro Bausi, "New Egyptian Texts in Ethiopia", *Adamantius* 8, 2002, 146–51.

Haggai Erlich – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

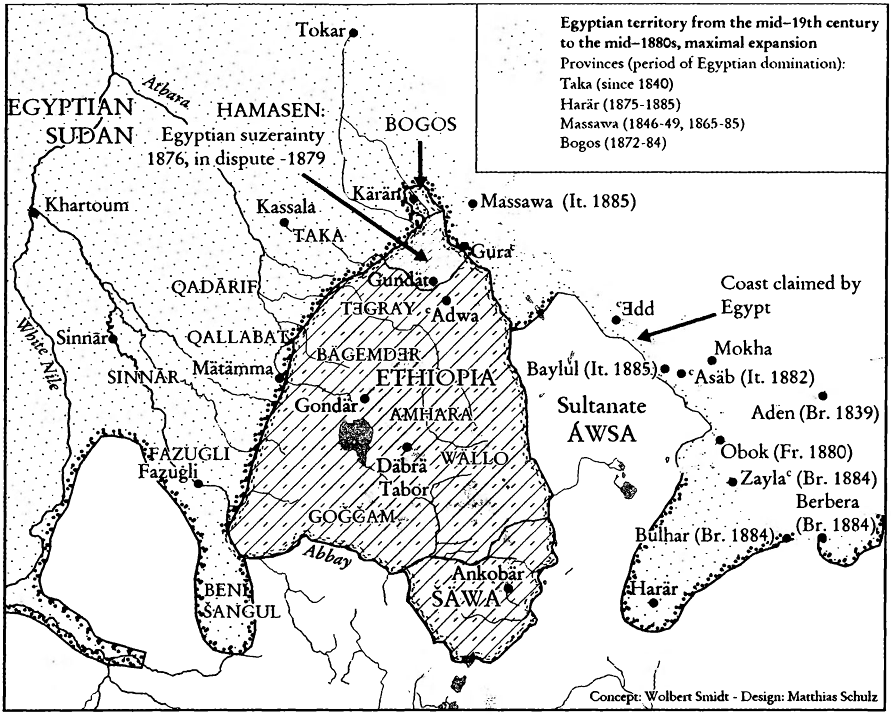
Modern Egyptian-Ethiopian relations

Nearly all Ethiopian rulers continued to cultivate the Egyptian–Coptic link, appreciating its help in facing the cultural siege imposed by Islam. However, this dependency was balanced by E.'s relying upon Ethiopia for the waters of the ↗Nile. The fact that Ethiopia's ↗Abbay and other Nile tributaries provide 86 % of the waters reaching E. was only established in the 1920s, but the notion that Ethiopia was the source of E.'s life is ancient (↗Carthography; ↗Gihon). This mutual dependency was further complicated by the fact that Ethiopian monarchs often considered themselves protectors of E.'s Christians, while their Egyptian counterparts acted as the patrons of Islam in the Horn of Africa and Ethiopia. The complexity of such mutuality, extending into the very heart of both countries' lives and identities, operated amidst a background of meaningful, continuous relations.

While Ethiopia's interest in E., which centred on the *abun* institution, remained constant, the reciprocal Egyptian interest fluctuated. In periods when E. was ruled by local dynasties – and later by Egyptian nationalists – the Nile dependency raised Ethiopia's importance. When ruled by non-local governments, such as the Ottomans (1517–1805) and the British (1882–1956), Egyptian involvement in the upper Nile and Ethiopia became more indirect.

Egyptian relevance culminated during the ↗Mamluk dynasties (1250–1517), which coincided with the efflorescence of Ethiopia under the ↗Solomonic dynasty (1270–1529). The Mamluk Sultans supported the Muslims of Ifāt and ᶜAdal, traded with Zaylaᶜ, and established a wing – the *Riwāq al-Ǧabartīya* – in the al-Azhar mosque which hosted young Muslim students from the Horn of Africa (↗*Gäbärti*). They were also in continual communication with Ethiopia's emperors, occasionally threatening to retain a new *abun*. Egyptian scholars from that period, notably Aḥmad al-↗Maqrīzī and Ǧalāladdīn as-↗Suyūṭī, wrote about Ethiopia, wavering between its positive and negative Islamic images. Ethiopian emperors for their part continued importing knowledge from E. For example, *abunä* ↗Sälama "the Translator" (1348–88) was much in favour of rendering many texts into Gəᶜəz. The Ethiopians also expressed an active interest in the whereabouts of the Copts, and occasionally threatened to block the Nile.

In modern times, Egyptian interest in the Nile Valley and Ethiopia was renewed when ↗Muḥammad ᶜAlī *bāšā* (r. 1805–49) established an independent dynasty in Cairo. He annexed the


Egyptian territory from the mid-19th century to the mid-1880s, maximal expansion
Provinces (period of Egyptian domination):
Taka (since 1840)
Harär (1875-1885)
Massawa (1846-49, 1865-85)
Bogos (1872-84)
Tokar
Atbara
EGYPTIAN SUDAN
HAMASEN: Egyptian suzerainty 1876, in dispute -1879
BOGOS
Käräṇ
Massawa (It. 1885)
Khartoum
Kassala
TAKA
Gura^c
QADARIF
Gundät
TƎGRAY
Adwa
Coast claimed by Egypt
^cƎdd
Mokha
White Nile
Sinnār
QALLABAT
BÄGEMDƎR
Mätämma
SINNĀR
ETHIOPIA
Baylul (It. 1885)
^cAsäb (It. 1882)
Gondär
AMHARA
Sultanate ÁWSA
Aden (Br. 1839)
FAZUGLI
Fazugli
Däbrä Tabor
WÄLLO
Obok (Fr. 1880)
Zayla^c (Br. 1884)
Berbera (Br. 1884)
GOGGAM
Abbay
Bulhar (Br. 1884)
Ankobär
BENI ŠANGUL
SÄWA
Harär

Concept: Wolbert Smidt - Design: Matthias Schulz

Sudan to E. (1821), but soon diverted his attention from the Nile to the core areas of the Middle East. Nevertheless, there was Egyptian presence in Ethiopia from the west that culminated in two memorable clashes – the battle of Wad Kaltabu in 1837, in which the Ethiopian lord *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kənfu scored the victory, and the battle of Dabarki in 1848, in which Kaśa Ḫaylu (future ↗Tewodros II) was defeated (RubInd 69, 208).

Muḥammad ^cAlī's grandson *ḫidīw* ↗Ismā^cīl focused entirely on the Nile. He strove to establish an Egyptian "African Empire" connecting the Red Sea to the Sudan. His ambition led him into a conflict with Ethiopia, then under *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. In March 1876 the Egyptian army was – for the second time, after ↗Gundät – defeated by the Ethiopians at ↗Gura^c. After this the whole African imperial enterprise of Ismā^cīl began to collapse. In Egyptian history the Gura^c defeat heralded the demise of Ismā^cīl, the ensuing fall of E. into British hands (1882), and the beginning of modern nationalism – the first nationalist slogans and action were initiated by veterans of Gura^c (notably by the army officer Aḥmad ^cUrabī).

While the British took control of all-Nile affairs, Egyptian nationalists developed new modern concepts of Ethiopia. Coptic schoolmasters were sent (in 1906) to help establish modern education in Addis Abäba. From the 1920s onwards, young Ethiopians, mainly graduates of the Egyptian-run Mənilək II Elementary School, were sent to E. for their secondary education, *en route* to higher learning in Europe. In 1935–36 most Egyptian public opinion-makers denounced Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, and a popular movement of support sent three medical units to her aid. Other Egyptian nationalists, however, those from the more militant wing, refused to forgive Ethiopia for Gura^c and for its part in denying the modern dream to unite the Nile Valley under Cairo. On the whole, relations between *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and the royal-parliamentarian system of E. remained good. By 1948 the Egyptian government helped to renew the *abun* agreement between the Coptic and Ethiopian

Church. It was agreed that the next *abun* would be an Ethiopian chosen by the Ethiopians and anointed by the Coptic Patriarch.

The Egyptian revolution of 1952 changed this pattern. Under Ǧamāl ʿAbdannāṣir, E. began to redefine herself as Arab. Abandoning the Egyptian concept of unity with the Sudan, it began building the Aswan High Dam, ignoring Ethiopia's rights to any share in the Nile waters. The new regime in Cairo started considering the Muslims of the Horn and Ethiopia – especially the young generation of Eritreans – as both Arabs and revolutionaries. In 1959 as E. (now renamed the United Arab Republic, 1958–71) signed a water agreement with Sudan that totally ignored Ethiopia, and as the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front was born in al-Azhar, Ḫaylä Śəllase drew closer to ↗Israel and also acted to disconnect the Ethiopian Church's ancient Christian link to E., thus, declaring it autocephalous. There only remained good relations with E. in the "all-African" context, and in 1963, when the ↗Organization of African Unity was inaugurated in Addis Abäba, ʿAbdannāṣir and *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase demonstrated their friendship. By 1973 Anwar as-Sādāt (who succeeded ʿAbdannāṣir in 1970 and restored the name of E. a year later) had made such an influence on the Emperor that he managed to persuade him to break relations with Israel during the October War.

Relations deteriorated quickly following the Ethiopian ↗Revolution in 1974 and the emergence of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam. The more the latter leaned towards the former Soviet Union the more he alienated the now pro-American as-Sādāt. The two leaders exchanged threats and the Ethiopian began airing the old myth of blocking the Nile. Tension mounted following the ↗Ogaden War and as-Sādāt's peace agreement with Israel, when he promised to irrigate Sinai with more Nile waters. However, the Egyptian premise that the Aswan High Dam enabled them to ignore Ethiopia was shattered in 1988. After four years of drought in Ethiopia, E., in spite of the Dam, was facing a catastrophe. It became apparent to both President Muḥammad Ḥusnī Mubārak of E. and the new Ethiopian regime (as of 1991) that they should turn to the positive messages of their common history in order to reconstruct a vital dialogue concerning water and culture.

Lit.: RubInd; SAʿĪD ʿAŠŪR, "al-ʿAlāqāt bayna Miṣr wal-Ḥabaša fī l-ʿuṣūr al-wusṭā" ('The Relations between Egypt and Ethiopia in the Middle Ages'), *al-Maǧalla at-Ta'rīḫīya al-Miṣrīya* 14, 1968, 1–43; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Cross and the River – Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Nile*, Boulder, CO 2002; ID., *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder, CO 1994; MHAlex II (Lit.); HERIBERT HORST, "Berichte frühmamlukischer Historiker über Äthiopien", in: BRIGITTE BENZING – OTTO BÖCKER – GÜNTER MAYER (eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit: Studien zur Afrikanistik und Äthiopistik. Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 1, Meisenheim 1976, 170–85; ZĀHIR RIYĀḌ, *Miṣr wa-Ifrīqiyā* ('Egypt and Africa'), Cairo 1976; VIRGINIA VACCA, "Le relazioni dell'Abissinia con l'Egitto nel secolo XV secondo lo storico egiziano Ibn Taghri Birdi", in: *Atti del Terzo Congresso di Studi Coloniali, Firenze – Roma 12–17 aprile 1937*, Roma 1937, vol. 6, 218-23; GASTON WIET, "Les Relations égypto-abyssines sous les sultans mamlouks", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 4, 1938, 115–40.

Haggai Erlich

Ethiopian monks in Egypt

In keeping with the Alexandrian origins of their Christendom, to the Ethiopians Egyptian monasticism and asceticism was ever since an outstanding example and a prestigious source of inspiration. Most Ethiopian monastic genealogies (↗Genealogy) claim more or less remote Egyptian origins – not always legendary, especially for the Aksumite period.

E. was soon crossed by Ethiopian pilgrims passing along the Nile Valley on their way to Jerusalem and the Holy Land. This traditional *relais* and the institutional contacts with the Coptic Church account for the religious and cultural exchanges fostering Ethiopian culture throughout the centuries – as well as, conversely, for the presence of a few Ethiopian relics, chiefly icons and crosses, in Egyptian ecclesiastic institutions and collections from Alexandria to Cairo and the Red Sea.

The earliest positive attestation to that is a lost Gəʿəz inscription from Dayr al-Abyaḍ (the "White Monastery" near Sūhāǧ), recording the passing by of pilgrims from Goǧǧam, namely "Nəwayä Maryam, monk of Ṣəlalo, and Ṣärṣä Yoḥannəs, of ↗Däbrä Wärq", heading to the Holy Places on 8 *Säne* 222 A.M., i.e. on 2 June 1038 or 1114. At the end of the 12th cent. an Ethiopian community was possibly established at Scetis (Wādī n-Naṭrūn, near Wādī Ḥabīb) in the cell of Bähat (Copt.: Pehōout; Ar.: Bahūt) attached to the lavra of St. John "the Short" (Colobus). This community became the nucleus of the Abyssinian monastery of St. Elija (Dayr Ilyās), two miles south of the Coptic settlement of St. Bishoi (Dayr Anbā Bišūy). According to the *History of the Patriarchs*, in 1088, during the visit of the Armenian ex-Catholicus Gregory II to the Coptic Patriarch Cyril II in Miṣr (Cairo), "news was spread abroad of the agreement of the Copts, Armenians, Syrians, Abyssinians and Nubians touching the orthodox faith", i.e. their Christological confession (Evelyn White 1932:365). Yet, such a pious statement, so often called upon, is not enough to suggest that Ethiopian monks were already living in E., at Scetis, together with the representative of the other Monophysite nations. It rather features a more general wish – if not a serious allegation – of dogmatic consensus among those nations.

Several Ethiopian Saints – e.g., the famous *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Däbrä Libanos and, on more positive grounds, *abunä* ↗Ewosṭatewos of ↗Däbrä Ṣärabi and his disciple ↗Marqorewos of ↗Däbrä Dǝmah – are believed to have visited Scetis and the Ethiopian monks there. A series of famous books, like the 14th-cent. pentaglott Psalter of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Barberin. or. 2, from of the monastery of St. Macarius (Dayr Anbā Maqār), includes the Gǝᶜǝz alongside with the Syriac, Coptic, Arabic and Armenian texts (GrebTissVat I, 859ff.). In the "cosmopolitan" milieu of Scetis, Ethiopian monks were then joining liturgical service with other monastic communities; and during the visit of the Coptic Patriarch Benjamin II, in 1330, Egyptian and Ethiopian monks welcomed him to the Eastern Desert.

At the beginning of the 15th cent., when an Ethiopian community is known at Ḥara Zuwayla (a suburb of Cairo), with a church of St. George, the Abyssinian kept dwelling on their Bähat premises (CerPal 384f., 388f., nos. 10, 20). A few years later, they withdrew to the monastery of the Virgin (Dayr Sayyida) of St. John "the Short", since theirs had fallen into ruin; and then to the nearby monastery of St. Minas (Dayr Abū Mīnā). They still continued to be present at Scetis, for in 1517 "the monk and ascetic, the venerable priest Takla al-Ḥabašī", i.e. 'Takl(a) the Abyssinian', decorated the walls of the Chapel of the Wanderers in the keep of the monastery of St. Macarius with figures of desert fathers somehow copied from paintings and relieves of ↗Lalibäla (Fiaccadori 1989:149 [and n. 16], 160). In the Coptic monasteries of Wādī n-Naṭrūn, Western bibliophiles of the 17th to the 19th cent. – from Johann Michael ↗Wansleben to Lord Curzon – discovered numerous entire or fragmentary Ethiopic manuscripts (Meinardus 1965:33f.).

In the middle of the 19th cent., a significant community of Ethiopian monks resided in the south-eastern corner of the celebrated "monastery of the Syrians" (↗Dayr as-Suryān) where they had an extensive library. In 1920, seven Ethiopian monks still lived at Dayr al-Baramūs. From 1935 to 1975 an Ethiopian hermit known as *abūn* ᶜAbd al-Masīḥ (Gäbrä Krǝstos?) al-Ḥabašī occupied a cave in the vicinity of this monastery. His strict asceticism inspired such prominent Coptic ecclesiastics as Patriarchs Cyril VI (1959–71), Shenuda III (1971–) and Mattā al-Miskīn of Dayr Anbā Maqār (b. 1913).

The monastery of the Holy Virgin at ↗Dayr al-Muḥarraq, 60 km north of Asyūṭ, was inhabited by Ethiopian monks from the 14th to the 20th cent. In the 14th cent. they possessed their own monastery of the Holy Apostles near Dayr al-Muḥarraq. Because of the traditions linking the Holy Family with this monastery, the Ethiopians shared a special affinity to this Upper-Egyptian holy place and referred to it as Däbrä Qʷǝsqʷam (Ar.: Dayr Qūṣqām). In the 18th cent. *ǝtege* Mǝntǝwwab (↗Bǝrhan Mogäsa) built ↗Däbrä Ṣähay Qʷǝsqʷam (Gondär) using sand from Dayr al-Muḥarraq.

In the beginning of the 20th cent., a quarter of the monks at Dayr al-Muḥarraq were Ethiopians, but in 1970 only two Ethiopian monks lived there. During the middle of the 20th cent., Ethiopian monks also inhabited periodically the monastery of St. Samuel (Dayr Anbā Samūʾīl) in the Qalamūn desert. Following the restoration of the monastery of St. Anthony (Dayr Anbā Anṭūniyūs) in the Eastern Desert (16th cent.), Ethiopian monks visited this historical site where the founder of monasticism had lived. Here at least two "late-Byzantine" icons of Ethiopian relevance, both gifts to the monastery, are kept: the one (33 x 46 cm) shows a Virgin Eleousa ("Compassionate") of the so-called Vladimir type, with an Ethiopic inscription; the other (6 x 53 cm), the Virgin, John the Evangelist, several equestrian saints, and two additional figures labelled in Gǝᶜǝz as *aṣe* ↗Lǝbnä Dǝngel and his consort *ǝtege* ↗Säblä Wängel. At St. Anthony's, an Ethiopian monk "son of Täklä Haymanot" wrote a book on penance in 1561 (CerPal vol. 2, 419). According to Wansleben, still in 1672 Ethiopian monks kept their own monastery within Dayr Anbā Anṭūniyūs, which had been destroyed, however, since the end of the 15th cent.

Lit.: CerMir 206–10; CerPal vol. 2, 353–432, esp. 353ff., 370–76, 384ff., 393ff., 400, 403f., 406, 419; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Aethiopica", *RSO* 9, 1923, 365–468, here 461f. [§20]; Id., "Aethiopica (IIª serie)", *ibid.* 10, 1923, 481–520, here 511ff. [§43], 516ff. [§46]; Hugh G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of Wâdi 'n Natrûn*, II. *The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis*, New York 1932, 365–409; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Etiopia, Cipro e Armenia: la «Vita» di ʾÊwostʾâtêwos, santo abissino del secolo XIV" (I), *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 32, 1985, 73–78, here 77, and (II), *Felix Ravenna* 127–28, 1984–85, 217–39, here 234f. (Lit.); Id., "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13-14], 1989 [1993], 145–64, here 148f. [and nn. 12–16], 159f. (Lit.); GrébTissVat I, 859ff.; Jules Leroy, "L'Icône ex-voto du Négus Lebna Dengel au Monastère de Saint-Antoine du Désert (Egypte)", *JES* 9, 1, 1971, 35–45; Otto Meinardus, "Ecclesiastica Aethiopica in Aegypto", *JES* 3, 1, 1965, 23–35 (Lit.); Id., "Ethiopian Monks in Egypt", *Publications de l'Institut d'Études Orientales de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale d'Aléxandrie* 11, 1962, 61–70; Id., "A Vladimirskaja with Ge'ez Text", *AE* 10, 1976, 211–14; Id., "Aethiopica im Paulus-Kloster?", *Armant* 14, 1976, 49–52.

Otto Meinardus – Red.

Egyptian-Ethiopian war

The war between ↗Egypt and Ethiopia, which lasted from 1875 to 1884, was arguably the most important chapter in the history of these countries' modern relations. It had far-reaching consequences for both.

The Egyptians were the initiating party. After the inauguration of the Suez canal in 1869, *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāʿīl began a campaign aimed at occupying the whole Red Sea coast. By subsequent annexations, the Egyptians connected the Red Sea by land to the Sudan. The Red Sea coast, down to Cape ↗Gardafui, was captured and encroachment inland ensued. ↗Harär was captured in 1875. But though this ancient capital of Islam became a major centre of the envisioned Egyptian "African Empire", the main strategic effort had to be made elsewhere. The flatland of the Massawa–Khartoum line was the natural Egypt-Red Sea-Sudan connection. In 1871 the French Vice-Consul ↗Munzinger was sent to ensure control over this strip. He captured ↗Kärän in 1872, and cultivated relations with neighbouring tribes, some already under the influence of the *Mīrġanīya* – an Egyptian-supported popular ↗Islamic brotherhood based in ↗Kassala. In 1873 the Egyptians from Khartoum captured ↗Mätämma.

The Egyptian vision of a Nile–African empire did not include direct occupation of Christian Ethiopia. It rather followed the concept of the "Nile Valley" (*wādī an-Nīl*), not the Nile highlands (*hadbat an-Nīl*). However, the Red Sea–Sudan connection necessitated the occupation of the future Eritrea. (It was in fact this Egyptian design which first conceived Eritrea as an integral entity.) But, since the centre of gravity of Ethiopia shifted now, under the Təgrayan Emperor ↗Yoḥannəs IV starting from 1872, to Təgray and the north, the collision was inevitable. Yoḥannəs's power-base stretched over areas immediately adjacent to this very territorial strip and included Ḥamasen in the ↗Märäb Məllaš, which the Egyptians desired. Encouraged by Munzinger and the governor of Massawa, ↗Arakel *bey*, Ismāʿīl planned an invasion deep into Ethiopia for July 1875. It aimed at ensuring Egyptian control of the Märäb Məllaš, toppling Yoḥannəs and causing Ethiopia to close its frontiers in the south.

The first stage of the war took the form of head-on collisions which ended in Egyptian defeats. An Egyptian invasion force of some 3,000 riflemen under the Dane Arendrup, was nearly wiped out in ↗Gundät, 14–16 November 1875. A 15,000-man Egyptian force under the command of Ratib *bāšā*, along with a team of mercenaries headed by the American general ↗Loring, met a similar fate in ↗Guraʿ, 7–9 March 1876 (a modern Egyptian researcher estimated the number of Egyptians killed in both battles at around 8,500; Bayumi n.d.:147). The simultaneous Egyptiandiplomatic effort to isolate Yoḥannəs in Ethiopia was only partially successful. In November 1875 Munzinger was sent to mobilize ↗Mənilək of Šäwa, but was killed in the ʿAfar area (Awsa sultanate) en route to Šäwa. Though Mənilək and *ras* Adal avoided helping Yoḥannəs till 1877, the Emperor's units proved strong enough to stem the Egyptian invasion.

The second stage of the conflict lasted till 1884 and took the form of a war of attrition. The Egyptians fortified themselves along the Massawa–Kassala-lowlands line, relying mainly on their fortress Kärän (Sänḥit) in Bogos (↗Bilin). In December 1881 they proclaimed this strip as "the Ethiopian Border Province". They also subsidized and backed Ethiopian *šiftas* who undermined Ethiopian control over the Märäb Məllaš highlands. These included *balambaras* Kəflä Iyyäsus in the Kärän area, *fitawrari* ↗Däbbäb Arʾaya in the Massawa–Asawərta area and *däggazmač* ↗Bahta Ḥagos in Akkälä Guzay. The most important figure who collaborated temporarily with the Egyptians was the hereditary ruler of Ḥamasen, ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel Sälomon. Though he helped Yoḥannəs in the battle of Gundät, he was not trusted and had to give his captured Egyptian rifles to Yoḥannəs's devotee, *šaläqa* ↗Alula Ǝngəda. Embittered, Wäldä Mikaʾel crossed the line to the Egyptians and before the battle of Guraᶜ was given by them a rank equivalent to *ras*. After Guraᶜ Yoḥannəs promoted Alula to *ras* and appointed him over Ḥamasen. In December 1879 *ras* Alula manipulated *ras* Wäldä Mikaʾel to surrender and to be imprisoned by Yoḥannəs. This episode, a by-product of the war, would mar inner-Təgrayan relations on both sides of the ↗Märäb for decades.

The Ethiopians, for their part, led by Alula in his Ḥamasen headquarters, retaliated all throughout 1877–84 with seasonal raids beyond the Egyptians lines and with punitive missions against tribes collaborating with the Egyptians. Diplomatic efforts to ease the tension and reach some understanding – conducted mainly by the British Colonel ↗Gordon *bāšā*, the Egyptian governor of the Sudan (in 1877 and again in 1879) – proved fruitless. In November 1881 the Egyptian government enabled the appointment by the Coptic Church of four bishops for Ethiopia (*abunä* Atnatewos had been suspected by Yoḥannəs of collaborating with the Egyptians during the Guraᶜ campaign and was eliminated soon afterwards). Though this was an Egyptian gesture of unprecedented flexibility, the situation along the border did not improve. In late October 1883 the conflict escalated when Alula annihilated an Egyptian company entrenched in Saḥaṭi. By that time, however, Egypt was in no position to respond. In 1881 there had erupted in the Sudan the revolt of the ↗Mahdists and in September 1882 Egypt itself was occupied by the British. In late 1883 the British undertook to dismember the falling "African Empire" of Egypt. In April–June 1884 their "Anglo-Egyptian" diplomatic mission headed by Rear-Admiral Hewett negotiated with Yoḥannəs the end of the war. By the ᶜAdwa Treaty of 3 June 1884, it was agreed that in return for Ethiopia helping to rescue the Egyptians besieged by the Mahdists, the country of Bogos would come under Yoḥannəs. While the Ethiopians fulfilled their part of the deal, they found themselves in 1885 confronting two stronger enemies – the Italians and the Mahdists.

The war was not determined militarily. Though the Ethiopians defeated the invading forces, they could not uproot the Egyptians entrenched in the Massawa lowland and Bogos. It was mainly the economic collapse of the over-ambitious enterprise of Ismāᶜīl – a collapse quickened significantly by the Guraᶜ defeat and its strategic consequences – which led to the Egyptian demise. Three years after Guraᶜ, in 1879, the bankrupted Ismāᶜīl was deposed by the Europeans and in September 1882 Egypt itself was occupied by the British. Symbolically, a few weeks later, in October 1882, Yoḥannəs managed to seal the unity of Ethiopia under his sovereignty.

The Ethiopian victory had its prize. Yoḥannəs, previously keen on a fruitful dialogue with Europe and similarly flexible towards Ethiopia's Muslims, changed his attitudes. His coercive Christianization of Muslims at home and his rigid diplomacy towards Britain, France and Italy would be among the causes leading to his downfall. The Egyptian defeat also had its blessings. Out of the Guraᶜ calamity there emerged a group of officers who would herald the emergence of modern nationalism in British-occupied Egypt.

Src.: ZewYohan s. index.

Lit.: ᶜAbdallāh Bayūmī, *Mawsūᶜat at-taʾrīḫ al-ᶜaskarī al-miṣrī* ('Encyclopaedia of Egyptian Military History'), vol. 3: *al-Ǧayš al-miṣrī fī ᶜaṣr ḫulafāʾ Muḥammad ᶜAlī* ('The Egyptian Army in the Era of Caliph Muḥammad ᶜAlī '), Cairo, n. d., 147; Georges Douin, *Histoire du Règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, Cairo 1933–41, vol. 3; William McEntyre Dye, *Muslim Egypt and Christian Abyssinia*, New York 1880; Haggai Erlich, *Ras Alula and the Scramble for Africa*, East Lansing, MI 1982 [repr. New Jersey 1995], ch. 1–5; Id., *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder, CO 1994, ch. 5; Id., *The Cross and the River, Ethiopia, Egypt and the Nile*, Boulder, CO 2002, ch. 4; Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya, **ዐፄ፡ ቴዎድሮስና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ አንድነት** (ᶜ*Aṣe Tewodrosənna yäʾityopya andənnät*, 'Aṣe Tewodros and Ethiopian Unity'), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.]; Muḥammad Rifᶜat Bek, *Ǧabr al-kasr fī l-ḫalāṣ min al-aṣr* ('Recovery from a Disruption for the Liberation from the Age'), Cairo 1896; RubInd 288–406.

Haggai Erlich

Egyptus Novelo

The name of E.N. designates an important map of the ↗Nile basin that was possibly drawn in Florence around 1454, or rather some time before 1469 (Hirsch 1986–87:98) It comprises ↗Egypt and ↗Ethiopia, the latter including (Upper) ↗Nubia and being shown as somehow concealing the source of the former's life.

The map is chiefly known from three copies appended as *Tabulae modernae*, with different titles, to as many 15th-cent. testimonia of the Latin translation of ↗Ptolemy's *Geography*: Paris, BN, ms. Lat. 4802, fols. 130v–31r, "Egyptus Novelo", in which the arms of the later king of Naples ↗Alfonso V of Aragon, then duke of Calabria (1458–94), have been eventually identified (s. Hirsch 1986–87:96); VatLib, mss. Vat. Lat. 5699 (dated to 1469 A.D.), fol. 125r, "Egyptus cum Ethiopia moderna", and Urb. Lat. 277 (1472 A.D.), fols. 128v–129r, "Descriptio Egypti nova". Besides these exemplars, produced in Florence by the French scribe and illuminator Hughes Comminau de Mézières and the local painter Piero del Massaio, a fourth one is reported to be in the Escurial Library (Mannoni 1932:10f.). The first and eponymous copy was published by Mannoni (1932) and partially redrawn and re-plotted on a modern basis by Crawford (CrawItin 14f., figs. 1–2).

E.N. is a rectangular "modern" map with east to the top; its northern portion is based to a greater extent on Ptolemy, whereas its southern portion, describing Ethiopia from the Maria plateau down the Šäwan region (↗Šäwa), embodies an extraordinary amount of first-hand information in terms of toponyms and additional indications: e.g., *Damot aurj* ('Auriferous/Gold ↗Damot', cp. Fiaccadori 1989:155 n. 21). Such a wealth of information, both new and reliable, was supplied to the compiler(s) by someone – well acquainted with that country – who should be ultimately sought among the members of the Ethiopian delegation at the Council of ↗Florence. This accounts for the differences in content between E.N. and the more or less contemporay map of ↗Fra Mauro, the two works reflecting geographical knowledge current in Florence and in Venice respectively (Hirsch 1986–87:98). Already evident in the 16th cent., the exact influence of E.N. on subsequent ↗cartography is still to be assessed.

Src.: BN, ms. Lat. 4802; VatLib, mss. Vat. Lat. 5699 and Urb. Lat. 277; LAURA MANNONI, *Una carta italiana del bacino del Nilo e dell'Etiopia del secolo XV*, Roma 1932 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Geografia dell'Università di Roma, ser. B, 1), esp. 11f.; W. G. L. RANDLES, "South-East Africa as Shown on Selected Printed Maps of the Sixteenth Century", *Imago Mundi* 13, 1956, 69–88, here 69.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Bibliografia etiopica (1927 – giugno 1936)", *Aevum* 10, 1936, 467–586, here 550, no. X.567; DANA BENNET DURAND, *The Vienna-Klosterneuburg Map Corpus of the Fifteeenth Century: a Study in the Transition from Medieval to Modern Science*, Leiden 1952, 27ff.; CrawItin 13–16, figs. 1–2; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–64, here 155 n. 21; BERTRAND HIRSCH, "Cartographie et itinéraires: figures occidentales du nord de l'Éthiopie aux XVe et XVIe siècles", *Abbay* 13, 1986–87 [1988], 91–122, here 94ff. [figs. 2f.], 98, 108, 115ff. [abridged version in: *PICES* 9, vol. 5, 58–74, here 60ff., 65, 67, 70ff.] (Lit.).

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Ǝgziʾ Kəbra

Ǝ.K. (**እግዚእ፡ ክብራ**) was a 14th-15th-cent. queen. She was a spouse of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II (Conti Rossini 1900:118) – who also had at least two other wives, Dəngəl Mogäsa and ↗Ṣəyon Mogäsa – and the mother of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob.

According to the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, Ǝ.K. lost her first son and, having been sick during her second pregnancy, prayed fervently the Virgin Mary to keep her new child alive. Her prayers were answered and she gave birth to Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, who was to be especially devoted to the Virgin Mary, and to have this miracle recorded in the *Täʾammərä Maryam* (Cerulli 1933: 82f.). Later, he also kept a site for Ǝ.K. in his dynastic mausoleum, ↗Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad, where, according to his chronicle, he was then buried aside his mother and father, Ǝ.K. and Dawit II (PerrZarY 86f.).

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici", *Africa Italiana* 5, 1933, 57–112, here 82f. (text) = 90f. (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *MRALm*, ser. 5ª, 8, 1900 [1901], 61–170, here 118; PerrZarY 86f.

Lit.: TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, 501–35, here 518; TadTChurch 220 and n. 2 (Lit.).

Marie-Laure Derat

Ǝgziʾabəḥer

Ǝ. (**እግዚአብሔር**, also **እግዚእ፡ ብሔር**) is the standard Gəʿəz term for "the Lord". It could have been adopted soon after the introduction of ↗Christianity into Aksum during the reign of ↗ʿEzana (ca. 340 A.D.), since it appears in his royal inscriptions. The term is composed of the two Gəʿəz words: *əgziʾ*, 'lord' (cp. *əgziʾo*!, 'oh my lord!' or *əgziʾənä*, 'our Lord [Jesus Christ]') and *bəḥer*, 'land, earth', conjoined by means of the *status constructus*. While in ʿEzana's pre-Christian inscriptions the names of the deities are applied, in the celebrated inscription DAE no. 11 (RIE no. 189) there is an obvious attempt to invent a new terminology for rendering the basic ideas of the Christian religion. So God the Creator is described in it by three terms: *əgziʾa sämay*, 'Lord of Heaven' (used seven times), *əgziʾa kʷəllu*, 'Lord of All' (used twice) and *əgziʾa bəḥer*, 'Lord of the Land/Earth' (once). In the "pseudo-Sabaean" version of the inscription, only the word Ǝ. can be read (with ʾ in the middle omitted; s. RIE no. 190.8, 9). The Greek version of the same inscription has more developed

Christian terminology: both ὁ Κύριος, 'Lord' and θεός, 'God' and also the Trinitarian formula are used and the name of Christ is mentioned (RIE no. 271; Anfray – Caquot – Nautin 1970).

The term soon prevailed and was subsequently used in the Bible for Gr. ὁ Κύριος. It is not certain from what time the word for "God" (later rendered as *amlak*) came into use (cp., however, verses from Ps. 19 quoted in Kaleb's inscription, RIE no. 195, II, 26-29). In later sources (some epigraphic monuments; early translation of the ↗Bible) a number of derived terms can be found: e.g., *wäldä əgziʾabəḥer* ('the Son of the Lord'), *rədʾetä əgziʾabəḥer* ('the help of the Lord') etc. In later Gəʿəz texts Ǝ. can still sometimes be written in two separate words, as in the inscriptions. In the ↗Ethio-Semitic languages spoken by the Christian population of Ethiopia, the term (attested in different phonetic variants) is an important element of the lexicon and provides a substantial part of the inventory of personal ↗names; cp. also ↗Təgre, a language now spoken mostly by Muslims, which has three words for 'God': *ilahi*, *rabbi* and *əgzaher*.

Src.: DillmLex 1192; ENNO LITTMANN – MARIA HÖFNER, *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1962, 349, 387; FRANCIS ANFRAY – ANDRÉ CAQUOT – PIERRE NAUTIN, "Une nouvelle inscription grecque d'Ezana, roi d'Axoum", *Journal des Savants* 1970, 260–74, esp. 271ff.; DTWDic 79; DAE IV, no. 11; RIE nos. 189, 190, 195, 202, 228, 266, 271; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Trois nouvelles inscriptions royales d'Axoum", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 767–86.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, *Les anciens éthiopiens: siècles d'histoire*, Paris 1990; CRStor 148, 164, 270, 274; JEAN DORESSE, *L'empire du Prêtre-Jean*, 2 vols. Paris, 1957; BrakKirche 70f. (Lit.); YURI KOBISHCHANOV, *Axum*, tr. by LORRAINE T. KAPITANOFF, Philadelphia, PA 1979; MHAksum (Lit.); SerHist 277; ENNO LITTMANN, "Äthiopische Inschriften", in: *Miscellanea academica Berolinensia*, Berlin 1950, 97–127, here 114–27.

Merid Wolde Aregay

Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä

Ǝ.n. (**እግዚአብሔር፡ ነግሠ**, also called **ነግሥ**, *nägś*) or salutation hymns (*sälam/sälamat*) is the title of a large collection of hymns in honour of the ↗Saints, Virgin ↗Mary, ↗Trinity etc. The full title is **እግዚአብሔር፡ ነግሠ፡ ስብሐቲሁ፡ ለብሰ** (*Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä səbḥatihu läbsä*, 'The Lord reigns, He is robed in His glory'), i.e. the opening lines of Ps 92 (93). The hymns are supposed to be read on the respective commemoration days of the saints as established by the Ethiopian church calendar (↗*Sənkəssar*).

As Getatchew Haile (1983) demonstrated, there are at least three major collections bearing this title. They have only some features in common; one should not attempt to distinguish them solely by the way they begin or end.

1) The first type of the Ǝ.n. collection (NG, following Getatchew Haile 1983) is the one attributed to *abba* Giyorgis of Gasəčča (d. 1426). It contains, among others, at least eight hymns in honour of Giyorgis himself. Besides, for every month there is more than one hymn in honour of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Getatchew Haile (1983:56ff.) argues that in some hymns the See of St. Peter in Rome is referred to;
2) the second type of the collection (NZ) is considered to have been the work of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (r. 1434–68) or composed under his direction. The authorship of the Emperor appears probable since the hymns are extensive investment issues of the devotion of the Virgin Mary and praise both the Sabbath and Sunday (↗Sabbath); a lot is said on the issues of Trinitarian theology. Some of the hymns in honour of saints appear to have been taken over into the *Sənkəssar* from this collection, but many of the saints mentioned in it do not appear in the *Sənkəssar* at all. The oldest representative of this work seems to be ms. EMML 3128 (late 15th cent.);
3) the third type of the Ǝ.n. collection (MF) is often designated as **መዝሙረ፡ ፍሡሓን፡ ወጸሎተ፡ ትኩዛን** (*Mäzmurä fəśśuḥan wäṣälotä təkkuzan*, 'Psalter of the Jubilant and Prayer of the Distressed'). This is most probably the rearrangement and enlargement of a previous setting called *Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä zäʿarke* (NA), after the name of its author (s. EMML 1601 and 2081; s. also ↗ʿArkä Śəllus; ↗ʿArke). The name **ውዳሴ፡ ሰማያውያን፡ ወምድራውያን** (s. ↗*Wəddase sämayawəyan wämədrawəyan*), which sometimes appears in manuscripts, is not a title of its own, but merely an explanation to MF (s. EMML 2706). The MF hymns seem to have been included into the *Sənkəssar*, regardless of whether the story of the saint, as told in a MF hymn, agrees with what the corresponding *Sənkəssar* entry reports or not. In fact, all Ǝ.n. collections are important sources of hagiographic information on saints who are not mentioned in the *Sənkəssar* or elsewhere and they are worthy of further profound research.

The *nägś*-hymns represent a particular genre of the Ethiopian liturgical hagiographic literature. NG hymns usually consist of five (or four) short lines, not necessarily all rhyming, one line being made up of a pair of rhyming phrases. There are also hymns with more than four lines, some of them do not rhyme. Many, but not all the hymns from Ǝ.n. collections are *sälamat*, e.g., begin with the words *sälam lä* ... ('Salutation to ...'), or *sälam əbl lä* ... ('I say salute to ...').

NZ and MF collections can easily be confused because the hymns in both sometimes begin in the same way. NZ hymns are of so varied types that it is practically impossible to find a single hypothetical archetype. MF and NA hymns are composed of five rhyming metrical lines; some of the lines may consist of a pair of rhyming phrases. They have different introductions but similar contents. NZ and MF must have been competing works; they are well represented in the manuscript collections outside Ethiopia, whereas the NG collection is by far less well known.

The Ǝ.n. hymns are sung during the celebration of **ሥርዓተ፡ ማኅሌት** (*Śərʿatä maḫlet*, 'The Order of the Chanting'), the morning praise of the entire liturgical year (↗*Qəddase*), and also during the liturgy before the hymns of the ↗*Dəggʷa*.

Src.: EMML 56, 204, 1601, 2081, 2706, 3128; HamSix 1989, 84–87, no. 50; HamSixBerl 233, no. 1006; *liqä mäzämran* MOGÄS ƎQʷƎBÄ GIYORGIS (ed.), **መድበል፡ ዘማኅሌት** (*Mädbäl zämaḫəlet*, 'Collection of the Hymns'), Asmära 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.], 12–26, 33–38; ID. (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዓታት** (*Mäṣḥafä säʿatat*, 'The Book of the Hours'), Aśmära 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.], 208–23; SixTana 3, 206, no. 163 (Lit.); KWKDic 625.

Lit.: CerLet 112; RicLett 827f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* 8, 1899, 197–220, 263–85, here 268; GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Different Collections of Nagś Hymns in Ethiopic Literature and their Contributions*, Erlangen 1983 (Oikonomia. Quellen und Studien zur orthodoxen Theologie 19), 56ff.; GuiSLett 65; *liqä səlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, **ጥንታዊ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ትምህርት** (*Ṭəntawi yäʾityopya śərʿatä təmhərt*, 'The Old Order of Ethiopian Learning'), Addis Abäba 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.], 114f.; HabUff; *abba* TITO LEPISA, *The Cult of Saints in the Ethiopian Church*, Roma 1963.

Habtemichael Kidane – Maija Priess

Ǝgziʾabəḥer zäbərhanat

Ǝ.z. (**እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘብርሃናት** 'God of lights') was originally a prayer used whilst sprinkling water over the catechumen (*nəʾusä krəstiyan*). Through this practice the catechumens are meant to be accepted by God and not rejected with their sins. The introduction runs as follows: **በእንተ፡ ዘመፍትው፡ በኵሉ፡ መከራ፡ ይትወከፍዎሙ፡ ለንኡሰ፡ ክርስቲያን፡** ... **ከመ፡ ይትዐወቁ፡ እለ፡ ቦሙ፡ መንፈሰ፡ ነኪር** ... 'Regarding the necessity that they should receive the catechumens with all (due) testing and how it should happen ... The sprinkling of catechumens (is conducted) in order that those in whom is a strange spirit may be identified' (EMML 2358, fol. 33ab).

Ǝ.z. received its name from the *incipit* of the actual prayer, which is taken from the *Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (↗*Kidan zäʾəgziʾənä wämädḫaninä Iyyäsus Krəstos*). Although Ǝ.z. is not an Eucharistic prayer, an abbreviated text, with alteration to fit the purpose, has been incorporated in the Anaphora of Epiphanius (↗Anaphoras), indicating that this anaphora was a local composition. The prayer is usually copied with other prayers. However, copying it with prayers that would constitute the so-called **ሰባቱ፡ ኪዳናት** (*Säbattu kidanat*, 'The Seven Covenants'), in the form published in Addis Abäba in 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], must be a recent development or the publisher's own innovation because they are hardly ever found copied together in other manuscripts in this manner.

Euringer translated this abbreviated and widely copied version into German in his edition of the Anaphora of Epiphanius (1926/28), while Marcos Daoud and Mersie Hazen translated it into English (1954).

Src.: EMML 2358, fol. 33–34b; **ሰባቱ፡ ኪዳናት። ቅዳሴ፡ ማርያም። መልክአ፡ ጉባኤ** (*Säbattu kidanat. Qəddase Maryam. Mälkəʾa gubaʾe*, The Seven Covenants. The Anaphora of Mary. The Collection of Images'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 38ff.; **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ** (*Mäṣḥafä Qəddase*, 'The Book of Liturgy'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.], 199ff.; SixDeu 72, no. 7 [29/5 St.Augustin], fol 49v–52v (Lit.); HamSixBerl 56, no. 6 [Ms. orient. oct. 990], 34v–38r (Lit.).

Lit.: MARIUS CHAÎNE, "Répertoire des Salam et Malkeʾe contenus dans les manuscrits éthiopiens des bibliothèques d'Europe", *ROC* 18, 1913, 183–203, 337–57, here 349, no. 363; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Die äthiopische Anaphora des Hl. Epiphanius, Bischofs der Insel Cypern, nach zwei Berliner Handschriften herausgegeben und übersetzt", *OrChr* 23, 1926/27, 98–142, 126ff.; MARCOS DAOUD – MARSIE HAZEN, *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa 1954, 194.

Getatchew Haile

Ǝḫətä Krəstos

Ǝ.K. (**እኅተ፡ ክርስቶስ**, lit. 'Sister of Christ'; fl. 17th cent.) was an Ethiopian saintly nun. Ǝ.K.'s vita is known from a ↗*Sənkəssar* reading found in ms. VatLib, Vat. aeth. 112, fol. 27rc-28ra (s. Nollet 1930) and ms. Oxford, Aeth. 22 (but not found in any of the printed synaxaries). According to this source, she was born to a noble family; she married and bore a son, Tərasya. Some years later, she became a hermit at the church of Fura, where her sister was already staying. In the vita of Wälättä Peṭros, Fura appears as Fure, Fare, and this may be identified with Furi Maryam, today a small church south of the Zage peninsula (s. Bosc-Tiessé 2000:211, 247f.; yet in the *Sənkəssar*, Fura is identified with ↗Däbrä Sina on the northern coast of the lake).

At the insistence of *abba* Ṣəge Haymanot, Ǝ.K. joined ↗Wälättä Peṭros and became her faithful companion and disciple. Both opposed *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, who had converted to Catholicism, and were repeatedly exiled. After the Emperor's abdication and the country's return to Orthodoxy, Wälättä Peṭros founded a monastery at Lake Ṭana and took up residence there (Rema, with an extension at Afär Färäs). Ǝ.K. acted as her assistant and, after, Wälättä Peṭros's death in 1644, she succeeded her as abbess, a post she held for 26 years until her own death ca. 1670, on 26 *Mäggabit* (2 April).

The ↗*mälkəʾ* in honour of Ǝ.K. was published by Conti Rossini (1912) and translated by Ricci (1970). A *Gädlä Ǝḫətä Krəstos* is reportedl to be preserved in one manuscript in Kämkäm (Libo, Bägemdər).

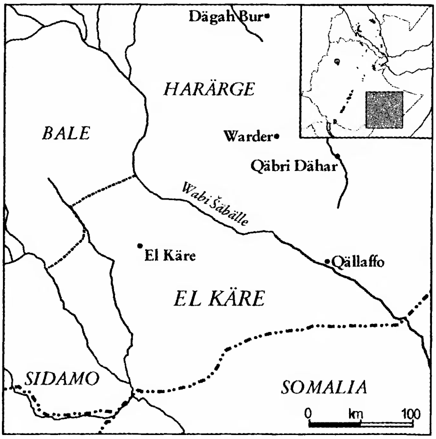
Src.: DillmBodl 54-61, no. 24 [Aeth. 22, part 3], here 56; GreTisVat 428-36, ms. Vat. éth. 112, here 429; Geneviève Nollet, "La légende de ʾEḫta-Krestos d'après le ms. du Synaxaire Vat. éth. n° 112", *Aethiops* 4, 1930, 51–53; Carlo Conti Rossini – Carl Jaeger, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum. I. Acta S. Walatta Pētros. II. Miracula S. Zara-Buruk*, Louvain 1912 (CSCO 68 [SAe 30]), 139–44; Lanfranco Ricci, *Vita di Walatta Pētros*, Louvain 1970 (CSCO 316 [SAe 61]), XI, no. 11, 137–43, s. index.

Lit.: Claire Bosc-Tiessé, "L'histoire et l'art des églises du lac Ṭana", *AE* 16, 2000, 207-70, here 211, 247f.; Osvaldo Raineri, "Eḫeta Krestos", in: *EncSan*, vol. 1, col. 739f.; KinBibl 68, no. 40.

Ugo Zanetti

El Käre

E.K. is the capital of the *awrağğa* of the same name in south-eastern Ethiopia. It is a small town located at 1,000 m A.S.L., at the far end of the sedimentary plates of Bale mountains, inhabited by sedentary ↗Oromo, between the Wabi Šäbälle and the Weyb valleys. Its present population is estimated at 1,394 inhabitants (CSA 2004). E.K. emerged around a water-point (*ᶜeel* [Somali: *ceel*] means "well") used by the Somali stockbreeders who feed their cattle in the surrounding clear scrub.



This small halt along the Imi-Dolo road owes its growth to its promotion in 1984 to capital of the E.K. *awrağğa*. In addition to a market, it boasts local administrative services and a small garrison, which has profited from such a strategic location.

Since the establishment of the federalist policy in 1991, E. became the chief town of the *wäräda* of the same name (38,752 inhabitants; CSA 2004), a subdivision of the Afder zone, which is itself part of *kəlləl* Somali. The territory of Afder (423,683 inhabitants) corresponds approximately to that of the old *awrağğa* of E.K., which had 138,000 inhabitants in 1970 (density 2.4 inhabitants/km^2) and 197,800 in 1984 (density 3.5 inhabitants/km^2). E.K. has thus enjoyed an important increase in its population, larger than the national average; the twofold increase was mainly due to the arrival of refugees fleeing unrest and drought in neighbouring Somalia.

Lit.: EMAtlas; *Guida*; CSA 1984; CSA 1998; CSA 2000; CSA 2004.

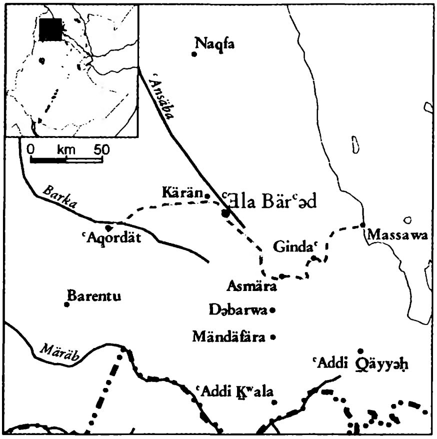
Alain Gascon

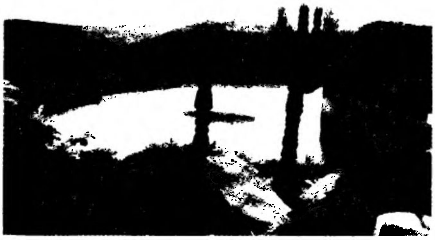
ᶜƎla Bärᶜəd

ᶜƎ.B. (**ዕላ፡ በርዕድ**, Tgr. 'cold-water well'; also ᶜƎla Bärᶜidi in Tgn. pronunciation) is an area and settlement on the road joining Asmära with Kärän, ca. 78 km north-west of Asmära. It is situated in the former province of Sänḥit, now in *zoba* ᶜAnsäba, Eritrea, and belongs to territories historically inhabited by ↗Bilin speakers. It is primarily known for its large fruit plantations, founded in the colonial period, which are irrigated by the ↗ʿAnsäba.

The historical Bilin settlement of Č̣əndəq was located here, close to ↗Däbrä Sina. Oral historiography claims that this was the first area reached by the migrating Agäw forefathers of the Bet Tarqe, the oldest Bilin group. Here they met the legendary "Rom", allegedly the original Beǧa inhabitants. Legend reports that, when the Tarqe brothers decided to leave Č̣əndəq due to their rising number, the brothers Bigäday and Lamačalli stayed between Č̣əndəq and Mägarəḥ (Käran). Later, the two lineages tracing descent to these forefathers were invaded by the Hada lineage from Barka, who subsequently became their masters (Ghaber 1993:7). The legend reflects movements and conflicts of different Bilin lineages over the fertile soil in ʿƎ.B. After the rise of the Adkämä Məlgaʾ and the Däqqi Täššəm further south, Č̣əndəq became the southernmost limit of the Bilin territories. During the expansion of *däǧǧazmač* Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, the Bilin, led by *sim* Hakin Mädən, were defeated at the battle of Č̣əndəq in 1844 or 1849, which opened the way to raids in the territories further north (KolTrad 2, 120; Ghaber 1993:14, 27). Because of later Təgre (Bet Ǧuk) domination of the area, it received a Təgre name.

In colonial times, the Italian "concessione agroindustriale di Elaberet" was founded there in 1904 by the Istituto Agronomico, at first, due to scarcity of water, only with plantations of sisal. In 1906 it was taken over by a private consortium, from 1908 led by Pietro Casciani (1869–1942), followed by his sons (s. ErDizBio 73f.). The "azienda", with ca. 1,000 ha in 1908, rapidly became one of the most important Eritrean enterprises. The last concessionary was the fruit-merchant Guido De Nadai. Originally a member of this consortium, he developed ʿƎ.B. considerably from 1958 to 1975. It then became the most important agroindustrial concession of post-war Eritrea (with ca. 1,500 ha). The rapid rise in production, especially of citrus fruits, but also of vegetables, was due to mechanization (e.g., a tomato-canning plant) and, more importantly, new methods of irrigation. Milk was also produced extensively. The *Därg* nationalized the territory in 1975.





Dam in ʿƎla Bärʿəd; photo 2002, courtesy of Martin Zimmermann

In 1977 ʿƎ.B., together with Käran, Afʿabet and Qarora, was taken over by the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front ("battle of ʿƎ.B."). During the Ethiopian central government's offensive of 1978, ʿƎ.B. was retaken by Ethiopian troops and subsequently lost again in 1988. In 1993 the "Elabered Estate" was an agro-industrial complex of 1,200 ha, with 520 ha equipped, but only irrigated over 135 ha. Administratively ʿƎ.B. forms a sub-zone (*nəʾus zoba*) of *zoba* ʿAnsäba.

Lit.: WERNER MUNZINGER, *Ueber die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, Winterthur 1859, 11; KolTrad II, 120, 240; *Guida* 212; ErDizBio 73f.; MICHAEL GHABER, *The Blin of Bogos*, Baghdad 1993, 7, 14, 27; FAO, *Eritrea – Agricultural Sector Review and Project Identification: Report Prepared by FAO/IC under Technical Cooperation Programme Project TCP/ERI/2353*, 3 vols., Roma 1994; MARCO PIOVESAN, *La concessione di Elaberet prima del Derg (1905–1975)*, paper presented at the Séminaire Européen de Géographie de l'Eau, Saint Victor sur Loire, 10–16 September 1995; KilHDic 178ff.; YOUSSEF ABDUL-HAGGAG, *A Contribution to the Physiography of Northern Ethiopia*, London 1961; MARCO G. MARCHI, "Il lavoro italiano fiorisce sempre in Etiopia", *Etiopia illustrata. Rassegna politica culturale economica* 7, Dicembre 1967, 31–34; ALBERTO PASOLINI ZANELLI, "Il miracolo di Elaberet, è opera di un italiano che ha sempre creduto nell'Etiopia", *ibid.* 5, Dicembre 1966, 73–80; "Guido de Nadai, cavaliere del lavoro", *Sestante. Documentario*

semestrale illustrato della vita politica economica sociale dell'Etiopia 8, 1, 1972, 65; CHRIS KUTSCHERA, *Érythrée. Eritrea*, Paris 1994, 98f. (ill.).

Wolbert Smidt

Ǝlʾatqärfa: Mäṣḥafä əlʾatqärfa ↗Täʾammərä Iyäsus

Eldad Ha-Dani

E. was a mysterious Jewish traveller of the late 9th cent. Although his true origins remain uncertain, he claimed to descend from the lost Israelite tribe of ↗Dan (whence his name). E. held that the Danites and three other tribes lived in an independent kingdom. He also spoke of the impassable Sambatyn river which stopped its flow on the Sabbath and of other wonders. Several modern authorities believe E.'s narrative is composed of legends which elaborate upon a small kernel of truth concerning Jewish groups in distant lands. While some scholars (i.e. Baron 1983, Conti Rossini 1925) think that E.'s work contains the earliest known references to the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, others (Ullendorff – Beckingham 1982; Morag 1997) are more sceptical, arguing that it reveals little first-hand knowledge of Ethiopia and its languages. Many of the motifs found in his work recur in the stories concerning ↗Prester John.

Src.: MAX SCHLOESSINGER (ed.), *The Ritual of Eldad ha-Dani*, Leipzig – New York 1908; NATHAN ADLER, *Jewish Travellers*, London 1930, 1–21.

Lit.: EDWARD ULLENDORFF – CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM, *The Hebrew Letters of Prester John*, London 1982, 153–59; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Leggende geografiche giudaiche del IX secolo (Sepher Eldad)", *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana* 6, 2, 1925, 162–76; SALO WITTMAYER BARON, *A Social and Religious History of the Jewish People*, New York 1983, vol. 18, 373; SHELOMO MORAG, "Eldad Haddani's Hebrew and the Problem of the Provenance", *Tarbiz* 66, 1997, 2, vii; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia*, New York 1992, 43f.

Steven Kaplan

Elemo Qiliṭuu

E.Q. (Elemo Qilixuu, birth name Ḥasan Ibrāhīm; b. 1936, Ǧarsa, Harärge region, d. August 1974, Čärčär, Harärge) was a prominent member of the Oromo nationalist movement. After pursuing a traditional Islamic education for some years, he settled in the city of Dərre Dawa. There he worked for a wealthy Arab merchant, who took him to Aden in 1956, where, some time in the 1960s, Ḥasan adopted his new name of E.Q. After some years E.Q. started his own business in Aden and married Ammune Omar from Dədər, daughter of an Oromo mother and a Yemenī father (Taha Ali Abdi, personal communication 2003). By 1966, E.Q. was a successful businessman, who attracted the attention of the Ethiopian Consulate officials in Aden. In the same year, a Harari merchant who was on a visit to Aden from Addis Abäba borrowed large quantities of goods from E.Q. with the promise to pay him back if he came to Addis Abäba. Soon after E.Q.'s arrival in Addis Abäba in early 1967, he was, however, arrested under the pretext of involvement in anti-Ethiopian government activities. By the time of his release, E.Q. was a convinced Oromo nationalist.

In early 1968 E.Q. secretly went to Mogadishu. There he met with other Oromo nationalists, who entrusted him with the task of promoting the Oromo cause in the Arab world. Back in Aden, E.Q. formed an Oromo association and served as its chairman. He managed to convince the government of Aden to allow him to open a political office. He organized Oromo nationalists in the Middle East and sought support for the Oromo cause from the governments of Aden, Syria and Iraq, the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the Eritrean Liberation Front (E.L.F.). With support from the Iraqi Government, he was able to provide a seven-month military training programme and fully equipped the first Oromo guerrilla groups, which E.Q. in 1969 dispatched to Harärge under the command of ʿAbdalkarīm Ḥāǧǧī Ibrāhīm, popularly known as Ǧarra Abbaa Gadaa. While in transit through northern Somalia, this first trained guerrilla Oromo army – with which E.Q. aspired to launch an armed struggle in Harärge – was, however, forced to give in by Somali government forces (Taha Ali Abdi, ibid.). All 38 surviving members of the

Elemo Qiliṭuu; photo courtesy of the author unit were imprisoned. E.Q. started smuggling weapons through the ᶜAfar desert to Wällo with the help of the E.L.F.

Early in 1973, a meeting in Addis Abäba brought together militant underground members of the Mäč̣č̣a and Tulama Association and Oromo nationalists from the Middle East, including E.Q. After that, instead of returning home to Aden, E.Q. left for the Č̣ärč̣är Mountains in Harärge, where he started an organized armed struggle. In the process he became an organizational expression of Oromo nationalism. He created a military unit, which some people called an ↗Oromo Liberation Front (O.L.F.) guerrilla unit (Ibsaa Guutama 2003:130).

E.Q. and his comrades were killed by Ethiopian government soldiers in August 1974 (s. Mohammed Hassen 1998:214). Today he figures in several poems by *šayḫ* ↗Bakrii Sapaloo and Oromo nationalist songs. E.Q.'s name has become symbolic for many Oromo and has propelled millions into organized motion.

Src.: interviews with: Mohammed Omar, age 52, Jeddah, 12 and 22 June 1982; Adem Tukale [Muslis Abbaa Gadaa], age 37, Jeddah, 17 June 1982; Abdullahi Mumad Bili [Lungo], age 56, Jeddah, 20 June 1982; Yusuf Abdullahi [Gole], age 29, Cairo, 25 October 1983; Ahmed Buna, age 43, Khartoum, 17 November 1983; Taha Ali Abdi, age 38, Khartoum, 7 March 1984, November 2003; Muktar Qamar, age 30, Cairo, 18 March 1984; Ahmed Mohammed Musa, age 25, Cairo, 19 March 1984; Yohannes Letta [Leenco], age 42, London, 10 August 1984; Mojeedu Mohammadu, age 53, Abu Dhabi, 5–7 March 2003.

Lit.: IBSAA GUUTAMA, *Prison of Conscience Upper Compound Maaikalawii Ethiopian Terror Prison and Tradition*, New York 2003; MOHAMMED HASSEN, "The Macha-Tulama Association 1963-1967 and the Development of Oromo Nationalism", in: ASAFA JALATA (ed.), *Oromo Nationalism and the Ethiopian Discourse: the Search for Freedom and Democracy*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1998, 183–221, here 214.

Mohammed Hassen

Ǝleni

Ǝ. (እሌኒ, b. ca. 1431, d. ca. 1522, royal name Admas Mogäsa) was probably the most famous female Ethiopian ruler of the early medieval period. She was a daughter of a hereditary ruler of ↗Hadiyya, Mähmad (or, according to Hadiyya oral tradition, of his brother Boyamo).

About 1443 she was given in marriage to *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob to confirm the vassalage of both, the Hadiyya country and its ruler. Her marriage and inevitable conversion to Christianity severed all the ties between Ǝ. and her Muslim kinsmen in Hadiyya, and since then all her interests were concerned with the life of the Ethiopian royal court and state. She was childless and could not therefore hope for a prominent position at court after the death of her husband. The praises to her in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam I, the son and successor of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, are certainly a later interpolation made in the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl at the time of Ǝ.'s regency, when chronicles of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, Bäᵓədä Maryam I, Ǝskəndər, Naᶜod and Ləbnä Dəngəl were collected in one large historiographic piece.

It was precisely her being barren, which deprived her of any political future, that gave her a chance to survive during the stormy events of four subsequent reigns, when, as an Ethiopian hagiographer puts it, "the notables of Ethiopia consumed one another like the fish of the sea, and they became like wild beasts that have not shelter" (Tadesse Tamrat in PICES 4, vol. 1, 530). Finally, her isolation made her quite an acceptable figure at the court to be selected in 1508 as a regent to the young Ləbnä Dəngəl. At the same time, her detachment from petty court intrigue permitted this Muslim-born lady, old and wise, to have a wider vision of the current situation and to appreciate the growing danger of local *ǧihād* when, in the words of another Ethiopian historian, "the dignitaries did not know of the devastation of their country and their submission to Moslems, but they were amusing themselves chatting in Arabic and Amharic" (Sergew Hable-Selassie in PICES 4, 552).

Therefore she was able to look for possible allies and initiated diplomatic relations with Christian Europe. Ǝ. dispatched an Armenian, ↗Mateus, with a mission to Portugal, where he arrived in 1519. She died and saw neither the realization of the Muslim integration, nor the results of Mateus's mission, but in Ethiopian history she remained the person who, for good or bad, established continuous relations between Ethiopia and Europe.

According to a piece of information tracing back to ↗Damiao de Góis, who reports the words of ↗Ṣägga Zäᵓab, Ǝ. wrote two hymnological collections in Gəᶜəz, the ↗*Ḫoḫətä Bərhan* and the ↗*Ǝnzirä Säbhat*, an outstanding achievement for a woman in medieval Ethiopia. The tradition has it that she was the founder of the monastery of ↗Märṭulä Maryam.

Src.: MARCUS VAN DEN OUDENRIJN, *Helenae Aethiopum reginae quae feruntur preces et carmina*, Louvain 1961 (CSCO 208, 211 [SAe 39, 40]); DAMIÃO DE GÓIS, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, Lisboa ^{1}1566–67, ^{2}1619, Coimbra 1926, part 2, ch. 61; BeckHuntAlvar.

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "The Correlation of Oral Traditions and Historical Records in Southern Ethiopia: a Case Study of the Hadiya/Sidamo Past", *JES* 11, 2, 1973, 29–59, here 44f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Aethiopica (I serie)", *RSO* 9, 1923, 365–468, here 460; TadTChurch 287ff.; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35, here 530; SERGEW HABLE-SELLASIE, "The Geʾez Letters of Queen Eleni and Libne Dingil to John, King of Portugal", *ibid.*, 547–66, here 552; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Ethiopian-Armenian Relations", *Revue des Études arméniennes* 12, 1977, 279–89.

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Ǝleni

Ǝ. (እሌኒ, d. January 1708) was a daughter of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I and a sister of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I. She was a remarkable figure in Ethiopian political life during the last quarter of the 17th cent. Ǝ. was brought to prominence by Iyasu, who immediately after his coronation in 1682 granted her the title of governor of ↗Səmen, the traditional title of the heir apparent, probably to give no chances to any male (and therefore dangerous) candidate for this prestigious office. Such an appointment is a clear evidence for the growing importance of female royalties at the court. On the other hand, this post was not granted to her forever, and in 1685 it was given to the more prominent figure of *ras* ↗Anästasyos. Ǝ. remained an important person and in the Ethiopian "short chronicles" both her husband and her son are always mentioned with the name of their important relation: "a husband[/son] of *wäyzäro* Ǝ.".

After 1685 she held no official post at the court and led the usual life of Ethiopian women of royal blood, with one important exception: Ǝ. actively interfered in religious disputes which rendered the Ethiopian Church an ardent adherent of the ↗*Qəbat* doctrine. This adherance went smoothly during the reign of her brother Iyasu, who himself seemed sympathetic to the doctrine, but when his son *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot refused to proclaim the *Qəbat* faith as state doctrine, Ǝ. with her nephew-in-law *däǧǧazmač* Tulluu started a conspiracy in 1706. The result was fatal for them: *däggazmač* Tulluu was blinded and exiled to Təgray and Ǝ. was exiled to Tänkäl (BégCron 85), where she died (DombrChr 246).

Src.: GuiIohan 62; BassÉt I, 311, 372; BégCron 73, 81, 84f.; DombrChr 212, 227, 246.

Lit.: LAVERLE B. BERRY, "Ras Fares and the Tewahido Coalition in Late Seventeenth Century Gondar", in: *OrbAethChoj* 76.

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Elephants

General overview

Surviving E. are classified in the order *Proboscidea*, family *Elephantidae*. Three surviving species are recognized today: two in Africa (forest African E., *Loxodonta cyclotis* and bush African E., *Loxodonta africana*) and one in Asia (*Elephas maximus*). Fossil evidence from the *Proboscidea* dates to the early Eocene epoch (about 55 million years ago) in north-western Africa. Since then, remains of extinct proboscideans have been found in all continents, except Australia, Antarctica and some ocean islands. Their geographical distribution ranged from austral to boreal latitudes and from sea level to elevated mountains. Proboscideans have been highly diversified and extremely adaptable to varied environmental conditions, including swamps, rivers, shallow lake edges, savannahs, forests, tundras and extreme desert habitats. Today, only about one half (182) of the 352 species and subspecies of proboscideans that were once recognized are considered valid. The earliest member of this order (*Phosphatherium escuilliei*) was a dog-size, later taxa reached a gigantic size of over 4 m at the shoulder and weighed over 7 tons, e.g. *Mammuthus trogontherii*. The African E. is the largest living terrestrial mammal, reaching 4m at the shoulder and 7 tons in weight; it is considered a keystone species (Osborn 1936, 1942; Shoshani 1998, 2000; Shoshani – Tassy 1996). Extinct proboscideans have been found in Djibouti (Chavaillon – Berthelet 2001), Eritrea (Ferretti et al. 2003) and Ethiopia (Kalb 2001). In historical times the African E. ranged all over Africa, except perhaps in the hottest inhospitable areas like the Sahara. The extant E. population in the ↗Horn of Africa is found in Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia.

The varied topography of the Horn of Africa and its wildlife habitats is directly associated with its diverse geography and climatic conditions and includes fauna and flora globally unique. Elevation in the Ethiopian highland reaches over 4,300 m A.S.L. (in the Səmen Mountains) and dips to about 160 m B.S.L. in the ↗ʿAfar Depression. From west to east, some of the vegetation types of the Horn include moist western forests, sub-Afro-Alpine, Afro-Alpine, juniper forest, deciduous woodland, acacia woodland, semidesert, desert, coastal and mangroves. This diverse topography is the basis for the three phytogeographic zones in the Horn of Africa: the Somalia-Masai (the eastern lowland), the

African elephants in the dry riverbed of the Gaš River, *zoba* Gaš-Barka; photo 2003, courtesy of Jeheskel Shoshani

Afro-montane (the highland) and the Sudanian (the western lowland). Two major climatic patterns occur in the Horn: the long summer rains from about June to September and the short winter rainy season from around March to April. Watersheds in the Horn are composed mostly of seasonal rivers (*wādīs*) that collect water during the rainy season. Exceptions include the permanent Blue Nile River in Ethiopia and the ↗Täkkäze (Setit) River, the natural border between Ethiopia and Eritrea and a part of the E. habitat in *zoba* ↗Gaš-Barka. In Ethiopia E. habitat consists of mixed vegetation. In Eritrea, aside from the permanent Setit River, much of the E. habitat is xeric (dry); vast portions are dry for most of the year. The floodplains of the Gaš and Setit rivers are composed of riverine forest and include the impressive doum palms.

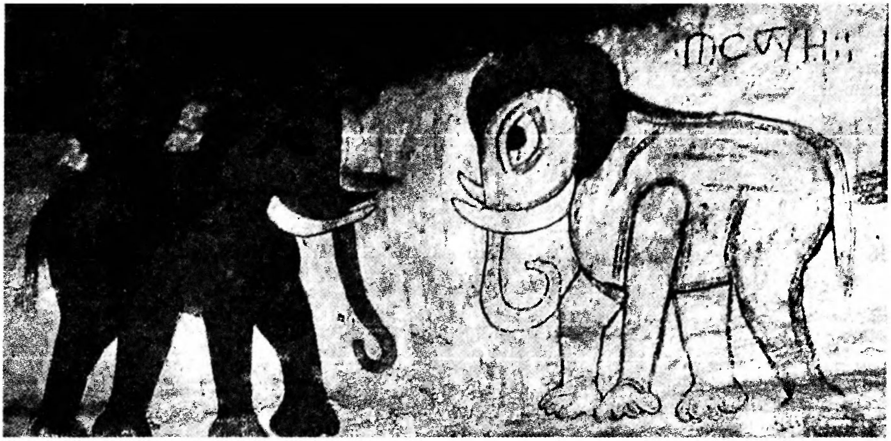
Cultural history

↗Punt was the most important E.-hunting ground for ancient Egypt (cp. Phillips 1997: 445f.). During the 3rd cent. B.C. the Ptolemies deliberately sought their own source of war-E. to counter the Seleucids, who got theirs from their Indian allies. A catching-base was established by Ptolemy II (280–46 B.C.) at Ptolemais of the Hunts, on the ↗Barka River. His successors, Ptolemy III (245–21 B.C.) and Ptolemy IV (221–04 B.C.) continued these activities. It was originally assumed that African E. were not domesticable, until the Ptolemies managed to use the smaller subspecies present in northern and northeastern Africa (*Loxodonta cyclotis*) as war-E. Possibly the Greeks introduced E. domestication first in ↗Meroë (Krebs 1968; Desanges 1978:272–77).

E. were caught all along the Red Sea coast down to Cape Gardafuy in Somalia, but the port of shipment to Egypt was ↗Adulis. The military training of the E. was more often done by Indian specialists.

Throughout antiquity, ancient authors (such as ↗Herodotos) used the presence of E. both in ↗"Aithiopía" and India far in the south as a crucial argument for the supposed geographical link between the two countries (the Ethiopian region being regularly called one of the countries of ↗"India" until the 16th cent.; cp. Fiaccadori 1992: 12ff., n. 33; 46f., n. 12; Schneider 2004). Independent of this misinterpretation, the assumption of an early presence of Indian E. and/or E.-related knowledge from India in Ethiopia is supported by the etymology, tracing the Gəʿəz word **ነጌ** (*näge*, 'elephant', pl. *nägeyat*) to Sanskrit *naga* (DillmLex 685; s. Fiaccadori 1992:54f., n. 26).

According to a hypothesis of Dillmann and later Altheim – Stiehl (1971:423f.), the 4th-cent. Aksumite ruler ↗ʿEzana had a special military



Wall-painting; Gännätä Maryam church near Lalibäla, south aisle; end of the 13th cent.; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

unit mounted on E. which was called *sarwe dakʷen* or *sarwe daken* (lit. 'E. [mounted] troops'?), a term possibly connected with Sāho *dakano* ('elephant').

The potential supply of E. was huge. In the 6th cent. Nonnosus, the envoy of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian, reports that he saw at Aue, midway between Aksum and Adulis, up to 5,000 E. feeding in a large plain, probably the Ḥazamo plain (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. III, ed. Henry 1959, 6; s. Fiaccadori 2004:128f.). ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes reports an extensive trade in Ethiopian E.-tusk to India, Persia, South Arabia and the Roman Empire (*Topographia Christiana*, XI, 23, ed. Wolska-Conus 1973:355). According to the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum, Ptolemaios III employed in the third Syrian war E. of Ethiopian and "Trog(l)odite" origin – the latter coming from the hinterland of the Red Sea coast and from Meroë (cp. Desanges 1978:276f.).

The importance of E. for the Aksumite kingdom was sometimes unduly emphasized by drawing on Hellenistic sources (PankIntro 12, 37, 41). Yet, E. were then regularly coming to places with wells and small torrents in the lowlands near the coast. According to local tradition, the village of Däḥono – a name also related to Sāho *dakano* – is one of such places (Fiaccadori 2004:129), the surrounding area in those times being also known for E.-hunting (↗Ḥərgigo).

Archeological evidence of E.-trade can be found at the archeological site of ↗Qoḥayto, which is said to have been an ↗ivory-trade post. It includes at least one petroglyph of an African E. from ᶜAddi ᶜAläwti, deemed to have been engraved in ca. 200 B.C. (Hagos et al. 2003:16, with details), but dated by the relevant graffito (DAE no. 68 = RIE no. 255) to the Christian Aksumite period (Fiaccadori 2004:155).

Hillmann and Hillmann (1998) propose that when the Aksumite ruler ↗Abraha started his campaign against Mecca in 547 A.D., war-E. were shipped from Ethiopia via Adulis to South Arabia. In *sūra* 105 of the Qurʾān, *al-Fīl* (Arab. '[Of] the E.'), Abraha's failure to conquer the Sacred City is partly attributed to his E.'s kneeling down in awe at the Meccan boundary. According to Altheim and Stiehl (1971:475f.), the event, which took place in what has since been called the "Year of the Elephant", is introduced in a mural painting in the Church of ↗Däbrä Salam at Aṣbi (Gerster 1972, ill. 156), but this representation can be rather interpreted with reference to St. Thomas (Fiaccadori 1992:55 n. 26).

Beside their role in warfare and as providers of ivory and skin, E. had an outstanding symbolic meaning in different Ethiopian cultures. The E., like the ↗lion, was related to kingship. E.-hunting was, in theory, a privilege of the Ethiopian emperor and E.-tusks were seen as his possession. Also rulers of southern states and regions expected tribute in E. tusks and organized hunting campaigns (e.g., in the Gibe states and Qabeena, s. CecZeila). The form of address for the emperor, *ǧanhoy* or ↗*žanhoy* ('majesty'), seems to be connected with the Amharic word

ዝሆን *zəhon*, 'elephant' (cp. Yäm/Ǧänǧäro *zakno*, Sidaama *daniččo* etc.). Haberland (HabKön 130f.) rather derives the word *ǧan* from the Cushitic *dan*, *don* or *donzo* for 'judge, elder, chief' (but cp. Gəᶜəz *danäya*; ↗ *dañña*).

In the southern parts of Ethiopia, the hunting of E. was culturally important in connection with the killing-complex (↗ Meritorious complex). The E. was one of the animals most prestigious to kill. An Oromo who killed an E. was anointed with butter and entitled to wear the ostrich feather and the bracelet of a killer (*irboore*), which was in some cases made of ivory. Among the ↗ Dorze the killing of an E. was worth the killing of 40 men (VSAe II, 53, 209, 283, 395f., 402, 468f.; VSAe III, 202). Among the Ethiopian nobility, too, the killing of E. was a source of prestige and the hunter was entitled to wear earrings. The killing of an E. could be celebrated by songs of praise and gifts to the successful hunter (PankSoc 168, 262). In the north, E.-hunting was likewise bound to the killing-complex. A successful killer of an E. received the title of *ḥanta*. One E. equalled ten slain enemies, as documented, e.g., still in late-19th-cent. eastern Təgray, heroic deeds being conditional for becoming an accepted member of society (cp. ↗ *gaz*). Such a hero had a privileged access to resources; songs would be composed to honour him. The same connotation was also applied in name-giving: the Tgn. term for E., **ሐርማዝ** (*ḥarmaz*), may even function as a personal name, almost synonymous with "hero" (as earlier, perhaps, in the graffito of the aforementioned petroglyph from ᶜAddi ᶜAläwti).

Other symbolic characteristics of E. were also known. The Amado Oromo considered themselves relatives of the E., said to be descended from a group of Amado children who were transformed into them. A very similar story was told by the Ǧideničč in ↗ Meʾen (VSAe I, 380f., 414; for legends related to E. s. also VSAe II 632). In the myth of the Šeko of ↗ Gimira, the first human couple gave birth to a boy and an E. After a dispute over food, the E. had to flee into the forest. There he gave birth to stars, wind, rain and fire. For the Šeko, the E. was also connected with the introduction of jams (VSAe III, 62). In Baka (↗ Aari) culture, a man of the Garšima clan with the ritual office of *dongur goodimi* was considered the master of the E. He was said to have the ability to order the E. to leave the fields (VSAe I, 47).

Till the intensification of the ↗ ivory trade from the 18th cent. onwards the distribution of E. stayed on a high level. Proof for this is given by both historical documents on royal hunts and observations of travellers. E., like other wild ↗ animals, were plentiful wherever they found suitable ecological circumstances, especially in the ↗ *qʷälla* (cp. PankEcon 248–52; PankSoc 288–92). An index of the formerly wide distribution of E. can also be seen in the high number of place names linked with E. all over Eritrea and Ethiopia.

While the African E. was mainly for hunting, Indian E. occasionally served in war and as beasts of burden. One of the most noteable imports of Indian E. into Ethiopia resulted from the ↗ Napier expedition. In 1867 the British General Sir Robert Napier brought "44" E. from Bombay (Myatt 1970:90f.), along with many horses, mules, donkeys, camels and bullocks, to fight *aṣe* ↗ Tewodros II at Mäqdäla. Oral tradition says that an unspecified number of the Asian E. used by him (*Elephas maximus*) were released or escaped from his camp and mated with the native African E., thus giving origin to hybrid E. in the Horn. According to British sources 39 Asian E. survived and were taken back to India (Kodolitsch 1869: ch. 3, 45, ch. 8, 202, ch. 5, 322). Yet, morphologically, all the E. observed in Gaš-Barka were typically African E. (*Loxodanta africana*), not hybrids.

E. were hunted mainly for their tusks (ivory) and hides (e.g., for shields and for export), to diminish their numbers in order to save the field crops and to gain heroic prestige. Tails were regularly cut off and displayed as proof of the heroic deed. The consumption of E. flesh was ritually restricted in many societies and often only allowed for ↗ marginalized groups.

A traditional method of E.-hunting among the ↗ Arsi was to follow the fleeing E. on horses and then to cut the tendon of their hind legs. The Kunama used the same method. The ↗ Hamran hunted E. with swords in a similar way. The Mekan (Gimirra), famous E.-hunters, built platforms on treetops and threw spears into the mouth of the E. who tried to eat the leaves of the trees (VSAe III, 18). Another method is reported from the Ǧideničč hunters in Meʾen: they rubbed themselves with E. dung to imitate their smell and crept near to the animals overnight. They killed them with a kind of harpoon with a powerful iron blade (VSAe I, 416). From Geeraa a method is documented in which a single hunter approached an E. up to a certain distance in order to wound the heart of the animal with the ca. 60-cm-long blade of his lance. The hunter had to leave the place immediately and stay away until the E. bled to death (CecZeila vol. 3, 300f.).

For those few who could obtain firearms, E.-hunting was less complicated. Since the period of the ↗Gondärine kingdom, E. were hunted by the Christian rulers with their courtiers. *Aṣe* Iyasu I (r. 1682–1706) did the first documented royal hunt with rifles. During an expedition into the country of the "Šanqəlla", some 200 E. were killed. In the following years royal hunts are reported with the Emperor himself killing many E. on his own. Most of his successors were also E.-hunters, or at least took part in royal hunts.

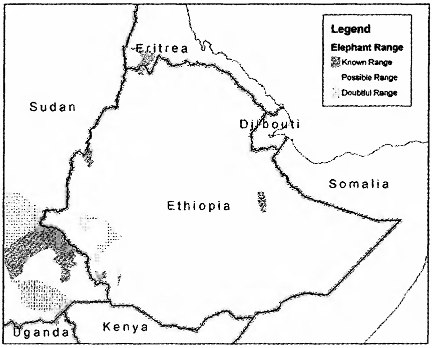
In the 18th and 19th cent., the increasing spread of firearms resulted in the expansion of E.-hunting. It was chiefly practiced to accumulate large quantities of ivory for export (PankSoc 291f.). Ivory became one of the most important means for regional rulers to finance their military and political ambitions. E.g., between 1889 and 1913, *aṣe* Mənilək of Šäwa (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) exchanged ivory for firearms and used firearms to acquire more ivory.

E.-hunting gradually became a profession. E.-hunting expeditions were encouraged by the merchants, who sometimes also financed them in advance. Such activities started in the first half of the 19th cent. in the north, especially in Wälqayt, Šire, Wäğğärat, Säraye, Ṭəlṭäl, Raʾs al-Fīl and then south of the Abbay river, later extending further south. The local rulers who had to permit such hunts received tribute in ivory. Under Mənilək II taxes on E.-hunting had to be paid. The first tusk to touch the ground when an E. was killed had to be for the Emperor (PankEcon 509). The new hunting methods and the greed for ivory and firearms became the main reason for the decline of E. population of the whole Horn of Africa and of their total extinction in large areas of it. In the 20th cent. the decrease of E. in Ethiopia entailed a regression of ivory exports (PankEcon 248f., 420, 509; PankSoc 291ff.).

Current distribution of elephants

Based on data presented by Barnes et al. (1999), in Somalia E. (about 130) are restricted along the coast to the south-east, there being a possibility that they migrate into and out of Kenya. The number of E. in Ethiopia ranges between 321 (definite) and 985 (speculative); they are found in six places: Mago and Omo National Park (↗National Parks), Tama Wildlife Reserve, Gambella National Park, Mizan Täfäri Controlled Hunting Area (all in the south-west), Baabbillee Elephant Sanctuary (central east), Dabus Valley Controlled Hunting Area (central east, near the Blue Nile) and Gaš-Setit (in the north-west, migrating from Eritrea). In Eritrea, E. are confined to Gaš-Barka in the south-west; their number is close to 100 (Shoshani et al. 2004; Nicholson-Lord 2003). These E. migrate back and forth between Eritrea and Ethiopia, entering the Täkkäze valley and the nearby Ethiopian Šire Protected Area. However, they do not intermingle with E. in Ethiopia, since the closest E. population is in the Dabus Valley Controlled Hunting Area, about 500 km to the south (Barnes et al. 1999).

Current E. distribution in the Horn of Africa is restricted to a small fraction of their historical sites. They are confined to island populations. Explanations for the reasons behind the shrinking E. habitat in the Horn vary from human settlements to hunting and lack of water resources. Conservation measures to protect this keystone species are urgently needed in the Horn of Africa. Especially vulnerable are the E. in Eritrea, for they might become geographically and genetically isolated from other populations in East Africa, even though they migrate in and out of Ethiopia.



Elephant distribution in Ethiopia in the year 2002; from Blanc et al. 2003

Src.: DAE IV, 70; RENÉ HENRY (ed., tr.), *Photius: Bibliothèque*, vol. 1, Paris 1959, 6; WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 3, Paris 1973 (Sources chrétiennes 197), 354f.; CecZeila vol. 3, 300f.; JULIAN J. BLANC et al., *African Elephant Status Report 2002: an Update from the African Elephant Database*, Gland 2003; DillmLex 685.

Lit.: FRANZ ALTHEIM – RUTH STIEHL, *Christentum am Roten Meer*, Berlin 1971, vol. 1, 423f., 475f.; RICHARD F.W. BARNES et al., *African Elephant Database 1998*, Nairobi 1999 (Occasional Papers of the IUCN Species

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Jeheskel Shoshani – Yohannes Hagos – Lothar Störk – Dirk Bustorf – Wolbert Smidt

Ǝlfəñ ↗Gəbbi

Ǝlfəñ askälkay

Ǝ.a. (**እልፍኝ፡ አስከልካይ**, lit. 'protector of the inner chamber [*əlfəñ*]' or 'chamberlain') was an Amharic title of a special official at the royal court (↗*Gəbbi*) in Šäwa. His duty was "the protection of the imperial inner-chamber against undesirable and uninvited visitors as well as the strict observation of etiquette and protocol in seating, presentation to royal audience, neatness of the chambers and the maintenance of general order" (Bairu Tafla in: PICES 4, 602). These duties are similar to those of the *täqaqän ↗blatten geta* at the court of ↗Gondär.

In the ↗Goǧǧam regional court during the *Zämänä mäsafənt*, Ǝ.a. was the lieutenant of the *mulu-bet ↗aggafari*. His job was to stand at the door of the *əlfəñ* during meals or when councils were being held, or when the lord gave audience to his subjects. Nobody could enter without Ǝ.a.'s permission. He also acted for the *mulu-bet aggafari* in the latter's absence and had a contingent of 80 to 100 soldiers under his command. He was selected for this charge from the best horsemen of the region (AbbSéjour vol. 1, 344).

At the time of ↗Mənilək II, not only the monarch, but also *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu – who also had her own court – had an Ǝ.a. of her own. In the later years of Mənilək's reign, Ǝ.a. was, like the other institutions of the imperial court, regularized. An elaborate definition of the tasks of an Ǝ.a. was issued (MahZekr 64ff.). It was further modernized in the reign of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. A military officer with the rank of general was appointed for the post of Ǝ.a. This office continued up to the Revolution of 1974 when the *Därg* abolished it together with other institutions of the monarchy. The last Ǝ.a. was executed together with other high-ranking dignitaries of the empire in November of the same year.

Src.: AbbSéjour vol. 1, 344; KaneDic 1117; GuiVoc col. 418; BaetDic col. 650.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Civil Titles and Offices in the Reign of Emperor Menilek II, 1889–1913", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 597–612, here 602; MahZekr 19ff., 64ff.

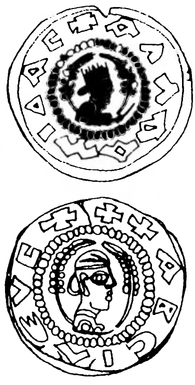
Sevir Chernetsov

Ǝlfəñ Giyorgis ↗Gondär

Ǝllä ᶜAmida

By the name Ǝ.ᶜA. (**እለ፡ ዓሚዳ**, 'Lord of the Steles/Columns'; 'Guardian of the Columns' for Lusini in StAeth 61 and n. 23), two different kings of ↗Aksum (I and II), belonging to the early 4th and 5th/6th cent. respectively, are known in Ethiopian documents.

The first one – groundlessly identified with ↗Sembrouthes (Altheim – Stiehl 1968:334 and 1969:170f., 245; Hahn 1983:123ff. and in PICES 8, vol. 2, 11f.), in his turn equated to



Gold coin of Ǝllä ʿAmida, diameter ca. 18 mm; drawing courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

the Ḥimyarite king ŠMR YHRʿŠ (Drewes 1962: 106f.) – is positively the father of King ↗ʿEzana, called *walda Ǝllä ʿAmida* ('son of Ǝ.ʿA.') in two of his Gəʿəz monumental inscriptions from Aksum (RIE nos. 188.1, 189.2; cp. RIE no. 271.9f., in Gr: υἱὸς τοῦ Ἐλλεαμιδα, i.e. *hyiòs toû Elleamida*, 'son of Ǝ.ʿA.'). The same patronymic, *[w]ld*^{m} *ʾel*^{m} *ʿmd*^{m}, applies to the anonymous king – therefore, ʿEzana's (elder) brother – responsible for a similar Aksumite inscription in South Arabic characters (RIE no. 186.1). The clan-name he bears here can be read *bʾs[y*^{m} *g]šn*^{m}, as suggested by BICI ΓICENE, i.e. *bisi Gisene* ('man of Gəšän', cp. ↗Amba Gəšän?), found in Greek legends on coins – indeed predating those of ʿEzana – issued by King ↗Ousanas (*WZN?), thereby identical with ʿEzana's brother (Schneider 1987:614f.; s. Fiaccadori 2004:109f.). Ǝ.ʿA. (I) is clearly one and the same as Ǝllä Aläda who in the Homily in honour of Frumentius (↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan), preserved in the 14th-cent. mss. EMML 1763 and 8508 (s. Fiaccadori 1989:150 [and n. 3], 161f., ill), possibly drawing on Greek sources, is the father of ↗Ǝllä Azgʷagʷa (i.e. ʿEzana) and the sovereign under whom Frumentius himself came to Aksum (Getatchew Haile 1979:314; hence the *Sənkəssar* commemoration on 26 *Ḥamle*, in GuiSyn II, 428.; var.: Ǝllä Aʾəda).

The name of the second Ǝ.ʿA. occurs in Greek, ΑΛΛΑΜΙΔΑC, i.e. *Alla (A)mida* (vars.: ΑΛΛΑΛΑΙΔΑC, *Alla (A)laidas*; ΑΛΛΑΜΙΡΥΙC, *Alla (A)miryis* = ΑΛΛΑΜΙΔΙC, *Alla (A)midis*?), on the obv. of scarce gold coins in which the legend runs all round between the inner circle and the outer border; on the rev.: ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC, i.e. *basileus* ('king', with vars.). Both sides of coins display the image of a king half-length bust rightwards, draped, and crowned with a triple-element tiara or a head cloth respectively, and framed by two wheat stalks; on the obv., his arm shows two bracelets, his hand possibly holding a short stick (Type 115–16 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995:212f.). Since ↗Kaleb's and Ǝ.ʿA.'s coins are die-linked (MHAksum 156), the latter has been chronologically related to the former, as either his predecessor or his successor. According to Ethiopic hagiographic traditions, Ǝ.ʿA. (II) is in fact the monarch during whose tenure – late 5th/early 6th cent. – some of the ↗Nine Saints and the whole group of the "Righteous Ones" (↗*Ṣadqan*) arrived into the kingdom of Aksum (but cp. the hagiography of ↗Gärima). As Alʿamida/Al(ʿa)meda, he appears, e.g., in the Vitas of *abba* ↗Ṗänṭälewon and ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi, where he is "son of Säʾaldoba/Sälʿadoba" and predecessor of ↗Tazena "father of Kaleb" (Conti Rossini 1904:44 and, respectively, Guidi 1894:61f.); as ʿAlmed, in the Vita of the ↗*Ṣadqan*, with the omission of Tazena (Conti Rossini 1903:9, 13; cp. the *Sənkəssar* entry for Ṗänṭälewon, 6 *Ṭəqəmt*, in ColSyn VII, 22ff.). Yet, it is not to be excluded that, due to confusion of traditions, great religious events of the 6th cent. – witnessing Kaleb's successful struggle for Christianity in South ↗Arabia – become muddled with older accounts of Ethiopia's conversion under ʿEzana, as in the connected case of ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəha (CRStoria 153f., 258f.; MHAksum 205f.). In this respect, it may be worth noting that the form Ǝllä Aläda, limited to the Homily in honour of Frumentius (and to the relevant passage of the *Sənkəssar*), may be ultimately explained by such Greek spellings as ΑΛΛΑΛΑΙΔΑC in coin legends. A Ǝllä Ameda (vars.: Zaʾəlla Ameda, etc.), i.e. Ǝ.ʿA. (II), with 16 years of reign, is actually placed between the two famous "brothers" in one of the traditional "king lists" (CRList 293: list C, no. 67) – long after another Alʿameda (vars.: Zaʾalləʿamida, etc.), i.e. Ǝ.ʿA. (I), with 30 years and 8 months (ibid. 292, no. 57).

The full sequence of kings, preventing the identification of Ǝ.ʿA. (II) with Tazena himself (tentatively proposed by Pedroni 1997:67, 75, 80), is actually repeated in the most authoritative of those lists: here too, Alʿamida/Alʾameda (with usual vars.), followed by Täzena/Tazena and Kaleb, is sometimes ranking after Sälʾadoba/Säʿaldoba (CRList 272: list A, no. 22; 281: B, no. 43; 298: D, no. 45; cp. 292f.: C, no. 83).

Src.: ARTURO ANZANI, "Numismatica axumita", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* ser. 3^{a}, 3 [39], 1926, 5–110, here 38, 82, no. 194; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Monete aksumite", *Africa Italiana* 1, 1927, 179–212, here 191, 199 [§§6, 18]; ID. (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum*, I. *Acta Yārēd et Panṭalēwon*, Lovanii 1904 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9,10]), 44 (text) = 40 (tr.); ID., *Ricordi di un soggiorno in Eritrea*, 1, Asmara 1903, 9–22 [II. "Il Gadla Sâdqân"], here 9; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 212f.; RIE nos. 186, 188, 189, 271; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed.), "Il «Gadla 'Aragâwî»", *MRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 2, 1894, 54–96, here 61f.; MARC-ANTOINE VAN DEN OUDENRIJN (tr.), *La Vie de Saint Za Mīkāʾēl 'Aragāwī*, Fribourg (Suisse) 1939, 44 (cp. 14ff.); GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Homily in Honour of St. Frumentius Bishop of Axum (EMML 1763 ff. 84^{v}-86^{r})", *ABoll* 97, 1979, 309-18; OSVALDO RAINERI, "«Gadla Sadqan» o «Vita dei Giusti». Missionari dell'Etiopia nel sesto secolo", *Nicolaus* 6, 1978, 143–63, here 145 (and n. 16), 151; GuiSyn II, 427ff.; ColSyn VII, 22ff.; BudSaint 116f., 1164f.; CRList 272, 281, 292f.

Lit.: DAE I, 47; CRStoria 130ff., 148, 151, 216; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden 1962, 106f.; FRANZ ALTHEIM – RUTH STIEHL, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, vol. 5, 1, Berlin 1968, 334, and vol. 5, 2, 1969, 170f., 245; IID., *Christentum am Roten Meer*, vol. 1, Berlin 1974, 410; SerHist 91ff., 103ff., 112, 116, 126; FRANÇOIS THELAMON, *Païens et chrétiens au IV^{e} siècle. L'apport de l'«Histoire ecclésiastique» de Rufin d'Aquilée*, Paris 1981, 42f., 70, 77f., 80; ARTHUR K. IRVINE – BELAYNESH MICHAEL, "ʾEllä-ʿAméda I", in: *DictEthBio* 55f.; ARTHUR K. IRVINE, "ʾEllä-ʿAméda II", *ibid.* 56; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches (Mit Katalog, metallurg. u. theolog. Anhang)", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80, here 123ff., 172f., no. 44; ID., "A Numismatic Contribution to the Dating of the Aksumite King Sembrouthes", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 11–13; ERIC GODET, "Bilan de recherches récentes en numismatique axoumite", *Revue numismatique* 6^{e} sér., 28, 1986, 174–209 (pl. VIII), here 180, 187, 191; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes sur les inscriptions royales aksumites", *BiOr* 44, 5–6, 1987, 599–616, here 614f.; MHAksum 77, 84, 156, 205f., 223; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–64, here 150 and n. 3, 161f., (Ill., Lit.); ID., "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 109f. (Lit.); BrakKirche 64f., 108; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica*, ser. 1^{a}, 15, I–II [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 66f., 75, 80; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Note linguistiche per la storia dell'Etiopia antica", in: *StudAeth* 67–78, here, 61 and n. 23.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa ↗Abrəḥa and Aṣbəḥa; ↗Kaleb

Ǝllä Azgʷagʷa

Ǝ.A. (**እለ፡ አዝጓጓ**) is the name of the ruler(s) of Aksum who succeeded King Ǝllä Alada, i.e. ↗Ǝllä ʿAmida, during whose reign Frumentius (↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan) arrived in Ethiopia. In his turn, Ǝ.A. would have been followed by the famous brother-kings ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa.

The tradition about Ǝ.A. proves to be of considerable age, for it appears in the anonymous homily in honour of Frumentius, transmitted in a manuscript from ↗Dabrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos dated to 1336–40 A.D. (EMML 1763), as well as in its almost contemporary pendant from ↗Tana Qirqos (EMML 8509, s. Fiaccadori 1989:150 [and n. 3], 161f., ill.). Here Ǝ.A. is the name of a single person: *wänägśä Ǝllä Azgʷagʷa* ('and Ǝ.A. became king', Getatchew Haile 1979:314). Yet, in the 16th-cent. *Sənkəssar* commemoration of Frumentius (*Ḥamle* 26, in GuiSyn II, 428), it seems to refer to more than one person: *wänägśu Ǝllä Azgʷagʷa* ('and Ǝ.A. became kings'), such reading being possibly entailed by the understanding of *əllä* as the (majestatic) plural of the Gəʿəz relative pronoun *zä*, as well as by the annexed name's similarity to the pattern of Gəʿəz "broken plural". In the "king lists" (C: Zäʾälläsgʷagʷa, Zäʾälläsgʷagʷ, Azgʷag), Ǝ.A. is ruling for 77 years as the 43rd king, while Alʿameda (= Ǝllä ʿAmida) stands at 57th place, before Ǝllä Ahyäwa (↗Eon).

The long reign and the resemblance of the names led to Dillmann's interpretation (1880:19) of Ǝ.A. as reminiscent of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty. Conti Rossini (1922:17f.) suggested instead a derivation of Ǝ.A. from subsequent corruptions of the Gr. *ΕΛΛΑ ΑΙΖΑΝΑ, i.e. *Ella Aizana* [Ezana], a form of ↗ʿEzana's name otherwise unattested but not unlikely in terms of what is known about Aksumite royal onomastics – be it a personal or a throne name (s. Fiaccadori 2004:110).

Src.: EMML mss. 1763, 8509; GuiSyn II, 428; BudSaint 1164f.; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Homily in Honour of St. Frumentius, Bishop of Axum (EMML 1763, ff. 84^{v}–86^{v})", *ABoll* 97, 1979, 309–18, here 311, 314, 317; CRList 291.

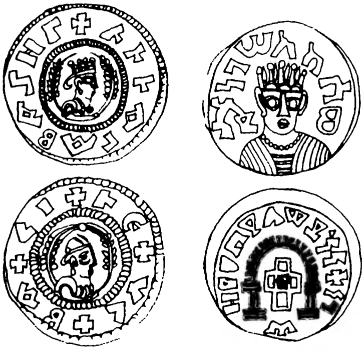
Lit.: BELAYNESH MICAEL, "Zä-ʾEllä-ʾAzgʷagʷa", in: *DicEthBio* 196f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "A propos des textes éthiopiens concernant Salāmā (Frumentius) (*Fin*)", *Aethiops* 1, 2, 1922, 17f.; CRStor 154; AUGUST DILLMANN, "Zur Geschichte des Axumitischen Reichs im vierten bis sechsten Jahrhundert", *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Philos.-histor. Kl., 1880, 1–51, here 19, n. 4; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–64, here 150 [and n. 3], 161f., ill. (Lit.); ID., "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 110; SerHist 92f., 99; FRANÇOIS THELAMON, *Païens et chrétiens au IV^{e} siècle. L'apport de l'«Histoire ecclésiastique» de Rufin d'Aquilée*, Paris 1981, 42f.

Stuart Munro-Hay – Red.

Ǝllä Gäbäz

The name Ǝ.G. (እለ፡ ገበዝ), connected by Conti Rossini (1922:374f.) with South Arabian *gbḏ/gbz* 'devastate, plunder, sack' (but cp. Ar. *ǧabaza* 'cut, set aside': here in the sense of '[tax-]collecting', Ǝ.G. being '[tax-]collector'?), is likely to designate two different Aksumite kings of the 6th and the 6th/7th cent. respectively. The one, also called Zägäbäzä Aksum (a later variant possibly referring to ↗Aksum Ṣəyon cathedral, s. ↗Gäbäz), is introduced as an immediate predecessor of ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl in the 14th/15th-cent. Life and Miracles of *abba* ↗Libanos or Mäṭ(ṭ)a (ed. Bausi 2003, §§33, 36, 413). The other is known from scarce late 6th- or early 7th-cent. gold coins where he appears on both sides, half-length bust rightwards, wearing a tiara or a head cloth respectively; his figure is framed by two wheat stalks, one of which the king is holding in his hand, and enclosed in an inner beaded circle with crosses and Gr. legends (Type 124 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995:222f.). The obv. is inscribed: ΑΛΛΑ/ΕΛΛΑ ΓΑΒΑΖΗϹ or, less probably, ΓΑΒΑΖ ΝΓ, i.e. *Alla/Ella Gabazēs* or *Gabaz n(e)g(us)* = *nəguś* ('king', s. Fiaccadori 2004:110, against Lusini in StudAeth 71 n. 21); on the rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ(C), i.e. *basileu(s)* ('king').

According to his negative characterization in the hagiography of *abba* Libanos, the first Ǝ.G. should be rather identified with King ↗Ǝsraʾel, in terms of royal vs. Christian names. As to the second Ǝ.G., he has long been deemed to lie behind the patronymic of ↗Ǝlla Ṣaḥam, king of ↗Aksum at the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, that occurs twice in the Annals of aṭ-↗Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje 1881–82:1569f.): *ʾbn ʾbǧr*, restored to *ibn Al(l)a/-ā Ǧabaz* ('son of Ǝ.G.') by Hartmann (1895:299f., amended by BassHist vol. 2: 419f., n. 2). Yet, the same segment can better be interpreted as *ibn *Al(l)a Ḫataz(a)* or *ibn *al-Ḫataz(a)*, i.e. son of (Ǝllä) Ḥetaza (s. ↗Ḥataz).



Gold and silver coins of Ǝllä Gäbäz, diameter ca. 18 and 16 mm; drawing; courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

The two historical personalities – the successor of ↗Kaleb, sometimes arbitrarily identified with ↗Wazebas (e.g., by Pedroni 1997:67, 75, 80), and his later namesake – seem to have been conflated into Ǝ.G./Zagäbäz of the traditional "king lists" (CRList 294: *C*, no. 80, with 21 or 24 years of reign).

Src.: DAE I, 53, 55; ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed., tr.), *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]), 15f., 162 (text) = 12f., 93 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Monete aksumite", *Africa Italiana* 1, 1927, 179–212, here 207 [§31]; ARTURO ANZANI, "Numismatica axumita", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* ser. 3a 3 [39], 1926, 5–110, here 82f., nos. 195–96; ID., "Numismatica e storia d'Etiopia. Note bibliografiche e nuove osservazioni di numismatica axumita", *ibid.* ser. 3a, 5–6 [41–42], 1928–29, 5–49, here 38ff.; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999, 42, no. 438, pl. 42; ID. – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 222f.; ABŪ ǦAʿFAR MUḤAMMAD B. ǦARĪR AṬ-ṬABARĪ, *Annales* (*Taʾrīḫ ar-rusul waʾl-mulūk*), ed. by MICHAEL JAN DE GOEJE et al., ser. I, vol. 3, Lugduni Batavorum 1881–82, 1569ff.; MICHAEL FISHBEIN (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, VIII. *The Victory of Islam*, Los Angeles, CA 1997, 108f.; CRList 294.

Lit.: MARTIN HARTMANN, "Der Naǧāšī Aṣḥama und sein Sohn Armā", *ZDMG* 49, 1895, 299–300; BassHist vol. 2, 419f., n. 2; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Aethiopica", *RSO* 9, 1923, 365–81, here 374f.; ID., [review of ANZANI 1926], *Oriente moderno* 8, 1928, 137–41, here 140; CRStor 158, 210f., 216; ARTHUR K. IRVINE, "ʾEllä-Gäbäz", in: *DicEthBio* 56; ERIC GODET, "Bilan de recherches récentes en numismatique axoumite", *Revue numismatique* 6e sér. 28, 1986, 174–209 (pl. VIII), here 194; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches (Mit Katalog, metallurg. u. theolog. Anhang)", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80, here 117, 119, 173, no. 45; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica*, ser. 1a, 15, I–II [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 67, 75, 80; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Note linguistiche per la storia dell'Etiopia antica", in: *StudAeth* 67–78, here 68 n. 8, 71 n. 21; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 110, 138.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Ǝllä Ṣäḥam

The name of Ǝ.Ṣ. (እለ፡ ጸሐም, also Ǝllä Śäḥam) occurs with variants (Zäʾəllä Ṣaḥəm, Zäṣäḥam, Ṣäḥam etc.) in at least one of the traditional Ethiopian "king lists", where he is first assigned a reign of nine years, then of 28 years, and finally of 15 years (CRList 292, 294: "List C", nos. 54, 75, 79).

As a matter of fact, Ǝ.Ṣ. is the Christian king of ↗Aksum whose death was lamented over by the Prophet ↗Muḥammad in 630 A.D., for he must be identified with the *naǧāšī* (al-)Aṣḥam(a) known from the Arabic chronicles as the one who received the Muslim emigrants in 615/6 A.D. (↗Aṣḥama b. Abǧar, with other indications; for vars. of the name, al-Makkī, II, 1, in Weisweiler 1924:49). In one of the most important of these sources, the *Annals* of aṭ-Ṭabārī (de Goeje 1881-82:1568ff.), he appears thrice, as *(an-naǧāšī) al-Aṣḥam* or *Al(la) Aṣḥam* ('[the *nəguś*] Ǝllä Ṣaḥam'). The first time he is also called *malik al-Ḥabaša* ('king of Ethiopia'); the second time is given the patronymic "ibn Abǧar"; the third time is mentioned in connection with his son ↗Armaḥ: *Arhā* [< **Armā* < **Armà* < **Armaḥ*] *ibn al-Aṣḥam ibn Abǧar*. The latter patronymic has been restored to *ibn Al(l)a/-ā Ǧabaz* ('son of Ǝllä Gäbäz') by Hartmann (1895:299f., cp. BassHist 419f., n. 2), but it can be better interpreted as *ibn Al(l)a Ḥataz* or *ibn *al-Ḥataza* ('son of [Ǝllä] Ḥataz': s. for details ↗Ǝllä Gäbäz, ↗Ḥataz). In fact, the whole sequence retrieved, **Armaḥ ibn Alla Ṣaḥam ibn Alla Ḥataz*, makes it clear that Ǝ.Ṣ. was the father of *nəguś* Armaḥ and the son of *nəguś* Ḥataz – thus contributing to the reconstruction of a lesser known part of the king series and of the relevant chronology (in keeping with the Islamic source lying behind the Chinese text hinted at in MHAksum 92f.).

According to a tradition already known in the 16th-cent. ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist 318 [text]), the tomb (*qabr*) of *Aṣḥamat an-naǧāšī* was revered at ↗Wəqro (Ǝndärta, s. Guida 300; TTChurch 34f. and Lusini 1993–97:252).

Src.: CRList 292, 294; ABŪ ǦAᶜFAR MUḤAMMAD B. ǦARĪR AṬ-ṬABARĪ, *Annales* (*Taʾrīḫ ar-rusul waʾl-mulūk*), ed. by MICHAEL JAN DE GOEJE et al., ser. I, vol. 3, Lugduni Batavorum 1881-82, 1568ff.; *Guida* 300; MICHAEL FISHBEIN (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, VIII. *The Victory of Islam*, Los Angeles, CA 1997, 108f.; MAX WEISWEILER (tr.), *Buntes Prachtgewand: über die guten Eigenschaften der Abessinier*, von Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbdalbâqî al Buḫârî al Makkî, 1. Teil, Hannover 1924, 41, 49; BassHist 318 (text), 419f. (tr.). **Lit.**: MARTIN HARTMANN, "Der Naǧāšī Aṣḥama und sein Sohn Armā", *ZDMG* 49, 1895, 299–300; CRStor 210f., 263; BELAYNESH MICHAEL, "Zä-Ellä-Ṣäham", in: *DicEthBio* 198; TadTChurch 34f.; MHAksum 92f., 261f.; EMERI VAN DONZEL, "al-Najāshī", in: *EI*^{2} vol. 7, 1992, 862ff., here 862; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Christians and Moslems in Eastern Tigray up to the XIVth C.", *Studi magrebini* 15, 1993–97 [2002], 245–52, here 252.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Ǝllä Śahəl

Ǝ.Ś. (**እለ፡ ሣህል**, vars. Zä Ǝllä Śahäl and others) is a ruler name appearing in some of the Ethiopian "king lists". In the type C lists (s. CRList 283ff., 293f.) this name is mentioned in the 62nd place (separated from ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəha by only one name) with a reign of 14 years, and again in the 69th place with a reign of 2–6 months, and in the 77th place with a reign of two years.

According to the Vita of *abba* ↗P̣änṭälewon, this saint died during the reign of King ↗Kaleb's successor Śaḥəl, in the year 246 of the Era of Diocletian (530 A.D.). Yet, this passage is missing in an earlier copy of the Vita (ms. EMML 1479, fol. 72va).

The words *əllä śähəl* (i.e., *śahəl*) also appear in a late-Aksumite or fully medieval inscription: the epitaph of a certain Giḥo, "daughter of Mängäśa" (RIE no. 232). In some of the proposed interpretations, they were understood as a genuine royal name (e.g., Conti Rossini 1939, CerLett 18f.), though in an uncertain context. Among the recent re-evaluations of the inscription there are suggestions to consider the words *əllä śähəl* either as a genitive of abstraction ('those of mercy/compassion', s. Fiaccadori 1990: 10th/11th or 11th/12th cent.) or as a part of another – otherwise unknown – designation for the Era of Diocletian (s. Kropp 1999, where a precise, though unconvincing, date of Giḥo's death is also offered: 27 *Taḫśaś* 590 Era of the Martyrs [23 December 873 A.D.]).

Both the interpretation of the segment under scrutiny as a ruler's name, Ǝ.Ś., and the latter's occasional inclusion into the "king lists" (s. ↗Chronology) can be plausibly explained by the fact that Giḥo's gravestone had long been laying embedded in the wall of the old church of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana (in ↗Ham). Being so visible, the well-preserved inscription might have attracted the attention of local traditional scholars.

Src.: CRList 283–95; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum*, I. *Acta Yārēd et Pantalēwon*, Roma 1904 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]), 60 (text); RIE no. 232 (Lit.).
Lit.: CerLett 18f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'iscrizione etiopica di Ham", *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* ser. 7^{a}, 1, 1939, 1–14; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Epigraphica Aethiopica", *Quaderni utinensi* 8 [15–16], 1990 [1996], 325–33, here 325ff., 328–31 (I. "Sull'iscrizione di Ḥam"; Lit.); MANFRED KROPP, "'Glücklich, wer vom Weib geboren, dessen Tage doch kurzbemessen ...!' Die altäthiopische Grabinschrift von Ḥam, datiert auf den 23. Dezember 873 n. Chr.", OrChr 83, 1999, 162–76 (Lit.); MHAksum 247f.

Stuart Munro-Hay

Ǝllä ᶜUzena

The name Ǝ.ᶜU. is one of the possible readings of a word appearing in a difficult passage at the beginning of the Mārib dam inscription set up by the South-Arabian king ↗Abraha in 543 A.D. *ʾn ʾbrh ᶜzl/y mlkn ʾgᶜzyn rmḥś zbymn* (CIH 541, 4f., s. illustration for Abraha). Leaving aside the discussions on *ᶜzly*, *rmḥś* and *zbymn*, one of several suggestions regarding *ʾgᶜzyn* (e.g., 'of Gəᶜəz kin', s. CRStor 188; s. ↗Agᶜazi) was to read it as *ʾlᶜzyn* and translate the whole passage as "I, Abraha, viceroy (?) of king ʾLᶜZYN", i.e. Ǝ.ᶜU. *Ǝllä-* is frequently a part of king ↗names; the tentative vocalization *Ǝllä ᶜUzena* was suggested by Ryckmans (1953:6, n. 26) with reference to King ↗Ousanas as distinguished from ↗Wazena (WZN), both known from Aksumite ↗coinage. In the case of Wazena, ᶜZYN would in fact represent quite an odd rendering – the initial ᶜ standing for *w* – of the name of this possible successor of ↗Kaleb Ǝllä ᶜAṣbəḥa (s., though, ↗Ǝllä ᶜAmida, ↗Ǝsraʾel, ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl). However, even the learned identification of *Ǝllä ᶜUzena with Ousanas seems to be far-fetched.

Src.: CIH 541, esp. line 5.

Lit.: CRStor 166; BrakKirche 108f. (Lit.); ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden 1962, 108–11 (Lit.); MANFRED KROPP, "Abreha's Names and Titles: CIH 541,4 Reconsidered", *Seminar for Arabian Studies* 1991 [Proceedings of the 24th Seminar for Arabian Studies held at Oxford on 24th-26th July 1990], 135–45, esp. 140, n. 9; MHAksum 90; JACQUES RYCKMANS, *La persécution des Chrétiens himyarites au sixième siècle,* Istanbul 1956 (Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul 1); ROGER SCHNEIDER, [review of YURI M. KOBISHCHANOV, *Axum*], *JES* 17, 1984, 148–74, here 162ff.

Stuart Munro-Hay – Red.

Ǝllen

Ǝmbet Ǝ. (**እሌን**, also Ǝlän, Ǝleni; b. ca. 1801, Zagər/Karnäšəm, d. 1851, ᶜAd Täkälezan) was a lady of high birth who played a distinguished political role during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* and won the respect of her contemporaries. Her fame is underlined in 19th-cent. sources by the unusual reference to *raʾəssi* Wäldä Mikaʾel as the "son of Ǝ." without any connotation of disparagement.

Hardly anything has been preserved about her upbringing and formal education, if any. Even the name of her father is not given with certainty. Killion calls him "*aite* Hagos, Kantibai of Zagher" (KilHDic 258f.) and the informants of Kolmodin refer to him as "Ayte Fəssəha, the son of Ayte Selṭan" (KolTrad I), while Yəsḥaq Yosef (1999) uses both names alternately. All sources agree that she was extraordinarily intelligent, a persuasive speaker, an astute politician and a valorous leader. She is said to have commanded the men in combat personally and fought herself like one of them.

Ǝ. entered politics, not by choice, but rather by the exigencies of the time. She was given in marriage to *ayte* Sälomon (the eldest son of *käntiba* ↗Zärʾay of Hazzäga, who ruled the greater part of Ḥamasen for over 40 years), by whom she had a daughter, Tämärṣa, and two sons: Wäldä Mikaʾel and Märᶜəd. Apparently, her husband was neither popular within and outside the family nor powerful enough to dominate the political arena. It also appears that his health was scarcely robust. *Käntiba* Zärʾay was said to have wished to nominate Gäbray Habtäṣəyon, a grandson, to be his heir in his stead, had tradition not hampered him. He did, however, bequeath much of his wealth to Gäbray, while Sälomon received the hereditary office. From this circumstance developed a bitter rivalry within the ruling family, accompanied by incessant intrigues, with which Ǝ. had to cope for many years, both during her husband's lifetime and after his death around 1837, primarily to preserve her children's right to the governance.

Sometime after his accession to the office in the mid-1820s, Sälomon attacked the neighbouring district and rival centre of Ṣäʾazzäga for some obscure reason; but his men were quickly routed by the defenders and he fled to Guraᶜ, Akkälä Guzay, his mother's home region. This uninstigated attack revived the old conflict between the two centres of Ṣäʾazzäga and Hazzäga, which continued unabated until the Italians arrived in the region in 1889.

Ǝ. mobilized the remaining men of Hazzäga and her relations in Karnäšəm and attempted twice to avenge the defeat of her husband, but in vain. Fighting two fronts – Ṣäʾazzäga, on the one hand, and Gäbray (who split her base), on the other – was too much for her. She then looked beyond the Märäb for help. She allied with *šum ᶜagame* Säbagadis, who, having subdued ↗Märäb Məllaš, appointed Ǝ. over the whole of Ḥamasen. After the death of Säbagadis in 1831, the old rivalries of Märäb Məllaš broke out anew and Ǝ. had to look to other quarters for support. Again she succeeded in winning ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam to her side and she was confirmed in her office.

Her administration was said to have been by and large fair, though at times she tended to treat her enemies harshly. Consequently, *ayte* Gäbray refused to submit to her rule and lived as a rebel in the heavily forested ʿAnsäba region for many years, a situation which made her all the more uneasy and vigilant. She was generally regarded as excessively revengeful, an attribute which not only terrorized opponents, but also brought about her untimely death.

In the late 1840s, she felt it was time for her to give up her regency in favour of her elder son, Wäldä Mikaʾel, who was then in his mid-20s. Probably she was also tired of the ceaseless conflicts she had to deal with. She did in any case retire to the St. Mary church of Hazzäga as a nun. It was here, incidentally, that *käntiba* Wäldä Gabər of ʿAd Täkälezan visited her on his way back home. She received him cordially, in spite of the fact that they were enemies for a dozen years.

Ayte Sälomon had allegedly entrusted to him 40 rifles on behalf of his young children. When Wäldä Mikaʾel and Märʿəd requested him to hand them over some years later, Wäldä Gabər denied having received any rifles from their deceased father. Besides, he mistreated and dismissed his wife, the daughter of Ǝ. Hence, Ǝ. fought and defeated him some years earlier. Now Wäldä Gabər was murdered after his departure from Ǝ.'s friendly reception, a tragedy which the people of ʿAd Täkälezan attributed to the sinister scheme of Ǝ. As a consequence, Wäldä Gabər's relations attacked Hazzäga and took captive Ǝ. and two of her small grandchildren, whom they eventually tortured to death. This event became one of the underlying causes for Wäldä Mikaʾel's contemptuous and rancorous attitude towards Ḥamasen for the next 30 years.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Epistolario del Debterà Aseggachègn di Uadlà", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 1, 1925, 449–90, here 464; KolTrad I, 143–51, 166-70; RubActa II, 369.

Lit.: YƎSḤAQ YOSEF, እምቢ፡ ያለ፡ ወልዱ፡ – ጎሚዳ፡ ታሪኽ፡ ራእሲ፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል (*Ǝmbi yalä Wäldu – Gomida: tarik̠ raʾəssi Wäldä Mikaʾel*, 'Wäldu Refused – the Severer: a Biography of *Raʾəsi* Wäldä Mikaʾel'), Asmära 1999, 41–67, 251f.; ID., ንግስነት፡ ሃገረ፡ ምድሪ፡ ባሕሪ፡ (ኤርትራ፡), ታሪኽ፡ ደጊያት፡ ሃይሉ፡ «ኣባ፡ ጋላ፡» (*Nəgsənnät hagärä Mədri Baḥəri* [*Ertəra*], *tarik̠ däggiyat Haylu «abba Galla»*, 'The Narrative of the Land of the Sea [Eritrea], the History of *Däggiyat* Haylu «*Abba* Galla»'), Asmära 2000, 129, 146f.; KilHDic 258f.

Bairu Tafla

Ellena, Giuseppe

E. (b. 29 March 1839, Saluzzo [Cuneo], d. 1918, Florence) entered the Italian Army after obtaining a degree in Engineering and in 1859 became Artillery officer. He fought in the Austro-Italian war of 1866 and held a teaching position in the Artillery and Engineering School of Turin. In 1887 was in charge of the 7th Artillery Regiment. He was Major General in 1893.

On 29 January 1896 E. moved to Eritrea where he was one of four Italian infantry brigade commanders who fought at the Battle of ↗ʿAdwa. His 3rd Africa Infantry Brigade, which included 4,150 rifles and 12 cannons, was organized into the 4th Infantry Regiment, 5th Infantry Regiment, 3rd Native Battalion, Artillery Brigade and 1st Engineers Company.

Confusion and disorganization characterized the Italian campaign at ʿAdwa. Initially, General Oreste ↗Baratieri, Governor of Eritrea and commander-in-chief, held E.'s brigade at Räbbi Ariänni. However, within hours after the Italians started moving against the Ethiopians, Baratieri divided E.'s brigade, thus ensuring its near destruction.

The 4th Infantry Regiment remained at Räbbi Ariänni and tried to cover the Italian retreat but suffered heavy losses. The 3rd Native Battalion, the Artillery Brigade, and two companies of the 5th Infantry Regiment's Alpine Battalion reinforced Brigadier General Giuseppe Edoardo ↗Arimondi, commander of the 1st Africa Infantry Brigade, who led the Central Column of the advance and lost his life during the retreat. The 5th Infantry Regiment's 15th Africa Infantry Battalion deployed to Mount Bälah to reinforce Arimondi's 1st Bersaglieri Battalion (1st Infantry Regiment) but arrived too late and was cut off and overwhelmed by the Ethiopians. The 5th Infantry Regiment's 16th Battalion and two companies of the 5th Infantry Regiment's Alpine Battalion also suffered heavy losses in a desperate attempt to halt the Ethiopian onslaught in the Mount Bälah. E. then made the mistake of moving his 1st and 2nd Quick Fire Batteries into the Məmṣaḥ pass, thereby helping to block the road and hinder the Italian retreat. E. survived the Battle of ʿAdwa and was repatriated on 14 March 1896.

Src.: GIUSEPPE ELLENA, *Nozioni sul materiale d'artiglieria ad uso delle Scuole Reggimentali dell'Arma, con atlante e nomenclatura dei vari oggetti*, Torino 1870, ID., *Nozioni sulle polveri, sulle munizioni e sugli artifizi da guerra*, Torino 1873; ID., *Corso di materiale d'artiglieria. Parte teorico-sperimentale*, Torino 1874; ID., *Corso di materiale d'artiglieria*, 3 vols., Torino 1872, 1877, 1884.

Lit.: GEORGE FITZ-HARDINGE BERKELEY, *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik*, London ^{2}1935, 259, 263f., 303, 306; AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYLDE, *Modern Abyssinia*, London 1901, 209, 219.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Ellero, Giovanni Battista

E. (b. 17 July 1910, Tricesimo, Udine, d. 28 November 1942) was an Italian civil servant in Ethiopia who made important contributions to the ethnography and history of Tǝgray.

Between 1931 and 1935 E. completed degrees in Law, Philosophy (Bologna) and Political and Labour Sciences (Ferrara); in view of a career in the colonial administration, he studied Tǝgrǝñña and Amharic. On 15 May 1936 he joined the Ministero dell'Africa Italiana (↗Africa Orientale Italiana), serving in several posts in Tǝgray (political office in ^{c}Addigrat, Commissioner office of Akkälä Guzay, Ǝnda Śǝllase, ^{c}Addi Da^{c}aro, Mäq̣älä, ^{c}Om Hağär and ^{c}Addi Remoz). When in 1941 the Italian colonial empire collapsed, E. was left in charge under the British Military Administration in ^{c}Addi Qayyǝḥ and collaborated with the anthropologist Siegfried ↗Nadel (s. Dore 2004). In June 1942, he was made prisoner by the British troops and sent to South Africa. He died as the ship that transported him was sunk by the German navy.

During his six years in Tǝgray, whenever he was off duty, E. carried out field work in different areas and on various topics, but with a focus, apparent in his writings, on main colonial problems: customary law, traditional land rights and land resources, genealogies, and pastoral taxonomy (for his ethnographical role s. Dore 1993:37–40). He was in assiduous correspondence with Carlo ↗Conti Rossini. From his research he published six articles between 1939–48 (republished in EllLusAnt), where he skilfully combined – and this is probably the most interesting aspect of his research – different methodologies: use of oral traditions and written sources, participant observation and cartography (Dore 1993:40–43). E. offered there insights into the history and the secular and monastic life – with some of the first serious censuses of its monasteries – of Šire and Ǝndärta, into ↗Tuqrīr groups and Wälqayt, the later being the subject of a larger unpublished monograph.

Giovanni Battista Ellero; photo courtesy of Giovanni Dore

E. additionally collected several colonial documents, mostly letters from Tǝgrayans and Italian officers, spanning from the 1880s to the 1930s. These, along with other studies on Akkälä Guzay, Waldǝbba, Ǝndärta, and the Sāho and Asaorta (^{c}Asawǝrta) groups, are kept at the Department of Discipline Storiche of the University of Bologna and have been (partially) published (e.g., Uoldelul Chelati Dirar – Gori – Taddia 1997; Uoldelul Chelati Dirar – Dore 2000).

Src.: EllLusAnt; Uoldelul Chelati Dirar – Alessandro Gori – Irma Taddia, *Lettere tigrine. I documenti etiopici del fondo Ellero*, Torino 1997; Uoldelul Chelati Dirar – Gianni Dore, *Carte coloniali. I documenti italiani del fondo Ellero*, Torino 2000; Gianni Dore, *Scritture di colonia. Lettere di Maria Pia Pezzoli dall'Africa Orientale a Bologna (1936–1943)*, Bologna 2004; Gianni Dore – Irma Taddia (eds.), *Welqā qerreč: I Quaderni inediti sul Wälqāyt di Giovanni Ellero*, Torino 2004.

Lit.: Gianni Dore, "Etnologia e storia nella ricerca di Giovanni Ellero", *Africa* [Roma] 48, 1993, 35–46, here 37–43; Id., "Amministrare l'esotico. Un caso di etnologia applicata nell'Africa Orientale Italiana (1936–1941)", in: Alessandro Triulzi (ed.), *La Colonia: Italiani in Eritrea*, Roma 2002 (= *Quaderni storici* 109, 1), 189–220; Id., "Giovanni Ellero: un funzionario nell'Impero d'A.O.I. Amministrare e conoscere nell'Eritrea e nell'Etiopia d'età coloniale", in: Uoldelul Chelati Dirar – Gianni Dore, *Carte coloniali. I documenti italiani del fondo Ellero*, Torino 2000, 3–25; Irma Taddia, "Un funzionario tra ricerca scientifica e colonialismo: Giovanni Ellero", *Africa* [Roma] 48, 1993, 25–34; Ead., "Land and Society in Wälqayt (Ethiopia)", in: Alain Rouaud (ed.), *Les orientalistes sont des aventuriers. Guirlande offerte à Joseph Tubiana par ses élèves et ses amis*, Paris 1999, 151–56.

Andreu Martínez

Elsa^c

E. (**ኤልሳዕ**, Elisha) was the second head of the monastery of Däbrä ^{c}Asbo (later known as

↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa) after *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot, the celebrated saint. According to the early 16th cent. Acts of Täklä Haymanot, the saint appointed E. shortly before his death (Budge 1906, ch. 110). Another more ancient (so-called Waldəbban) recension of Täklä Haymanot's Acts has it that it was E. whom Täklä Haymanot ordered to take his leg, severed after many years of standing; E. hid the leg under the community's ↗*tabot* and was appointed head of the monastery soon thereafter (s. Conti Rossini 1895:119ff.); the monks, however, might have preferred another candidate (e.g., *abba* ↗Anorewos the "Elder").

E. held office for three months only before he died. His death was predicted by a certain deacon, who miraculously returned from the dead only in order to bring the message of Täklä Haymanot to his disciples: E. was doomed to die and be substituted by ↗Filəppos. The prophecy was fulfilled three days later (s. Budge 1905, chs. 111–12; for a somewhat different chronology s. Conti Rossini 1895:122).

In the tradition of Däbrä Libanos E. is commemorated on 11 *Ḫədar*. He is praised for his piety but otherwise almost nothing is known about him. However, the persistent repetition of "the arisen monk's" story in a number of sources suggests that the transferring of the office from E. to Filəppos was an important and possibly turbulent event, the original purpose of the story being seemingly to legitimate Filəppos's abbotship.

E. may be identical to a certain *abba* E. appearing in the list of Täklä Haymanot's principal followers (cp. ms. EMML 1834, fol. 102a; Budge 1906, ch. 103). Notwithstanding his short tenure, E. is well remembered in the monastic tradition, chiefly in Šäwa, and is usually included amongst the heads of Däbrä Libanos (for a rare exception s. ms. EMML 3255, fol. 2b; cp. ↗*Ǝč̣č̣äge*). At least two images of E. are known (s. ms. EMML 2999, fol. 88b; 4026, fol. 142a).

Src.: BudSaint 231; EMML nos. 1834, 2999, 3255, 4026; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il 'Gadla Takla Haymanot', secondo la redazione Waldebbana", *MRALm* ser. 5ᵃ, 2–1, 1895, 97–143, here 119–22; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *The Life and Miracles of Tâklâ Hâymânôt in the Version of Dabra Libânôs* ..., London 1906, ch. 103, 110–12.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos, capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo la 'lista rimata' (sec. XIV–XVIII)", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 12, 1943, 226–53, here 232; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "Life and Death of Elsaᶜə, the Second Abbot of Däbrä Asbo Monastery, According to Däbrä Libanos Hagiographic Tradition", in: *StudAeth* 29–35; DerDom, s. index; KapMon 52 (Lit.); TadTChurch 174.

Denis Nosnitsin

Elyas

Abba E. (ኤልያስ; 15th cent.) was a nephew of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, the son of the Emperor's sister ↗Ǝleni and an important church singer, Bakimos. He lived during the reigns of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, *aṣe* Bäᵓədä Maryam, *aṣe* Ǝskəndər and *aṣe* Naᶜod. Despite his connections to the royal family, E. did not exploit his position for personal gain and refused offers of prestigious monastic seats, such as ↗Däbrä Libanos, Däbrä Wägäg and Däbrä Halleluya. He is said to have clashed with the ↗Stephanite clergy and to have been persecuted by their supporters.

Src.: EMML V, 32, no. 1126, 23b–61a.

Lit.: KinBibl 69, no. 42.

Steven Kaplan

Elyas

E. (ኤልያስ, d. 1 January 1733?) was an official at *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa's court. The end of *aṣe* Bäkaffa's reign was marked by a series of sudden promotions at the court. Thus, on 14 July 1729 a certain E. was promoted from the rank of ↗*bašša* (14th place in the court hierarchy) to that of ↗*ras* (2nd place). However, Bäkaffa died on 19 September 1730 and E., anxious to safeguard his position, took sides with *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II, the seven years-old son of Bäkaffa and Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa). It was as *ras* that he was among those who proclaimed *aṣe* Iyasu II emperor and was immediately rewarded with the hand of Bäkaffa's daughter Wälättä Täklä Haymanot, who was given to him in marriage on 28 September 1730.

It was the only reward E. received, for he was soon returned to his previous position of *bašša*, the commander of the royal guards armed with match-locks. It was not the previous courtiers, but Məntəwwab's relatives, natives of ↗Qʷara, who were then promoted at the court: in July 1731 Niqolawos, the elder of the Qʷara clan, was appointed *ras* in place of E.; and on 19 July 1732 the same Niqolawos was additionally granted the title of ↗*bitwäddäd*. Subsequently, a party of malcontents, unhappy with the rise of Qʷara upstarts, arose at the court. Among them were such prominent figures as the President of the

Supreme Council Tənsaʾe Mammo and ex-*bitwäddäd* Lafto. When old Niqolawos died on 18 December 1732, they entered ↗Gondär under the pretext of mourning and proclaimed a new ruler, *aṣe* ↗Həzqəyas, whom they had released from Wähni Amba, a place of detention for male royalties. E. immediately joined them with his musketeers and they besieged and stormed the palace compound for several days, so that the Qʷara clique was rescued only by provincial rulers who hurried with their troops to rescue them. On 1 January 1733, the decisive battle took place at Fänṭar, where the rebels were defeated and Həzqəyas captured. E. probably lost his life on the same day.

The triumph of Iyasu II and his mother Məntəwwab revealed the growing might of the provincial rulers – a tendency which later proved fatal for the Gondärine dynasty.

Src.: Guilyas 28–32, 41ff.; BégCron 120; DombrChr 278, 288.

Lit.: VYACHESLAV A. PLATONOV, "*Kratkaja hronika* alaki *Lemlema po rukopisi LO INA Ef. 30*"('A "Short Chronicle" by *Aläqa* Lemlem According to the Ms. LO INA Ef. 30'), *Africana 7. Trudy instituta etnografii im. Mikluho-Maklaya,* new ser. 90, 36–51; LAVERLE B. BERRY, "Factions and Coalitions during the Gondar Period, 1630–1755", in: *PICES* 5b, 431–41; ID., "Coalition Politics and the Royal Office in mid-18th Century Gondar", in: *PICES* 10, 219–24.

Sevir Chernetsov

Elyas Ḫaylu

Aläqa E.Ḫ. (ኤልያስ፡ ኃይሉ; b. 1861, Moṭa, Goǧǧam, d. early 20th cent.) was one of Ethiopia's most prominent artists in *aṣe* Mənilək II's time. From Moṭa he moved to Šäwa, where he entered *aṣe* Mənilək II's service, and, according to family tradition, was one of the first Ethiopians to go abroad to study painting, in France.

E.Ḫ.'s paintings include illustrations for a copy of ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* (now in Addis Abäba's ↗Qəddəst Śəllase church; mf. EMML 1180). E.Ḫ. also decorated many churches, including one in Moṭa, as well as in Mädḫane ʿAläm in Ankobär, and Uraʾel, Yäkka Mikaʾel, and one at *aṣe* Mənilək II's palace, in Addis Abäba.

Battle of ʿAdwa; painting by Elyas Ḫaylu (detail); from Rosen 1907

Since his work was unsigned, and there has been much over-painting in Addis Abäba churches, where historical memory of painters is often blurred, it is impossible to identify these paintings. His icons of ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus and ↗Täklä Haymanot are, however, reproduced in Rosen (1907).

E.Ḫ. was one of the first Ethiopian artists to depict *aṣe* Mənilək II's victory at the battle of ↗ʿAdwa and, claims family tradition, painted one which the monarch inspected on his triumphal return to his capital. One such work is reproduced by Felix Rosen, who notes that it was unusual in indicating the different pigmentation of the Ethiopian and Italian armies. Two ʿAdwa battle paintings by *abba* [sic] E.Ḫ., probably the said *aläqa*, are in the Alfred ↗Ilg collection in Zürich.

Aläqa E.Ḫ., like many other artists, was also a poet. One of his poems was reproduced by his son, ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Elyas, in the chronicle of *ləǧ* Iyasu and *nəgəśtä nägäśtat* Zäwditu (s. GebMolIyas).

Src.: EMML vol. 4 [EMML 1180].

Lit.: FELIX ROSEN, *Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft in Abessinien,* Leipzig 1907; GIRMA FISSEHA – WALTER RAUNIG, *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei,* Innsbruck – Frankfurt/Main 1985, 63, 154f., fig. 35; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Battle of Adwa (1896) as Depicted by Traditional Ethiopian Artists", in: *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art,* London 1989, 81–83, figs. 130–32; GebMolIyas, s. index.

Richard Pankhurst

Ǝmäʾalaf Ḫəruy

Ǝ.Ḫ. (እማኣላፍ፡ ኅሩይ; b. 1908, Dima, d. 1972) was a traditional Ethiopian artist active during the Ḫaylä Śəllase period. One of three sons of the church artist *aläqa* ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Giyorgis of Dima in Goǧǧam, decorator, inter alia, of the churches of ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam and ↗Gännätä Giyorgis in Addis Ababa, Ǝ.Ḫ. was brought up and trained by his father. Making his way to Addis Ababa during the ↗Zäwditu period, he obtained employment as a book illustrator in the then newly established ↗Bərhanənna Sälam

Printing Press and also produced several paintings of royal personages for the Parliament building. After the Italian invasion he and his elder brother Nəqaʾe Ḫəywät Ḫəruy decided to join the Resistance. On receiving blessing and supplies from their father, the two brothers joined the Patriot leader ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Mammo and, after his death in battle, continued to fight beside their fellow Patriots. Nəqaʾe Ḫəywät was killed in action two years later. Ǝ.Ḫ. joined *ras* ↗Abbäbä Arägay's Patriots. During this time he produced one or more seals for his comrades and also helped them by making bullets.

After the Liberation, Ǝ.Ḫ. was appointed by Mäkʷännən Habtäwäld to head the Handicraft School, then located in the Kolfe area of Addis Abäba, and was subsequently attached to the National Library of Ethiopia. He was one of a select group of artists employed at the Palace to design the new Ethiopian bank-notes, and he later produced a series of paintings of *käntibas*, or Lord Mayors, for the Addis Abäba Municipality, as well as a portrait of the Ḫaylä Śəllase's daughter Princess Ṣähay for the Śəllase church in Addis Abäba. His most important work was, however, the decoration of the ↗Gännätä Ṣəge Giyorgis Cathedral, together with Afäwärq Täkle. Its original paintings, which included a representation of the Battle of ʿAdwa, had been destroyed at the time of the Graziani Massacre in 1937 and were replaced only after the Liberation.

Src.: information from Ǝmäʾalaf Ḫəruy's nephew Aläfälläga Sälam, himself an artist.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "Some Notes for a History of Ethiopian Secular Art", *EthObs* 10, 1966, 5–80, here 18, 22.

Richard Pankhurst

Ǝmäkina

Ǝ. (እምኪና) is a mountain fortress overlooking the Täkkäze valley in eastern ↗Bugna in Lasta.

There are two ancient churches on the mountain top, Ǝmäkina Lədäta and Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ʿAläm. They are believed to have been built during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl in the 6th cent. On the eastern foothills of Ǝ. there is a rock-hewn church of ↗Gännätä Maryam decorated with paintings under *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak.

Ǝ. is a highly inaccessible mountain stronghold from where ↗Mälkəʾa Krəstos, a descendant of *aṣe* Dawit II, waged an anti-Catholic struggle and then a dynastic power contest against *aṣe* ↗Susənyos; the royal chronicler refers to him as "pretender Mälkəʾa Krəstos of Ǝ." Ǝ. remained difficult and impregnable to the royal forces throughout the period of the Catholic episode.

Another mention of Ǝ. occurs in the period of *aṣe* Bäkaffa. There the pretender ↗Gubala had established his centre until he made peace with the Emperor in 1726. The mountain also served as a royal prison when *ras* ↗Aligaz, the Yäǧǧu Oromo king-maker, deposed and imprisoned *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis I in 1789; he remained there until his release by his Lastan supporters in 1791/92.

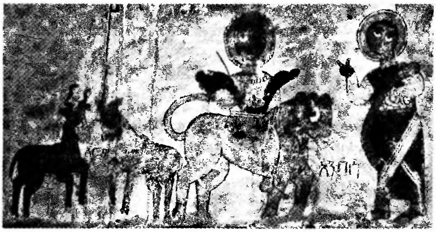
Src.: BassÉt I, II; BlunChr; PerChron.

Lit.: BTafA 449, 908, 924; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Catalogo dei nomi propri di luogo dell'Etiopia contenuti nei testi gəʿəz ed amharīña finora publicati*, Genova 1894, 25; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Who is Who in Ethiopia's Past, Part II: the Zagwe Royal Family after Zagwe", *NEASt* 7, 3, 1985, 41–48; WUDU TAFETE, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, c. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995.

Wudu Tafete

Ǝmäkina churches

Two churches of Ǝ., both constructed in a cave, belong to the type represented by ↗Däbrä Damo, ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, ↗Zaräma Giyorgis and ↗Žämmädu Maryam. The bigger one, situated on the east slope of the mountain, is dedicated to the "Redeemer of the World" (Mädḫane ʿAläm). It is sheltered by an irregular stonewall that closes the opening of the cave. An oriented basilica (8.7 m x 6.5 m x 5.2 m), it is constructed of small stone pieces and red tufa rubble layered in alternate shifts. The interior is divided into three naves by two squared pillars. A transversal wall screens the sanctuary. Two wooden architraves along the whole church support the clerestory wall decorated with friezes of wooden panels and pierced by six wooden framed windows. A flat wooden ceiling covers the aisles, while the central nave has an open-rafted saddle-back roof.



St. Mamas riding a lion; wall-painting; Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ʿAläm, western wall; end of the 13th cent.; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

The central part of the sanctuary, with a wooden dome, opens into the nave through a wooden arch. The western, northern and southern doors are of a massive wood.

The church is extensively decorated with relatively well-preserved paintings. Geometric and vegetal patterns cover almost all wooden architectonic details. Zoomorphic motifs, as well as crosses and angelic faces – with a clear apotropaic purpose – appear in several places. Figural representations – scenes from the O.T. and N.T., saints, monks, archangels and two donors – are to be found by the door, along the walls of the aisles, on all sides of the pillars, on the upper wall of the nave and in the sanctuary. The dome of the church is decorated with a large ↗ *Maiestas Domini*. The iconographical programme and the style of murals show a close relationship with the paintings in the nearby church of ↗ Gännätä Maryam, which should be ascribed to the same workshop and dated to the same period, i.e. to the second half of the 13th cent.

The second church, on the west slope of the mountain, is devoted to the Nativity of St. Mary (Lədätä Maryam). It lies behind a high and large wall pierced by a door opening with carved wooden frames and by windows with finely insculped traceries. The oriented church is cubical and very small (7.5 m x 7.4 m x 2.9 m). The exterior is entirely covered by white plaster. The windows are irregularly disposed. A saddle-roof supported by two monolith pillars rises above the central nave, while flat wooden ceilings cover the aisles and the sanctuary, at the entry of which two wooden columns are found, probably the remains of an old chancel. However, according to the local priests, who ascribe to them a symbolic significance, they were brought from Jerusalem.

The church is decorated by paintings difficult to date. The roof and the ceilings are covered with geometric patterns. On the walls the figures of saints, angels and different animals appear. These highly stylized representations resemble the drawings in the Coptic magic scrolls.

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "The Wall-Paintings in the Church of Mädhane Aläm near Lalibäla", *Africana Bulletin* 52, 2004, 9–29; GEORG GERSTER, *Churches in the Rock*: *Early Christian Art in Ethiopia*, London ^{2}1972, 109–14; OTTO JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia*, Stuttgart ^{2}1974, 139f; ANDRÉ MIQUEL, "Reconnaissance dans le Lasta (décembre 1955)", *AE* 3, 1959, 132–55, here 146f.; IVY PEARCE, "An Andrews Adventure and Pearce's Pilgrimage to the Cave and Rock Churches of Lasta", *EthObs* 13, 3, 1969, 142–63, here 145–50; BEATRICE PLAYNE, *St. George for Ethiopia*, London 1954, 161–76; ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 270, nos. 56, 57; TSEGAYE GABRE-MEDHIN – ALBERTO TESSORE, *Ethiopia*: *Footprint of Time*, Udine 1984, nos. 32, 45.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Əmba Dərho

Ə.D. (**እምባ፡ ድርሆ**) is a long-standing small town located 12 km north of ↗ Asmära (for exact location s. map under Əmbärämi), in the heart of the Eritrean plateau. In one of the early 16th-cent. "itineraries" collected by Alessandro ↗ Zorzi it is referred to as "Embandero, a royal city": namely, the city "of the king of Masen" or ↗ Ḥamasen (CrawItin 124f.:I, 4). A land charter of *aṣe* ↗ Ləbnä Dəngəl grants Ə.D. to Dafla, the well-known ↗ *kantiba* of Ḥamasen, "for his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and for his children and his children's children" (CRAxum 35 [text] = 38 [tr.], no. 38; HuntLand 47, no. 37). The priests of the local church of Ənda Iyäsus report a tradi-

Lədätä Maryam Church, west façade; 13th cent. (?); photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Grid excavations of Ǝmba Dərho near Asmära showing a megalithic circle; photo courtesy of Krishna Rao

tion about the latter's founding in 367 of the "Ethiopian Calendar" (Heldman 1974): i.e., in 374/75 or 1250/51 A.D. according to whether the era "of the Incarnation" or that "of Martyrs" is meant hereby. Although that tradition cannot be verified, it is possibly safe to assume that Ǝnda Iyäsus had been established by the end of the 14th cent. The low circular stone wall that encloses the church compound is decorated with interesting cross-finals of stone (Heldman 1974).

On a hillock 500 m north-west of the main settlement, there is an archaeological site, with two megalithic stone circles side by side on the hillock. Adjacent to the site a microlith-bearing site stands where redware pottery-worked stones are seen spread on the surface. One of the stone circles on the west was excavated in 2000 by the Department of Archaeology of the University of Asmära.

The stone circle consists of a cairn of stones surrounded by a circle of 22 large boulders which sealed undisturbed burial deposits. The underground chamber might have been prepared by scooping out the soft basaltic rock. There is an entrance on the west to this cavern-like chamber, formed of four upright stone slabs. Five small stone boulders on the inside support these vertically arranged slabs. The height and width of the entrance are 78 cm and 65 cm respectively. This gate-like entrance protects the burial goods.

Excavation was carried to the depth of 160 cm in different levels. Varieties of cultural materials were recovered. They included 24 pottery vessels, a small glass bowl, beads of stone, glass and copper, 10 cowry shells of white colour, a copper hair pin, two pairs of bracelets and a pair of gold earrings. Five human molar teeth were also collected. These ornamental objects and the teeth appear to be related to an adolescent girl with an age probably below 15. She may have belonged to a nomadic pastoral community of Aksumite times.

↗Archaeology

Src.: CRAxum 35 (text) = 38 (tr.), no. 38; HuntLand 47, no. 37; CrawItin 124f.; Marilyn Heldman, field notes of a visit to Ǝmba Derho, January 16, 1974.

Lit.: Michael L. Blakey et al., "Frequency and Chronological Distribution of Dental Enamel Hypoplasias in Enslaved African Americans: a Test of the Weaning Hypothesis", *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 95, 1994, 371–83; S. Krishna Rao – Yosief Libsekal, "A Megalithic Circle from Ǝmba Dərho: Some Significant Aspects of Culture", *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 13–27; R.H. MacDonald, "Teeth in Palaeodietary Reconstruction: Pastoralists versus Agriculturists", in: Gilbert Pwiti – Robert Soper (eds.), *Aspects of African Archaeology*, Harare 1996, 477–85; Merric Posmansky, "Cairns in the Southern Part of the Kenya Rift Valley", *Azania* 3, 1968, 181–87.

S. Krishna Rao – Yosief Libsekal – [Red.]

Ǝmbabo

Ǝ. (**እምባቦ**, also Imbaaboo) is a place in Horo Guduru, the former Wälläga province. It entered the history books subsequent to the battle fought between *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa (later ↗Mənilək II) and *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam on 6 June 1882. This was preceded by armed confrontation between their two generals, *ras* Däräso Ṭabo of Goǧǧam and *ras* Gobäna Dači of Šäwa, in their bid to establish control over the resource-rich Oromo principalities of south-western Ethiopia, when Gobäna reportedly forced Däräso to flee, leaving behind the ivory and other goods that he had collected from the Oromo lands. An exchange of derogatory correspondence between their two lords set the tone of the impending clash of arms. The daylong battle, which was marked by exceptional ferocity, ended with the defeat and capture of Täklä Haymanot. One-fifth of the Goǧǧam forces are said to have died on the battlefield.

An enraged *aṣe* Yoḥannəs chastened his vassals for going to war without his consent by taking away Agäw Mədər from Täklä Haymanot and Wällo from Mənilək II, as well as forcing the latter to surrender the arms he had captured at the battlefield. But the ultimate historical significance of the battle remains that Šäwan hegemony over the Oromo principalities was assured and Mənilək's succession to the imperial throne thereafter became only a matter of time. The ferocity of the battle notwithstanding, Mənilək and Täklä Haymanot maintained an amicable relationship until the latter's death in 1901.

Src.: GSMen 102–07;

Lit.: BZHist 61f.; Richard Caulk, "Territorial Competition and the Battle of Embabo, 1882", *JES* 13, 1, 65–88;

aläqa TÄKLÄ IYÄSUS, ታሪከ፡ ነገሥት (*Tarikä nägäśt*, 'The History of the Kings'), IES ms. 254, 87–90.

Bahru Zewde

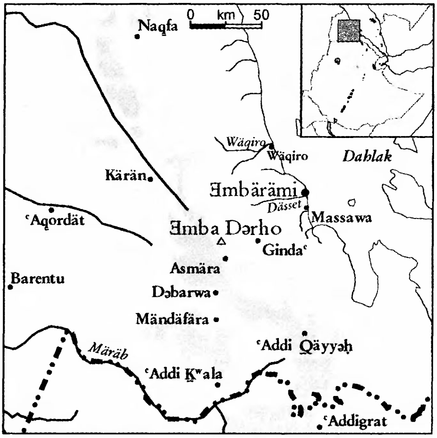
Ǝmbärämi

Ǝ. (እምበረሚ) is a village in Eritrea located ca. 19 km north of ↗Massawa on the northern bank of the Dässet river, ca. 1 km from the sea.

According to local traditions the settlement was founded by elements of the Təgre-speaking group Mäsḥalit. It is believed that while grazing in the area, a widow of the ᶜAd Baᶜadinge clan gave birth to a girl, who was named Baryam. The mother, Um Baryam ('mother of Baryam'), settled there and the village that developed around the spot gradually came to be known as Ǝ. (Salvadei 1913:1833; Odorizzi 1911:171f.).

However, Ǝ. derives its importance from being the centre of the influential ↗ᶜAd Šek holy family and the site of a region-wide *ziyāra* (pilgrimage) to the sacred shrines of the family's venerated saints, performed annually on 13 *Ṣafar*. ᶜAd Šek traditions date the arrival of *šayḫ* Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. al-Amīn (ca. 1808–77) in Ǝ. to ca. 1840. *Šayḫ* Muḥammad had gained such widespread success in attracting followers and establishing his reputation as a holy man that in the early 1860s Guillaume Lejean (1865:142) described Ǝ. as "une Mecque au petit pied". Ǝ. became an important centre of Islamic propagation in the region.

With time other Təgre- and ↗Sāho-speaking groups of ↗Sämhar settled in Ǝ. under the auspices of the ᶜAd Šek family. Due to its position on the coast, Ǝ. was also associated with contraband and illegal slave-trading in the last third of the 19th cent. (Douin 1936:255). Around the turn of the 20th cent. there were ca. 1,000 people living in the village, mostly by grazing herds and agriculture. Under Italian colonial rule irrigated plantations were developed along the Dässet river and on the coastal plain towards Wäqiro in the north and Massawa, south of the village.



The last decades of the 20th cent. were hard for many inhabitants of Ǝ. Following the nationalization of their lands and oppression by the forces of the *Därg*, many fled in the mid-1970s to Saudi Arabia and Port Sudan. Today Ǝ. has a small population. The village still hosts the yearly *ziyāra* by numerous followers from the Eritrean lowlands and is visited by the highest Muslim authorities in the country.

Src.: KillHDic 180; GEORGES DOUIN, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 3: *L'Empire africain*, part 1, Le Caire 1936, 255; GUILLAUME LEJEAN, *Voyage aux deux Nils*, Paris 1865, 142; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il Commissariato Regionale di Massaua al 1° Gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911, 171–74; GIOVANNI SALVADEI, "Massaua (Allegato 110)", in: CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI, *Allegati alla Relazione sulla Colonia Eritrea, 1902–1907*, Roma 1913 (Atti Parlamentari, Legislazione 23, sessione 1909–13), 1833; *Guida* 184.
Lit.: HAILE WOLDU EMMANUEL, "Concession Agriculture in Eritrea", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 2, 1, 1964, 35–44.

Jonathan Miran

Ǝmbayyä Habte

Däǧǧazmač Ǝ.H. (እምባየ፡ ሃብቴ, b. 1910, Kärän, d. 22 April 1988, Asmära) was an official who served for more than 30 years as a provincial governor and political counsellor in Eritrea. His father, *ayte* Habte Mällak (who governed the lower ᶜAnsäba-Bogos region in 1931–34) and his mother, *wäyzäro* Gämmär Bäyyan, were from the ᶜAddi Dəkkəl group of the Bilin. Ǝ.H. received his education in the Italian schools for natives in Kärän and Asmära and attended the Salvago Raggi vocational school in Kärän in 1926.

Ǝ.H. began his career as a clerk in the desalination enterprise in Massawa in 1927. Two years later, he moved to Somalia, where he worked with an Italian concessionary plantation company until 1935, when he returned to his home region. An Ethiopian source (*Taṭäq* for 27 *Miyazya* 1980) alleges that he was kept in confinement in Kärän, as he was suspected of associating himself with a pro-Ethiopian group of young persons. Other sources indicate, however, that he worked with a transport enterprise in Kärän until 1938, when he again changed his post to the office of the Governor of Eritrea, to which he was attached as a clerk and interpreter until 1941. After the defeat of the Italians, he was employed by the rich businessman El-Giak Ihemir, with whom he stayed until 1945, when he devoted more time to politics.

Ǝ.H. is said to have been one of the founders of the ↗*Maḥbär Fəqri Hagär Erətra* in 1941 and he became secretary for its branch in the western region from September 1941 to September 1942. Again he reorganized and led the restructured pro-Ethiopian movement in the western lowlands in 1946–47. In the late 1940s, he became a judge in the Kärän court of justice, while at the same time acting as a member of the town council and the educational commission.

In January 1950, he went to Addis Abäba as a member of a delegation and was awarded a gold medal by the Sovereign, an indication of his close connections with the Ethiopian government. In 1952 he was elected to the ↗Eritrean Assembly.

During the periods of the British Administration, the Federation and the provincial status of Eritrea, he held the position of governor of the districts of Kärän, Ḥamasen and Aq̱ordät, respectively, with the title of ↗*fitawrari*. In the late 1960s he was appointed vice-director of the provincial administration of Eritrea, and eventually provincial counsellor of Eritrea with the title of ↗*däǧǧazmač* and the rank of vice-minister, a position which he held until his retirement in 1975.

In recognition of his services, he was awarded the order of the Ethiopian Star. In the 1980s, he acted as President of the Eritrean Patriotic Association and representative of the people of Kärän in the National Šängo. He was buried at Ṣäṣärat, Asmära.

Src.: *Nägarit gazeṭa*, July 1969, no. 29, and August 1969, no. 390.

Lit.: GIUSEPPE PUGLISI, *Chi è? dell'Eritrea 1952: Dizionario biografico con una cronologia*, Asmära 1952, 118; *Ṭaṭäq*, 27 *Miyazya* 1980 A.M. [5 May 1988 A.D.]; SHUMET SISHAGNE, *Discord and Fragmentation in Eritrean Politics, 1941–1981*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign 1992, 244, 252, 348.

Bairu Tafla

Ǝmbilta

Morphology

Ǝ. is an end-blown flute not played solo but as part of an ensemble consisting of three, four, or five flutes of differing lengths, ranging from 75 cm to 1.5 m, with an average inside diameter of about 3 cm. Materials of construction vary and include hollow reeds or bamboo of an appropriate diameter or, where bamboo is scarce, a thin-walled metal tubing having from 2.5 to 3 cm of inside diameter. Three sizes of Ǝ. commonly constitute one set (Kimberlin 1980:239; Tesfaye Lemma 1975:17). **ይማ** (*yəma*) is the longest flute with no finger holes, being identified by a small slot on the underside close to the distal end. **ድፍን** (*dəfən*), the middle size, has no finger hole or slot. **አውራ** (*awra*), the designated leader of the ensemble, is the shortest length flute with the smallest opening from the shortest diameter; the flute has one underside hole and a U-shaped slot on the underside close to the distal end.

According to Ashenafi Kebede (1971) and Tesfaye Lemma (1975) the *awra* produces three pitches; the other two share the same two pitches, sounding an octave apart. However, field recordings made in 1972 and 1996 illustrate melodies made up of four, five and even six pitches. Yared Marässa, an Ǝ. and ↗*wašənt* maker and player, was commissioned to make a set of three Ǝ. from metal tubing purchased from the Märkato (↗Addis Kätäma) in Addis Abäba.

Cultural Context

According to tradition, Ǝ. players, like other wind instrument players, were slaves who lived and worked for the nobility, some having been captured along the Sudanese border. The main reason for this tradition, a belief and attitude which persists even today, is that the act of blowing hard on wind instruments like the Ǝ. and ↗*mäläkkät* causes incurable and painful haemorrhoids, **ጥሩምባ፡ መንፋት፡ ሬብ፡ ይገለብጣል** (*Ṭərumba mänfat reb yəgäläbtal*). Thus, any activity requiring physical exertion or threatening one's health was left for slaves to perform (Ashefani Kebede 1971:163ff.).

Today, Ǝ. can be found among the Amharic- and Təgrəñña-speaking people of central and northern Ethiopia, for ceremonial use in Lalibäla and Gondär, in the Wällo region, and among the Berta people of the Beni Šangul region in the south-east. There is historical evidence of use of Ǝ. in Aksum in the church ceremonial functions held outdoors.

Function

Although the Ǝ. is used for social functions and celebrations, it has been essentially a ceremonial instrument played during royal processions or to accompany troops marching for battle. A collection of Ǝ. from Tesfaye Lemma (1975) was used in Šäwa and may have also been used during the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa. Historically the Ǝ., along with the *mäläkkät* and the ↗*nägarit*, represented ceremonial instruments or 'insignia of royalty'; they were used to herald the approach of the king or other officers of authority during ceremonial state functions. These three instruments are most of the times used as a trio; even for proclamations the instruments feature as an ensemble. When a new Emperor ascended to the throne and when proclamations of national concern were made, the *nägarit* sounded and the *mäläkkät* and the Ǝ. heralded the news. Today, Ǝ. are used, for instance, to greet state and foreign dignitaries at Bole Airport.

Pitch

Harmonic overtones can be heard, and these also contribute to the unique tonal quality and texture, from a soft, deep, mellow sound having a "breathy" quality to the lighter or louder, more strident sound. It is the overtones and the act of over-blowing that enables the Ǝ. to produce the overtones or harmonics more loudly than the fundamental pitches. Usually these "extra sounds" are ornaments and embellishments, giving the melody a particular character arising from the skill of the player. Two Ǝ. play two pitches an octave apart from each other. The third can play three pitches of which two pitches are an octave apart. Collectively, intervals heard are approximately a perfect or diminished fourth and/or fifth interval. Sometimes when four or five musicians perform together on the three instruments, one or two instruments may be duplicated in performance.

Music

The player holds the Ǝ. at a downward angle away from the body, towards the player's right. The players may also dance, accompanying each other on the Ǝ. When an Ǝ. ensemble performs, it typically plays in hocket, where a single melody is produced by a set of three to five Ǝ. players playing pitches or short motifs in alternation with some overlapping of parts. In the 1996 field recordings, there are ensembles three or four Ǝ. players where the *owra* is duplicated. In addition, Ǝ. performers are also dancers and acrobats. A stylistic trait is that of the players doing various dance step patterns in a circle formation, so that the Ǝ. sounds fluctuate, alternating between "coming closer" and "going further away". To play one melody, the three performers must coordinate their melodic components with regard to timing, giving continuity to a seemingly disjunctive manner of executing sounds.

A traditional composition performed with the Ǝ. is known as **ሻንቀት** (*šanqät*), an invocation to God at the beginning of the performance. Overtones are prominent. At the end of the piece, in the "coda" section the ensemble does not end playing simultaneously; rather, each Ǝ. player in turn ceases playing.

Lit.: ASHENAFI KEBEDE, *The Music of Ethiopia: its Development and Cultural Setting*, Michigan 1971;, 163ff. CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, "The Music of Ethiopia", in: ELIZABETH E. MAY (ed.), *Musics of Many Cultures*, Berkeley 1980, 1983, 239; EAD., Unpublished field notes, 1996; ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS (eds.), *Patterns of Progress: Music, Dance and Drama*, vol. 9, Addis Ababa 1968; TESFAYE LEMMA, *Ethiopian Musical Instruments*, Addis Ababa 1975, 17.

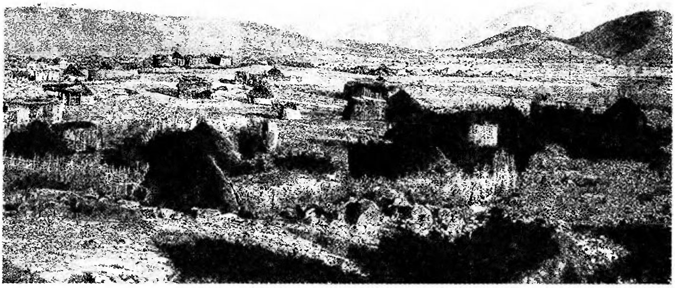
Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Emirates ↗Amīr

Ǝmkullu

Ǝ. (**እምኩሉ**, also Mənkullu, in European sources "Moncullo", "M'Kullo") is a Təgre settlement on the road from Massawa further inland, immediately after Ḥəṭumlu, on the dry river-bed of the Wissa. In 19th-cent. sources it shows a certain prominence, as most Europeans settling in the Ottoman Massawa Province had a residence and garden in Ǝ. and the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission established their centre here, between Ǝ. and Ḥəṭumlu. The French and British vice-consuls to the Ottoman (later Egyptian) ↗Habeš province had their private residences in Ǝ. The Imperial Austrian vice-consul Gerhard received the expedition of Duke Ernst II of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha here in his house in 1862 and many other ↗expeditions started there.

After the Swedish mission had to give up their missionary centre for Ḥamasen at Ṣəᶜazzäga following the turmoils of the year 1876, they were virtually confined to the coastal areas. In 1877 they received their grounds at Ǝ. as a gift from the Governor-General of the Egyptian Sudan during a tour through his territories (Smidt 2003:52f.). Starting from the 1870s, local children, including a few freed Oromo, were taught (in Amharic) at the Swedish school at Ǝ. In the hot seasons they migrated to the higher, and thus fresher, settlement and missionary station of Gäläb (ArEvang 227). A clinic and a guesthouse for pilgrims and travellers were established in the mid-1880s. Ǝ.

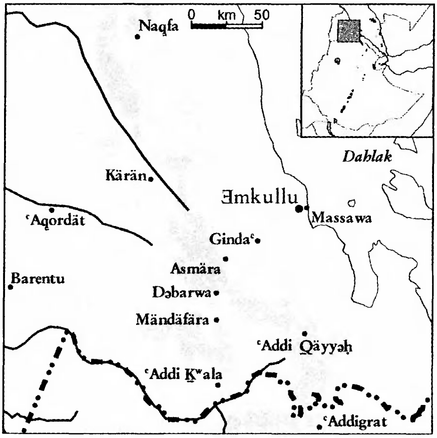


Ǝmkullu around 1906 (note the Italian fort on the hill); photo print from the collection of the author

appears also as the place of publication of quite a few "incunabula" in Təgrəñña and other languages, such as Oromo (the first one printed in 1885; s. Wright 1967:70ff.; ArEvang 302), until the printing-press moved to Asmära in the early 20th cent. In 1891 the Ǝ. mission headquarters – popularly known as Mädḫane ᶜAläm – were moved from Ǝ. to Ṣəᶜazzäga (ArEvang 315, 322).

Shortly after the Italians had established their *protettorato* over the Egyptian Massawa Province in 1885, they built a fort at Ǝ. with a telegraph, in front of the settlement at the other side of the river Wissa. Two other forts were erected in the vicinity – a smaller one at Ḥəṭumlu and the Forte Principe Vittorio Emanuele on the hill above Ǝ.

Later, a railway line, joining the *Penisola Abd-el-Kader* with the station Saḥaṭi in the mountains, was constructed, following the Wissa, with a station at Ǝ. In addition, a Decauville-tramway led from Ǝ. to the port of the *Penisola Gherar* (s. map of 1888). Today Ǝ. is part of the greater city of Massawa.



Src.: ISTITUTO GEOGRAFICO MILITARE, *Massaua e dintorni*, 1:25,000, map drawn in 1888 (collection of Giancarlo Stella, Fusignano).

Lit.: ArEvang 227ff., 249ff., 268f., 273ff., 280f., 291–98, 302f., 315f., 319, 322–25, 332; WOLBERT SMIDT, "The St. Chrischona Pilgrim-Mission's Private Archives as a Source for Eritrean History: from a Romantic Quest for 'Ormania' to the Establishment at the Erythraean Coast", *Eritrean Studies Journal* 2, 1/2, May-December 2003, 39–58, here 52f.; STEPHEN WRIGHT, *Ethiopian Incunabula*, Addis Ababa 1967, 70ff.

Wolbert Smidt

Ǝmmä Məḥrät

Ǝ.M. (**እመ፡ ምሕረት**, lit. 'Mother of Grace') is a mountain range in the centre of north-east Šäwa next to the town of ↗Ankobär, rising to ca. 3,100 m A.S.L. According to a local oral tradition, it used to be higher in the past. E.M. is a part of a long chain of mountains stretching from the Bulga province in north-east Šäwa through Ankobär and Mänz to Wällo. A fortified 19th-cent. village of ↗Fəqre Gəmb was also situated on this mountain range.

A pretender, who attempted to gain rule over Šäwa in the early 17th cent. under the name of Tewodros Ṣäḥay, once fled to E.M. from the troops of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos's warrior brother *ras* ↗Śəᶜəlä Krəstos. From there, Tewodros Ṣäḥay fled to Mənğar, where he was finally killed by the local Oromo.

The peak of Ǝ.M. is always hidden in clouds, even when at the feet of the mountains the sun is shining. The range is covered with dense juniper forests. Ǝ.M.'s elevation and relative inaccessibility made it suitable to be used as a prison and a treasury for the Šäwan dynasty rulers, at least since the late 18th cent. Moreover, ↗Ḫaylä

Mäläkot, the 8th in the line of the Šäwan dynasty (1847–55), stayed there while heir apparent to his father, *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase. It is reported that Ḫaylä Mäläkot completed his church education in a monastery at Loza, a locality within the Ǝ.M. range. While the peak of Ǝ.M. is partly used as a monastery and another part of it as a prison and royal depot, the forested slopes at and below Däns used to serve as hunting grounds for the rulers of Šäwa. In 1841, the British traveller Harris noted rural communities in parts of Ǝ.M. who were engaged in metalwork, pottery manufacture and woodwork. Descendants of these people still inhabited the area throughout the greater part of the 20th cent.

Src.: AbbGeogr 276; BTafA 64, 391, 401, 874, 908, 914, 937; JAMES D. BARKER, *Narratives of a Journey to Shoa and an Attempt to Visit Harar*, Bombay 1841, 59; CHARLES-FRANÇOIS XAVIER ROCHET D'HERICOURT, "Considérations géographiques et commerciales sur le golfe arabique, le pays d'Adel et le Royaume de Choa (Abyssinie meridionale)", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris* 2e ser. 15, Mai 1841, 284–85; GUSTAVO BIANCHI, *In Abyssinia: alla terra dei Galla. Narrazione della spedizione Bianchi in Africa*, Milano 1896, 242; HarAeth vol. 2, 265ff.; vol. 3, 367.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Ǝmmä mənet ↗ Monasteries

Ǝmmäbet

Ǝ. (**እመቤት**, also *əmmet, əmmät, əmyat*, 'mother of the house') was the titular epithet of a mother of a ruler's children, usually applied to the uncrowned spouses of a ruler and his concubines.

Thus, the crowned spouse of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl, ↗Maryam Səna in Ethiopian chronicles, is called as ↗*ətege*, while his concubine Harago, who bore him his son *aṣe* ↗Yaᶜəqob, is referred to as Ǝ. As this name was not a title, but merely an epithet, it was used rather freely, and ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis Gäbrä Masih in his chronicle *History of the Galla and the Kingdom of Šäwa* (BTafA) referred to the first, uncrowned spouse of *aṣe* Mənilək II *wäyzäro* ↗Bafäna as *əmyat*, though her numerous children were not progeny of the Emperor. Sometimes this epithet was applied to the crowned queens as well.

Lit.: BTafA 908; DombrChron 301; KaneDic vol. 2, 1130.

Sevir Chernetsov

Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase

Ras Ǝ. (**እምሩ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ**; b. 1892, Gursum, Harärge, d. 1980) was one of the four principal Ethiopian commanders of the northern front at the time of the Italian invasion of 1935, as well as a prominent statesman revered in progressive Ethiopian circles. A great-great-grandson of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa, Ǝ. was the son of *däǧǧazmač* Ḫaylä Śəllase, a church-educated nobleman attached to Mənilək II's court, and later to that of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel. Ǝ. and Mäkʷännən's son Täfari (the future Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) were brought up "like twins" (HSLife I, 15). They began their education, in Amharic and French, at Mäkʷännən's court. After the latter's death in 1906, they were summoned to Addis Abäba, where they witnessed proceedings at the imperial court before being enrolled in the newly established ↗Mənilək II Secondary School. On Täfäri's appointment as Governor of Harär in 1910, Ǝ. became governor of Ǧaarso district. After the overthrow of *ləǧ* Iyasu in 1916, Ǝ. was imprisoned by the latter's supporters, but escaped (HSLife I, 50; Perham 1969:83). In 1916 he married *wäyzäro* Ṣəge Maryam, grand-daughter of *ras* Gobäna Dači: throughout his life she was his only wife. Appointed *däǧǧazmač* in 1918, he became *əndärase* of Harärge (Forbes 1925:364, index). In the eleven years which followed he attempted to centralise and rationalise the administration, establish a juster system of taxation, and encourage modern education. He also welcomed the development of Čärčär as a model province (MolLit 103f.). Later, in 1929, he was made governor of Wällo, where he again sought to reform the administration, taxation and justice, and assisted the founding of modern schools. He also built roads, and curtailed rebellion by the Rayya Oromo (MolLit 106). On leaving his governorate he adopted the novel practice of leaving behind his administration, thus laying the foundation of a permanent civil service (Greenfield 1965:173).

After Ḫaylä Śəllase's accession as Emperor, Ǝ. served on the commission drafting the 1931 ↗Constitution, and, as the Emperor recognised, was the only noble who supported curtailing the hereditary rights of the regional dynasties (HSLife I, 179f.). Falling ill in 1932 he was one of the first Ethiopians to travel abroad for medical treatment (MolLit 107). Returning that year he was appointed governor of Goǧǧam, with the title of *ras*. He attempted to modernise the province's administration, abolish tolls, and improve the peasantry's position. He encountered opposition, however, from traditionalists accustomed to rule by local governors, and his rule, interrupted by the Italian Fascist invasion, was too short to achieve major reforms. He nevertheless introduced electricity and a radio transmitter at the Goǧǧam capital, ↗Däbrä Marqos (Perham 1969:297; MolLit 107f.).

As governor of Goǧǧam, Ǝ. played a major role in resisting the Italian fascist invasion. Mobilising his forces in mid-September 1935 he marched north with 40,000 troops (Badoglio 1937:19). Early in December he threatened the Italian position in Šire, captured "more than a hundred machine-guns" (HSLife 267), and later in the month defeated the invaders at Säläqläqa, before advancing towards the Eritrean frontier. The Italian commander Pietro ↗Badoglio responded by attacking with poison-gas from the air (Mockler 1984:81, 86). Ǝ. recalled: "A hundred or so of my men who had been splashed by the mysterious fluid began to scream in agony as blisters broke out on their bare feet, their hands, their faces. Some who rushed to the river and took great gulps of water fell contorted on the banks and writhed in agony which lasted for hours before they died" (Del Boca 1965:79). Unable to resist the enemy's aerial onslaught (Badoglio 1937:44), Ǝ. had to retreat. He nevertheless reorganised his forces, and early in February 1936 again advanced, but was defeated, after fierce hand to hand fighting, at the battle of Sire, where his men suffered heavy losses - and, as he admitted to the Emperor, many of his men began to desert (Badoglio 1937:139; also 142f.). Badoglio suppresses any reference to gas in his memoirs, but its use is well documented in Del Boca (1996). The last of the great Ethiopian chiefs to be defeated, Ǝ. then withdrew to Däbrä Marqos, "with those of his men who had survived the bombs, gas and mustard poison" (HSLife 270). Däbrä Marqos finally fell to the Italians on 20 May, 15 days after Addis Abäba.

Ras Ǝ. and his seasoned army meanwhile marched south to Gore, whither the Emperor, before leaving the country, had transferred the seat of government, placing it under the elderly *bitwäddäd* ↗Wäldä Ṣadәq, president of the Senate and step-father of *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu. From Gore, Ǝ. made contact with the Emperor in London, who despatched his principal aide-de-camp, Bälhu Dägäfu, to the town with orders confirming Wäldä Ṣadәq as head of the government, and Ǝ. as head of the armed forces. (HSLife II, 7–10, 12f., 19f.; Mockler 1984:136). At the end of the rains Ǝ. was joined by graduates of the Holota military academy, foreign educated intellectuals, and Eritrean defectors from the Italian army who between them constituted the ↗*Ṭәqur Anbäsa* group. Ǝ. and the *Ṭәqur Anbäsa*, seeking to join with other resistance forces, marched eastwards across Wälläga (Tadässä Meča 1951; Greenfield 1965:231ff.; Bahru Zewde 2002:86, 204). The enemy had however by then gained control of Wälläga. Its governor, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Habtä Maryam Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabәḥer, was a virtual prisoner, and the Italians had fortified the crossings of the Didessa river to prevent Ǝ. and his army from crossing it. They nevertheless seized the offensive, and inflicted heavy casualties on the Italians and their collaborators in fierce hand-to-hand fighting. *Ras* Ǝ. and his political advisers decided, however, that the capture of the river crossings would involve unnecessarily heavy bloodshed, and leaving the highlands would entail serious risk of malaria. It was therefore decided instead to march southwards via Bädäle, Agaro and Limmu, and thence though the Botor pass into Šäwa. On reaching Agaro, however, Ǝ. learnt that the Italians had occupied Ǧәmma, on 15 November, that the local ruler, ↗Abbaa Ǧoobir, had become a collaborator, and that a flood of refugees from Ǧәmma were pouring into Agaro. This posed a serious moral problem for Ǝ. The refugees, who were pleading for his help, tied down his army, and reduced its mobility, but could not be left to perish. He and his advisers accordingly decided to make their way to Bonga, capital of Käfa, to

Ǝmmәru Ḫaylä Śәllase during a meeting with India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in the 1950's in New Delhi; photo courtesy of the IES (no. 43 E4)

place the refugees in the custody of *däǧǧazmač* Tayyä Gulälat. The refugees were duly sent on ahead, with Ǝ.'s troops protecting their rear. A fierce battle was fought with a pursuing enemy force at Geeraa, after which Ǝ.'s men proceeded to the Goǧäb river, the frontier of Käfa. There they learnt to their dismay that *däǧǧazmač* Tayyä and *bitwäddäd* ↗Wäldä Ṣadəq had both given up the struggle without firing a single shot. The result was that Ǝ. and his men, surrounded by what Del Boca terms "a ring of iron", were obliged to surrender at the end of December 1936 (Del Boca 1965:216f.; MolLit 114f.). He was then taken to Italy, and imprisoned first on the island of Ponza, where he met Italian and other Anti-Fascist detainees, then to Lipari, and finally to Lungo Buco, on the Italian mainland. An appeal to the League of Nations for his release proved fruitless (*New Times and Ethiopia News*, 3 April 1937). He was later offered the return of his lands if he would only recognise the Italian conquest, but he replied that estates meant nothing to him so long as he was deprived of his country (Haddis ʿAlämayyähu 1992/93:215-29). He was subsequently liberated by the British late in 1943 after their occupation of southern Italy (Mosley 1964:283). He then rejoined his family in Addis Abäba, who had spent their exile in Jerusalem (MolLit 115f.).

After his return to Ethiopia, *ras* Ǝ. was appointed Governor of Bägemdər. An advocate of social justice he urged the Emperor and the Council of Ministers to embark on land, judicial and administrative reforms. His proposals, however, were not accepted. In 1947 he was appointed Ambassador to the United States, where he attended the United Nations Assembly (Spencer 1984:218). His liberal opinions won the support of the Ethiopian student movement in America (Greenfield 1965:338f.). On returning home he insisted that his share of the lands awarded to him in Arsi be allocated to the veterans who had fought under his command (MolLit 118). He was elevated to the title of *ləʿul ras*. In 1954 he was made ambassador to India, a post he occupied until 1959. These two appointments kept him out of Ethiopia for much of the post-war period. A third ambassadorial appointment, to the Soviet Union, was announced in 1960, but failed to materialise on account of that year's abortive ↗Coup d'état. His liberal reputation was apparent at that time, when, the plotters, without consulting him, announced his appointment as Prime Minister. He attempted to prevent bloodshed between the armed factions, and was later called as a defence witness (Greenfield 1965:401, 408, 443; MolLit 120). Thereafter he held no official post in Ethiopian government, but continued to give advice. He was present at the Jubilee Palace when Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase was deposed in 1974 (Del Boca 1995:332f.). His only son, Mikaʾel Ǝmməru, later served as Prime Minister in 1974. He died in August 1980 and was given a state funeral by the *Därg*.

Ras Ǝ. was a notable author. His principal writings include **ፊታውራሪ፡ በላይ** (*Fitawrari Bälay*, 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.; English tr. in *EthObs* 5, 1962, 342–60]); **ሰውና፡ እውቀት** (*Säwənna əwqät*, 'Man and Knowledge', 1952 A.M. [1959/60 A.D.]); and **ዓለማዊ፡ ትግል** (*ʿAlämawi təgəl*, 'Worldly Struggle', 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.]). An autobiographical account of his early years, 1892–1936, is deposited in the IES Library.

Src.: HSLife I 15, 50, 270, II 7–10, 12f., 19f.

Lit.: ROSITA FORBES, *From Red Sea to Blue Nile, Abyssinian Adventures*, London 1925, index; MARGERY PERHAM, *The Government of Ethiopia*, London 1969, index; PIETRO BADOGLIO, *The War in Abyssinia*, London 1937, index; ANTHONY MOCKLER, *Haile Selassie's War*, Oxford 1984, 19f., 77f., 80ff., 77–86, 113f., 136, 392f.; TADÄSSÄ MEČA, **ጥቁር፡ አንበሳ** (*Ṭəqur Anbäsa*, 'Black Lion'), Asmära 1943 A.M. [1951/52 A.D.]; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *The Ethiopian War, 1935–1941*, Chicago 1965, 78f., 156f., 216f.; ID., *Il gas di Mussolini*, Roma 1996; ID., *Il Negus. Vita e morte dell'ultimo re dei re*, Roma 1995, index; *New Times and Ethiopia News*, 3 April 1937; LEONARD MOSLEY, *Haile Selassie, The Conquering Lion*, London 1964, index; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia. A New Political History*, London 1965, index; ClapHS 124f., 195; ABBEBE KIFLEYESUS, *The Career of Liul Ras Imru Hayla Sillase*, B.A. thesis, Haile Sellassie I University, History Department 1973; JOHN HATHAWAY SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay: a Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, New York 1984, index; HADDIS ʿALÄMAYYÄHU, **ትዝታ** (*Təzzəta*, 'Remembrance'), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1992/93 A.D.], 215–29; MolLit 95–131; BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia*, Oxford 2002, 86, 171, 204.

Richard Pankhurst

EMML ↗Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library

Ǝmnätu

Abba Ǝ. (**እምነቱ**, full name Ǝmnätä Maryam Gəbrätu, b. ca. 1815 [?] Ǝnda Abba Gärima, ↗Təgray, d. early 1870s Massawa) was a Catholic priest close to the courts of Təgrayan rulers, from "Agäw" ↗Nəguśe to *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, and frequently acted as a diplomatic envoy. In 1847 he was converted to ↗Catholicism and ordained priest by Giustino de ↗Jacobis. Ǝ., becoming a key-person in Təgrayan foreign politics, related himself to Europeans in many ways.

A relative, Mərṣit, was married to the Catholic convert Wilhelm ↗Schimper.

In the 1850s Ǝ. was deeply involved in the enterprise to establish a Təgrayan-French alliance. At that time Ǝ. visited Paris and Rome, and was especially impressed by both the Paris opera and the Catholic church services (de Rivoyre 1885: 182). In October 1858 "Agäw" Nəguśe sent him on a mission (led by his cousin Ṭäqäye) to the Emperor Napoléon III. Ǝ. was de-facto taking lead of the delegation and was given audience by the Emperor. Additionally a letter was sent to the Pope with the aim of gaining his support for Nəguśe (RubActa 2:60; Rubenson 1998:64). The mission to ↗France led to the conclusion of a treaty on 29 December 1859, which still played some role on the international scene in the 1880s, even if never put into force. At Ǝ.'s meeting with the French representative Count Stanislas Russel on board of the frigate Yemen near ↗Zula, it was agreed in Nəguśe's name to cede the port of Zula and islands to France, and to erect a French protectorate over the remaining coastal lands. This was followed by another treaty of 9 January 1860 concerning French artisans, concluded at ↗Ḥalay (treaties s. RubActa II, 94–97). Nəguśe, who did not control the coast, in exchange expected French recognition for his claim to the throne, but lost his life before any of the stipulations of the treaties (kept strictly secret) could be realized.

After de Jacobis died in 1860, Ǝ. became one of the leaders of the opposition against Bishop Biancheri as his successor, as his letters to the d'↗Abbadies and others show. In the period of political unrest before ↗Tewodros II's fall, *abba* Ǝ. was again employed as an envoy in 1867. *Däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən, the governor of Ḥamasen, was under pressure to join Kaśa Mərč̣a, the new rebellious leader of Təgray; instead, he tried to look for new alliances and therefore sent Ǝ. to the Egyptian Vice-King, bearing presents and a letter asking for some sort of military assistance. However, the mission did not lead to any results, as Ḫaylu submitted to Kaśa before the end of 1867.

A very learned man, Ǝ. was in excellent terms with local leaders, but also foreigners, favoring projects of French-Ethiopian friendship. Around the same time he received a mission from France (de Rivoyre 1885:182), which had been sent to protect the Catholic missionary station at ↗Kärän. He was then acting as the local tenant of the mission and in this function received funds to be distributed in Bogos (↗Bilin).

During that period Ǝ. became involved in a local power struggle. He sided with Giovanni ↗Stella, wishing to become governor of Bogos, in his conflict with the French Vice-Consul at Massawa, ↗Munzinger. On 28 September 1869 one of Ǝ.'s followers, Yoḥannəs Täkläḥannəs, committed an assassination attempt on Munzinger,'s life while the latter was travelling in an area close to Kärän. When it became clear, that Ǝ. was behind it, he was arrested. Several members of Kaśa Mərč̣a's court used this occasion to ask for a more severe policy against European influence, and Ǝ. was liberated. However, following protests of the surviving Vice-Consul and warnings from the pro-European party led by Kaśa's counsellor *aläqa* ↗Bərru Wäldä Giyorgis, Ǝ. was arrested again together with the assassin in early 1870 and was condemned to death for the "crime against the good relations with foreign kingdoms". Several local princes asked for pardon, and on 8 March the two prisoners were transferred to the Vice-Consulate at Massawa. According to de Rivoyre, Ǝ. was "murdered in the streets of Massawa" by an unknown person.

Src.: Denis de Rivoyre, *Aux pays du Soudan, Bogos, Mensah, Souakim*, Paris 1885, 182f., 186; RubActa II-III, index; Reports from the Vice-Consulat de Massouah, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris.

Lit.: ZewYohan, s. index; RubInd, s. index; Georges Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 3: *L'Empire africaine*, part 1, Le Caire 1939, 375; Sven Rubenson, "The Missionary Factor in Ethiopia: Consequences of a Colonial Context", in: Getatchew Haile – Aalsulv Lande – Sven Rubenson (eds.), *The Missionary Factor in Ethiopia ...*, Frankfurt am Main et al 1998, 57–70, here 63f.; OMahPh, s. index.

Wolbert Smidt

Ǝnär

Ǝ. (**እናር**, also Enär) is a small group of *ənsät* cultivators and mixed agriculturists linked to the *Säbat Bet* ↗Gurage ('Seven Houses of Gurage') confederation. Their language is classified by linguists as a dialect of (Peripheral) Western Gurage. It is very similar to, or even a slight variant of, ↗Ǝndägañ (s. Hetzron 1972:61; 1977:4). The settlement area of the Ǝ. is bordered in the north by the ↗Ǝnnämor, in the east by the Ǝndägañ and in the south and west by the territory of the ↗Hadiyya subgroup of Leemo (s. map under Gurage). In their history the Ǝ. had changing alliances with all these neighbouring groups.

Their main centre is the small market town of Qose, which was part of the former Kontäb *wäräda* of the Hadiyya *zone*. Today Ǝ. country is under the administration of the Ǝnär and Ǝnnämor [or Gunčure] *wäräda* of the Gurage zone.

The Ǝ. are mainly Orthodox Christians. Like the ↗Mäsmäs and Ǝndägañ, to whom they are culturally closely related. They claim to own a *tabot*, brought during the migration of the Gurage in the first half of the 17th cent. and said to be preserved at the church of Ǝnär Amanuʾel near Qose. Before the conquest by Wäldä Aššagari in 1889, the Ǝ. followed a syncretistic folk-religion with Christian elements and cults like that of the spirit *Saʾamar* (s. article on Ǝndägañ). An important spirit medium was the *Qosi dam*.

Src.: interviews with Babore Kaʾisso, Sasgita, from Ǝ. clan of Amborro, January–February 2000.

Lit.: ROBERT HETZRON, *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification*, Manchester 1972, 61–79; ID., *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977, 4; BrHad 262, 278; WILLIAM A. SHACK – HABTE MARIAM MARCOS, *Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1974, 55, 90f.; DƎNBÄRU ALÄMU et al., ጎጎት፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብሔረሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ (*Gogot. Yägurage bəḫeräsäb tarik, bahələnna qʷanqʷa*, 'Gogot, the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.], 96ff., 102ff.

Dirk Bustorf

ᶜƎnbaqom

Ǝč̣č̣äge ᶜƎ. (**ዕንባቆም**, b. ca. 1470, d. ca. 1560) was the eleventh abbot of ↗Däbrä Libanos, author and translator, commemorated in the *Sənkəssar* on 21 *Miyazya* (BudSaint 817f.).

According to his hagiography (*Gädlä ᶜƎnbaqom*, Ricci 1954ff.), he was born in Yemen from a Jewish mother, belonged to a princely family and is said to have been named Abū l-Fatḥ before being converted to Christianity. As a youth, he discussed the Qurʾān with a Muslim *qāḍī al-quḍāt* ('the judge of judges'), in particular *sūra* 3: 48, in which "those who have disbelieved" were for him the Muslims. This type of exegesis, i.e. turning around words or phrases of the Qurʾān in order to refute it, he was to use profusely in the ↗*Anqäṣä amin*.

Around 1489, between 16 and 25 years of age, he left his native country and went to Ethiopia accompanied by a servant, a former Ethiopian army officer who had been taken prisoner by the Muslims of ↗ᶜAdal during the reign of *aṣe* Ǝskəndər (r. 1478–94) and had been sold as slave to a Yemenite. ᶜƎ. stayed for three years with the *baḥər nägaš* Zäkaryas and in 1492 went to the court of Ǝskəndər, by whom he was well received. After the death of the Emperor in 1494 he fled the disturbances at the court around the succession to the throne and went with his former servant to Märḥabete, the latter's native region.

The crisis of faith he was going through brought him to Däbrä Libanos, where he was received by *əč̣č̣äge* ↗P̣eṭros and by the pious and prophetic ↗Habtä Maryam. After instruction in the Christian faith, he was baptized by *abunä* P̣eṭros or, according to ↗Alvares, by the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Marqos, who had arrived in Ethiopia in 1481 (s. BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 13–16). At his baptism Abū l-Fatḥ received the Christian name ᶜƎ. (Habakkuk). He entered the noviciate, took the monk's habit and, probably around 1500, was ordained deacon and priest. He became the Metropolitan's most important assistant. When *əč̣č̣äge* P̣eṭros called him back to Däbrä Libanos, a serious conflict arose between the Abbot and the Metropolitan. At a court council, convened at the order of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, it was decided that ᶜƎ. should return to Däbrä Libanos, which he did in or after 1508. His activities brought him to various places, but he remained under the jurisdiction of Abbot P̣eṭros. After the latter's death, probably in October 1523, ᶜƎ. was elected Abbot of Däbrä Libanos in November of the same year (Ricci 1967–68:116, 122). He has been the only non-Ethiopian to be elevated to the dignity of ↗*əč̣č̣äge*.

Some three or four years later, ca. 1527–28, ᶜƎ. was accused of lèse-majesté and sentenced to death by the above-mentioned group of dignitaries, possibly at the instigation of the ↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat*. At the intercession of the sisters of the Emperor, the sentence was commuted to exile to Gunč̣ (or Gunč̣i). This area, inhabited by Muslims (Ricci 1967–68:133, 137), was one of the common places of exile (s. PerChron 129) and possibly to be located on the southern shore of Lake Ṭana. This must have taken place before 1532, for when Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ) destroyed Däbrä Libanos on 14 July of that year, ᶜƎ.'s successor Yaᶜəqob was abbot of the monastery.

About one year after ᶜƎ. went into exile, Ləbnä Dəngəl, at the urgent request of monks and hermits, called him back, but he refused categorically to return to his former post. He retired to the solitude of Wäräb in the Ǝndägäbṭan district, located in the basin of the Gudär river (TadTChurch 177, note 8; cp. Ricci 1966:86). When Grañ invaded that region some years later (ca. 1535–36), ᶜƎ. withdrew among the ↗Gafat, in those days described as pagans (TadTChurch 237, n. 4). From there he withdrew even further to ↗Bizamo, where his life was threatened by the local population. In 1540 he addressed from here to Grañ the *Anqäṣä amin* as we know it, or perhaps a summary of it. In the same year Ləbnä Dəngəl died and was succeeded by his son *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos. The new Emperor asked ᶜƎ.'s forgiveness for the way his father had treated him and kept him at the court, in particular as counsellor for the war against Grañ. During this time he translated sacred books from Arabic into Gəᶜəz. In the end, perhaps around 1559, at the advanced age of almost 90, he felt tired and withdrew with his followers to the property Gälawdewos had given him. In 1559 the Emperor was killed in battle against the Muslims and was succeeded by *aṣe* ↗Minas, who nourished a great friendship for ᶜƎ. By royal appointment ᶜƎ. became for the second time Abbot of Däbrä Libanos; he died on 21 *Miyazya* [16 April 1560 or 1561 A.D.], some 90 years old (Ricci 1969–70: 135). According to his *Gädl* he died at the age of 137 (on the colophon in ms. BritLib 812, from which it was concluded that ᶜƎ. was still alive in 1563, s. Ricci 1967–68:161–76, n. 261).

ᶜƎ.'s contribution to Ethiopic literature was remarkable. The *Anqäṣä amin*, written in 1540, is considered to be his most brilliant composition. Some of ᶜƎ.'s works carry a date, others are undated. In 1523, at about the time he was elected Abbot of Däbrä Libanos and was in contact with Alvares, with whom he became befriended, he translated into Gəᶜəz the Arabic version of ↗John Chrysostom's commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews (BritLib: Add. 16, 197, Orient. 737, 739; BN Éth. 120; Abbadie 67). He was assisted by "Michael the Egyptian" (s. Conti Rossini 1946:7–17). The Arabic text is perhaps one of the 34 homilies of John Chrysostom on that Epistle (translated from Greek into Arabic by the Melkite Abū l-Fatḥ ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Faḍl, s. GrafLit, vol. 2, 53).

In 1553, at the order of Gälawdewos, ᶜƎ. translated into Gəᶜəz the Arabic version of the famous ↗*Bärälam wäyəwasəf*. In the colophon of the mss. BritLib Orient. 699 and 753, ᶜƎ. asks the reader to pray for the translator who does not know the language, i.e. Gəᶜəz (s. Budge 1923, cp. CerSLett 192f.; GrafLit, vol. 1, 547).

The ms. BritLib 812 (cp. Add. 16, 252; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Ms. or. oct. 83 [3]; BritLib Orient. 812; BN Abbadie 130) contains the Ethiopic translation of the Arabic chronology of Abū Šākir b. Abī l-Karam Buṭrus (↗*Abušakər*; s. GrafLit, vol. 2, 428–34, esp. 433). The text was translated by Salik with the assistance of ᶜƎ. (Ricci 1967–68:166).

At an unknown date ᶜƎ. also translated the ↗Revelation of St. John and a collection of sacred texts. According to the colophon of two mss. (BN Abbadie 9, 164), the Revelation was translated from Arabic into Coptic; and from Coptic into Gəᶜəz by ᶜƎ., **ምስኪን** (*məskin*, 'poor') and **መምህር** (*mämhər*, i.e. superior) of Däbrä Libanos. The colophon was probably written by ᶜƎ. himself, because, as Ricci remarks (1955–58:100), *məskin* at a certain point was part of the titles the *əččäges* gave themselves at the beginning of letters and because the *Gädl* too gives ᶜƎ. the title *mämhər*. The Revelation may have been translated into Coptic for the benefit of the Metropolitan because, as the *Gädl* remarks, the Copts are not permitted to celebrate their liturgy in another language. If this translation can be brought in relation with *abunä* Marqos, it must be dated between 1523, when ᶜƎ. was elected Abbot of Däbrä Libanos, and 1530, the year in which Marqos died. According to Alvares, ᶜƎ. copied the Gospel of St. John (BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 262). If the Portuguese priest wrote "Gospel" instead of "Apocalypse", it would not be his first inaccuracy; the translation was made between 1523 and 1526, the year in which Alvares left Ethiopia.

The 17th-cent. ms. BritLib Orient. 743 contains a collection of sacred texts. A note says that the collection was translated from Arabic into Gəᶜəz by "our father" (*abunä*) ᶜƎ., who gave it to his (spiritual) son Habtä Iyäsus. According to Wright, this note does not belong to the manuscript. Ricci argues (1955–58:101) that the note originates not from ᶜƎ. himself, but from Habtä Iyäsus; he used the term *abun* in the sense of "our father" to indicate a respected priest. In this way Habtä Iyäsus referred to ᶜƎ. in a similar note, which adds "Däbrä Libanos" to the word "superior" (*mämhər*), in ms. BN Abbadie 9, containing more or less the same texts as those of Orient. 743.

ᶜƎ. probably also translated, at the order of Ləbnä Dəngəl, the ↗*Arägawi mänfäsawi* from Arabic into Gəᶜəz (DillmBerl 43f.; GuiSLett 68; GrafLit, vol. 1, 434ff.), in collaboration with Metropolitan Marqos and Michael the Egyptian.

ᶜƎ.'s knowledge of languages is quite remarkable. In addition to a thorough knowledge of Arabic, and of Gəᶜəz, which he mastered during his long-standing contact with other learned men in Ethiopia, he studied Coptic with the Metropolitan and Portuguese with Alvares (BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 13). ᶜƎ. may also have practised his Portuguese with Pero da ↗Covilhão. Alvares also relates that "Yaᶜəqob" (confusing ᶜƎ. with his successor as abbot) wrote in "his own writing" (that is, in Ethiopic characters) the Gloria of Holy Mass, the Credo, the Pater, the Ave Maria, the Creed of the Apostles and the Salve Regina, and that he knew them in Latin (BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 262f.). According to the *Gädl* (Ricci 1955–58:100, n. 143), ᶜƎ. also knew some Armenian. The ms. BritLib Orient. 743 says that ᶜƎ. knew "a Romance dialect", which is almost certainly an Italian, perhaps Venetian, dialect (ibid. 106f.): Giovanni Battista da ↗Imola met in 1482 at the court of the king at ↗Bärara the Venetians Hieronimo ↗Bicini and Nicolò ↗Brancaleone (s. Suriano 1900:80, 86; CrawItin 44). From mss. BritLib Orient. 737 and BN Abbadie 211 one can suggest that ᶜƎ. probably knew some Hebrew (but cp. Ricci 1955–58:106). Finally, the *Gädl* (ibid. 82, 106) says that the Metropolitan taught ᶜƎ. the Syriac letters. This knowledge he may have widened with the help of Syrian merchants, who found themselves at the court in Bärara (BassÉt 149, 235).

Src.: BassÉt 149, 235; BeckHuntAlvar, vol. 1, 13–16, 262f.; BudSaint 817f.; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *Baralâm and Yĕwâsĕf, Being the Ethiopic Version of a Christianized Recension of the Buddhist Legend of the Buddha and the Bodhisatva*, Cambridge 1923; DillmBerl 42ff., no. 49 [Ms. or. qu. 491]; 72, no. 82 [Ms. or. oct. 238]; DillmLond 9, no. 10 [Add. 16, 197], 41–45, no. 36 [16,252]; PerrZarY; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Le *Vite* di Ĕnbāqom e di Yoḥannĕs, abbati di Dabra Libānos di Scioa", *RSE* 13, 1954, 91–120; *ibid.* 14, 1955–58, 69–107, here 82, 100, 106f.; *ibid.* 22, 1966, 75–102, here 86; *ibid.* 23, 1967–68, 79–219, here 116, 122, 133, 137, 161–76; *ibid.* 24, 1969–70, 134–232, here 135; TadTChurch 177, 217; WrBriMus 183, no. 275 [Orient. 699]; 204, no. 313 [Orient. 737]; 205, no. 315 [Orient. 739]; 209f., no. 319 [Orient. 743]; 216, no. 322 [Orient. 753]; 290f., no. 384 [Orient. 812]; CRAbb 59f., no. 31 [Abbadie 164]; 60f. no. 32 [Abbadie 9]; CrawItin 44; 109, no. 67 [Abbadie 20]; 211, no. 212 [Abbadie 242]; ZotBNat 73f., no. 66 [Éth. 120]; PerChron 129.

Lit.: CerSLett 192f.; GuiSLett 68; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Sul metropolita Yesḥaq d'Etiopia (secolo xv–xvi)", *RRALm* ser. 8a, 1, 1946; GrafLit, vol. 1, 547, vol. 2, 53, 428–36; FRANCESCO SURIANO, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente*, ed. by GIROLAMO GOLUBOVICH, Milano 1900, 80, 86; TadTChurch 177, no. 8, 237 no. 4.

Emeri van Donzel

Ǝnbaqom Qalä Wäld

Aläqa ᶜƎ.Q. (**እንባቆም፡ ቃለ፡ ወልድ**, b. 1917, Šäwa, d. 1970s, Addis Abäba), an ecclesiastic and traditional scholar, received his church ↗education in ↗Goǧǧam. In the course of ca. 24 years, from 1927 to 1951, he passed through all the grades of traditional learning: *nəbab bet*, *zema bet*, *qəne bet*, as well as the school of traditional exegesis *mäṣḥaf bet*, and specialised in ↗*qəne*-poetry.

In 1952-63, he taught *qəne* at the ↗Holy Trinity Theological College in Addis Abäba. Later he joined the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies, where he, together with other traditional scholars, participated in recording *qəne* for the series *Qené Collections*, contributing, in particular, for issues 3, 21, 22, 27, 29 and 31.

ᶜƎ.Q. also wrote a treatise in Amharic on traditional church learning, describing mainly his own experience. This valuable piece of evidence offered by a person who had grown up within the tradition was mimeographed by the IES in 1965 and translated into English by ↗Mängəśtu Lämma in 1970, thus bringing ᶜƎ.Q. wider recognition and attracting new attention to the Ethiopian traditional church education.

Src.: *aläqa* ƎNBAQOM QALÄ WÄLD, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ባሕል፡ ለማጥናት፡ የተሰበሰቡ፡ ጽሑፎች። ስለ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ትምህርቶች** (*Yä'ityopya baḥəl lämaṭnat yätäsäbässäbu ṣəḥufočč. Səlä Ityopya betä krəstiyan təmhərtočč*, 'The Writings Collected for the Study of Ethiopian Culture. About the Teachings of the Ethiopian Church'), IES, Addis Abäba 1965 [mimeogr.]; ID. "**ስለ፡ ቅኔ፡ ትምህርትና ፡ጥቅሙ** (*Səlä qəne təmhərtənna ṭəqmu*, 'On *qəne* Education and its Usefulness')", in: *PICES* 2, vol. 2, 117-32; ID. [Alaka IMBAKOM KALEWOLD], *Traditional Ethiopian Church Education*, ed., tr. by MENGHESTU LEMMA, New York 1970; INSTITUTE OF ETHIOPIAN STUDIES (ed.), **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ባህል፡ ለማጥናት፡ የተሰበሰቡ፡ ጽሑፎች ፡ የግዕዝ ፡ የቅኔዎች**. *Collection of Sources for the Study of Ethiopian Culture. Qené Collections*, nos. 1-33, Addis Ababa 1964–67 [mimeogr.].

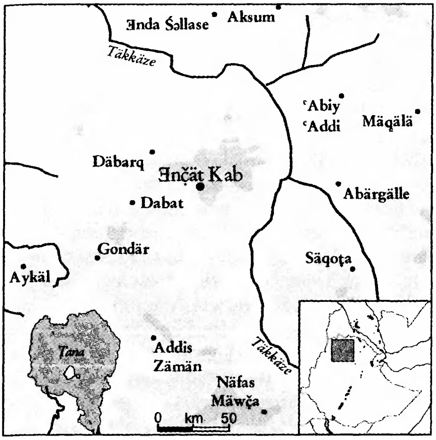
Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Foundation of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 3, 1962, 241–90.

Galina Balashova

Ǝnčät Kab

Ǝ.K. (**እንጫት፡ ካብ**) is a strategically situated settlement in ↗Səmen (13°06' N, 38°09' E). In the early 19th cent. it was the capital of the local ruler, *ras* ↗Gäbre Täsfa. His palace, according to Nathaniel ↗Pearce (1831), comprised "the most extensive buildings" of any governor in Ethiopia. The buildings were, however, subsequently destroyed by *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray, whose soldiers set fire to the town.

Ǝ.K. later became the headquarters of two successive rulers of Səmen, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Maryam and his son *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe. A major



battle was fought in this area in June 1830 between *däǧǧazmač* Wəbe and *ras* ↗Marəye Gugsa (the latter was victorious; s. Shiferaw Bekele 1990:36).

The permanent population during the 1830s reached, according to Eduard Rüppell (1838), only about 800 inhabitants.

Src.: NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce, Written by himself during a Residence in Abyssinia, from the Years 1810 to 1819*, London 1831, vol. 1, 246; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main 1838, 422f.

Lit.: BTafA 908; PankHist II, 354; SHIFERAW BEKELE, "The State in the *Zamana Masafent*: an Essay in Reinterpretation", in: TADDESSE BEYENE – RICHARD PANKHURST – SHIFERAW BEKELE (eds.), *Kasa and Kasa*, Addis Ababa 1990, 25–68, here 36.

Richard Pankhurst

Ǝnda

Ǝ. (እንዳ, variant እዳ *ədda*) is a Təgrəñña term with a territorial and/or genealogical reference. Today, it is much used in the general sense of 'place of ...'. More precisely, it means house, dwelling, habitation or, in genealogical context, lineage, clan, kinship group (s. Kane 2000:1491).

The territory of a village (*ʿaddi*, 'land') in Təgrəñña tradition is conceived of as originally belonging to a founder-ancestor of the village population. Consequently, the distribution of land (↗land tenure) is based on descent from one of the different lineages (Ǝ.) related to this apical ancestor – one lineage calling itself, e.g., Ǝ. Ḥayät ('House of Ḥayät') after an ancestor Ḥayät, who lived in a historically relatively recent past, around five to seven generations earlier. The members of such an Ǝ., even if living abroad, have the right to a defined part of the inherited village land (*rəsti*). This right applies to male descendants only. In a few cases, also a woman, if living alone, may obtain from the ↗*bayto ʿaddi* ('local assembly') the right to her own share of the land of the Ǝ.; she would then also be mentioned in the genealogical tree of the Ǝ. (↗Genealogy). The term for 'paternal kinship group' is *əndabbo* (from Ǝ. *abbo*, 'the group [clan] of the father'; cp. Ǝ. *adda* for the paternal kinship group of the mother). The term *ənda gʷal* ('the girl's house') appears in the context of marriage; after the first ceremony in the house of the groom's parents, the revels continue in the house (village) of the bride. The idea that not only the territory, but also the legal traditions and customs come from the forefathers is expressed in the term *əndabba* ('customs', from Ǝ. *abbaw*), as in *ḥəggi əndabba* ('customary law', ↗*Ḥəggi*).

Also the use of the word Ǝ. as a term for religious places in Təgrəñña seems to be old. "Ǝ." followed by the name of a saint (the saint of the *tabot*) or a venerated religious founder means a religious establishment – a monastery or a church – together with the territories given to it (e.g., the monastery Ǝnda Abba Gärima; the old Asmära church Ǝnda Maryam; Ǝnda Śəllase and Ǝnda Abranyos (Ǝnda Abbona) as alternative designations for Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase of ʿAdwa and, respectively, Däbrä Abunä Abranyos or Däbrä Ṭəllul south of Dəbarwa; or Ǝnda Mikaʾel for St. Michael's church of Däbrä Sälam). Such a name of a church or monastery may later be adopted as the name of the local settlement (e.g., the Təgrayan town Ǝnda Śəllase).

By extension the term is often used today for city quarters, areas with new settlements, localities of a specific historical importance etc. E.g., the area including the legendary "tombs" of the ancient King ↗Kaleb Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa near Aksum is called Ǝnda Kaleb; a house where *suwwa* ('beer') can be purchased, is known as Ǝ. *suwwa*; an autobus station appears as Ǝ. *awtobus*; the modern housing area on the outskirts of ↗Asmära, Sämbäl, is often referred to locally as Ǝnda Korəya, as it was built by Koreans; the deserted copper-mining area close to Dəbarwa is named Ǝnda Ǧapan, for it was in the hands of a Japanese firm until the 1960s.

Src.: THOMAS LEIPER KANE, *Tigrinya – English Dictionary*, vol. 2, Springfield, VA 2000, 1491f., 1494; interview with Maḥaränna Śəyyum, Asmära and ʿAddi Ḵuta, Akkälä Guzay, September 1993.

Lit.: NadEr 74; KilHDic 180f.; KJETIL TRONVOLL, *Mai Weini: a Highland Village in Eritrea: a Study of the*

People, their Livelihood, and Land Tenure during Times of Turbulence, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 1998, 95, 101f., index; TÄKKƎʾÄ TÄSFAY, ዘመናዊ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት፡ ትግርኛ (*Zämänawi mäzgäbä qalat Təgrəñña*, 'A Modern Təgrəñña Dictionary'), Asmära 1999, 594f.; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5-36, here 9; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Saggio sull'onomastica dell'Eritrea tigrina", *Bolletino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 7ª, 3, 1938, 785–816, here 787ff.

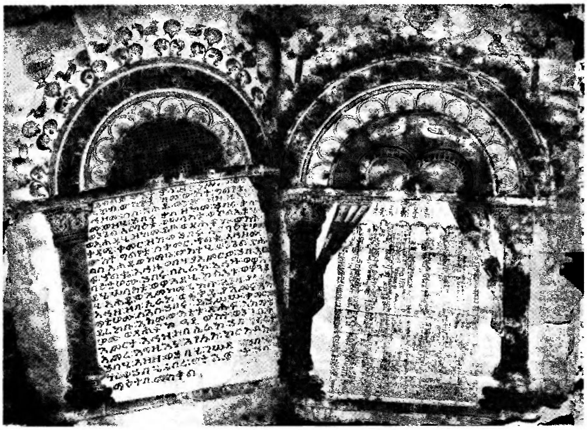
Wolbert Smidt

Ǝnda Abba Gärima

The monastery of Ǝ.A.G. (እንዳ፡ አባ፡ ገሪማ), or Betä Abba Gärima (ቤተ፡ አባ፡ ገሪማ), also known as Däbrä Mädära (ደብረ፡ መደራ), is located on the eastern slopes of Amba Abba Gärima, ca. 6 km east of ᶜAdwa, in the heartlands of Təgray. It is to its immediate north that the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa took place. It is one of the oldest sites of Christianization, if not also one of the earliest settlements, in the region. Its foundation probably dates back to the 5/6th cent. and is attributed to ↗Gärima (known also as Yəsḥaq, one of the ↗Nine Saints), to whom the church of the monastery is dedicated. Another important church dedicated to the saint (Abunä Gärima, አቡነ፡ ገሪማ) is located in ᶜAddi Käwəḥ, in the nearby Wəq̱ro, Təgray (cf. Godet 1977:35), where two altars with South Arabian inscriptions are preserved (cf. RIÉ nos. 8-9). Ǝ.A.G. is also the name of a small cave-chapel at ᶜAddi Mäᶜarda, near to Mändäfära, Säraye, Eritrea; an annual pilgrimage site, it is especially noteworthy for its rock-paintings (cf. Franchini in: PICES 1, 285f.).

The hagiography of Gärima as told in the *Homily* attributed to Yoḥannes, Bishop of Aksum (possibly written in the 15th cent.), presents Ǝ.A.G. of Mädära as the main place of his activity (CRStor 160, 167f.). According to the *Homily*, *aṣe* ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl, after visiting Gärima in Mädära at Betä Mäsqäl, founded a new church there and gave lands (Ṭafa, ᶜAdwa, Məsaḥ, Səbᶜeto or Bəᶜito, and Mayä Ləḥəkʷət) for the service of commemoration (↗*Täzkar*) of the saint, adding later other lands (Atäret, Gibat and seven villages) for the saint's and his own commemoration. The substitution of ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi for Libanos (or Mäṭaᶜ) in the list of the Nine Saints offered in the *Homily* has been considered a reflection of an anti-Däbrä Damo attitude in the 14-15th cent., which may have involved Ǝ.A.G., too (cf. CRStor 160; Conti Rossini 1940:54f.).

Ǝ.A.G. was one of the most important religious centres in the Aksumite time. It still preserves three manuscripts of the *Gospels* (Abbā Garimā I, II and III) which are considered to be the oldest Ethiopian manuscripts ever found (cf. UhPal 831). Of exceptional importance for Ethiopian palaeography and New Testament text criticism, they were first made partially known by Leroy's (1960; 1968) studies on the iconography of Evangelists and, particularly, ↗Canon tables. Later fully microfilmed by Donald Davies and described by Macomber (1979:1–11), they have been used by Zuurmond (1989; 2001) in his critical editions of the ↗Gospels of Mark and Matthew. Their dating is still uncertain and a matter of discussion; Heldman's (AfrZion 129f., nos. 52, 53) stylistic analysis and Mercier's (2000:

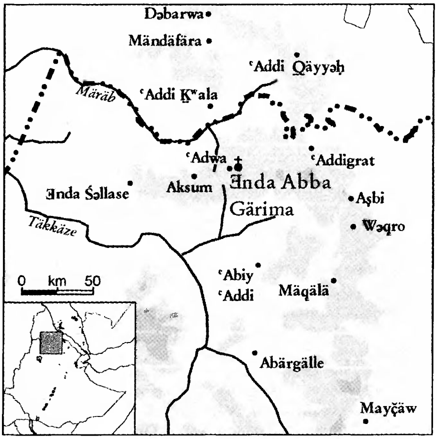


Illuminated Canon tables; Gospel Book of Abba Gärima Monastery; photo courtesy of Michael Gervers

36–45) contribution, taking into account also radiocarbon chronology, tend to date the illuminations back into the 7th or even 6th cent. This leaves essentially open the question of the dating of the texts, probably a genuine product of the Ǝ.A.G. *scriptorium*, as opposed to the illuminations, that could be of foreign origin.

A number of still-unpublished documents bound inside these manuscripts (cf. Macomber 1979:2f.) testify to the importance of the monastery throughout the centuries, from the alleged foundation of the church by Gäbrä Mäsqäl (6th cent.) and from the probably historical endowment by *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arʿad (14th cent.), up to the 18th cent. at least. In ms. Abba Gärima II (now misplaced in Abba Gärima I) there is a donation of lands by Gäbrä Mäsqäl in a 17th-cent. hand (fol. 2^{r}); a donation of religious objects by [Säyfä] Arʿad (fol. 2^{v}); an obscure document concerning the building of three churches and the establishing of privileges to the benefit of the monastery by King Armäḥo, possibly ↗Armaḥ (fol. 3^{r}; on this document cf. Schneider 1990:152; Kropp 1992:264f. [but two words are misspelled, cf. Davies 1987:303, fig. 6]); a donation of land by *däğğazmač* Kəflä Iyäsus in 1707/08 (fol. 3^{r}); and a further one by a certain Zäʾamanuʾel in a 15th-cent. hand. In ms. Abba Gärima III (now misplaced in Abba Gärima I) there is a record of the construction of the monastery by *aṣe* Gäbrä Mäsqäl, along with donations, copied in a 14/15th-cent. hand followed by the record of the visit and benefactions by *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam (fol. 1^{v}); and a benefaction by *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl (fol. 4^{v}). Much less important, but still remarkable as a product of the *scriptorium* of Ǝ.A.G., is ms. Paris, BN Éth. 131, which is a *Gädlä sämaʿətat* dating to the 13/14th cent. (cf. Bausi 2002:4, n. 8), written by order of *nəburä əd* Səmʿon and later sold to the Ethiopian community in Ḥārah Zuwaylah, Egypt, as we are informed by a note on fol. 180^{v} (cf. ZotBNat 198; CerPal vol. 2, 409, document no. 38, of the 16th cent.).

The *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum* also records documents concerning Ǝ.A.G. In one feudal act some of the lands are mentioned which are referred to in the *Homily* by Yoḥannəs as those of the *gʷəlt* given by *aṣe* Gäbrä Mäsqäl (CRAxum 19 [text] = 21 [tr.], no. 3); a second act (ibid. 32f. [text] = 37f. [tr.], no. 31), dating to 1526/27, confirms the donations by *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl at the time of *nəburä əd* Abba Efrem and *daññā* ʿƎnqʷä Maryam of Mädära; a third one by Śärṣä Dəngəl (ibid. 45f. [text] = 55 [tr.], no. 57) renews the *gʷəlt* in favour of Mädära and settles disputes concerning the right of appointing scribes (*ṣäḥaft*) by confirming abbot (*mämhər*) Täsäbkä Mädḫən in his charge (the King agrees that he can only appoint as abbot one of the monks of the monastery chosen by the monks themselves); finally (ibid. 74 [text] = 88 [tr.], no. 6), abbot Tänśəʾä Krəstos of Betä Abba Gärima is mentioned as having taken part, with others, in the excommunication of the Ǝdda Degäna during the reign of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl in 1578.



In the third decade of the 16th cent., Ǝ.A.G. was visited by Francisco Alvares, who remembers it as a relatively small monastery, but a pilgrimage site renowned for a cave, once the dwelling-place of *abba* Gärima, the earth of which was credited with curative properties (BeckHuntAlvar 165ff.). A century later, in the dramatic circumstances of the forced conversion to ↗Catholicism of the monks, the monastery was visited and described in detail by Manoel ↗Barradas (cf. BecRASO IV, 1906:236–43; Barradas 1996:126–31).

Src.: BecRASO IV, 236–43; MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634): a Seventeenth Century Historical and Geographical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABET FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43); BeckHuntAlvar 165ff.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'omilia di Yohannes, vescovo d'Aksum, in onore di Garimâ", in: *Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 4ème section, Paris 1897, 139–77; CRAxum; WILLIAM F. MACOMBER, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts from Abbā Garimā ...*, Collegeville, MI 1979; RIÉ vol. 1, 78–80 (nos. 8–9); ZotBNat 198.

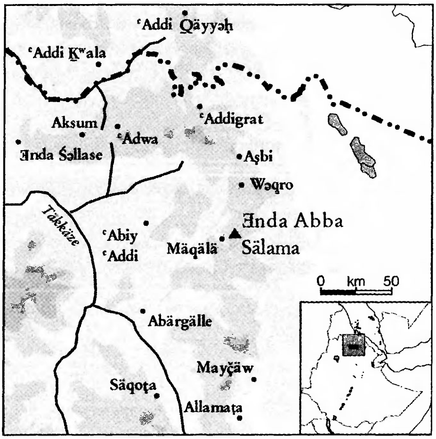
Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La versione etiopica degli* Acta Phileae *nel* Gadla samāʿtat, Napoli 2002 (Annali IUO,

Supplemento 92); CerPal; CRStor 160, 167f.; Carlo Conti Rossini, "I. Pergamene di Debra Dammò. II. I Galla Raia. III. Il libro della rivelazione dei misteri attribuito a Tolomeo", *RSO* 19, 1940, 45–80; Donald M. Davies, "The Dating of Ethiopic Manuscripts", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46, 4, 1987, 287–307; Vincenzo Franchini, "Notizie su alcune pitture ed incisioni rupestri recentemente ritrovate in Eritrea", in: *PICES* 1, 285–89, here 285f.; Eric Godet, "Repertoire de sites pré-axoumites et axoumites du Tigré (Éthiopie)", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 19–58, here 35; *Guida* 243; *AfrZion* 129f.; Manfred Kropp, [review of UhPal], *OrChr* 76, 1992, 260–66; Jules Leroy, "L'Évangéliaire éthiopien du Couvent d'Abba Garima et ses attaches avec l'ancien art chrétien de Syrie", *Cahiers archéologiques* 11, 1960, 131–43; Id., "Un nouvel évangéliaire éthiopien illustré du monastère d'Abba Garima", in: André Grabar et al. (eds.), *Synthronon. Art et archéologie de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age* ..., Paris 1968 (Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques 2), 75–87; Jacques Mercier, "La peinture éthiopienne à l'époque axoumite et au XVIIIe siècle", *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles Lettres. Comptes Rendues* 2000, 35–71; Roger Schneider, [review of UhPal], *AE* 15, 1990, 149–53; UhPal 831; Rochus Zuurmond, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: the Synoptic Gospels*, vol. 1: *General introduction*, vol. 2: *Edition of the Gospel of Mark*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 27); Id., *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice. The Gospel of St. Matthew*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 55).

Alessandro Bausi

Ǝnda Abba Sälama

Ǝ.A.S. (**እንዳ፡ አባ፡ ሰላማ**, also Ǝnda Abunä Sälama, Ǝnda Sälama) is located in the Täḵli *wäräda*, ↗Tämben (Təgray province), to the east of ᶜAbbiy ᶜAddi, near the bank of the Ruba Wayni, which is a tributary of the Wärˀi river. Ǝ.A.S. lies on a flat-topped mountain (↗*Amba*), which is inaccessible except for its southern side. The top can only be reached through a 30 m-high rock shaft ("chimney") by pulling a rope. The monastery is said to be a foundation of *abba* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan, the first bishop of Ethiopia, consecrated by ↗Athanasius of Alexandria in the first half of the 4th cent. According to *abba* Sälama's hagiography, which is preserved at Ǝ.A.S., the mount was previously also called Däbrä Məsṭir or Däbrä Mädḫanit (Schneider 1987:155, 157f.).



An old church, hewn into the slope right below the rim of the cliff, is a simple construction of the basilica pattern, with two rows of columns separating two aisles from the nave. The simplicity and lack of any ornamentation (as compared, e.g., to the rock-churches of ↗Gärᶜalta), might point to the great age, but may be conditioned also by the quality of the friable reddish sandstone (Plant 1973:49). The newly erected church (the old one has been abandoned), monastic settlement and three large water reservoirs are located on the flat top of the mountain. Ǝ.A.S. claims to preserve the relics of *abba* Sälama Käśate Bərhan, as well as his two ceremonial crosses.

Because of its inaccessibility, the *amba*, as the most secure place throughout the ages, has been used as prison for rebels and other dangerous persons. It was also used as a treasury for the most cherished relics and items of cultural heritage. During the reign of *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, bishop *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob is said to have been detained at Ǝ.A.S. More recently it was the place of detention of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II, after he was defeated by *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Mərča (later *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV) at a battle near ᶜAdwa in July 1871.

The thickly wooded valley, which surrounds the *amba* and provides natural protection from an air raid, was found suitable to hold the fourth general meeting of the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front in 1990, before launching their final attack on the *Därg*.

Lit.: Francis Anfray, "Des églises et des grottes rupestres", *AE* 13, 1985, 7–34, map 2; Roger Schneider, "Les Actes d'Abuna Salama", *ibid.* 14, 1987, 153–64, here 155, 157f.; Teweldemedhin Josief, *The Monolithic Churches of Tigray*, Addis Ababa 1970, 55; David Roden Buxton, *The Rock-Hewn and Other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia*, Oxford 1971, 67; Georg Gerster, "Searching out Medieval Churches in Ethiopia's Wild", *National Geographic* 138, 6, December 1970, 856–84, esp. 856–65; Id., *Kirchen im Fels*, Stuttgart 1968, 155–58, figs. 133–38; Ruth Plant, "Notes on Seventeen Newly-Discovered Rock-hewn Churches of Tigre (Ethiopia)", *EthObs* 16, 1, 1973, 36–53, here 49; Ead., *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Avon 1985, 163; ZewYohan 33.

Zewde Gabre-Sellassie

Ǝnda Gäbrəʾel

Ǝ.G. (እንዳ፡ ገብርኤል), one of the main churches of ↗ᶜAdwa, was constructed on the order of *däǧǧazmač* Wäldä Gäbrəʾel, son of *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul, who rose to the ruler of the entire Təgray after his father in 1767 overtook an active political role in Gondär (marking thus the beginning of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* epoch). A land charter issued by *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis probably in 1795 (that is, years after Wäldä Gäbrəʾel was killed by *ras* ↗Aligaz in ca. 1787) gave to Ǝ.G. "six lands" as ↗*gʷəlt*-possessions. As follows from another charter, Ǝ.G. was once endowed by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu, during his heyday as the ruler of Təgray some time in the 1820s (he also granted land to the church of Mädḫane ᶜAläm of ᶜAdwa).

Src.: CRAxum nos. 69, 83; *Guida* 240–43 (map).

Lit.: EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat*, 4 vols., Paris 1838, vol. 1, 204; MANSFIELD PARKINS, *Life in Abyssinia: Being Notes Collected During Three Year's Residence and Travels in that Country*, New York 1854, repr. London 1966, vol. 2, 69, 72; ALBO VON KATTE, *Reise in Abyssinien im Jahre 1836*, Stuttgart – Tübingen 1838, 75f.; ACHILLE RAFFRAY, *Afrique Orientale: Abyssinie*, Paris 1876, 105; ID., "Voyage en Abyssinie, à Zanzibar et aux pays de Ouanika", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris* 10, 1875, 291–313; ALEXANDRE GIRARD, *Souvenir d'un voyage en Abyssinie (1868–69)*, Cairo 1873; EMILIUS ALBERT DE COSSON, *The Cradle of the Blue Nile: a Visit to the Court of King John of Ethiopia*, 2 vols., London 1877, vol. 1, 114; AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYLDE, *'83 to '87 in the Soudan. With an Account of Sir William Hewett's Mission to King John of Abyssinia*, 2 vols., London 1888 [repr. 1970], vol. 1, 265f.

Red.

Ǝnda Kaleb

Ancient sarcophagi inside the southern tomb at Ǝnda Kaleb, attributed to Gäbrä Mäsqäl; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

Ǝ.K. (እንዳ፡ ካሌብ) is an archaeological site of the Aksumite culture period located on the west side of the Abba Liqanos plateau, approximately 2 km north of the centre of the city of ↗Aksum. Numerous written and oral traditions from Aksum attribute the origins of the site to the 6th-cent. Aksumite king ↗Kaleb and his son and successor ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl. The site of Ǝ.K. consists of two covered monumental tombs made of individually worked and dressed granite blocks with ashlar masonry and an overlying structure with features suggestive of an ecclesiastical form and function. The northern tomb, traditionally attributed to Kaleb, consists of a stepped adit, a central longitudinal chamber and three rooms. The southern tomb, attributed to Gäbrä Mäsqäl, also has a stepped adit, a central longitudinal chamber and five rooms, in one of which three sarcophagi are preserved. The upper structure of Ǝ.K. comprises a central raised courtyard reached by six large steps and situated between two identical room wings or large halls, each containing three aisles with two rows of four free-standing pillars and rectangular apse-like features with side rooms (s. DAE II, 127–34; Munro Hay et al. 1989:42–47). The appearance of the upper structure, and the complex's underground passages in particular, might have fostered legends about the connection with ↗Mäṭära or the miraculous "splitting of the earth" in the hagiographies of Kaleb, ↗Panṭalewon and ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi (s., e.g., Esteves Pereira 1899).

The tombs ("houses") of Kaleb and Gäbrä Mäsqäl are mentioned in the *Liber Axumae* (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum*), where they are said to be full of treasures (CRAxum 6). The site was described by various foreign travellers to Aksum, among others, Francisco Alvares in the 1520s, Henry Salt, accompanied by Nataniel Pearce, in the early 19th cent. and Gerhard Rohlfs in 1881. Ǝ.K. is in fact one of the candidates for the original location of a lost Greek inscription copied by Pearce himself "in a very dark place" (possibly a tomb) before September 1815. In this text (RIE 274), almost completely weathered and not easily retrievable, the initial part of the title preceding Ps 87 (or 47) in the Septuagint has been recently recognized (Fiaccadori 2003, with dating towards the end of the 4th cent.). From the same site of "Dachel ebn Negus" (i.e. *Ǝnda Kaleb nəguś*), another lost inscription certainly comes that was reproduced as undecipherable in a Latin-character facsimile by Rohlfs (RIE 273). It was then read as an Ethiopic text (Fiaccadori 1981); refering to "the Egyptian" (*gəbṣawi*), it could indicate (similar to another inscription, RIE 202) the presence of an Egyptian ecclesiastic in the train of one of the metropolitans (s. MHAlex 69f.).

Some additional findings at Ǝ.K. followed in later times, since archaeological investigations by the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition in 1906 focused on the architectural elements of the site, providing a comprehensive plan of the tombs and the surrounding upper structures. Further excavations were conducted by the British Institute in Eastern Africa in 1972–74 under the direction of Neville Chittick, offering additional insight into the local stone architecture and limited information on the site's chronology. Now it is assumed that the Ǝ.K. complex – an outstanding example of the Aksumite elite's sepulchre culture (↗Graves) – was constructed in several phases some time in the late 4th or early 5th cent., but was abandoned already in the mid or late 6th cent.

After the Deutsche Aksum-Expedition's work, the preservation of Ǝ.K.'s archaeological area has been negatively affected by both stone removal for re-use and transport of architectural elements to the so-called ᶜEzana Garden.

Src.: CRAxum 6 (text) = 6f. (tr.); Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, *Historia dos Martyres de Nagran. Versão ethiopica*, Lisboa 1899, liii; BeckHuntAlvar 158f., pl. iv; Eduard Rüppell, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt 1840, 276, 431; LefAbyss, vol. 3, 433; George Annesley, *Voyages dans l'Hindoustan, à Ceylan, sur les deux côtes de la Mer-Rouge, en Abyssinie et en Égypte durant les années 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 et 1806*, Paris 1813, vol. 3, 80–83, 201; Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Aksum. Ricerche di topografia generale*, Roma 1938, 36f., s. index; RIE 202, 273, 274.

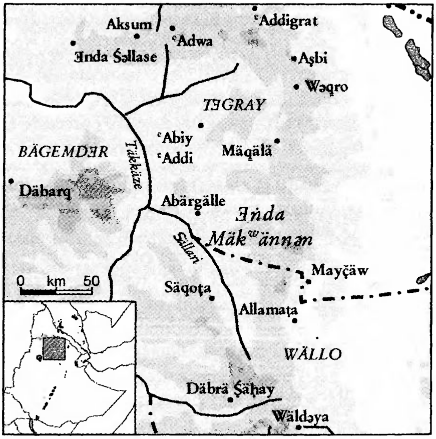
Lit.: James Theodore Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, London 1893, 194; DAE II, 127–34; Stuart C. Munro-Hay et al., *Excavations at Aksum: an Account of Research at the Ancient Ethiopian Capital Directed in 1972–74 by the Late Dr Neville Chittick*, London 1989, 42–47, 157–64, 331, s. index; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Per una nuova iscrizione etiopica da Aksum", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 4, 1981, 357-67; Id., "Un'epigrafe greca aksumita (*RIÉth* 274)", in: Vincenzo Poggi – Luca Pieralli (eds.), *Εὐκοσμία. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, Soveria Mannelli (cs) 2003, 243-55: 246 n. 12 (Lit.); MHAlex 69f.; David W. Phillipson, *The Monuments of Aksum: an Illustrated Account*, Addis Ababa 1997, 73–88.

Matthew C. Curtis – Red.

Ǝnda Mäkʷännən

Ǝ.M. (እንዳ፡ መኰንን; also Ǝdda Mäkʷännən, Ǝnda Mäkʷänni, Mäḵonni, Mähoni or Mohoni) is a district in ↗Təgray immediately to the south of ↗Ǝndärta (Ellero 1941:161). Historical sources record it mainly as a battlefield and a centre of rebellions and upheavals against the royal authority, but do not allow any explicit connection between the place-name (meaning in Təgrəñña 'house' or 'family' or 'seat' etc. 'of the *mäkʷännən*' – 'governor, prince or aristocrat') and the ↗*təgre mäkʷännən*, i.e. the dignitary *par excellence* endowed with that title. The royal chronicles relate that in 1562 the troops of *aṣe* ↗Minas were defeated at Ǝ.M. by the coalition of *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq, ↗Özdemir *paša* and some Portuguese led by Francisco Jacome (Conti Rossini 1921–22:690; Kropp 1988:60f.), and that in 1588 it was again occupied by Turkish troops before *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl defeated them on a punitive expedition (CRHist 129; HuntGeogr 148). In 1678 Ǝ.M. took part in a general upheaval in the districts of, and around, Ǝndärta against *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I (GuiIohan 25; DombrChr 210, n. 417; HuntGeogr 234). In the *Liber Axumae* (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum*) Ǝ.M. appears among the districts traditionally due to paying tribute to the cathedral ↗Aksum Ṣəyon: here, as in the case of Naᶜder, for the building of the *qəṣr gädamawi*, 'the outer enclosure' of the cathedral itself (CRAxum 11).

↗Ǝnda



Src.: CRAxum 11 (text) = 12 (tr.), no. 5; CRHist 129 (text) = 146 (tr.); GuiIohan 25 (text) = 26 (tr.); DombrChr 210, n. 417 (tr.); Manfred Kropp, *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 60f. (text) = 60 (tr.).

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "La guerra turco-abissina del 1578", *Oriente Moderno* 1, 1921–22, 634–36, 684–91, here 690; *ibid.* 2, 1922–23, 48–57; Giovanni Ellero, "Note sull'Endertà", *RSE* 1, 1941, 146–72, here 149, 155, no. 1, 161f., 164, 169 [repr. in: *EllLusAnt* 65–92, cf. index]; *Guida* map 6 after p. 304; HuntGeogr 148, 234.

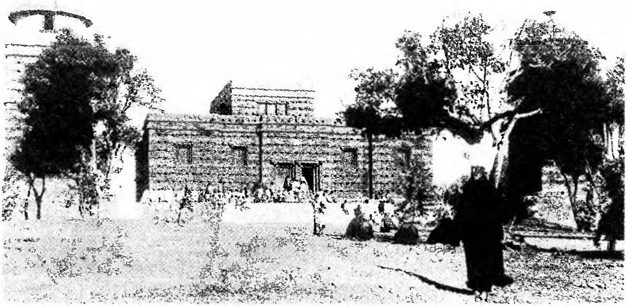
Alessandro Bausi

Ǝnda Maryam

Ǝ.M. (**እንዳ፡ ማርያም**), a site in the north-eastern part of ↗Asmära, is so named after the local Orthodox cathedral devoted to the Virgin Mary. The present building, with two bell-towers and a colourful mosaic by Nenne Poggi Sanguineti in the façade, was erected in 1938 by engineer Odoardo Cavagnari in place of an earlier one, designed by architect Ernesto Gallo as a "picturesque Italian interpretation of the Abyssinian liturgy and style" (*Guida* 203). Completed in 1920, this basilican church with raised nave was flanked by two squared towers with the function of a sacristy or storage space (↗*ʿƎqa bet*). It was in turn raised in the place of a late Aksumite basilica to which a porched *dägg(i) sälam* (lit. 'threshold/gate of peace', an atrium chapel) had been added to the south-west as a separate structure, in 1917. Later the seat of the St. Mary's Elementary School, the *dägg(i) sälam* is still extant to the south of the main entrance of Ǝ.M.

The original church, built between the 6th/7th and the 8th/9th cent. and since dedicated to the Holy Virgin, was extensively altered and damaged throughout the subsequent ages. According to tradition, it was burned twice: by Queen ↗Ǝsato in the 10th cent., then by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāḥīm al-Ġāzī (Grāñ) in the 16th cent. Major restorations were undertaken under *aṣe* ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl, possibly identical with ↗Lalibäla (r. ca. 1185–25) or rather ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I (r. 1314–44), and again after Grāñ's defeat in 1543. The building is described as follows by the Jesuit Manoel ↗Barradas in 1626: "It is square and not very large, but has three naves with twelve columns that are very thick through the middle, six on either side, which are plastered with lime. They say that there are twelve in honour of the Twelve Apostles of Christ" (*Tractatus*, II, 42, s. BecRASO IV, 268; Barradas 1996:149). The oldest church of Ǝ.M. was eventually demolished or allowed to be demolished by the Italians and replaced by the new one in 1919, just a few years after the detailed survey of the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition (1906) had appeared in print (1914), where the similarities between this precious relic of Aksumite building and the more famous Ǝnda Abunä Arägawi of ↗Däbrä Damo are first noticed.

The earliest architecture of Ǝ.M. (following in some respects the "archaic scheme" of Buxton 1947:38ff.) must have been oriented on a rectangular plan (ca. 20 m × 8 m), with projecting corners and recessing or indented walls. It displayed both the characteristic podium and the usual Aksumite construction technique, which alternates horizontal timbers and courses of squared stone or stone set in earth mortar, and is strengthened by short round logs known as *rəʾəsä ḥəbay* (lit. 'monkey-head[s]'). The interior had a narthex or vestibule-like space, a nave and two lower aisles separated by twelve squat round piers in wood and masonry, and a sanctuary zone between two squared chambers. It included a series of finely carved wooden parts: a triumphal arch and door lintels with geometrical patterns; brackets and capitals with leaves and crosses (drawn from the palaeochristian and early-Byzantine repertoires); a number of panels with animals or geometrical designs from a trabeation frieze round the nave and, most probably, the sanctuary itself.



Ǝnda Maryam church (Asmära), rebuilt in the Aksumite style (1920); later superseded by the new Cathedral (1936); postcard from the collection of Wolbert Smidt

About 40 such panels survive, either as entire pieces or as fragments. Apart from a few re-employed in the *dägg(i) sälam*, most of them have been removed to the National Archaeological Museum in Asmära. They find exact comparisons in the wooden ornament of Ǝnda Abunä Arägawi, as well as of the no longer extant Aksumite churches of ↗Yəḥa (Təgray) and Aramo (Eritrea). According to a recent hypothesis (Fiaccadori 2005), the carved reliefs with animals of both Ǝ.M. and Ǝnda Abunä Arägawi are – as well as the similar representations in later Ethiopian murals – but a visual rendering of moral characters featured by real or fantastic animals in the *Physiologus*, a Christian book composed in Greek at Alexandria between the 2nd and the 3rd cent. A.D. and translated into Gəʿəz in the Aksumite age (↗*Fisalgos*). If so, those reliefs could be a reflection of the Ethiopian fortunes of the Greek text, as well as an indirect witness to the early local circulation of at least one copy of the relevant cycle of Byzantine illuminations (↗Byzantine Empire).

Src.: BecRASO IV, 268; MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici* (*1634*): *a Seventeenth-Century Historical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABETH FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 149; PIPPO VIGONI, *Abissinia. Giornale di un viaggio*, Milano 1881, 72.

Lit.: THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, London ²1896, 20, 38, 42f. (ill.); VICTOR BUCHS, "Voyages en Abyssinie 1889–1895 [Iᵉ partie]", *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie* 9, 1896–97, 32–56, here 53 (ill.), DAE II, 195–98 ["Die alte Kirche zu Asmara"], pl. XXVI; 56; ERNESTO GALLO, "La vecchia Chiesa Copta in Asmara", *Erythraea* 1, 2, 1920, 28–31; *Guida d'Italia del T.C.I. – Possedimenti e Colonie*, Milano 1929, 625f.; *Guida* 203; DAVID RICHARD BUXTON, "The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 92, 1947, 1–42, here 14 and n. 2, 38ff.; FRANÇOIS ANFRAY, "Le musée archéologique d'Asmara", *RSE* 21, 1965 [1966], 5–15, here 13f., pls. VII, figs. 14–16; ROGER SAUTER, "L'arc et les panneaux sculptés de la vieille église d'Asmara", *ibid.* 23, 1967–68 [1969], 220–31; JULES LEROY, *L'Éthiopie. Archéologie et culture*, Paris 1973, 98, 115, 118f., figs. 53–55; ERIC GODET, "Répertoire des sites pré-axoumites et axoumites d'Éthiopie du Nord. IIᵉᵐᵉ partie: Érythrée", *Abbay* 11, 1980–82 [1983], 73–113, here 83; LANFRANCO RICCI, *Museo archeologico di Asmara.* Itinerario descrittivo, Roma 1983 (Collezione di studi africani 7), 36f., nos. XIIIbis–XVI; CARLO FRANCHINI, *Eritrea: cose viste*, Roma 1996, 24, 28, 30f., 162, figs. 17, 20–21, 26; MARIO DI SALVO, *Churches of Ethiopia. The Monastery of Nārgā Śellāsē*, Milano 1999, 73ff.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Die alte Kirche in Asmara", in: STEFFEN WENIG (ed.), *In Kaiserlichem Auftrag: die Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 1906 unter Enno Littmann*, vol. 1: *Eritrea*, in preparation (Lit.).

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Ǝnda Maryam Mägdälawit

The archaeological site of Ǝ.M.M. (**እንዳ፡ ማርያም፡ መግደላዊት**) is located on the northern edge of the Ḥaṣabo plain north-east of ↗Aksum.

The only excavation of the site was conducted by the Missione Archeologica Italiana directed by Salvatore Puglisi, in 1939. At that time, substantial architectural ruins and pottery were revealed, suggesting that the site dates to the (late) ↗Aksumite culture period. The name Ǝ.M.M. hints at the possible existence, in the past, of a church foundation dedicated to ↗Mary Magdalene, the traces of which, however, were not recorded. The site, obviously an ancient residential centre, needs futher investigation.

Lit.: SALVATORE M. PUGLISI, "Primi risultati delle indagini compiute dalla Missione Archeologica di Aksum", *Africa Italiana* 8, 1941, 95–153, here 151ff., figs. 48ff.; ERIC GODET, "Répertoire des sites pré-axoumites et axoumites du Tigré (Éthiopie)", *Abbay* 8, 1977 [1978], 19–58, here 46.

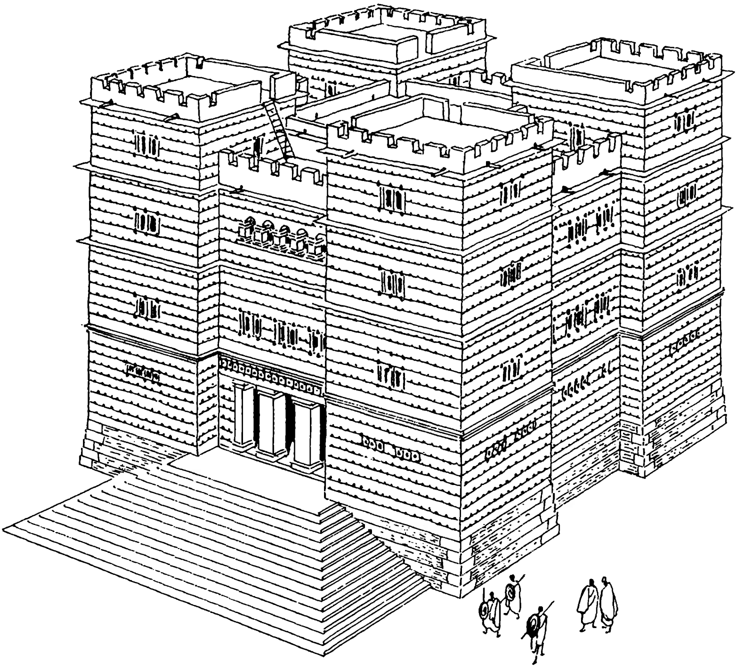
Matthew C. Curtis

Ǝnda Mikaʾel

Ǝ.M. (**እንዳ፡ ሚካኤል**) is an archaeological site of the Aksumite period located in ʿAddi Kələttä, in the western part of the city of ↗Aksum. In 1906 the ↗Deutsche Aksum Expedition (DAE) conducted excavations at Ǝ.M., revealing a 27 m x 27 m dry-stone masonry square-planned structure built upon a large stepped podium and possessing massive dressed-stone corner blocks.

This structure, believed to be the central pavilion of an elite Aksumite residence or "palace", contained four corner towers and ten rooms with emplacements for multiple columns. Although information concerning the functions and roles played by the central pavilion at Ǝ.M. during the Aksumite period are limited, the structure is generally similar in plan to elite Aksumite buildings documented at ↗Ǝnda Səmʿon (ca. 250m north-east from Ǝ.M.), Täʾak̠a Maryam and ↗Dungur in the Aksum area.

The ruins of Ǝ.M. may have inspired legends about an old Mikaʾel church, told to the DAE. Yet the name can also derive from a church structure that may have stood on or near the site some time prior to the 20th cent.: the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* mentions Mikaʾel ʿOfay church in the district of Mälake Aksum, which may be identical to Ǝ.M. In any case, the remains of the building seen by the DAE indicated that the "palace" had been destroyed long time before. During the 20th cent., the preservation of the site of Ǝ.M. suffered



Reconstruction of the palace of Ǝnda Mikaʾel; from DAE II, 107

greatly through building and road-construction activity. Today, little physical evidence remains of the Ǝ.M. archaeological site's existence.

Src.: CRAxum 3 (text) = 3 (tr.); Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Aksum. Ricerche di topografia generale*, Roma 1938, 5, 14, 40.

Lit.: DAE II, 107–10, pl. xvii, xxvii, s. index; DAE III, 87; Hubert Neville Chittick, "Excavations at Aksum 1973–74: a Preliminary Report", *Azania* 9, 1974, 159–205; Stuart C. Munro-Hay et al., *Excavations at Aksum: an Account of Research at the Ancient Ethiopian Capital Directed in 1972–74 by the Late Dr. Neville Chittick*, London 1989, s. index; David W. Phillipson, *The Monuments of Aksum: an Illustrated Account*, Addis Ababa 1997, 94–97; Id. (ed.), *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993–97*, London 2000, vol. 2, s. index; Rodolfo Fattovich et al., *The Aksum Archaeological Area: a Preliminary Assessment*, Napoli 2000, 34, 66.

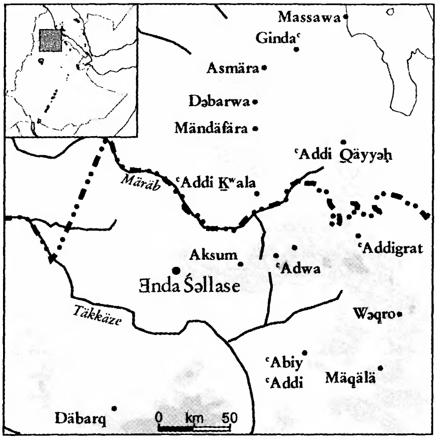
Matthew C. Curtis

Ǝnda Śəllase

Ǝ.Ś. (እንዳ፡ ሥላሴ), the capital of Taḥtay Qorare *wäräda* and of ↗Šire *awrağğa* (Təgray), is a town located in the old district of Qʷäraro, ca. 50 km to the west of Aksum, at an altitude of 1,900 m A.S.L. Its population exceeded 25,000 in 1994 (CSA 1995) and amounted to 33,515 inhabitants in 2000 (CSA 2000).

The site of ʿAddi Wänfəto, situated 1 km to the south of the contemporary Ǝ.Ś., seems to be its precursor. According to the oral traditions, the Italians, who occupied the area in the 1930s, found the place inconvenient. Its population was moved away and ʿAddi Wänfəto declined, but a new settlement, Ǝ.Ś., with the seat of *residenza* and a flourishing market (due to the favourable position of Ǝ.Ś. on the Gondär–Asmära road), was developed nearby.

The area of Šire, centred upon the town of Ǝ.Ś., is rich in archaeological potential, showing an almost unbroken line of human habitation over perhaps half a million years; it is of great importance for understanding the nature of links between the Ethiopian highlands and the Sudanic



steppes to the west. Until 2000, little archaeological attention had been given to this area and only a few sites were known from earlier work. ʿAddi Adḫano is a site 5 km to the north of Ǝ.Ś., where a possible standing Aksumite stela was noted (Puglisi 1941:100–03; Godet 1977:35). Säläkleḵa, a probable proto-Aksumite cemetery complex, is located 15 km to the east of Ǝ.Ś., where ceramic and bronze objects were recovered (Cossar 1945). The church of Wəblä Maryam at Səmema, a village 17 km north-east of Ǝ.Ś., is held to have Aksumite-era foundations; rock-cut steps, stelae and miscellaneous artefacts have been reported to exist there. Hirətay, 1 km south of Wəblä Maryam church, has been described as a possible early/middle Aksumite-period cemetery and settlement site; it was partially excavated by the late Gäbrä Kidan Wäldä Ḥawaryat in 1994 (the results remain unpublished).

Since 1989 the area of Ǝ.Ś. was the issue of disputes between the Təgray People Liberation Front and the Ethiopian army (Fontrier 1999: 141ff., 159–64). In 2000 a war-damage survey was conducted by the Ethiopian archaeologists Asäməräw Däse and Täklä Ḥagos (the results of this survey are unpublished).

In 2001 an international archaeological survey team under the direction of the author expanded upon the previous results. Prehistoric stone-age remains are widely noted within the region, indicating the great antiquity of human settlement in the area; the sites comprise dense, open and rock-shelter locations yielding material showing affinities to Early Stone Age, Middle Stone Age and Late Stone Age industries found elsewhere in the highlands.

Of special note is the extensive site of May Adraša located some ten km to the east of Ǝ.Ś.; its size would suggest that it is a fairly large urban settlement of Aksumite date, which may date to at least proto-Aksumite times (last millennium B.C.) on the basis of material noted in 2003. The recent survey work has identified a number of other pre-Aksumite and Aksumite sites in the vicinity, which merit detailed archaeological investigation (s. Finneran et al. 2003).

Little is known about the archaeology of the Ǝ.Ś. area after the collapse of the Aksumite polity, but extensive monastic building in the early 15th cent. attests to the re-Christianization of the area under *ạṣe* ↗Dawit II (s. Ellero 1939). Of special interest is the large monastic community of Ǝnda Giyorgis, located two km to the north-east of Ǝ.Ś. on Laqamba. The records in the monastery's "Golden Gospels" list gifts, including extensive ↗*gʷəlt* landholdings, from the time of Däwit II. Other smaller Dawit-era monastic communities remain, although much altered and rebuilt. The town of Ǝ.Ś. might have been named after the small monastery at ʿAddi Wänfəto founded, presumably, by *ạṣe* ↗Iyasu I in 1692 (s. Ellero 1939, 1941; this monastery should not be confused with another one by the same name [known also as Däbrä Erar or Däbrä Ṣəge] in ↗Ṣäʿada Ǝmba, Ḥamasen, Eritrea).

Src.: *Guida* 250; CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Results for Tigray Region*, vol. I: *Statistical Report*, Addis Ababa 1995, 11; CSA 2000.

Lit.: B. COSSAR, "Necropoli precristiana di Seleclaca", in: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), *Studi etiopici*, Roma 1945, 7–16; ERIC GODET, "Répertoire de sites pré-Axoumites et Axoumites du Tigré (Éthiopie)", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 19–58; GIOVANNI ELLERO, "I conventi dello Scirè e le loro leggende", *Bolletino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 7^{a}, 4 [76], 1939, 835–52 [repr. in: *EllLusAnt* 5–26]; ID., "Una regione etiopica: lo Scirè", *ibid.* ser. 7^{a}, 6 [78], 1941, 90–109 [repr. *ibid.*, 29–52]; SALVATORE MARIA PUGLISI, "Primi risultati delle indagini compiute della missione archeaologica di Aksum", *Africa Italiana* 8, 1941, 95–153; NIALL FINNERAN, "The Monasteries of Shire, northern Ethiopia", *Ecclesiology Today* 30, January 2003, 3–10; ID. et al., "The Shire Region Archaeological Landscape Survey 2001: a Preliminary Report", *Azania* 2003, 139–47; MARC FONTRIER, *La chute de la junte militaire éthiopienne* (1987–1991), Paris 1999, 141ff., 159–64.

Niall Finneran

Ǝnda Śəllase ↗ Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase

Ǝnda Səmᶜon

Ǝ.S. (እንዳ፡ ስምዖን) is a site of the Aksumite culture period located in the Kuduku quarter of the city of ↗Aksum. Local traditions suggest that the Ǝ.S. area once contained a royal palace. During 1906 the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition (DAE) conducted excavations at Ǝ.S. in the attempt to delineate the plan of an Aksumite elite building. However, due to the presence of overlying standing buildings and house rubble, only the south-eastern portion of the elite building at Ǝ.S. was revealed and mapped by the DAE. Based on the plan of the excavated area and above-ground surface evidence documented in 1906, the elite building at Ǝ.S. seems to have occupied an area of 34 m^2 and consisted of a square-planned structure built upon a large stepped podium. The building contained a central row of three rooms, two large wings or halls, each with 28 column emplacements, and corner rooms. Like the building at ↗Ǝnda Mikaʾel, the structure documented at Ǝ.S. may represent the central pavilion of an elite residence.

Five exploratory trenches were excavated near the Ǝ.S. site during the 1972–74 British Institute in Eastern Africa's archaeological project at Aksum. The excavations revealed the walls of at least one elite residence similar to Ǝ.S., suggesting that Ǝ.S. and the surrounding area were part of an elite residential district within the ancient settlement of Aksum. Gəᶜəz inscriptions found in the Ǝ.S. area (s. Schneider in PICES 4) and coins uncovered during the British Institute in Eastern Africa's excavations suggest that elite residences in this area of Aksum were probably occupied during the 4th to 6th cent. A.D.

Lit.: HUBERT NEVILLE CHITTICK, "Excavations at Aksum 1973–74: a Preliminary Report", *Azania* 9, 1974, 159–205; ID., "Radiocarbon Dates from Aksum", *ibid.* 11, 1976, 179–81; DAE I, 110–12; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Excavations at Aksum: an Account of Research at the Ancient Ethiopian Capital Directed in 1972–74 by the Late Dr. Neville Chittick*, London 1989, 121–35; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, *The Monuments of Aksum: an Illustrated Account*, Addis Ababa 1997, 98–102; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Trois nouvelles inscriptions royales d'Axoum", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 767–86.

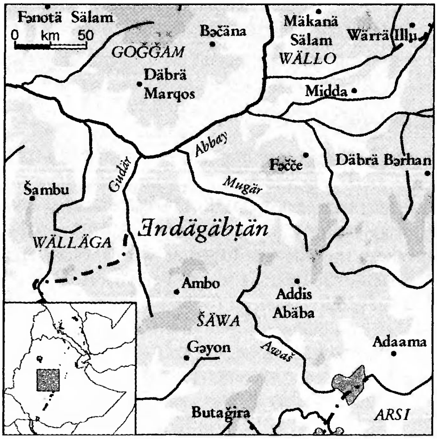
Matthew C. Curtis

Ǝndägäbṭän

Ǝ. (እንደገብጠን, also Ǝndä Gäbṭän, Anda Gabṭän, Ǝndägäbṭon), an old historical region, was situated to the north-west of Fäṭägar and Wäräb, north-east of Damot, between the rivers Gudär, Abbay and Mugär (covering the area around the source of the ↗Awaš, cp. Ricci 1966:85). Being on the southern fringe of the kingdom, it might already have been under the sway of the Christian monarchs in the 14th cent.; ↗Ṣabraddīn b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr of Ifāt wanted to contest *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's authority over Ǝ. and to install his officer there.

From the 14th cent., however, Ǝ. gradually became one of the central provinces of the Ethiopian empire. A number of sources report attempts to Christianize the region (co-ordinated most probably from ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa) and eliminate magical practices and non-Christian traditional beliefs (e.g., ↗*däsk*-cult), which were deeply rooted in Ǝ., at that time the domain of the Semitic-speaking ↗Gafat people (cp. Taddesse Tamrat 1988:145). The Vita of ↗Samuʾel of Däbrä Wägäg reports that he was appointed "*bäträ yarek* [the major spiritual supervisor?] in the land of Ǝ." by *aṣe* ↗Däwit II. Other saintly monks preached in Ǝ., namely ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel and, in particular, ↗Anorewos "the Elder", who founded the monastery of Däbrä Ṣəgağğa in the neighbouring region of Wäräb. A certain *mämhər* Abuqir "of Ǝ." was obviously a close associate or a favourite of *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam (PerrZarY 107, 133). *Abba* Täklä Maryam (also known as ↗Mäbəʾa Ṣəyon) a contemporary of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, was appointed ↗*nəburä əd* of Ǝ. (e.g., ms. EMML 1779, no. 3; 2860, no. 2).

At least from the beginning of the 16th cent. Ǝ. was a part of Šäwa. *Ǝččäge* ↗ᶜƎnbaqom was granted a land-estate in Ǝ., in the locality of Ṭiqo, the "hereditary possession" of the Ethiopian metropolitan himself (Ricci 1966:75). During



the *ǧihād*, *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ) dispatched a troop of cavalry under the command of ʿAbdannāṣir to invade Ǝ. and "to burn down the church of the ancient kings" (BassHist 243f.). In the second half of the 16th cent. *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl still used Alata, a locality in Ǝ., as his rainy-season camp, having completely subdued the local Gafat people. At the same time, Ǝ. was the scene of the political ambitions and rebellions of *ras* ↗Ḥamälmal and *abetohun* Fasilo. However, with the advance of the Oromo (Afre confederation, Sädäča, Tuulama), the Gafat were driven out into Goǧǧam, beyond the Abbay (so was the population of Damot). Consequently the effective political control of the Ethiopian monarchs over Ǝ. came to an end, even though later emperors and rulers of Goǧǧam made incursions into the region. which was incorporated only in the late 19th and early 20th cent. The territory of the historical Ǝ. was stored to the Ethiopian empire in modern times; it is divided between three former *awraǧǧas* of Šäwa province (Č̣äbo–Gurage, Männagäša, Ǧibat–Mäč̣č̣a).

Src.: BassHist 243f. (tr.); EMML mss. 1779, (3); 1882, fol. 110b; 2134, fol. 148b; 2706, fol. 138b.; 2860, (2); 3938, fol. 64a; PerrZarY 107, 133; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum I. Acta S. Baṣalota Mikāʾēl et S.Anorewos (seu Acta Sancti Honorii)*, Louvain 1905 (CSCO 28, 29 [SAe 11, 12]), 76, 78, 90; CRRicBerhan part II, 51 (text) = 29 (tr.); STANISLAS KUR (ed., tr.), *Actes de Samuel de Dabra Wagag*, Louvain 1968 (CSCO 287, 288 [SAe 57, 58]), 15f., s. index; PerChron 32 (text).

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Catalogo dei nomi propri di luogo dell'Etiopia contenuti dei testi giʿiz ed amhariña*, Genova 1894, 25; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Le *Vite* di Ĕnbāqom e di Yoḥannĕs abbati di Dabra Libānos di Scioa", *RSE* 22, 1966 [1968], 75–102, here 75, 85–89; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: the Case of Gafat", *JES* 21, 1988, 121–54.

Denis Nosnitsin

Ǝndägañ

Ǝndägañ language

Ǝ. (እንደጋኝ) is one of the ↗Gurage languages in the most western part of the Gurage speaking area (s. map under Gurage), called Ǝndägañä by the speakers themselves. Together with ↗Geto and ↗Ǝnnämor it belongs to the Peripheral Western Gurage group (Hetzron 1972:6). Ǝ. is more closely related to Ǝnnämor than to Geto. A dialect of Ǝ. is ↗Ǝnär. Another dialect, the only outlying Gurage group, is called ↗Mäsmäs (Hetzron 1977:4).

In the Peripheral Western Gurage group a glottal stop (going back either to ʾ and ʿ or to a glottalized *q*, *ṭ*, *č̣*) is found which is lost in most other Gurage idioms, intervocalically or forming a cluster with nasals, liquids and semivowels, e.g. *annäʾä*, impf. *aarəʾ*, juss. *äärä*ʾ 'be ended' (cf. Čaha *anäqä*, Amh. *alläqä* – Gəʿəz *ḫalqä*). **mʾ* and **nʾ* but not *rʾ* underwent metathesis: *säʾma* 'hear' (cf. Ǝnnämor *sämʾa*, Amh. *sämma* – Gəʿəz *sämʿa*), *säʾna* 'arrive' (cf. Ǝnnämor *säʾna*, Čaha *säna*, Muher, Soddo *sälla*), but *burʾä* 'voracious' (cf. Čaha *bura* – Gəʿəz *blʿ* 'eat').

Among the western Gurage idioms only Ǝ. maintains an initial *h* going back to Semitic pharyngeals and glottals, e.g. *himbä* 'tear' (cf. Čaha *əmba* – Gəʿəz *ʾanbəʿ*), *(h)iʾinä* 'ache' (from the verb *eʾä-*, Čaha *aqʸä-*, Səlṭi *anč̣e* 'be sick', cp. Gəʿəz *ḥqy* 'gnash the teeth'). In verbal roots the first radical ʾ is attested instead, e.g. *anäqä*, impf. *aʾanq*, juss. *äʾänq* 'strangle' (cp. Gəʿəz *ḫanäqä*).

With some triradical verbs a glottal stop (going back to ʾ or ʿ) appears as second radical, e.g. *waʾarä*, impf. *əwäʾär*, juss. *äwaʾar* (cp. Gəʿəz *wäʿalä*), as well as third radical, e.g. *gʷäddaʾa*, impf. *əgʷädä*, juss. *ägʷdä* 'harm' (cp. Gəʿəz *gʷädəʾa*).

A special development has taken place with verbs with a nasal as second and ʾ as third radical where second and third radical change places, e.g. *häʾna*, impf. *əhärʾä*, juss. *ähərʾä* 'forbid, hinder', cf. Ǝnnämor *ḫänʾa* (with the original sequence of nasal and glottal stop), Amh. *källa* – Gəʿəz *käləʾa*.

Within Gurage a similar behaviour of ʾ in root forms can only be observed in Ǝnnämor.

The elementary ten word list: *att* 'one', *hurʾet* 'two', *soʾost* 'three', *əsaad* 'fire', *əhä*, *əḫä* 'water', *ũwããyä*, *ayääd* 'sun', *bäññä* 'moon', *šən* 'tooth', *däm* 'blood', *anääd* 'tongue'.

Leslau has published some Ǝ. texts (1982) as well as a dictionary (1979, I, 139–256, 1240), an English–Ǝ. index (1979, II) and an etymological dictionary (1979, III). As to Gurage dialects/languages, s. in general Leslau (1992).

Lit.: ROBERT HETZRON, *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification*, Manchester 1972; ID., *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977; WOLF LESLAU, *Gurage Folklore*, Wiesbaden 1982; ID., *Chaha-Ennemor*, Wiesbaden 1983 (Ethiopians speak: Studies in cultural background 5); ID., *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*, vols. 1–3, Wiesbaden, 1979; ID., *Gurage Studies: Collected articles*, Wiesbaden 1992.

Rainer Voigt

Ǝndägañ ethnography

The Ǝ. (also Šadgär) are a member-group of the *Säbat Bet* ↗Gurage confederation. Their settle-

Ǝndägañ landscape, view of the historical market on the hill of Šorko with the three intertwined holy trees (centre right) where the *nugs* is enthroned, the Gibe valley and the Ǧangäro mountains in the background; photo 2000, courtesy of the author

ment area is situated in the southern part of today's "Ǝnnämor and Ǝnär [or Gunčure] *wäräda*" of Gurage zone. It is bordered by the ↗Ǝnär in the west, the ↗Ǝnnämor and ↗Geto in the north and the Azärnät-Bärbäre (↗Səlṭi; ↗Ǝnnäqor) in the east. In the south the neighbours of the Ǝ. are the Leemo ↗Hadiyya. Until the 1990s most of the Ǝ. territory was part of the "Kontäb [today Miišaa] *wäräda*" of Hadiyya zone and even before the Ǝ. were affiliated with Leemo in one *awrağğa*. Small groups of Ǝ. are to be found in Hadiyya, ↗Səlṭi and ↗Kambaata territories.

The Ǝ. conduct a mixed farming system with a significant importance accorded to ↗*ənsät*. For generations many Ǝ. have left their lands for seasonal or constant labour migration, and nearly every family has relatives outside Ǝ. country.

The oral traditions of the Ǝ. say that they migrated from Gura^c^ (in Akkälä Guzay) to the south with *azmač* Səbḥat in the early 14th cent. (cp. BeckHuntAlm lxvi, lxix). The ancestors Ǝndägañ (also Bädägañ) and his "grandson" Šadgär are said to have led their people into the area. The Ǝ. claim to have brought the *tabot* of Maryam from the north. Its sanctuary was at the early Ǝ. settlement of Bušurro on the slopes of the Mugo massive. The *tabot* itself is said to have been hidden in a cave while the church was destroyed during the war of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzi (Grañ) in the 16th cent.

As a relatively small group, the Ǝ. for the most part of their history were dominated by other groups. Since the beginning of the 17th cent., the Sooro subgroup of Hadiyya was the dominant power in the area, which according to historical memory "suppressed" the Ǝ. by raids and collection of irregular tributes. After the Leemo reached Ǝnnäqor at the end of the 18th cent., an alliance of Leemo and Ǝ. was established. The alliance was based on strong ties of intermarriage and mutual military aid. The Sooro were pushed to the south of today's ↗Hossäyna until the second half of the 19th cent. and the Leemo became protecting partners of the Ǝ. Leemo and Ǝ. continued their alliance in the many conflicts they had with different Gurage neighbours, the Azärnät-Bärbäre, and in the fight against Mənilək II's troops.

The tradition counts twelve houses of Ǝ., but the real number of subdivisions (*ṭəw*) is much higher. The social system resembles that of the other *Säbat Bet* Gurage (cp. ShGurage ch. 4, 5).

The highest traditional office is that of the *nugs* ('king'), which was changed into that of ↗*azmač* after Mənilək's conquest. The *nugs* is enthroned and anointed with butter and honey in a ceremony lasting several days under three intertwined holy trees at the (former) market of Šorko.

The Ǝ. claim to have been Orthodox Christians at least since the mission to the Gurage of *abunä* ↗Zena Marqos and *abba* Täklä Haymanot (late 13th/early 14th cent.). The last is reported to have built a church "with wood from the devil's tree" in "Yätäybar", in an area called "Ǝndegən" (ms. BN Éth. 342/Griaule 38), probably linked with the Ǝ. ancestors. In the syncretistic folk-religion, a local branch of the traditional Gurage religious system, which the Ǝ. developed after Grañ, some Christian elements were preserved, e.g., a modified fasting system and the veneration of Bušurro Maryam, which became a cult predominantly carried out by females.

The high-priest of the Ǝ. folk-religion is the *Saʾamär dam*, a spirit-medium representing *Saʾamär* (also *Awaqa*), the ↗*Waq* of Ǝ., who was syncretized with Archangel Gabrəʾel. The *Saʾamär dam* has some significance for the cult of the ↗*Božžä* spirit in other areas of the *Säbat Bet* Gurage country as well. He also had some authority among the Leemo, ↗Mäsmäs and Ǝnär.

The Ǝ. folk-religion lost its influence after Mənilək's conquest. Today a great majority of the Ǝ. are Orthodox Christians and the memory of the old cults has faded. The recent *Saʾamär dam* Märammo defines himself as an Orthodox Christian who blesses his people and prays for the well-being of the country.

Src.: ms. BN Éth. 342/Griaule 38; BeckHuntAlm lxvi, lxix.

Lit.: BrHad 201–04; ShGurage ch. 4, 5; DIRK BUSTORF, *Leemo-Hadiyya und Indagayn-Gurage: Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart ihrer interethnischen Beziehungen*, M.A. thesis, Georg August-Universität Göttingen 2002, passim; ID., "Oral Traditions on the Inter-ethnic Relations of the Leemo-Hadiyya and Ǝndägañ-Gurage", in: *PICES* 15, in preparation; ID., "Some Notes on the Traditional Religious System of the Ǝndägañ Gurage", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN – BASIL LOURIÉ et al. (eds.), *Varia Aethiopica*, St. Petersburg, in preparation; GETAHUN WATUMO, *Land Tenure System in Konteb Warada (Shoa) 1893–1975*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1988; BEDRU AHMED, *The Relationship between the Western Gurage and the Konteb ca. 1850–1973*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1984; WORKU NIDA, *The Revitalist Movement of Hassen Enjaamo*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1984; JEAN-FRANÇOIS PRUNET – BERHANU CHAMORA, "A Sky-god Cult of Gurage", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 559–64; DƎNBÄRU ALÄMU et al., ጎጎት፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብሔረሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ (*Gogot. Yägurage bəḫeräsäb tarik, bahələnna qʷanqʷa*, 'Gogot, the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.], 105–07.

Dirk Bustorf

Ǝndalkaččäw Mäkʷännən

Ləǧ Ǝ.M. (እንዳልካቸው፡ መኰንን, b. 1926, d. 1974) was a Šäwan nobleman, son of former Prime Minister ↗Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkaččäw and grandson (through his mother) of *ras* ↗Mängäša Atikam of Goǧǧam. He belonged to an aristocratic family related to the ruling house of ↗Šäwa. M.Ǝ. received a quality education, first at Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School in Addis Abäba and then at Oxford University in the United Kingdom.

After returning home, Ǝ.M. started his career as a diplomat in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1955–57). He then worked in high governmental and ambassadorial positions. Among the major internal posts he held are: Vice Minister of Education (1958–59), Minister of Commerce and Industry (1961–66), Minister of Posts and Communication (1968–74) and Prime Minister (February–July 1974). He also held the following positions abroad: Ethiopian Ambassador in London (1959–61) and Permanent Representative at the United Nations (1966–68).

Until the 1970s Ǝ.M. was better known as a diplomat than as a minister. He was Ethiopia's delegate at the Bandung Conference (1955) and the Suez Conference (1956). At the UN he was not only Ethiopia's representative on the Security Council, but also served as its president. He chaired a series of international crises in the Middle East, Cyprus, Rhodesia, Namibia and Czechoslovakia. Moreover, he was one of the advocates for disarmament and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. These and other activities in the UN caused them to honour Ǝ.M. as a "remarkable diplomat". He was also once suggested as a possible candidate for the post of UN Secretary General.

Ǝ.M.'s career ended tragically. With the resignation of ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld's cabinet in Febru-

Ǝndalkaččäw Mäkʷännən; from *Sestante* 7, 1971:35

ary 1974, Ǝ.M. was appointed Prime Minister. He envisaged a constitutional monarchy and a cabinet accountable to a democratically elected parliament as stated in his white paper presented to the parliament. However, as mass movements increased and the military exploited the people's discontent, Ǝ.M. lost popular support. He was put in custody and then became a victim of the *Därg's* summary execution of officials in November 1974.

Lit.: RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965; *EthObs* 13, 2, 1968; ClapHS, s. index; ANDARGACHEW TIRUNEH et al., *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974–1987: a Transformation from an Aristocratic to a Totalitarian Autocracy*, Cambridge 1993; *Sestante* 7, no. 1/2 [Asmara], Gennaio/Dicembre 1971, 35 [ill.].

Seltene Seyoum

Ǝndärase

Ǝ. (**እንደራሴ**, lit., in the Šäwan dialect of Amh., 'as myself') means a deputy, or, more precise, representative plenipotentiary. Ethiopian traditional emperors, who had always both their court and army with them at their camp, needed no deputies whatsoever and there existed none. However, with the establishment of a permanent capital city at ↗Gondär (1636), Gondärine emperors soon felt a need for a special dignitary with a high level of authority to whom the capital city could be entrusted during the annual campaigns, traditionally headed by the emperor himself. In the Gondärine kingdom, such an official was called *ras* ↗*bitwäddäd*.

In Šäwa this need emerged only during *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's time, after the foundation of ↗Addis Abäba, and the corresponding official was called Ǝ., which was not a title, but a temporary office, or, probably, function. The sovereign appointed an Ǝ. to represent him during his absence from the capital. The Ǝ. was a well-trusted noble, usually an army commander of high rank. His main duty was to maintain the security in the capital and, in order to achieve this aim, the Ǝ. had full power to execute the law on behalf of the sovereign. Another duty of the Ǝ. was to be a guardian of an heir to the throne.

When in 1909 *aṣe* Mənilək II's health deteriorated seriously, there appeared the need for a permanent deputy for him, a kind of regent. *Ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw was nominated to be a guardian to *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, with the title of *ras bitwäddäd*. But this ancient title did not correspond precisely to regent and so *ras* Täsämma was also called **ባለ፡ ሙሉ፡ ሥልጣን፡ እንደራሴ** (*balä mulu śəlṭan əndärase*, 'representative plenipotentiary'), which was created specifically to describe his position at the court. It was a novelty much needed in the circumstances and the same title was used for the Heir to the Throne *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) during the reign of *nəgəśtä nəgəśtat* ↗Zäwditu. According to Ḫaylä Śəllase's autobiography (HSLife) and some other Ethiopian sources, Täfäri Mäkʷännən received the title of Ǝ. together with that of Heir to the Throne in 1916 (e.g., TSTarik); but according to other Ethiopian sources and historians, he received the title later. Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabḥer Elyas describes the ceremony which took place on the 19 December 1922 when Zäwditu nominated Täfäri Ǝ.

Thus, under these rather exceptional circumstances, Ǝ. indeed became a title for a while.

Täfäri Mäkʷännən retained the governorship of Harär after he moved to Addis in 1916. He appointed a series of governors with the title of Ǝ. to govern the province on his behalf.

With the enthronement of Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1930, it lost its exceptional significance, and after 1941 all provincial governments became Ǝ. until tite title was abolished by the *Därg*. The word remained as an Amh. word meaning 'deputy'.

Src.: B. GANKIN, *Amharsko-russkiy slovar*, Moscow 1969, 544; KaneDic 1239; GebMolIyas 17f.; 127, 312f., 425; HSLife 57; TSTarik 4, 108.

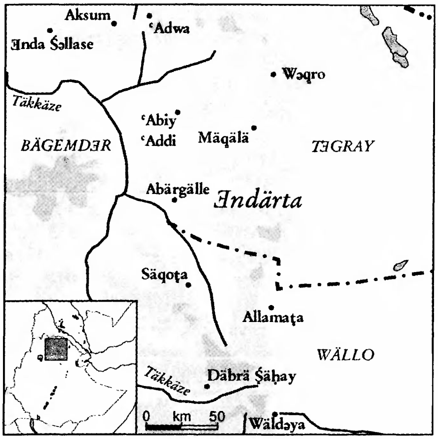
Lit.: PETER GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Abäba from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49), 24.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Ǝndärta

Ǝ. (**እንደርታ**, also Ǝntärta, Andärta) is a region in south-eastern ↗Təgray that lies to the east of ↗Gärʿalta, to the north-east of ↗Säläwa and to the north-west of ↗Wäǧǧärat. In the provincial administration Ǝ. constituted an *awrağğa* (with the capital ↗Anṭalo).

From the Aksumite era onwards, Ǝ. was an important staging-post on the trade route from ↗Aksum to the hinterlands. In the 13th cent., its governor had two titles of Aksumite origin, ↗*ḥasgʷa* and *ʿaqqabe ṣänṣän* (**ዓቃቤ፡ ጸንጸን**, s. TadTChurch 73, later abbreviated into ↗*ʿaqaṣen*). During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak, the governor of Ǝ. (*śəyyumä Ǝndärta*) was Ǝngəda Ǝgziʾ (CRDLib no. 10); in the 14th, ↗Yaʿəbikä Ǝgziʾ, another governor, was powerful enough to rebel against *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I. In his land charter (ibid. 17), Yaʿəbikä Ǝgziʾ



does not mention the King; the colophon of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* reveals that, in fact, he was the ruler who committed the creation of this work, which later became "the national saga" of Ethiopia. However, ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon successfully suppressed the revolt (CRAxum no. 29). There is no further information concerning the line of Yaᶜəbikä Ǝgziᵓ, whereas the local tradition places ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's residence in Nazrä Maryam (near ↗Kʷiḥa) and his grave in Abba Nob church in Addi Qäläbäs, near Anṭalo. In the 16th cent., the province was ravaged by the army of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, who wanted, among others, to visit the grave of *näǧāśi* Aṣḥama (BassHist 419 [tr.]; ↗Aṣḥam b. Abǧar; ↗Ǝllä Ṣäḥam). Muslim communities were recorded in Ǝ. in the late 17th cent., but later disappeared (their traces are still found in Ǝ.: gravestones at Kʷiḥa and Wägər Ḥaribo, a mosque at Addi Abunä Nazrä[t]). In 1628, Ǝ. saw the rebellion of *baḥər nägaš* ↗Täklä Giyorgis, governor of Təgray, against *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. In the time of ↗Yoḥannəs I, the people of Ǝ. joined the big rebellion lead by *ras* ↗Fares, the follower of ↗*Täwaḥədo*-doctrine, but were beaten by ↗Dəlbä Iyäsus.

The local tradition of Ǝ. refers to Endor, who came from ᶜAgamä in the time of ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəha; he was the apical ancestor of the "seven (lineages) of E.". Also it tells about brothers Bayleṣen and Bəggədiṣen; the son of the latter, Asbärom (a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs), was the ancestor of *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase (whose power basis was in Ǝ., in particular in ↗Čäläqot and Anṭalo) and *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, who resided in ↗Mäqälä.

E. always maintained its importance as a place where salt-caravans were accepted and organized to travel to the salt-mining places in the Dankali desert; the governors of Ǝ., who were granted the title of ↗*balgäda*, were responsible for the ↗salt trade and taxation (↗*Amole*). There was a tradition of the movement of ↗Ewosṭateans in the region, though the churches and monasteries of Ǝ. became numerous mostly due to Yoḥannəs IV. The most known are, e.g., Ǝnda Mäsqäl, linked to *abunä* ↗Absadi, and Ǝnda Kidanä Məḥrät, reportedly founded by *abunä* Abrəham in the 14th cent. Among the rock-hewn churches, Iyäsus Arhənᵓo near Gibǧet deserves attention, once a flourishing monastic establishment, recorded already by ↗Tellez.

Src.: BassHist 418f. [tr.] (Lit.); AbbGeogr 67, 238f.; CRDLib nos. 10, 11, 17; *Guida* 302f.; BTafA 909; Guilohan 24–35 (text) = 25–35 (tr.); PerChron I, 269, II, 229; CRAxum 30f. (text) = 36 (tr.), no. 29.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia", *RSO* 3, 1914, 849–900, here 859f.; ID., "Necropoli musulmana ed antica chiesa christiana presso Uogrì Haribà nel'Enderta", *ibid.* 17, 1938, 398–408; HuntGeogr 234–38, s. index; MADELENE SCHNEIDER, "Stéles funéraires arabes de Quiha", *AE* 7, 1967, 107–18; TadTChurch 72ff., s. index; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "Riches and Honor of Ethiopian Kings", *Hristianskiy Vostok* new ser. 2 [8], 2001, 35–55, here 46–49; GIOVANNI ELLERO, "Note sull'Endertà", *RSE* 1, 1941, 146–72 (Lit.) [= *EllLusAnt* 65-92]; HAILE MICHAEL MESHINNA, "Salt Mining in Enderta", *JES* 4, 2, 1966, 127–35; MORDECHAI ABIR, "Salt, Trade and Politics in Ethiopia in the 'Zämänä Mäsafent'", *ibid.* 1–10; PankEcon 240ff. (Lit.); RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 81–90, 198.

Sevir Chernetsov

Ǝndih näw

Ǝ.N. (**እንዲሁ ፡ ነው**, 'It is so') was an annual yearly literary journal of the University College of ↗Addis Abäba University, but only two issues appeared, one in *Ṭərr* 1957 A.M. [January 1965 A.D.] and the second in 1958 A.M. [1966 A.D.]. Ǝ.N. was not the first literary journal – the *Literary Journal of University College, Ḫaylä Śəllase I University* and the literary magazine *Something* had appeared earlier, respectively four and two years previously – but the Ǝ.N. was the first of its kind in Amharic.

Ǝ.N. was conceived as a forum for literary discussion or talented students enable them to exchange views in their native language and using their native Ethiopic script. According to the editorial, the aims of the publication were to ensure that the university students and professors could present and exchange their literary pieces, while the general public could provide them with feedback, support and financial assistance.

The chief editor of the first issue was ↗Bərhanä Mäsqäl Rädda, a student activist and leader who later became one of the founders of the ↗Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party. The vice-editor was Bäʾəmnät Gäbrä Amlak, at that time working in the University Library (later he became lecturer in the Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature and was the author of the novel ልጅነት [*Ləǧənnät*, 'Childhood']). The Chairman of the Managing Board was Abbäbä Wärqe; Yonas Admasu was its Secretary. The Literary Board had Getatchew Haile as its Honorary Chairman and Bərhanä Mäsqäl Rädda as its Chairman. Among its members were Amsalu Aklilu and ↗Daññaččäw Wärqu. In all, 15 persons held various appointments in the maiden issue of Ǝ.N., which ran to 37 pages and contained an editorial, ten poems, one story, two essays, a travel report, a play let and about a dozen advertisements.

The second issue of Ǝ.N. kept the main title, but was affiliated to the Arts Faculty, and Bäʾəmnät Gäbrä Amlak became its editor-in-chief. In this 24-page issue an editorial, five poems, eight couplets reflecting on various issues, four proverbs, a travel report, three essays, a book review and six advertisements appeared.

Src.: issues of the *Ǝndih näw*.

Fekade Azeze

Ǝndod

Ǝ. (እንዶድ, Tgn. ቺብቲ, *čibti*; also known as *Phytolacca dodecandra*, *Phytolacca abyssinica*, *Pircunia abyssinica*) is a member of the *Phytolaccaceae*, also known as soapberry. This plant is found in Africa and in parts of Latin America and Asia. Ǝ. has small berries which, when dried, powdered and mixed with water, yield a foaming detergent solution.

In Ethiopia Ǝ. exists in two main varieties, *arabe* with pinkish, and *ahəyo* with greyish berries. *Arabe* (possibly meaning 'from Arabia') has more powerful detergent properties than *ahəyo* (meaning 'donkey' and implying that it is less active than the other type). The plant is a climber with hanging branches; it grows very rapidly under direct sunlight and in its natural habitat reaches a height of up to 10 m, the average being 2–3 m. Under favourable climatic conditions, the plant in Ethiopia bears fruit twice a year, in January and July. Many Ǝ. bushes were cut down during the droughts of 1973–74 and 1984–85.

Ǝndod plant (detail); photo courtesy of the Endod Development Project, Ethio-Coffee and Tea Plantation and Marketing (ECTPM), Pvt. Ltd. Co., Addis Abäba

People of all ages are familiar with the plant and its various uses. Ǝ. berries are used as soap, but very little is traded at markets due to the low social status of Ǝ.'s soap. Commonly, it is used by poor people in rural areas. In areas where the evapotranspiration is very high, partial shade by other bushes or trees is necessary to avoid sunburn. Unfortunately, wilting of leaves is the main obstacle for the cultivation of Ǝ. at lower elevations (below 1,600 m A.S.L.), where ↗bilharziasis is endemic.

Common traditional medicinal uses of the plant are the treatment of skin itching (ringworm), abortion, gonorrhoea, leeches, intestinal worms, anthrax and rabies. The molluscicidal properties of Ǝ. were discovered in northern Ethiopia (ʿAdwa) in 1964 by ↗Aklilu Lämma. He also conducted research on Ǝ.'s larvicidal, fungicidal, spermicidal and other medical properties.

Lit.: AKLILU LÄMMA, "Laboratory and Field Evaluation of the Molluscicidal Properties of Phytolacca dodecandra", *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 42, 1970, 597–

612; SVEIN GUNNAR GUNDERSEN – KJELL B. ESSER, *Control of Schistosomiasis Using Berries from Phytolacca Dodecandra*, Oslo 1999 (Noragric Brief 99/8, January 1999).

Biniam Gebremedhin

Ǝndrəyas

Aṣe Ǝ. (እንድርያስ, r. 1429–30, regnal name Əskəndər), son of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq, succeeded his father when he was very young. According to al-Maqrīzī (MaqIlmam 9, 39), his reign lasted for four months, whereas the "short chronicles" gave him a period of reign of six months (BassÉt 101f.; DombrChr 155). His uncle, Ḥəzbä Nañ (↗Täklä Maryam), reigned after him. This period is completely unknown because of the lack of sources.

Src.: BassÉt 1882, 101f.; DombrChr 155; MaqIlmam 9, 39.
Lit.: TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35, here 512.

Marie-Laure Derat

Ǝndrəyas

Ǝ. (እንድርያስ; 15th cent.) was the eighth head (↗*Əččäge*) of the monastery of Däbrä ʿAsbo (↗Däbrä Libanos) of Šäwa, the successor of ↗Yoḥannəs Käma and a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob.

The first part of Ǝ.'s tenure appears to have been a success. According to the Chronicle of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, the monks of Däbrä ʿAsbo were the first to congratulate the Emperor on his brilliant victory over ↗Aḥmad Badlāy, which took place on 26 December 1445 at Agbära. For this expression of loyalty the monastery was endowed with rich gifts. The Emperor visited the community and concluded an unprecedented "covenant" (↗*Kidan*) with the monks: the monastery was to obtain land possessions for the commemoration of "the Feast of our Lord Jesus Christ" on the 29th day of every month, which would be accompanied by the commemoration of the Emperor's victory. In addition, the name of the monastery was changed from Däbrä ʿAsbo (cp. ↗*däbr*; ʿAsbo is supposed to be a place name, but it is also a Gəʿəz word meaning 'price, reward') to Däbrä Libanos. This can be translated as 'Mount of Lebanon', but it seems to have been named after the famous monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šimäzana, the foundation of *abba* Mäṭaʿ (also known as ↗Libanos). The transference of the name may reflect an attempt to create in Šäwa a new religious centre by the model of the by far more celebrated Däbrä Libanos in the north. The next step by Zärʾa Yaʿəqob was to place new churches and monasteries under the administration of Däbrä Libanos, among these ↗Däbrä Bərhan, ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq and ↗Däbrä Nägʷadgʷad. Two representatives of Däbrä Libanos were asked to stay permanently at Zärʾa Yaʿəqob's camp, in the vicinity of the Emperor.

The source of the subsequent conflict may have lain in the expense of the centralizing politics and personal qualities of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, on the one hand, and the concentration of authority in the hands of Ǝ. coupled with the growing independence of Däbrä Libanos, on the other. The Acts of Ǝ.'s successor ↗Yəmrähannä (Märḥa) Krestos relate that the aged Ǝ., who sought to complete his life as a martyr, was occasionally summoned by the Emperor, put into custody and afterwards died in prison. As the Chronicle of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob states, at court Ǝ. was falsely accused by a certain Zärʾa Ṣəyon. Only after almost a year did Yəmrähannä Krəstos manage to convince the Emperor to allow Ǝ.'s remains to be returned to Däbrä Libanos. In fact, the disfavour of Ǝ. might have been politically motivated and linked to the persecution of *abba* ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat (cp. Kur 1972:42). The latter seems to have been an associate of Gälawdewos, the Emperor's son, punished by his father for his participation in a plot (there are hints that Gälawdewos and *aṣe* ↗Bäʿədä Maryam may be the same person, cp. Taddesse Tamrat in PICES 4; Getatchew Haile 1994:107). Another possible cause of Ǝ.'s persecution could be disagreement with the Emperor on the issue of the ↗Sabbath. In any case, the arrest of Ǝ. may have taken place some time around 1455, and then he died (TadChurch 242, n. 3: in 1462). After this, the office of the head of Däbrä Libanos was possibly vacant for some years, as follows from the Chronicle of *aṣe* Bäʾədä Maryam (contrary to what the Acts of Yəmrähannä Krəstos report). The Däbrä Libanos tradition venerates Ǝ. as a martyr; in the ↗*Sənkəssar* he is commemorated on 17 *Ḥamle*.

Src.: GETATCHEW HAILE, "Martyrdom of Abunä Täklä Hawarəyat of Shoa and the Translation of his Relics", in: *EtRicci* 93–113, esp. 107; LesDic 72; PerrZarY 90, 100, 117, s. index; STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain, 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 42–45 (s. index); BudSaint 1125; GuiSyn II, 346; BecRASO V, 240.
Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 5, 122–28; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo la «lista rimata» (sec. XIV–XVIII)", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 13, 1944, 137–82, here 143ff.; TadChurch 242, 284; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Pres-

entation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35, here 511–15, 519–25.

Denis Nosnitsin

Ǝndrəyas of Säffəʾa

Ǝ. (**እንድርያስ**), a saintly monk, lived during the reign of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (1434–68). He was a son of Zäʾamanuʾel and Amätä Mänfäs Qəddus and at Däbrä Säloda became a disciple of Gäbrä Krəstos, who vested him in the monastic habit. Ǝ. spent most of his life in ↗Bogos, where he met with the pilgrims heading for the Holy Land. One of these pilgrims, Täʾamnä Ǝgziʾ, decided to stay and live with him. Reminiscences of Ǝ.'s apostolic activities are found at Araza, as well as in other places of Eritrea.

His feast day is celebrated on 1 *Yäkkatit* (8/9 February). His hagiography, which is still unpublished, was written "at the behest of the Holy Spirit" and a certain Melchisedek passed it on to Gäbrä Śəllase, a monk, who than asked a confrere, Ṣägga Haymanot, to edit it.

Lit.: KinBibl 69; StrANL 216f., ms. 84 I; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Andrea di Saffeʿà", in: *EncSan* vol. 1, 174f.

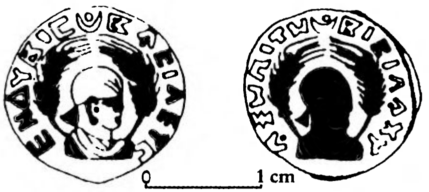
Osvaldo Raineri

Endybis

E. (Gr. ENΔYBIC) was a late-3rd-cent. Aksumite (↗Aksum) ruler, the first to issue currency – to date the only evidence for his life. Nor can any of the names transmitted in the "kings lists" be reasonably traced to E., occasionally identified with king ↗Sembrouthes of the ↗Däqqämḥare inscription.

On the obv. of his coins – gold, silver and copper issues – E. appears head-and-shoulders profile bust rightward, framed by two wheat stalks and draped in a garment with folds; he wears a headcloth, an earring and a round collar or necklace, the pre-Christian symbol of the moon god appearing over his head. A Greek legend goes round: *Endybis basileus* 'Endybis king', and continues on the obv., with the same design as the rev.: *Axōmitō*[*n*] *bisi Dachy* 'of the Aksumites, man of Dachy [Dachi]', which includes his *bisi-* or clanname (BICI ΔAXY), possibly connected to the *sarwe dakʷen* or *sarwe daken* ('elephant [mounted] troops'?) of king ↗ʿEzana (↗Elephants).

E.'s dating can only be approximately defined with the help of the metrological clue provided by his gold coins as compared with the contemporary Roman system. Silver and copper coins, much less known, show the same iconography and legends, but without wheat stalks. The frequency of E.'s gold and silver coins is due to hoarding, does not necessarily suggest a long reign. The initiative of starting the production of coins might originate within the framework of international trading on the Indian route, as also proved by the interesting synchronism with the end of South Arabian coinage (Fiaccadori 2004:143).



Gold coin of Endybis; drawing courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

↗Coinage

Src.: STUART MUNRO-HAY – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 79–84 (types 1–3); LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica* ser. 1ª, 15, I–II [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 18, 20ff., 87ff., nos. 1–17, pls. 1–4.

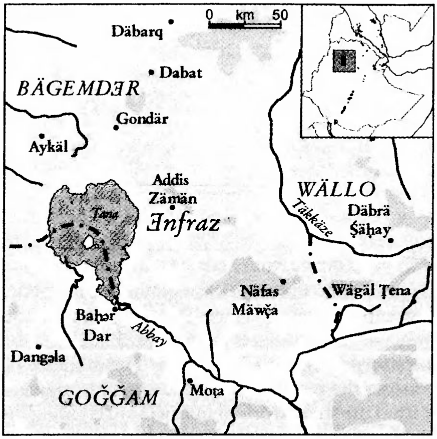
Lit.: DAE I, 47; CRStor 129f., 216; ARTHUR K. IRVINE, "Endybis", in: *DicEthBio* 58 (ill.); WOLFGANG HAHN, "Statistisches zur Goldprägung des Endubis", *Mitteilungsblatt des Instituts für Numismatik der Universität Wien* 17, 1998, 5–10; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 143.

Wolfgang Hahn – Red.

Ǝnfraz

Ǝ. (**እንፍራዝ**, also Ǝmfraz) is a district in ↗Bägemdər 60 km south-southeast of ↗Gondär. It borders Lake ↗Ṭana in the west, Dämbəya in the north, and ↗Fogära in the south. The land rises from flat plains beside Ṭana through low hills to the high plateau of Bägemdər in the east. It is one segment of a north-south transportation route down the east side of Ṭana long used by traders and travellers alike.

Its original inhabitants were ↗Agäw; but by the early 14th cent., Ǝ. was populated by the Fälaša (↗Betä Israʾel), who were gradually evangelized and made subjects to the authority of the Christian emperors. Early in his reign, *aṣe* ↗ʿAmda Ṣəyon I sent his armies against Ǝ. and neighbouring lands, bringing the area under his control and introducing Christianity to the



inhabitants. In the middle of the 16th cent., Ǝ. was one of the very few areas to escape devastation during the *ǧihād* by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (who, however, was killed at Zantära in Ǝ., ↗Wäyna Däga). This fact had two important consequences. First, the churches and monasteries of Ǝ. remained intact and served as an educational and literary foundation for the later revival of Christian culture in the country. Second, for security reasons, *aṣe* Minas (1559–63) chose Ǝ. as a place of refuge and as a rainy season residence, where there was already a settlement, probably a way station for Muslim traders. In the mid-1570s, his son, *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl (1563–97), established his camp at ↗Guba'e (Guzara), "chosen among all the monasteries of Emfraz" according to the royal chronicle (CRHist 83 [text]). There he constructed a stone castle on a hill overlooking Lake Ṭana, seemingly the first example of Gondär-style architecture in the kingdom. In all probability, the stone bridge over the Garno River below the castle also dates to his reign.

Ǝ. remained the capital of the Kingdom until 1589. Thereafter, it served as a temporary residence for a succession of emperors, who resided at Guba'e (Guzara) or at Qoga, just to the south, and it was one of the regular stages on the imperial line of march from Gondär to ↗Goǧǧam and adjacent lands. In the early 17th cent., the ↗Jesuits proselytized heavily in E. and located the seat of their patriarch at Däbsan (↗Däbrä San), close to the Guzara castle. In 1708 *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos was crowned in Ǝ.

Long before it became a political center, Ǝ. was a stage on the long-distance ↗trade route that ran from the Red Sea via Təgray and Ṭana to the southern highlands. Indeed, the desire to secure this route and to levy tolls on the caravans (as well as the growing pressure from the ↗Oromo in the south) were probably the major reasons that drew Śärṣä Dəngəl to Ǝ. After arrival of the royal court and army, the original settlement grew into a town or city of up to 15,000 inhabitants, according to the report of the Jesuit father, Pedro ↗Paez (BecRASO II, 203f.). Ǝ. retained its commercial importance even after the founding of Gondär. In 1700 the French physician, Charles ↗Poncet, reported that it was inhabited by Christians and Muslims and famed for its trade in ↗zibeth and slaves. 70 years later, James ↗Bruce found a town of some 300 houses on the slope below the castle and Muslim merchants trading in cloth, frankincense, myrrh, and salt; some were the royal tent-makers.

With the rise of ↗Šäwa during the 19th cent., Ǝ. declined in importance, along with Gondär and Bägemdər. Today, the Baḥər Dar–Gondär road, successor to the former caravan route, traverses Ǝ. and passes through the small village that bears the name. Nearby ruins testify to Ǝ.'s prominence in the past.

Src.: BecRASO II, 203f.; Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, ዜና፡ ሚናስ። *Historia de Minás, Además Sagad, rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888 (Extrahido do Boletim de Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa 12, 7), 28, 32 (text), 46 [and n. 98], 49 (tr.); CRHist 43, 83ff., 100, 143, 158 (text); PerChron 20, 38, 59, 95, 97 (text); GuiIohan 16, 18, 64 (text); BassÉt I, 328, 377; II, 328; BruNile II, 481; III, 380, 386; V, 31; William Foster (ed.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century as Described by Joseph Pitts, William Daniel and Charles Jacques Poncet*, London 1949 (Publications of the Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, part 2, no. 100), Millwood, NY, ²1990, 136f., 142ff.; TadTChurch 190–93, 197-201.

Lit.: BeckHuntAlm 228; PankHist I, 94–100 (Lit.); BTafA 909; HuntGeogr, s. index; Guy Annequin, "Chronique archéologique (1960–1964)", *AE* 6, 1965, 3–26, here 22–25 ["4. Château de Gouzara (pl. XIX–XXI)"] (Lit.); LaVerle Berry, "The Castle of Guzara and the Introduction of Gondar-Style Architecture in Ethiopia", in: Rita Pankhurst (ed.), *Ethiopian Art and Architecture*, Trenton, NJ, 2005, 169-77; Hervé Pennec, *les Jésuites au royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie): stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation 1495–1633*, Paris 2003, 180f., 232; James Quirin, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia 1992, 50ff.; Merid Wolde Aregay, "Gondar and Adwa: a Tale of Two Cities", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 57–76, here 57–60; Alessandro Augusto Monti Della Corte, *I castelli di Gondar*, Roma 1938, 105–11.

Sevir Chernetsov – LaVerle Berry

Ǝnǧära ↗ Bread

Ǝngəda

Ras Ǝ. (**እንግዳ**; b. ca. 1820, d. 1868, Mäqdäla) was a *balabbat* of Qʷara and Agäw Mədər and one of the influential officials of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. Hardly anything is known about his background, upbringing and education, apart from the fact that he came from a wealthy family. From all indications he was an acquaintance of *ləǧ* Kaśa Ḫaylu (Tewodros) in his youth and one of his earliest companions; he was said to have participated in practically every battle Tewodros fought.

When Tewodros conquered Šäwa in 1855, Ǝ. was sent at the head of an army to pursue the *mäkʷanənt* of Ḫaylä Mäläkot, who had taken young Mənilək with them and retreated to the eastern lowlands. With *bitwäddäd* Bərru and *bitwäddäd* Wəbe on his side, Ǝ. defeated them at the battle of Bäräkät (Mənǧar) on 30 *Ḫədar* (9 December) and took Mənilək captive (ZanLitTheod 4, 24ff.; MonVidTheo 11f.).

When returning from Šäwa, Tewodros pacified Goǧǧam by punishing the remaining rebels and, after Ǝ. defeated ↗Tädla Gʷalu in August of the next year (ZanLitTheod 26f.), appointed the former governor of the region. Apparently, Ǝ. did not retain the office for long, for he had to act as a counsellor and "prime minister" to his royal master.

He fell out of royal favour for some time in the mid-1860s and suffered imprisonment for a short time at ↗Amba Gəšän (where he was kept together with "Agäw" ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel and *baša* Gäbrä Mikaʾel, s. ZanLitTheod 29f.), but he was reinstated and later killed at the Battle of ↗Mäqdäla on the side of Tewodros, together with his brother, *azzaž* Fanta. Rassam, who knew him well, states that Ǝ. was "a man of most gentlemanly bearing, of strict integrity, and of an eminently humane disposition" (RasTheo vol. 1, 255).

Src.: RasTheo vol. 1, 255–58; ZanLitTheod 4, 24-27, 29f., 35; MonVidTheo 11f., 16 (text) = 14f., 20 (tr.); FusTeo 42, 29 (text) = 111, 118 (tr.); CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 105, 107, 351.
Lit.: GSCopMen 86; GÄRIMA TAFFÄRÄ, **አባ፡ ታጠቅ፡ ካሳ፡ የቋራው፡ አንበሳ** (*Abba Taṭäq Kasa yäQʷaraw anbässa*, 'Abba Taṭäq Kasa, the Lion from Qʷara'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 243; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄKʷƎRIYA, **ዐፄ፡ ቴዎድሮስና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ አንድነት** (ʿ*Aṣe Tewodrosənna yäʾityopya andənnät*, '*Aṣe* Tewodros and the Ethiopian Unity'), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.], 169, 503; P̣AWLOS ÑOÑÑO, **አጼ፡ ቴዎድሮስ** (*Aṣe Tewodros*), Addis Abäba *Gənbot* 1985 A.M. [May–June 1993 A.D.], 82, 301.

Bairu Tafla

Ǝngəda

Aläqa Ǝ. (**እንግዳ**; 19th cent.) flourished during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. He was later also employed by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV and *nəguś* Täklä Haymanot and was still active in the early years of *aṣe* Mənilək II's reign. He was born on Zäge island in Lake Ṭana and many of his signed wall-paintings can still be seen in the local church of ↗Ura Kidanä Məḥrät. Other paintings by Ǝ. decorate the churches ↗Däbrä Marqos and ↗Bəčäna Giyorgis. The Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich acquired one of his paintings, a large canvas of the Crucifixion, showing the painter's self-portrait at the foot of the cross (no. 81–301465).

Ǝ. belonged to the Ethiopian "transition period", i.e. a period in the Ethiopian painting of the 20th cent. when secular paintings became more and more common and the first European ↗colours were being imported. His paintings represent an excellent record of the fashion in clothes and jewellery at that time.

Ǝ.'s paintings in the church of Ura Kidanä Məḥrät show the arrival of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs at Lake Ṭana, *nəguś* Täklä Haymanot's reception by priests as he arrives at Lake Ṭana and an aristocratic lady with her female servants who commissioned him to paint her portrait. Apart from the secular themes, Ǝ. also painted religious scenes. Among these, his well known Flight of the Holy Family to Egypt from the *Nägärä Maryam* cycle in Ura Kidanä Məḥrät can be mentioned.

Lit.: GIRMA FISSEHA – WALTER RAUNIG, *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei*, Innsbruck 1985, 90, 176, fig. 65; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Some Notes for a History of Ethiopian Secular Art", *EthObs* 10, 1, 1966, 5–80, here 18; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Notes on the Ethiopian Traditional Art: the Last Phase", *Ethnologische Zeitschrift* 2, 1978, 65–66.

Girma Fisseha

Ǝngəda Wärq

Ǝ.W. (**እንግዳ፡ ወርቅ**; d. 1868, Mäqdäla) was the chief secretary of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II and perhaps the only one to bear the title of ↗*ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* during the reign of the same monarch. The sources refer to him mostly as "*aläqa* Ǝngəda", an indication of his clerical learning, but no reference is made to his native region. Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya mentions that he was the successor of *däbtära* ↗Zännäb in the office, though there is no evidence that the latter ever reached the rank of *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz*.

Hardly anything is known about his life and activities before and, to a great extent, during Tewodros's reign, apart from the usual task of taking care of the royal seal and correspondence. The sovereign sent him once on a mission to Aden and the neighbouring region, where he claimed to have been mistreated. He is said to have complained about it to the monarch, who, in turn, accused him of bringing Europeans into the country. He was thus suspected by the Europeans in Ethiopia of inciting anti-European sentiments in the sovereign, while, at the same time, his master mistrusted him. Towards the end of 1867 or in early 1868, he was arrested under the pretext of a lost royal rifle for which he allegedly could not pay the high price set by the sovereign, and was consequently put in chains and kept on mount Mäqdäla, where he was executed along with other prisoners in April 1868. No chronicle is so far attributed to his composition.

Src.: RasTheo vol. 2, 66, 150, 315; RubActa II, 267, 283, 289, 297, 351f.

Lit.: GÄRIMA TAFFÄRÄ, **አባ፡ ታጠቅ፡ ካሳ፡ የቋራው፡ አንበሳ** (*Abba Taṭäq Kasa yäqʷaraw anbässa*, 'Abba Taṭäq Kasa, the Lion from Qʷara'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.]), 243; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄKʷƎRIYA, **ዐፄ፡ ቴዎድሮስና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ አንድነት** (*ʿAṣ́e Tewodrosənna yäʾityopya andənnät*, '*Aṣe* Tewodros and the Ethiopian Unity'), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.], 49, 507.

Bairu Tafla

Ǝngədašät Šəmbər ↗ Schimper, Wilhelm

English language in Ethiopia

Foreign contacts in the early- and mid-19th cent. caused a handful of Ethiopians to acquire a good knowledge of English. Such English speakers included ↗Maḫdärä Qal from Təgre, who had studied partly in Malta; ↗Mərča Wärqe, a man of partial Armenian descent, who had gone to school in Bombay; Emperor Tewodros's son ↗ʿAlämayyähu, who attended the British military academy at Sandhurst; and *hakim* ↗Wärqənäh Ǝšäte also known as Dr. Martin, whose studies in India and Scotland led to his becoming his country's first foreign-trained physician (BZHist s. index). On the military side, meanwhile, a British sergeant, J.C. ↗Kirkham, who had participated in the Mäqdäla campaign, seems to have instructed some of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV's troops in English: the British traveller De Cosson reports that he was "not a little surprised" to hear commands, such as "Present arms", "Shoulder arms", and "Right and left turn", clearly pronounced in English (De Cosson 1877, vol. 1, 302).

Though modern education in Ethiopia, established in the few decades prior to the Italian Fascist invasion of 1935–36, was primarily in French, some education was also given in English. The ↗Mənilək II Secretary School, founded in Addis Abäba in 1908, taught English, while the Täfäri Mäkʷännən school, established in 1925, held classes in that language. English was also taught in the city's American school, set up in 1934, as well as in nine pre-war provincial schools: in Dərre Dawa, Ǧiǧiga, Asbä Täfäri, Gore, Neqemte, Däbrä Marqos, Gondär, ʿAdwa and Mäqälä (ZerEth 224, 226; Pankhurst 1955: 536f., 588ff.). *Ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən's bodyguard was also partially trained by English-speaking non-commissioned officers of the King's African Rifles, a British African force based in British East Africa (Rey 1923:175f.).

In Ethiopia, as in other parts of the Middle East, World War II led to a major, almost accidental shift in educational language policy and practice. *Aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I spent his exile (1936–40) in Britain, where his family and courtiers learnt English. Ethiopia was liberated in 1941, largely by British troops, who remained in occupation of much of the country for the next three years (Spencer 1984:139–58). France, by contrast, was then under Nazi German occupation. Ethiopian primary education, re-established in 1942, and secondary education, in 1944, thus came into existence at a time of British supremacy. The resultant paramountcy of the English language in education was reinforced by the availability of English-speaking teachers from Sweden, prominent in the important ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School, from India, many of them employed in the provinces, and later from the United States, on the Point IV programme, as well as subsequently the Peace Corps. The language was also promoted by the British Council, which operated a fine library in English. A large proportion of Ethiopian students sent abroad for education likewise went to Britain, North America or India: all of them English-speaking areas.

English thus became, virtually by default, Ethiopia's main foreign language. The country's principal foreign advisers were at first all English-speaking. The English language was used, with Amharic, in the ↗*Nägarit Gazeṭa*, or official gazette, established in 1942, and the Penal Code, promulgated in 1952, as well as in all subsequent codes. English was also employed in several initially largely British- or American-run institutions, most notably the State Bank of Ethiopia, Ethiopian Airlines and the Imperial Highway Authority, as well as by British and, later, American experts and advisers. In 1944 the government made English the language of instruction of most primary and secondary schools, as well all institutions of higher learning. The principal Ethiopian Government foreign-language newspaper was in English: the ↗*Ethiopian Herald*. Most of the books and periodicals in the National Library were in English, while the majority of its public lectures were delivered in that language (Bahru Zewde 2002:108).

The advance of English likewise found expression in the fact that most of the country's scholarly periodicals, among them the *Ethnological Bulletin* of the University College of Addis Abäba, the ↗*Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, the *Ethiopian Medical Journal* and the *Ethiopian Geographical Journal*, were published largely or wholly in that language. An exception were the *Annales d'Éthiopie*, which appeared mainly in French. Several pieces of creative writing by Ethiopian authors of the post-Fascist occupation likewise appeared in English. These included Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən's *Odo Oak Oracle* (London 1965), Daññaččäw Wärqu's *The Thirteenth Sun* (London 1973) and Śahlä Śəllase Bərhanä Maryam's *Warrior King* (London 1974), as well as English short stories and/or poems by such writers as Səbḥat Gäbrä Ǝgzi'abəher, Ašänafi Käbbädä, and Solomon Därässa (Lockot II, 391–95). This practice was, however. vigorously condemned by the poet and playwright Mängəśtu Lämma, who argued that Ethiopian authors "should express themselves in their own native language ... the tongue with which their mother dandled them on her knees" (Pankhurst 1988:204). Amharic in fact remained the main language of Ethiopian literature.

The penetration of English was restricted by the fact that the language entered at a relatively late stage of Ethiopia's modernization, when Amharic had already imported the more immediately necessary load-words from either French, during the Mənilək era, or from Italian, during the Fascist occupation: e.g. adopting **ላጋር** (from French *la gare*, 'the railway') or **ጎማ** (from Italian *gomma*, 'tyre'). The expansion of English was likewise limited by the relatively small size of the British community, its limited role in Ethiopian economic life and its general aloofness from the indigenous population. The British community thus had markedly less linguistic significance than that of the Italians, whose loan-words were so significant in relation to motor vehicles and virtually all their parts. Several English loan-words nevertheless came into use in Amharic, e.g, *bəruš*, for a brush, *kot*, for a coat, and *libstik*, for lipstick (Bemnet Gabre Amlak 1958:121ff.). Amharic-speaking Ethiopians with a knowledge of English would likewise often pepper their sentences with the occasional English word or phrase and would almost invariably do so in preference to those of other foreign tongues.

↗Education; ↗Italian language; ↗French language; ↗United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Lit.: BZHist index; BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia. The Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford 2002, 108; EMILIUS ALBERT DE COSSON, *The Cradle of the Blue Nile*, London 1877, vol. 1, 302; ClapHS; CHARLES FERNAND REY, *Unconquered Abyssinia as it is To-day*, London 1923, 175; ATNAFU MAKONNEN, *Ethiopia To-day*, Tokyo 1952; ESTELLE SYLVIA PANKHURST, *Ethiopia. A Cultural History*, Woodford Green, Essex 1955, 536f., 588ff.; RICHARD PANKHURST, *Britain in Ethiopia. The Centenary 1896–1996*, Addis Ababa 1996; ID., "Menghestu Lemma", *JES* 21, 1988, 199–203; ID.; "Education, Language and History: A Historical Background of Post-war Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Journal of Education* 2, 1, 1972, 75–97; ALEME ESHETE, "The Pre-war Attempt to Promote the Use of English in the Educational System of Ethiopia in Place of French", *ibid.* 6, 2, 1979, 65–84; DANIEL ABERA, "English in the Ethiopian Modern Education (1900-1974)", *Ethiopian Journal of Language and Literature* 8, 1998, 113–46; MARGERY PERHAM, *The Government of Ethiopia*, London 1969; JOHN HATHAWAY SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay. A Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, New York 1984, 139–58; TESHOME GABRE MIKAEL WAGAW, *Education in Ethiopia. Prospect and Retrospect*, Ann Arbor, MI 1979; ZerEth 224, 226; Lockot II, 391–95; BEMNET GABRE AMLAK, "Foreign Borrowings in Amharic", *EthObs* 2, 1958, 121–23.

Richard Pankhurst

Ǝngʷərgʷərro

Ǝ. (**እንጉርጉሮ**, lit. 'muttering, grumbling, lamentation') is the expression of personal emotions, deep feelings of sorrow, grievances, depression and the like in poetry, resulting from the loss of parents, close relatives or friends due to death, loneliness, dissatisfaction with life, impoverishment, during tragic events, etc.

Among the Amharic-speaking people of Ethiopia, Ǝ. is usually composed and recited orally by younger adults and elderly people at times of deep grief or mourning (some singers and reciters may accompany their Ǝ. with the ↗*bägäna* or ↗*kərar*). Through Ǝ. both men and women would reflect their deep feelings or personal emotions at ↗funerals and afterwards with low voices in memory of the dead person. However, Ǝ. can also be recited during solitary agricultural activities such as weeding, harvesting, grinding and other rhythmic home duties. The people also use this form of poetry to communicate with God and to share their grievances with Him in the hope of obtaining assistance, solutions or strength from Him. In the rural areas, the peasants use this form of poetry to express their protest against the injustices and discriminations imposed on them by local officials and administrators.

Funeral ceremonies are particularly the focal point of lamentation and the recitation of funeral poems. In an Ǝ., the dead person may be addressed and praised and his (or her) individual qualities, behaviour, accomplishments etc. are described so as to make the public mourn, grieve and burst into tears. The dead person's clothing and material objects may be brought to the funeral ceremony by his/her close relatives; they are also displayed during his memorial services (↗*Täzkar*) and for a certain period thereafter. The mourners refer to them while lamenting and reciting Ǝ. Besides, there are professional dirge-singers known as **አልቃሽ** (*alqaš*) who compose and recite heart-touching funeral poems.

In some Amharic historical books and chronicles, it is mentioned that the Ethiopian emperors, kings and nobles used to compose and recite Ǝ. when members of their families and close relatives died, to express their grief and deep sorrow. The common formula by which the authors introduce an Ǝ. is: [XY] **ሲሞት፡** [XY]**፡ እንዲህ፡ ብሎ፡ አንጐራጐረ** … ([XY] *simot* [XY] *əndih bəlo angʷäraggʷärä* …, 'when [XY] died, [XY] lamented, having said …'); or [XY] **ሲሞት፡ አልቃሽ፡ እንዲህ፡ ብላ፡ ገጠመች** … ([XY] *simot alqaš əndih bəla gäṭṭämäčč*, 'when [XY] died, the funeral-singer [fem.] composed [an Ǝ.], saying …').

The following Ǝ. is known to have been composed and recited by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II after the death of his beloved wife *ətege* Täwabäčč (TSTarik IV, 19):

እስቲ፡ ጠይቁልኝ፡ ርቃ፡ ሳትሄድ፡
እቴጌ፡ ተዋበች፡ ሚስት፡ ናት፡ ገረድ።

Ǝsti ṭäyyəqulləññ rəqa sattəhedə
Ǝtege Täwabäčč mist nat gärädə.

'Ask on my behalf before she goes far away:
Was [lit. 'is'] *ətege* Täwabäčč wife or maid?'

Ethiopian authors, such as Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya (TSTarik), Ṗawlos Ñoñño (1985), *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* Gäbrä Śəllase (GSMen) and others attempted to document a number of Ǝ. and funeral poems referring to major historical events and prominent personalities.

↗Burial

Src.: KWK 773; K̲aneDic 1948; GSMen 53, 324; TSTarik IV, 19; ṖAWLOS ÑOÑÑO, **አጤ፡ ቴዎድሮስ** (*Aṭe Tewodros*), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1992/93 A.D.], 39, 61.

Lit.: GETIE GELAYE, *Peasants and the Ethiopian State: Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives and their Reflections in Amharic Oral Poetry, a Case Study in Yetnora, East Gojjam, 1975–1991*, Hamburg – Münster – London 2000 (Forschungen zu Sprachen und Kulturen Afrikas 7); MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music: an Introduction*, London 1968.

Getie Gelaye

Ǝnkoyye

Ǝ. (**እንኮዬ**, Christian name Wälätta Qəddusan, d. 1 October 1757) was a daughter of *abeto* Waksos from Bula and Fäṭägar and of *wäyzäro* ↗Yolyana. She married *däǧǧazmač* Mänbär of Qʷara and gave birth to a daughter, ↗Bərhan Mogäsa (Məntəwwab), and a son, ↗Wäldä Ləʿul.

Aṣe ↗Bäkaffa, during his short sojourn in Qʷara, entered into a transient union with Məntəwwab. In 1727 their son was born and called Iyasu (later *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II) in commemoration of *aṣe* Bäkaffa's father. In June 1730 Bäkaffa, in spite of the rainy season, suddenly and urgently summoned to Gondär both Iyasu and Məntəwwab, with her mother Ǝ. There they enjoyed the protection of Ǝ.'s uncle Niqolawos, to whom *aṣe* Bäkaffa had just recently granted a title of *grazmač*.

What plans *aṣe* Bäkaffa had connected with this Qʷara clan remains obscure, because he suddenly fell ill and died in September 1730. Niqolawos did his best to enthrone his great-nephew Iyasu, from whom he immediately received the prestigious title of ↗*däǧǧazmač* of Səmen, which was usually granted to the crown-prince. Niqolawos remained the leader of this Qʷara clan until his death on 8 December 1732. Then its military defender became young Wäldä Ləʿul, and its moral leader and clan's elder – his elderly mother Ǝ. Formally, this was manifested in her indispensable presence at every ceremonial royal entrance of *aṣe* Iyasu II. This position she held until her death. Her son Wäldä Ləʿul was absent at the time of her death on a campaign, and therefore her burial in Gondär was headed by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Mikaʾel Ǝšäte, next by seniority among the clansmen.

Src.: Guilyas 2–8 (text).
Lit.: LAVERLE B. BERRY, “Factions and Coalitions During the Gondar Period, 1630–1755”, in: *PICES* 5b, 431–41; ID., “Coalition Politics and the Royal Office in mid-18th Century Gondar”, in: *PICES* 10, 219–24.

Sevir Chernetsov

Ǝnnämor

Ǝnnämor language

Ǝ. (self-definition Ǝnor, Ǝnōr, Inōr; Amh. also **ኤኔሞር**, Ennemor) is one of the ↗Gurage languages in the most western part of the Gurage speaking area (s. map under Gurage; there are also Ǝ.-speakers in Addis Abäba, which are said to be woodsellers and shoe-shiners). Together with ↗Geto, ↗Ǝndägäñ (including ↗Ǝnär) it belongs to the Peripheral Western Gurage group (Hetzron 1972:6). Ǝ. is more closely related to Ǝndägäñ than to Geto.

In contrast to most Ethiosemitic languages Ǝ. has long or “double” vowels which are in opposition to short vowels, e.g. *ãfʷ* ‘mouth’ (cp. Amh. *af*) : *ããfʷ* ‘bird’ (Amh. *wof*).

In addition to the usual set of consonants common in Ethio-Semitic languages Ǝ. has a set of nasalized consonants, labialized consonants and palatalized consonants. The suprasegmental nasalization is triggered by the primarily nasalized consonants *m-*, *r-* and *w-*. The present tense of *näpärä* ‘he was’ (cp. Amh. *näbbärä*) is **yəräßər* (cp. Amh. *yənäbr*) with its surface form y*ərämər*. Internal labialization which goes back historically to a *-u* suffix affects the last non-coronal consonant of a verbal form, e.g. **yəçäkər-u* > *yəçäkʷər* ‘one cooks’ (impersonal). Internal labialization is sometimes accompanied by internal palatalization. This process which affects in Amharic only the last alveolar root consonant is extended in Ǝ. to the velars (*gʸ*, *kʸ*, *qʸ*, *hʸ*) and to *r* (**rʸ* > *y*). Palatalization occurs e.g. in the B-type (‘geminating’) verb class. Here original gemination – apart from concomitant degemination and devoicing – led to the development of a palatal element, e.g. **zäbbärä* > **zʸäpärä* > *žäpärä* ‘he returned, gave back’; the original unpalatalized *z* reappears in the jussive (*äzäpər*).

The glottal stop can be a reflex of glottalized phonemes (*q*, *ṣ/ṡ*, *ṭ*, *č̣*), as in *sã ʾãrä*, ‘hang up’ (cf. Ǝndägäñ *säʾänä*, Čaha *säqärä* – Gəᶜəz *säqälä*), *wãʾä*, ‘swallow’ (cf. Čaha, Amh. *waṭä* - Gəᶜəz *wäḫaṭä*).

As a reflex of Gəᶜəz ʾ and ᶜ the glottal stop occurs mainly as second radical and more rarely as third radical in verbal forms: *baʾasä*, impf. *yəbäʾäs*, juss. *äbaʾas*, ‘be bad’ (cf. Čaha, Amh. *basä* - Gəᶜəz *bəʾəsä*), *bänʾa*, impf. *yəḇärʾa*, juss. *äbrʾa*, ‘eat’ (cf. Čaha *bäna*, Amh. *bälla* – Gəᶜəz *bälᶜa*).

Gemination is very rare (but s. *ənnə* [cp. Amh. *hullu*] ‘all’); original lengthened voiced consonants are devoiced, e.g. **näbbärä* (as in Amharic) > *näpärä*, ‘he was’. These morphophonological processes have led to various root consonant alternations; thus the present form *yəßärʾa*, ‘he eats’ belongs to the perfect form *bänʾa* (cp. Amh. *bälla* and Tgn. *bälᶜa*, ‘he eats’), and **yəräḥəß*, ‘he finds’ to *näkäßä* (cp. Amh. *räkkäbä*).

Several stories have been published by Hetzron (1977), Prunet – Chamora (1995) and by Leslau (1982), who published a short grammatical outline (1983) as well as a dictionary (1979, vol. 1, 257–390, 1241f.), an English-Ǝ. index (1979, vol. 2) and an etymological dictionary (1979, vol. 3; s. also the grammar of Ǝ. by Chamora – Hetzron 2000). A subdialect of Ǝ., Mägär, is not well-known, but a story is documented in Hetzron (1977:249–55).

The ten word list: *at*, ‘one’, *wərʾət*, ‘two’, *soʾost*, ‘three’, *əsaad*, ‘fire’, *əḫa*, ‘water’, *ə̃wããyä*, *ayäd*, ‘sun’, *bäñä*, ‘moon’, *šən*, ‘tooth’, *däm*, ‘blood’, *anäḇäd*, ‘tongue’.

Lit.: BERHANU CHAMORA – ROBERT HETZRON, *Inor*, München 2000; ROBERT HETZRON, *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification*, Manchester 1972, 6; ID., *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977, 249–55; WOLF LESLAU, *Gurage Folklore*, Wiesbaden 1982; ID., *Ethiopians Speak. Studies in Cultural Backround*, Part 5: *Chaha-Ennemor*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 16), 136–204; ID., *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*, vol. 1: *Individual Dictionaries*, vol. 2: *English–Gurage Index*, vol. 3: *Etymological Section*, Wiesbaden 1979; ID., *Gurage Studies: Collected Articles*, Wiesbaden 1992; ID., “Traces of Laryngeals in Ennemor”, *Orientalia* 28, 1959, 257–70; JEAN-FRANCOIS PRUNET – BERHANU CHAMORA, “A History of the Thunder-God Cult in Central Ethiopia, with a Text Analysis”, *Langues Orientales Anciennes Philologie et Linguistique* 5–6, 1995, 53–77.

Rainer Voigt

Ǝnnämor ethnography

The Ǝ. (self-designation Ǝnor) are one of the ↗Gurage groups belonging to the confederation of *Säbat Bet Gurage* (‘Seven Houses of Gurage’). Before its formation they were also members of the *Amməst Bet Gurage* (‘Five Houses of Gurage’) confederation. The territory of Ǝ. is bordered by the ↗Čaha in the north, the ↗Gumär and ↗Geto in the east, the ↗Ǝnär in the south and the Gibe valley, which in the west marks the border with Ǧangäro (↗Yäm). Geographically Ǝ. is divided into a highland (*ägər*) and a lowland (*angät*) part (BrHad 262 [map.]; Shack – Habte-Mariam Marcos 1974:125). Today the Ǝ. are part of the population of Ǝnnämor and Ǝnär *wäräda* (or Gunčure *wäräda*).

According to oral traditions the people of Ǝ. descend from different migrant groups from the north, some of them having arrived under their leader *azmač* Səbḥat in the first half of the 17th cent. Leslau (1983:136f.) documents the tradition that the original number of these groups was the symbolic 99. The dynamics of migration within the Gurage region can in some cases be traced from the endings of clan-names: names with the ending of *žära* sometimes refer to the earliest settlers from the north, those with *ṭəb* (Gurage 'clan, lineage') at the end are said to refer to a second wave of migrants. There are also clans who claim descent from the Muslim leaders *ḥaǧǧī* Aliyye Umär (s. ↗Səlṭi) and *imām* ↗Sidi Mohammed. Around Mafäd there are also settlers with ↗Alaaba ancestors and a clan with ancestors from Ǧangäro is documented as well.

An early mention of Ǝ. lists it in a group of tributary districts who had to pay tribute in horses to *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq (r. 1414–29; HuntGeogr 92ff.).

According to the Chronicle of Susənyos, the Ǝ. were enemies of *abetohun* Susənyos (later *aṣe* Susənyos, r. 1607–32). After supporting him at first, they affiliated to the coalition of Sidi Mohammed. The Ǝ. were thus a military threat to Susənyos's troops, who had suffered casualties and had to fight for two days until they could overrun the ↗*amba* of the Ǝ. (PerChron 26ff., 37f., cp. BTafA 211ff., 251ff.).

Despite strong ties of intermarriage with the co-members of the *Amməst Bet* and later *Säbat Bet*, the Ǝ. were constantly in a warlike relationship with their neighbours. The Ǝ., being nearly a military coequal, refused to pay any tribute to the Čaha, who held a dominant position in Gurage-land. The opposition against Čaha led to several wars in the 1840s. The Ǝ. fought in coalitions with other Gurage groups, e.g., with the Gumär. Even under the pressure of the expansion of *aṣe* Mənilək II, the conflicts with other Gurage continued, e.g., with the Geto and Ǝndägañ, as well as Leemo (↗Hadiyya; Shack – Habte-Mariam Marcos 1974:18, 124ff.; Gabreyesus Hailemariam 1991:5f., 14f.; Bustorf 2001:52ff., 107).

In their defence against the northern troops, the Ǝ. affiliated to the *ǧihād* of *imām* ↗Ḥasän Ǝnǧamo, not all of them without being forced. After the defeat of the *imām* in 1889, the Ǝ. territory came under Mənilək's control. In the following period native leaders were integrated into the new governance-system (Shack – Habte-Mariam Marcos 1974:124ff.; Leslau 1980:140f.).

Islam, which started to prosper during the time of Ḥasän Ǝnǧamo (Leslau 1983:143), today has, according to the 1994 Census, the largest number (106,124) of followers in Ǝ. and Ǝnär *wäräda* (population in total 196,455). With Mənilək's occupation, the Orthodox mission started. The first church was Mädḫane ʿAläm, built by the native *balabbat* Wərgasä (Leslau 1980:140f.). The number of followers today is 82,364. The Catholic mission, which was established with a Capuchin school in the 1930s (PankEcon 683) today has 2,226 members, being outnumbered by the Protestants with 4,744 members. The number of 489 people in the same Census identified themselves as followers of the Gurage folk-religion. The name of the protecting spirit of the Ǝ. is *Ǧäbär* (↗*Waq*). He is represented by the high-priest *Ǧäbär dam* (Gabreyesus Hailemariam 1991:138).

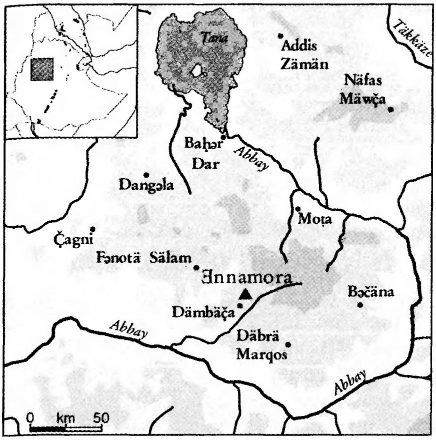
Src.: BTafA 211ff., 251ff., 273, 899, 909; PerChron 26ff., 37f., 304; CSA 1996.

Lit.: BrHad 260ff.; ShGurage 103f.; PankEcon 683; HuntGeogr 92ff.; WOLF LESLAU, *Ethiopians Speak. Studies in Cultural Backround*, Part 5: *Chaha-Ennemor*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 16), 136–204; WILLIAM A. SHACK – HABTE-MARIAM MARCOS, *Gods and Heroes. Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1974, 18, 120–33, 142; GABREYESUS HAILEMARIAM, *The Guragué and their Culture*, New York 1991, 5f., 14f., 138; DƎNBÄRU ʿALÄMU et al., ጎጎት፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብሔረሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ (*Gogot; yägurage bəḫeräsäb tarik bahələnna qʷanqʷa*, 'Gogot; the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.], 96–105; DIRK BUSTORF, *Leemo-Hadiyya und Indagayn-Gurage: Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart ihrer interethnischen Beziehungen*, M.A. thesis, Universität Göttingen 2001, 52ff., 107.

Dirk Bustorf

Ǝnnamora

The mountains of Ǝ. (እናሞራ; 2,500 m A.S.L.) stand over a marshy valley during the rainy season to the north-east of the town of Dämbäča (2,130 m A.S.L.). To the east, large volcanic buttresses rise to more than 4,000 m A.S.L. This small region is part of the Dämbäča *wäräda*,



which until 1991 belong to the Damot *awrağğa*. Today this *wäräda* is a subdivision of the West Goğğam zone in the Amhara *kəlləl*.

Lit.: CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA, *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana (scala 1:1,000,000)*, Milano 1938; CSA 2000.

Alain Gascon

Ǝnnäqor

Ǝ. is an area in the highland part of today's Səlṭe (↗Səlṭi) zone. Linguists use the term Ǝ. also for a slight variant of the Azärnät-Bärbäre variant of the Səlṭi language (East ↗Gurage) spoken in that area (Hetzron 1972:119; s. also Gutt 1976–79:73; Drewes 1996:73).

To the west and south Ǝ. borders on the ↗Hadiyya *wärädas* of Kontäb (today Miišaa) and Leemo and to the north-west on the country of the ↗Ǝndägañ (s. map under Gurage). Till the formation of Səlṭe zone it was part of Hadiyya zone. While the 14 *giičo* ('clans') of Azärnät live east of Ǝ. in the lowland of Azärnät, the 17 *giičo* of Bärbäre settle in Ǝ. as well as on the slopes of the Mugo massive (Mount Midačča). Azärnät and Bärbäre also can be found in the areas of ↗Wəlbaräg and Sankura in the lowlands of Səlṭe zone.

Ǝ. is mainly characterized by intensive *ənsät* cultivation, while the formerly important role of cattle-breeding is considerably weakened. The old centre of Ǝ. is the small market town of Duna, which had been founded already in the time of *aṣe* Mənilək II by the order of *balabbat* Hemačo Seqeṭo. Situated on an old trade route, the market even today attracts thousands of visitors from all surrounding districts. The area west of Duna is known for its rich water-resources and lush grazing-grounds. There, on the road from Ǝndəbər to Hossäyna, during the rule of the *Därg* the small town of Lera was founded. Today it is the administrative centre of Azärnät-Bärbäre *wäräda*.

The first Muslim migration into Ǝ. started probably in the 16th cent. Sidi Mohammed, said to be the nephew of the Səlṭe ancestor *ḥağğī* Aliyye, led a fraction of the *ğihād* movement of ↗Nūr b. Muğāhid to Ǝ. (BrHad 123). Sidi's people dispersed to Ǝža, Gumär, Čaha and ↗Alaaba.

With its situation on the edge of the fertile highland grazing-grounds, Ǝ. was frequently a place of military contention. In the second half of the 18th cent. the Leemo used Ǝ. and Mugo as a "gate" to the highland. From here they penetrated the territory of the Ǝndägañ, who became their allies, and started to push the Sooro (Hadiyya), who controlled the area in the first half of the 18th cent., out of the later Leemo territories.

The movement of the Bärbäre from north of Mount Midačča into Ǝ. started probably at the end of the 18th cent. The migration was a result of population growth and military pressure from the Gurage neighbours, especially ↗Gumär, ↗Geto and ↗Ǝnnämor. In the middle of the century the Azärnät-Bärbäre were made tributary to *abagaz* Hamdəno from Geto. They also had to face harsh military challenges by the Leemo-Ǝndägañ alliance.

The Azärnät-Bärbäre were united under one leadership by *imām* Gumfamo. Under him, in the 1870s they joined the *ğihād* of ↗Ḥasän Ǝnğamo. After the defeat of Ḥasän Ǝnğamo (1889) the troops of *aṣe* Mənilək II, led by *ras* Wäldä Aššagari, entered into the Azärnät-Bärbäre territories and finally camped in Ǝ. *Imām* Gumfamo submitted and later became *balabbat*.

Src.: author's own field data.

Lit.: ROBERT HETZRON, *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification*, Manchester 1972, 43, 119; LesDic xi; ERNST-AUGUST GUTT, "Intelligibility and Interlingual Comprehension among Selected Gurage Speech Variaties", *JES* 14, 1976, 57–85, here 73; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "The Story of Joseph in Silt'i Gurage", in: GROVER HUDSON (ed.), *Essays on Gurage Language and Culture: Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday, November 14th, 1996*, Wiesbaden 1996, 69–92, here 69–73; BrHad 123, 186, 201 (map), 210 (map), 261, 316f.; RAHMETO HUSSEIN, *The History of Azemet-Berbere until the Expansion of Shoa during Menelik II*, Senior Essay, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1984, 1, 5, 7f., 21, 35f., 44, 48; DIRK BUSTORF, *Leemo-Hadiyya und Indagayn-Gurage: Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart ihrer interethnischen Beziehungen*, M.A. thesis, Universität Göttingen 2001, 23, 53, 55.

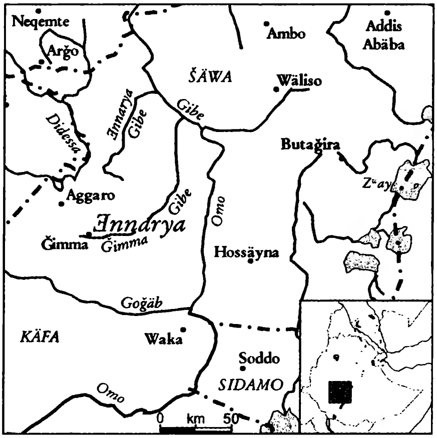
Dirk Bustorf

Ǝnnarya

Ǝ. was an important kingdom in the area of the later ↗Gibe states. It was called Hinnaryo (the correct self-name) by the Omotic-speaking ↗Gonga people, who had established it in the 13th cent. Gəʿəz sources render the name as (እ)ናርእት ([Ǝ]nnarʾət) or እናርያ (Ǝ.), in European literature it appears as Enarea, Hinnaro or Ennareya. The 16th- and 17th-cent. Portuguese travellers referred to it as Narea. In the early 18th cent. it succumbed to the Oromo expansion and was partially incorporated into the ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya territory (Ǝ. becoming a shortened form of the name of this ↗Gibe state).

Ǝ. comprised most of the regions of Geeraa, Limmu, Buno, Guummaa, Illuu and Bure and probably was the first Gonga state with its royal court at Čula Bačči. It was a hierarchical, heterogeneous state whose political elite were of "foreign" origin: the Hinnaro-Bušašo, ↗Damot and ↗Käfa. The Käfa and Šeka states were initially vassals of Ǝ. The Christianized Hinnaro also appear as an important clan within the Käfa state, claiming descent from Ǝ.

The country, at least its elite, was allegedly first Christianized by *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot in the early 14th cent. and then again under *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl (late 16th cent.), who converted King ↗Bädančo in 1588. Ǝ. was also mentioned in the famous 15th-cent. praise song dedicated to *aṣe* Yəsḥaq (r. 1414–29); it appeared as one of the areas that paid him tribute (probably gold, slaves and cattle). Ǝ. also sent soldiers to fight along with the imperial troops led by Wäsän Sägäd against ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") in 1530–31. Bieber (1920:77) reported that in the 17th cent. two Portuguese military men (Sapero and Sigaro), after being chased out by *aṣe* Gälawdewos, succeeded in building a power base in Ǝ. and mingled with the Ǝ. royal family.



Ǝ. was a comparatively wealthy state and it became a rich source of slaves and ↗gold for the northern Ethiopian traders after 1270. Ǝ.'s *mooti* Lami (↗Motälämi) may have been an ally of *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak (Lange 1982:25). Contacts between the Amhara-dominated northern Ethiopian state and Ǝ. were always significant. Some assert that Ǝ. was at some time even a part of the Ethiopian highland state. Six of its kings were allegedly of northern descent and known as the "Amaroçi" (cp. ↗Amaaro). Ǝ.'s resources (s. above) were later a primary attraction for its conquest by the Oromo (regional politics also played an important role). From the late 16th to the 18th cent., the Ǝ. leaders, backed by military force and good frontier defences, tried to appease the Christian Amhara rulers and the encroaching Oromo in order to maintain Ǝ.'s independence. But the Oromo, in particular the Sadača federation, gained the military advantage, settled in the country and forcibly took control of the land (ca. 1710); the growing internal division in Ǝ. aided this process. The last of the Ǝ. kings, Šisafoçi, fled to Šeka.

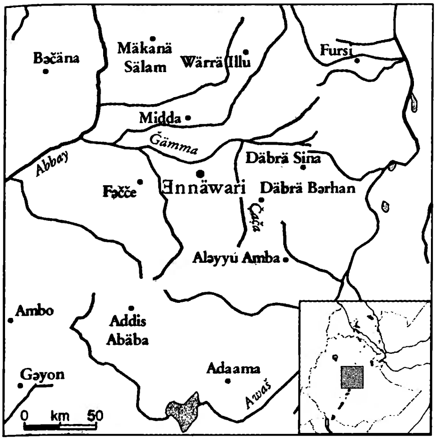
Lit.: AbPrince; MHasOr; PankBord; FRIEDRICH JULIUS BIEBER, *Kaffa. Ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster 1920, vol. 1, 77; WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61), 17–49.

Jon Abbink

Ǝnnäwari

Ǝ. (እነዋሪ) in the district of Morät, 40 km northwest of Däbrä Bərhan, was the site of a fortress established in 1870 by Mənilək, *nəguś* of Šäwa (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II).

Described by the French traveller Arnoux, in 1873, as "a fortified place situated on an abrupt height" it stood on a high mountain ridge some 10 km long by 6 km wide, largely surrounded by unscalable precipices. The only natural place of access was protected by a huge stone wall with



a wide and deep adjacent ditch, impossible for cavalry to cross.

The settlement emerged as the site of one of Mənilək's principal treasuries, with "enormous stocks" of provisions, including *ṭef*, wheat, barley, and over 500,000 kg of butter, reputedly "sufficient to supply a large army for over a year". The mountain fortress also served as a state prison. Perhaps the most important figure incarcerated was *nəguś* ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot Śahlä Śəllase's nephew *däǧǧazmač* ↗Mäšäša Säyfu. With the subsequent rebuilding of ↗Ankobär, in the late 1870s, Ǝ. lost its importance, but later became an administrative centre of the area.

Lit.: LUCIEN LOUIS-LANDE, "Un voyageur français dans l'Éthiopie méridionale", *Revue des Deux Mondes* 30, 1878, 877–903, here 898f.; PankHist II 159ff., 164, 167, 356; BTafA 910 (Lit.).

Richard Pankhurst

Enoch, Book of

Origin and *Vorlage*

E. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ሄኖክ**, *Mäṣḥafä Henok*, also "Ethiopic Book of E." or 1 E.) is a Jewish apocalypse which emerged between the 4th cent. B.C. and the 1st cent. A.D. (s. Milik 1976, passim). The entire work (except for the so-called *Book of Giants*) has been preserved only in Gəʿəz. It was not known in Europe until James ↗Bruce brought the manuscripts of E. from Ethiopia to England in 1773.

The original language of the work seems to have been Aramaic. Initially there were separate books with Enoch as the principal figure, which were collected and brought together under the common title.

The Aramaic fragments were found only for a small part of the text (ca. 8 %). Among the Qumran discoveries, fragments of the following independent tracts were found: *The Book of the Watchers* (chs. 1–36 of the Gəʿəz version), *The Book of Giants, The Book of the Luminaries* (chs. 72–82), *The Book of the Dream Visions* (chs. 83–91) and *The Book of the Epistle* (chs. 92–108). *The Book of Parables* (chs. 37–71), which emerged in the late 1st cent. B.C., is missing. This has lead to the assumption that *The Book of Giants* was substituted in the early centuries A.D. by *The Book of Parables* (s. Milik 1976:91–98).

One quarter of the work is attested through four Greek fragments, which came into existence between the 4th and 11th cent. A.D. (Black 1970:5–44). The Greek version was used by the Ethiopian translator as a *Vorlage*, although some features of the translation can only be explained by the presence of a Semitic *Vorlage* (Ullendorff in PICES 1).

The Bible canon and Enoch's reception history

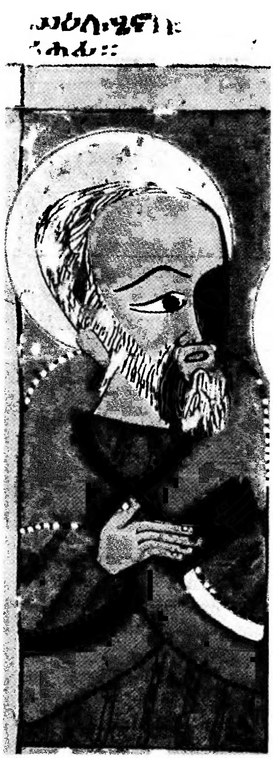
E. was widespread in the Orient and was considered to be a biblical text, as the writings of Origen and Tertullian indicate. It is quoted in the N.T. (Jude 14–15) and referred to in many works of early Christianity (s. Nickelsburg 2001:82–95). A knowledge of E. is also attested in some of the ↗Pseudepigrapha.

The book shared the fate of other apocalyptic works. As the apocalyptic positions subsided, in the 4th and 5th cent. E. was criticized for not being a genuine biblical work and for propagating heretic views. Nevertheless, outside the hegemony of the Byzantine Church, the work continued to be used, and the Ethiopian culture contributed to its preservation.

In Ethiopian manuscripts containing the O.T., E. occupies a prominent position and often follows after the four Books of Kings (Baumstark 1905:170). Conversely, it is regularly missing in the canonical lists provided by the Byzantine tradition (Brandt 2000). *Aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob defended E.'s canonicity in the reformist work *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*milad* (which hints at theological controversies around E.), and gives E. the same rank as that held by the Book of Daniel (Uhlig 1984:470f.).

Manuscripts

About 80 Ethiopian manuscripts with E. are known (for 45 mss. s. Uhlig 1984:473–76). The



Enoch "the Writer"; miniature from a Gospel book (detail); Gundä Gunde Monastery; fol. 18r; early 16th cent.; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

most important is the 15th-cent. ms. Ṭānāsee 9. Eight manuscripts date back to the period up to the 16th cent. The texts of later manuscripts (17th–18th cent.) show traces of revisions and attempts to standardize the tradition and to create a uniform text (↗Bible).

Content

1) *The Book of the Watchers* (chs. 1–36) deals with the fall of the angels, the "Sons of God" (Gen 6:14). Having mated with mortal women and revealed forbidden secrets, they brought evil to the world, which brought about God's judgement – the deluge and the destruction of mankind. Being the prophet and the proclaimer of the Last Judgement, E. undertakes cosmic journeys and describes Paradise and the underworld, as well as the fate of the righteous and the sinners.

2) *The Book of Parables* (chs. 37–71) bears its title because of the three parables (= speeches; chs. 38–44; 45–57; 58–71), which describe the Judgement on sin. It also deals with archangels and astronomic mysteries (1st Speech, chs. 38–44), the "Head of the Days" and the "Son of Man", the Resurrection and the separation in the Last Judgement and the different types of judgement (2nd Speech, chs. 45–47), as well as the Judgement of the Righteous, the Judgement upon the Fallen Angels, E.'s ascent to Paradise and his cosmic journey (3rd Speech, chs. 48–71).

3) *The Book of the Luminaries* (chs. 72–82) describes the relation between solar and lunar years, the "wind rose" and the importance of the hierarchy of the stars for the cosmic order. However, in itself it is not an astronomical or mathematical treatise: instead it documents the divine laws that bring order to the cosmos.

4) *The Book of the Dream Visions* (chs. 83–91) contains a survey of the "history of salvation" in two series of visions, the Great Flood (chs. 83–84) and the Vision of the Animals (chs. 86–90), both ending with extermination of the sinners and salvation of the righteous.

5) *The Book of the Epistle* (chs. 92–105 [106–08]) contains an exhortation to the dweller upon earth, consisting of three parts: the Ten-Weeks Apocalypse (chs. 92:1–5, 93:1–10, 91:11–17), the lamentations and the admonitions (chs. 94–105). This is followed by two separate parts, which today are usually represented as appendices: one narrative on the birth of Noah (chs. 106–07) and "another Book of Enoch" (ch. 108).

Religious conception

↗Eschatology is the central topos of the work. History will be consummated by war and total destruction, in which Satan, the fallen angels and the sinners will be destroyed. In a scenario of the Judgement (throne council, divine Judge, "Book of Deeds") the divine Sovereign announces an irreversible decision: eternal extermination of the sinners on the one side and eternal salvation of the faithful on the other. The apocalyptic explanation of history is formative. E. gives an outline for the history of salvation beginning from the Creation till the coming Aeon. It divides history into epochs, in a way similar to the Book of ↗Jubilees and to Daniel. Another feature of the work is the dualism between God and Evil, which is not solved until the Judgement.

E. as "writer of justice", expert in the secrets of history and cosmic principles, is the prototype of the wise man; he conveys the divine knowledge to the pious, giving them understanding of the world and history.

Other Enoch writings

Other E. works are to a large extent dependent on E. They were developed in different civilizations: examples are the *Slavonic E.* (or: *2 Enoch*), written in early Christian times; the *Hebrew E.* (or: *3 Enoch*), which emerged in the early Middle Ages; a Coptic *Enoch Apocryphon* seems to have been composed in the 5th cent. In the Armenian version of E., a *Vision of the Righteous Enoch* is to be found, which is supposedly to be dated to the 8th cent. (for further works s. Uhlig 1984: 466ff.; Nickelsburg 2001:82–95).

Src.: August Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, Leipzig 1853; Robert Henry Charles, *The Book of Enoch: Translated from Professor Dillmann's Ethiopic Text*, Oxford 1893, ^{2}1912; Id., *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, Oxford 1906; Campbell Bonner, *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek*, London 1937 (Studies and Documents 8) [repr. Darmstadt 1968]; Matthew Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, Leiden 1970 (Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 3), 5–44; Luigi Fusella, "Libro dei Giubilei, Libro di Enoc", in: Paolo Sacchi (ed.), *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento*, vol. 1, Torino 1981, 413–667; Michael Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2 vols., Oxford 1978 (Lit.); Ephraim Isaac, "1 [Ethiopic Apocalypse of] Enoch", in: James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, Garden City, N.Y. 1983, 5–89; Jazef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*, Oxford 1976, 91–98; Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, Göttingen 1984, 225–68; Siegbert Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, Gütersloh 1984 (Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit 5, 6), 466ff., 470f., 473–76; Sabino Chiala, *Libro delle parabole di Enoc*, Brescia 1997; George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1. A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch*, Minneapolis 2001, chs. 1–36, 81–108 (Lit.).

Lit.: Anton Baumstark, "Der äthiopische Bibelkanon. Ein Exemplar desselben mit einleitenden Bemerkungen vorgelegt", *OrChr* 5, 1905, 162–73, here 170; Peter Brandt, "Geflecht aus 81 Büchern. Zur variantenreichen Gestalt des äthiopischen Bibelkanons", *Aethiopica* 3, 2000, 79–115; Francis I. Andersen, "2 [Slavonic Apocalypse of] Enoch", in: James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, Garden City, NY 1983, 91–221; Philip Alexander, "3 [Hebrew Apocalypse of] Enoch", *ibid.* 223–315; Sebastian P. Brock, "A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac", *Journal of Theological Studies* 19, 1968, 626–31; Briger A. Pearson, "The Pierpont Morgan Fragments of a Coptic Enoch Apocryphon", in: George E.W. Nickelsburg (ed.), *Studies on the Testament of Abraham*, Missoula, MT 1976, 227–83; Edward Ullendorff, "An Aramaic 'Vorlage' of the Ethiopic Text of Enoch?", in: *PICES* 1, 259–67; Pierluigi Piovanelli, "Sulla Vorlage aramaica dell'Enoch etiopico", *Studi classici e orientali* 37, 1987, 545–94.

Siegbert Uhlig

Ǝnor ↗ Ǝnnämor

Ǝnqollo č̣oqqe ↗ Č̣oqqe

Ǝnqoqəlləš

Ǝ. (**እንቆቅልሽ**, Amh. lit. 'you [sg. fem.] know what I know') is a question-answer game (↗games) performed between a challenger and a respondent. Grammatically, Ǝ. is addressed in the 3rd pers. sg. feminine, the masculine being **እንቆቅልህ** (*ənqoqəlləh*). This may suggest a possible feminine character in the origin of the game. It belongs to the broad category of oral literature involving short and fixed forms that are expressed briefly and concisely (e.g., ↗Proverbs).

Ǝ. requires at least two players, the challenger and the respondent. Children take turns in asking and answering, usually in the evening or, in the rural areas, while looking after the cattle or watching the harvest from birds and wild animals. The riddling session begins with an opening formula **እንቆቅልሽ?/እንቆቅልህ?** meaning 'I challenge you' or 'I know what I know'. The respondent says, **ምን፡ አውቅልሽ?/አውቅልህ?** (*mən awqəlləš*? / *awqəlləh*? [fem./masc.]) meaning 'what shall I know for you?' The respondent is expected to provide the answer promptly, for otherwise he/she will be confronted with insulting words such as **ዋለብህ፤ አደረብህ** (*waläbbəh*, *addäräbbəh*, 'the [riddle] remained unanswered daylong and nightlong against you'). If the respondent answers correctly, it will be his/her turn to play. If the respondent cannot provide the solution at all, the challenger boasts and demands a reward, usually in the form **አገር፡ ስጠኝ** (*agär səṭäñ*, 'give me a country') and he/she can choose whichever country or city he/she wishes. He/She has the right to reject such proposals for any reason he/she might imagine. The challenger will give the answer or solution only after he/she agrees to accept the name of a country or city that he wishes. Once the proposed country/city is accepted, the challenger will boast of his/her victory and belittle, insult or even curse his/her opponent. Here are two examples of Ǝ.:

Challenger: **እንቆቅልሽ?**
Respondent: **ምን፡ አውቅልሽ?**
Challenger: **አፍ፡ የላት፡ ትናገራለች፤ እግር፡ የላት፡ ትሮጣለች።** (*Af yällat tənnaggäralläč, əgər yällat təroṭalläč*, 'Mouth it [she] has not, yet it [she] speaks; foot it [she] has not, yet it runs.')
Respondent: **ሰዓት** (*Säʿat*, 'watch')
Challenger: **እንቆቅልሽ?**

Respondent: ምን፡ አውቅልሽ?
Challenger: ሲተኛ፡ እንደ፡ ሬሳ፣ ሲነሳ፡ እንደ፡ አንበሳ። (*Sitäñña əndä resa sinnässa əndä ʾanbässa*, 'When it [he] sleeps it [he] is like a corpse, when it [he] rises it is like a lion.')
Respondent: ጠመንጃ (*Ṭämänǧa*, 'gun or rifle').

In Tgn. the game is called **ሕንቅሕንቅሊተይ**, *Ḥənqəḥənqəllitäy*.

Src.: KaneDic 1217, DTWDic 125.

Lit.: RUTH FINNEGAN, *Oral Literature in Africa*, Nairobi 1970; LETEIPA O. SUNKULI, *A Dictionary of Oral Literature*, Nairobi 1990; SEIFU METAFERIA, "Oral Literature of Ethiopia as Source Material for Children's Books: a Sample Study", *Rassegna di Pedagogia* 1, 2, 1984, 45–72.

Getie Gelaye

Ǝnqoqqo

Ǝ. (**እንቆቆ**) is the Amharic term for the common indigenous climbing shrub known as *Embelia schimperi*. The scientific epithet of this species makes reference to Wilhelm ↗Schimper, the German traveller and plant-collector who stayed in Ethiopia from 1837 onwards. The term Ǝ. is so popular that it is almost synonymous with medicine/remedy. Its potent medicinal value is revealed in sayings, poems and aphorisms that underpin its frequent use as a remedy. The Ǝ. plant is widely distributed in Ethiopia, being recorded in all the regions. This woody climber grows along the margins of forests and hilly areas and is also known from eastern, western and southern Africa.

In Ethiopia, the fruits of the Ǝ. are gathered from the bushes and sold in the market, they have familiar medicinal prescriptions in traditional therapeutics. Varied preparation methods and dosages are used in different parts and among different socio-cultural groups in Ethiopia. The use of the fruits to expel tapeworm and different round-worms is common. The dry fruits can be chewed and the juice swallowed, or they could be powdered and the concoction drunk to expel tapeworm. Traditional drugs made from Ǝ. are also known to have anti-malarial properties. Other reports by traditional healers assert that the root and fruits of Ǝ. are useful in treating tapeworm, asthma and blood-pressure disorders (s. Gelahun Abate 1989:181). Preparation from the root is also used as a purgative and a vermifuge in East Africa and Uganda. Leaves of this species are reported to be edible. As an anti-helminthic, the fruits of Ǝ. are taken mixed with ↗*kosso* pumpkin-seeds, barley grains or, with the pulp of edible fruits.

Lit.: IRVIN ELDIE SIEGENTHALER, *Useful Plants of Ethiopia*, Alemaya 1962/63 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.] (Imperial Ethiopian College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, Jima Experiment Station – Oklahoma State University, Bulletin 14–1), 31; GELAHUN ABATE, *Etse Debdabe* (*Ethiopian Traditional Medicine*), Ph.D. thesis, Biology Department, Addis Ababa University 1989; PAULOS CORNELIS MARIA JANSEN, *Spices, Condiments and Medicinal Plants in Ethiopia, their Taxonomy and Agricultural Significance*, Wageningen 1981, 187–94.

Zemede Asfaw

Ǝnqulal bet

Ǝ.b. (**እንቁላል፡ቤት**, 'egg house') was the Amharic name given to one of the buildings in *aṣe* Mənilək II's palace compound in Addis Abäba (↗*Gəbbi*).

The compound, like those of other Ethiopian royal palaces, comprised two main parts: the one centred around *əlfəñ*, or private quarters of the monarch, and another one around *addaraš*, or reception hall, where banquets were held. The main *əlfəñ*-building was constructed between November 1892 (GueCopMen 325, n. 4) and January 1894 (Vanderheym 1896:63f.). Shortly later, a fine three-storey pavilion was built nearby, linked to the *əlfəñ* by an esplanade (GueCopMen 530, n. 3).

The new building was popularly called Ǝ.b. (or *ənqulal sägännät* 'egg tower') for its egg-shape dome (a reflection of the old Gondärine tradition of ↗*ənqulal gəmb*-structures?); at its sides, a post of *əlfəñ*-guards was established. Ǝ.b. soon became one of the palace's symbolical features. Higher than the surrounding structures, it gave the Emperor a distant view; due to the same reason, it was frequently noticed and photographed by Europeans (e.g., s. Kulmer 1919: xxvii, xxviii; GueCopMen, pl. 54; Rikli 1935: 22). An attractive sketch by the artist ↗Afäwärq Täkle appeared on the cover of the 1957 *Ethiopia Observer* issue.

Src.: GueCopMen 325 n. 4, 457ff., 530 n. 3, pl. 54; KaneDic 1215; MahZekr 2–18, esp. 12-15; FRIEDRICH WILHELM EDMUND MARIA VON KULMER, *Im Reiche Kaiser Meneliks: Tagebuch einer Abessinischen Reise*, Leipzig 1919, xxviif.; *EthObs* 1, 2, 1957 [cover]; MARTIN RIKLI, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935, 22; JEROME GASTON VANDERHEYM, *Une expédition avec le négous Ménélik* (*vingt mois en Abyssinie*), Paris 1896, 63f.

Lit.: BERTRAND HIRSCH, "Les photographies du gebbi de Ménélik à Addis Ababa; une première approche", in: ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (ed.), *Fotografia e storia dell'Africa. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Napoli–Roma 9–11 settembre 1992*, Napoli 1995, 37–49, here 41, 45.

Richard Pankhurst

Ǝnqulal gəmb

Ǝ.g. (**እንቁላል፡ ግምብ**, lit. 'egg building') is a popular name of various structures (↗*Gəmb*) or parts of structures voulted with peculiarly "egg-shaped" domes that were erected in the late 16th–18th cent. in the then Ethiopian capital ↗Gondär and around Lake Ṭana, the core of the ↗Gondärine kingdom, or even later, by imitation, in other parts of the country. In order to put up this type of covering, beams were inserted into the upper edge of the wall (the scaffolding holes are still visible) and then the dome constructed with bricks and mortar lime.

The remains of "egg-shaped" roofs can be seen on the top of two 12-m towers belonging to the possibly late 16th-cent. royal residence at Guzära (↗Guba'e). The existence of such roofs (today partly or fully collapsed) can be further suggested for the buildings of the royal residences at ↗Yəbaba (Anfray 1980-81:12ff., pl. 13), Gəmb Giyorgis (ibid., 14f., pl. 17) and ↗Azäzo (Anfray in PICES 8, vol. 1, 13, 33, pl. VIa). Gondär's possibly oldest Ǝ.g., now a ruin north of *aṣe* Iyasu I's palace, was reportedly the first Gondärine residence of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs prior to the erection of his main castle or "house", in turn provided with three towers by the "egg-shaped" roof. The entire palace complex counts several Ǝ.g.-type constructions. From one of them, Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) and *aṣe* Iyasu II inspected the royal troops in 1741 (Guilyas 108).

There is a number of examples of the same architectonic feature in such religious buildings as, e.g., the churches of ↗Baḥrəy Gəmb, Waybela Maryam (Anfray 1965:15, pl. XVIf.) and Lədäta Maryam (Anfray in PICES 8, vol. 1, pl. IVb). The "egg-shaped" dome of these churches, topping the ↗*mäqdäs*, was usually more spacious and bigger in size than that of the residential buildings, thereby requiring stronger and more durable construction.

Src.: Guilyas 107 (text) = 117 (tr.); KaneDic 215f.; PERCY HORACE GORDON POWELL-COTTON, *A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia: a Narrative of a Nine Months Journey from the Plains of the Hawash to the Snows of Simien* ..., London 1902, 94; PankHist I, 123, 153 (Lit.); THMDic 850.

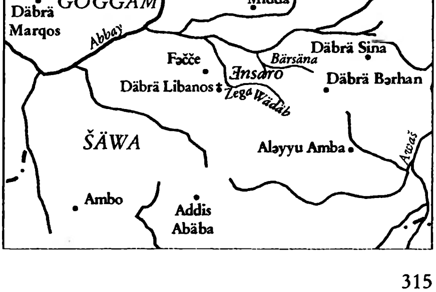
Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Vestiges gondariens", *RSE* 28, 1980–81, 5–22, here 12–15; ID., "Les monuments gondariens des XVIIᵉ et XVIIIᵉ siècles: une vue d'ensemble", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 9–45; ID., "Chronique archéologique (1960–1964)," *AE* 6, 1965, 17–58; ALESSANDRO AUGUSTO MONTI DELLA CORTE, *I castelli di Gondar*, Roma 1938, 25.

Richard Pankhurst – Red.

Ǝnsaro

Ǝ. (**እንሳሮ**) is a small district (*wäräda* up to 1999) within the former *awrağğa* of ↗Sälale (Šäwa), bordered by the rivers Zega Wädäb and Bärsäna. The area is situated at the altitude 2,700 m A.S.L. and characterized by numerous flat-top mountains (↗*Amba*). Its proximity to the ↗Däbrä Libanos monastery (situated on the other side of the Zega Wädäb) gave the region some importance within the local monastic tradition. Occasionally, Ǝ. appears in monastic ↗genealogies as a locality where a certain Dawit, one of the spiritual pupils of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, used to preach. The monastery of Ǧär Śəllase, founded by *abba* ↗Iyasu, is located in Ǝ., as well as at least one rock-hewn church Qeṭ Abbo (Sauter 1963, nos. 98f.). According to the ↗*Dərsanä ʿUraʾel*, the old historical district of Ṣəḥga was located in Ǝ.

In the course of the 16th-17th cent. ↗Oromo migrations, the Wabarii, or Oborra- (s. ↗Qottu) and Waǧǧuu-Oromo settled in Ǝ., but soon ↗Amhara from neighbouring Morät regained the area, thus re-establishing the connection between the Amharic-speaking enclave of central Šäwa and Däbrä Libanos. In the early 19th cent., Ǝ. was under the sway of *märəd azmač* ↗Wäsän Sägäd. Somewhat later it appears as one of the regions where *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase consolidated his power at the beginning of his reign. When around 1910 *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II tried to reform and unify the judiciary system, Ǝ. was placed under the jurisdiction of the first of the six *wämbär*-judges. In Mənilək's time the governor of Ǝ. had



the rank of *qäññazmač*, but later it was lowered to *grazmač* (↗*Azmač*).

Yätnora, the bigger sub-district of Ǝ. (*məkəttəl wäräda*; the second one is Wabari), is remarkable for its large number of churches (41 churches on only 450 km^2 in 1974), which points to the old Christian tradition of the area. The fact that there is a *wäräda* with the same name (Yätnora) in east Goǧǧam may reflect early Amhara migrations into Goǧǧam across the Abbay.

Src.: EMML 1942; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "L'homélie de l'archange Ouriel (Dersāna Urā'el)", *AE* 1, 1955, 61–88, here 75, 86; ANTONIO CECCHI, *Fünf Jahre in Ostafrika*, Leipzig 1888 [German tr. of CecZeila], map; EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat, précédé d'une excursion dans l'Arabie heureuse* (*1835–1837*), vol. 3, Paris 1895, 214; GETATCHEW HAILE, "A Fragment on the Monastic Fathers of the Ethiopian Church", in: *OrbAethChoj* 231–37, here 236f.; ZotBNat 205, no. 137 [Éth. 139], fol. 102; AWTarik 104, map; STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 99 (text); MahZekr, s. index; CSA 2000.

Lit.: ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235-92, here 277, nos. 98f.; VOLKER STITZ, "Distribution and Foundation of Churches in Ethiopia", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 11–36, esp. 23; StStud 46f., 85, 112.

Denis Nosnitsin

Ǝnsät

Ǝ. (**እንሰት**, *Ensete ventricosum* [domesticated species], local names, e.g. in Gurage: *ässät*, in Hadiyya: *weesa*) is a staple food crop in Ethiopia's southern and south-western highlands. The Ǝ. plant resembles the banana (genus *Musa*) and belongs to the same family (*Musaceae*), but has its own genus, *Ensete*. Because it does not produce edible fruits, the term "false banana" is encountered quite often in the literature. Although other species of *Ensete* are distributed over parts of Asia and wild plants of *Ensete ventricosum* are to be found in parts of sub-Saharan Africa, it is only in Ethiopia that the Ǝ. plant has been domesticated and is used as a food crop. Ǝ.-cultivating groups differentiate more than 60 local varieties of the genus *Ensete*. It is not yet clear if it is possible to identify them botanically, too.

Ǝ. is grown at altitudes ranging from 1,200 m to 3,100 m A.S.L. with an average temperature between 10° C and 21° C and in areas which receive annual rainfall of about 1,000 mm to 2,000 mm. Ǝ., once established, can tolerate occasional years of low rainfall and short or delayed rainy seasons. Moreover, Ǝ. can cope with heavy rainfall or hailstorms and even occasional frosts. For Ǝ. is a perennial plant, it protects the soil against erosion. Since the plant is drought-resistant and can be harvested at almost any time of the year, Ǝ. plays a particularly important role as a "famine food" in years of drought when other crops fail.

Today more than fifteen million people depend to a greater or lesser extent on the cultivation of Ǝ., some 20 % of the total population of Ethiopia. The cultivation area is restricted to the southern and south-western part of the Ethiopian highlands, with inhabitants belonging to many different ethnic groups, among them the ↗Gurage, ↗Hadiyya, ↗Kambaata, ↗Wälaytta, ↗Sidaama, ↗Aari, ↗Käfa and the peoples of the Gamo Highlands. The intensity of Ǝ. cultivation varies widely among the different ethnic groups. Some grow Ǝ. merely as a security food plant, while their main subsistence is based on cereals or tuber crops (e.g., ↗Šeko). Others rely on Ǝ. and cereals and/or tuber crops in equal measure (e.g. Hadiyya, Wälaytta). Still others depend heavily on E. as their staple food and main crop (e.g. Sidama, Gurage). In other parts of Ethiopia the use of Ǝ. for food is not usual or even known. The plants found in these areas are used for their fibres and leaves or just for decorative purposes.

The geographical diffusion of Ǝ. has varied over the centuries. In the 17th and 18th cent. Ǝ. gardens could be found in the regions of Lake Ṭana, the Səmen mountains and Gondär. Nowadays, the largest extension of Ǝ. cultivation can be observed mainly in the border regions of two ethnic groups, one growing Ǝ., the other having a different system of subsistence (e.g., Sidama and ↗Arsi). The usual way to transmit the knowledge of its cultivation is by inter-marriage, as the women who are mainly concerned with the cultivation of Ǝ. are the ones moving to new places.

The place of origin of the Ǝ. plant has not yet been determined. Two competing theories are still to be either verified or disproved. One theory says that the origin of Ǝ. lies in Asia, because all other species of *Ensete* are located there. Furthermore, there are indications that the plant was known in ancient Egypt. The other theory sees the appearance of so many different varieties of Ǝ. in southern Ethiopia and the sophisticated systems of planting and processing in the same area as indications that Ǝ. must be endemic to Ethiopia.

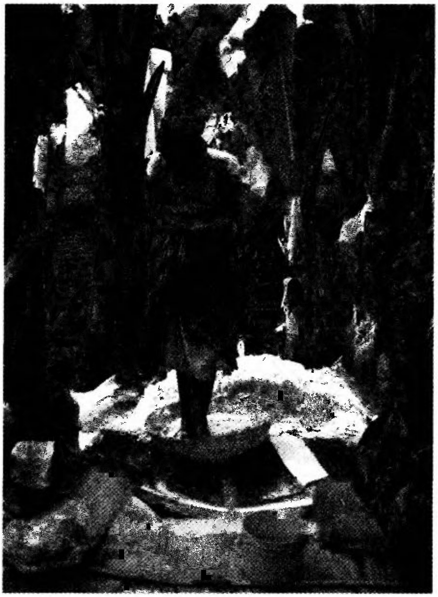
Ǝ. is usually cultivated in gardens which are situated next to the houses of individual families.

Sometimes the Ǝ. plants stand in rows according to their age and/or type, sometimes mixed. In some areas Ǝ. is inter-cropped with vegetables, coffee-bushes or the like. Usually the gardens are enclosed to protect the plants against damage from livestock and wild animals such as porcupines. Protection against bacterial wilt (caused by the bacterium *Xanthomonas musacearum*) is much more difficult. The desease spreads quickly by means of contaminated knives or through the dung of livestock that have been fed with infected plants. The only means of prevention seem to be to control and restrict the use of farming and processing tools and to uproot and bury or burn the infected plants as soon as the disease is identified.

Unlike wild Ǝ., the domesticated Ǝ. form is propagated as a vegetable by burying the corm of a ca. three-year-old plant after having removed the roots and cut out the apical bud. Some ethnic groups cut the corm into two or four pieces. Three to four months later, numerous suckers sprout. All Ǝ. plants have to be manured so that they develop an enormous pseudo-stem and store large amounts of starch. In nearly all cases, the dung of livestock is used or at least preferred. But due to increasing population size, the grazing grounds become scarce and the need for inorganic fertilizer grows. Ǝ. is transplanted one to four times during its life cycle at ever wider spacing according to the tradition of the ethnic group concerned.

The Ǝ. plant produces large quantities of starch in its underground stem rhizome (corm) and in its pseudo-stem, that can reach a height of up to eight meters. Consequently, an Ǝ. garden of about a quarter of a hectare is sufficient to feed one family. Especially in densely populated regions, Ǝ. is of great importance to secure nutrition. Ǝ. food has a high content of carbohydrates, calcium and iron, but it is low in protein and vitamins, so that it has to be supplemented by other products of animal or vegetable origin.

In most Ǝ.-cultivating regions the plants are harvested shortly before or upon maturity, i.e. when the plant flowers. In times of food shortage younger plants are harvested, too. The harvesting is done in a similar way in most areas: Leaves are cut off, leaf-sheaths are removed and corm is dug out. The inner skin of the leaf-sheaths is stripped and the pulp scraped off with a split piece of bamboo or a metal scraper. To do this, a strip of one leaf-sheath is laid on a wooden plank leaning on an Ǝ. plant or a house and is fixed at the upper end. The working woman either stands in front of the plank or sits with one leg stretched up to hold the leaf-sheath in place. The Ǝ. corm is grated onto a workplace neatly covered with Ǝ. leaves. The pulp and the grated corm are mixed and poured into a fermentation pit lined with Ǝ. leaves or into a special bin made out of bamboo. Some ethnic groups use a starter to facilitate the fermentation process. It is usually prepared of pieces of the leaf-sheaths and the corm together with local herbs. In the first two weeks of fermentation the mixture is regularly turned, kneaded and mixed. After two weeks to one month the mixture is fully fermented and can be used to prepare food. The product – ቆጮ (*qoč̣č̣o*) – can be stored for about four months. If it is to be stored for a longer period of time or even years, every four to five months the lining of the pit has to be renewed and the *qoč̣č̣o* mixed with the fresh pulp of a newly harvested plant. Otherwise it will rot.



Ǝnsät mousse being prepared in an *ənsät* growth behind a house in Hadiyya; photo 2002, courtesy Alke Dohrmann

The major food products obtained from Ǝ. are *qoč̣č̣o*, ቡላ (*bulla*) and አምቾ (*amməččo*), as they are called in Amharic. *Qoč̣č̣o* is the fermented mixture of the stripped leaf-sheaths and grated corms, as described above. To produce a kind of "Ǝ. bread" (↗Bread), a portion of *qoč̣č̣o* is taken out of the pit and squeezed. The dry substance is cut over and over again, because it still contains small pieces of fibre. The meal is mixed with water and the dough roasted on a baking-plate wrapped in Ǝ. leaves. With other methods of preparation, all fibres are removed. *Bulla* is the best-quality Ǝ. food and used to prepare pancakes, porridges, or dumplings. It is pure starch, which is obtained by washing and squeezing the pulp and grated corm before processing it as *qoç̣ç̣o*. *Amməčč̣o* is the boiled corm. In some areas young plants are harvested to use the corm, in other areas only the corms of mature plants of special varieties are taken.

Ǝ. is not only grown for nutritional reasons. It also provides fibre as a by-product when the leaf sheaths are stripped. The fibre is very strong and used to make sacks, bags, ropes, cords, mats and building material. The leaves and dried leaf-sheaths are used as packing material, plates, or as fuel. Even the dried midribs are so strong that they are suitable as binding-material, especially in the construction of roofs. In times of drought the plants are given to the livestock as fodder. These are only some examples of the manifold uses of Ǝ. products. There is no part of the plant which cannot be used in one way or the other.

The Ǝ. plant is important as a food crop and a means to prevent hunger in times of food shortage. Special varieties are used for medical cures for broken bones and birth problems. Furthermore, one should not overlook the fact that Ǝ. is an important market commodity. Women sell processed food products, fibres and leaves in order to buy other food products, clothes, school materials and the like. Especially in the time before the next harvest, when all the grain is sold, Ǝ. is of great value to obtain cash.

For those ethnic groups who grow it extensively, Ǝ. is a plant of high cultural importance. A man's or a woman's status and prestige are to a large extent defined according to the number and size of the Ǝ. plants in their garden or the size of the garden as a whole. Sometimes the cultivation of Ǝ. is connected with ritual performances or parts of Ǝ. are used for ritual reasons, especially in funeral ceremonies.

Lit.: TSEDEKE ABATE et al. (eds.), *Enset-Based Sustainable Agriculture in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1996; STEVEN ANDREW BRANDT et al., *The "Tree Against Hunger", Enset-Based Agricultural Systems in Ethiopia*, Washington DC 1997, 3, pl. 2.1 (ill.); ALKE DOHRMANN, *Die Ensete-Gärten der Hadiyya in Süd-Äthiopien, Kulturelle Bedeutungen einer Nahrungspflanze*, Münster 2004; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Médecine et plantes d'Éthiopie, II: Enquête sur les nomes et l'emploi des plantes en Éthiopie*, Napoli 1973; ALAIN GASCON, "Le miracle de'*ensät* – Géographie d'une plante peuplante", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 81–89; H.P. HUFFNAGEL, *Agriculture in Ethiopia*, Rome 1960; STANISLAW STANLEY, "Ensete in the Ethiopian Economy", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 4, 1, 1966 (with map); FREDERICK JEAN SIMOONS, *Northwest Ethiopia, Peoples and Economy*, Madison, WI 1960; ID., "Some Questions on the Economic Prehistory of Ethiopia", *JAH* 6, 1, 1965; ShGurage.

Alke Dohrmann – Manfred Metz

Ǝntälam

Ǝ. (**እንተላም**, also *nətäläm*) was a traditional Ethiopian unit of capacity. Found already in medieval Gəᶜəz texts (s. Pankhurst 1969:117, n. 84), it was used mainly for the measuring of grain, often in connection with ↗taxation, but occasionally also of ↗*ṭägg*.

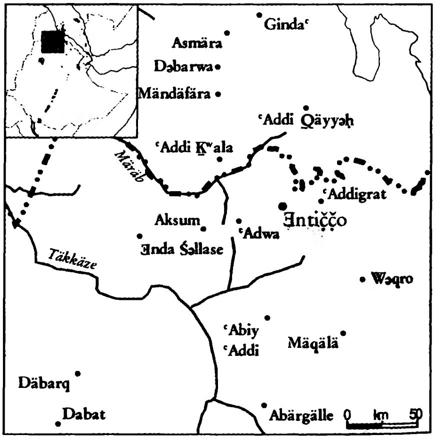
The Ǝ., like other Ethiopian measurements, varied significantly from place to place and time to time. It thus tended to be larger in times of plenty, and smaller in those of scarcity. It was often considered the equivalent of one camel load, or the capacity of some 250 "Mənilək cups", and can be taken as equal to anything between 170 and 400 litres.

Lit.: LesCDic 33; RICHARD PANKHURST, "A Preliminary History of Ethiopian Measures, Weights and Values", part II, *JES* 2, 7, 1969, 99–164 (Lit.), here 117, n. 84.

Richard Pankhurst

Ǝntiç̣ç̣o

Ǝ. (**እንቲጮ**, also Ǝntiç̣äw, Ǝntəç̣ç̣o, Gəᶜəz Ǝntä ṣew, i.e. '[settlement] near salt') is the name of a



settlement and of a historic province in Təgray. The village became the site of a confrontation between *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl and *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq. In November 1578 Śärṣä Dəngəl came to Təgray to subjugate Yəsḥaq. His strategy was not to storm Yəsḥaq's well-fortified capital of ↗Dəbarwa, with its Turkish garrison, but to make Təgray soldiers of Yəsḥaq desert him by endangering their native villages, and Ǝ. was one of them. Yəsḥaq had to defend the lands and interests of his soldiers, and at Ǝ. he and Śärṣä Dəngəl clashed. Their confrontation there lasted from 10 November to 26 December 1578. On 13 November Yəsḥaq with his Turks put the royal army to flight, but Śärṣä Dəngəl did not retreat from Ǝ. On 17 November there was another battle, which brought victory to nobody, but Śärṣä Dəngəl's stratagem worked and Yəsḥaq's vassals and allies began to go over to the Emperor. The final battle took place on 26 December. Yəsḥaq's army was routed, he himself fled, but was wounded and returned back to die in battle. The Turkish *paša* was also killed in the same battle (CRHist 67ff.).

Ǝ. was also the name of a governorate (comprising, among others, Yəḥa area), with Ǝ. as its centre. Tradition says, that the 17th-cent. governor of Təgray, ↗Kəflä Waḥid (whose wife was related to *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl according to Ǝ. tradition) was also the governor of Ǝ. At least since his times, the *gʷəlti* of Ǝ. had acquired a considerable prominence, regularly being accorded to highest officials of Təgray. In the 19th cent., *däǧǧazmač* Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam gave the governorate with the *gʷəlti* to his foreign advisor, Wilhelm ↗Schimper. Due to his presence, foreign travellers visited Ǝ., inquiring into trade possibilities of the governorate. Schimper reformed the local agriculture, e.g., by introducing the first potatoes from Germany, and also built a church and stone houses. After the rise of the future *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II in 1855, the *gʷəlti* was taken away from him, and later was owned by the family of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV. The Italians, however, expropriated Gäbrä Śəllase, the governor of Təgray, who had half of the *gʷəlti* (ʿAddi Ḥədur, Mänadəq), and *raʾəs* Śəyyum Mängäša, who had the other half (Tukuz, ʿAddi Hasama). Later it was restored by the British to the families, e.g. to *däǧǧazmač* Zäwde Gäbrä Śəllase (possessing it until the *Därg*'s land reform).

In the Italian period Ǝ. was changing its rural shape into a small street city and administrative centre (seat of a residenza). The ancient street leading from ʿAdwa via Yəḥa and Ǝ. to eastern Təgray, was renewed under the direction of the local governor *blatta* Ǝngəda Ḫaylu, who possessed the *gʷəlti* between Yəḥa and Ǝ. (as the husband of the half-cast Giovanna "Ǧämbär" Dumas from Näfasit, a granddaughter of the former governor Kidanu, owner of this *gʷəlti*). The place additionally emerges in the historical sources when one of the invading Italian columns marched to ʿAdwa through it. Finally, in 1987 the town was bombed by the *Därg*, which led to many casualties. The day of the bombing has been celebrated in Təgray as the day of martyrdom.

Today Ǝ. is part of the *wärädä* Aḥfärom. Ǝ. is a traditional market place, which is known for its salt (*čäw*) and *gešo* (leaves used for *səwa* or *mez*), and also flax seed and fruits, produced in the area. It is also a traditional centre of Təgrəñña-speaking Muslims (↗Ǧäbärti), as nearby Mäsäḥəl-Dəbdəbo, who even own *rəsti* there.

Src.: CRHist 67ff.; *Guida* 270; interview with *čəqa sum* Kämal Saʾid Saləḥ, Ǝntiččo, July 2004; oral communication of Bərhane Gäbrä Maryam Ǝngəda, Hamburg, August 2004.

Sevir Chernetsov – Wolbert Smidt

Ǝnṭonəs

Ǝ. (**እንጦንስ**; fl. 14th cent.) is the monastic name of Amänku Ǝgziʾ, the son of Ṭəritä Ǝgziʾ and Məkbeyu, a native of Gəbäle in ↗Säraye. There are no hagiographic documents on him other than his Acts (↗*Gädl*). According to this text, he was ordained deacon by *abunä* ↗Yaʿəqob (1338–45) immediately after his arrival in Ethiopia. He married but, after his wife was abducted, he took the monastic habit from *abba* Iyəsänano Ǝgziʾ (s. Conti Rossini 1943:339). He was ordained priest and helped his spiritual father until the latter's death. He founded monasteries for men and convents for women, first at ʿAsəm and later at Damba Tänbuk.

Ǝ. was a miracle-worker. He refused the king's invitation to live at court, remaining in his own monastery until he became ill and refused to take food for 4 months and 22 days. He appointed his own successor, ↗Samuʾel of Däbrä Halleluya, whom he had initiated into monastic life at his own monastery. It was there that Ǝ. died, probably on 3 *Taḫśaś* (the day on which his hagiography is read), and was buried during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arʿad.

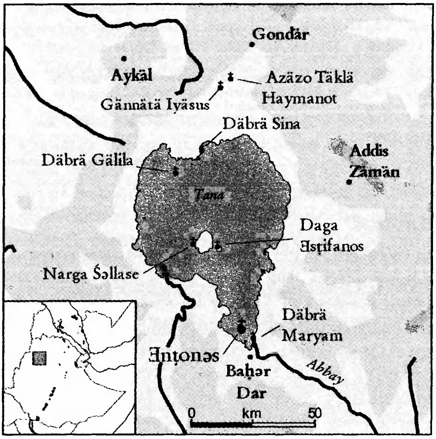
Src.: KinBibl 69; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Atti di abba Antonio (ms. etiopico Conti Rossini 11, 5)", *OrChrP* 62,

1996, 373–91; ID., "Antonio", in: *EncSan* I, col. 198–200.
Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Bibliografia", *RSE* 3, 1943, 335–40, here 339.

Osvaldo Raineri

Ǝnṭonəs

The little islet of Ǝ. (**እንጦንስ**), covered by forest, is located in the southern part of Lake Ṭana, near ↗Kəbran island (s. the map in Bosc-Tiessé 2000: 211). It is the place of a monastic establishment whose history is closely linked to that of Kəbran. According to the Acts of ↗Zäyoḥännəs, the founder of the Kəbran monastery during ʿAmdä Ṣəyon's reign, the two fishermen who took the holy monk to Kəbran subsequently settled on Ǝ. The place would later be occupied by a female community (Schneider 1972:18).



In the beginning of the 17th cent., the monastery seems to have been well-known, as it is mentioned by Pedro ↗Paez (BecRASO II, 279). It was at that time a male community. During *aṣe* Iyasu I's reign (1682–1708), the church was devoted to Christ (Ǝ. Iyäsus). It was burnt down afterwards at an unknown date, but some paintings on canvas in the first Gondärine style and books kept in the Kəbran Gäbrəʾel church were said to come from this church (Hammerschmidt – Jäger 1968, pl. 21, 24). However, it is certain only for those manuscripts which contain notes concerning Ǝ. (ms. Ṭānāsee 50, s. fol. 290r; ms. Ṭānāsee 57, fol. 1r, 87rc). Iyasu I greatly appreciated the site, where he often came at the end of his life for health reasons. It seems that it was he who ordered the building of thermal baths (**ቤተ፡ ብላኔ**, *betä bəläne*) on the island (DombrChr 75, 237ff.), for there is no mention of them before his reign. This building in Gondärine masonry is located on the south-eastern part of the island and is today in a relatively good state of preservation (s. map, sections and pictures in Bosc-Tiessé 2000:245f.). Today, monks live on the island again and a new church has been built.

Src.: MADELEINE SCHNEIDER, *Actes de Za-Yohannes de Kebran*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 333 [SAe 65]), 18; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT – OTTO ARNOLD JÄGER, *Illuminierte äthiopische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1968, pl. 21, 24; HamTana I, 198 [Ṭānāsee 50, fol. 290r], 212 [Ṭānāsee 57, fol. 1r, 87rc]; DombrChr 75, 237ff.; BecRASO II, 279.
Lit.: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, "Notes sur l'histoire et l'art des églises du lac Tana. Rapport de mission", *AE* 16, 2000, 207–70, here 211, 245f.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé

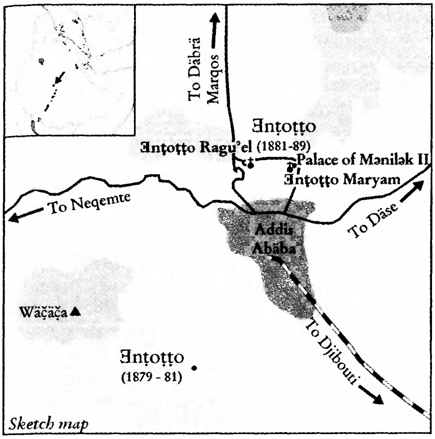
Ǝnṭoṭṭo

Ǝ. (**እንጦጦ**) is the name of a mountain range to the north of ↗Addis Abäba with the elevation ranging from 2,600 to 3,200 m A.S.L., and of a town lying in the Ǝ. mountains (09°06' N, 38°42' E). In the early years of the Amhara conquest of Ǝ., the mountains were covered with forest, but after the foundation of the city most was cut down for fuel and building purposes. Now the area is being reforested by ↗eucalyptus.

Two different locations of the town of Ǝ. were identified before the present site, the first east of Wäčäča (1879–81) and the second at Dildila. In 1881, *nəguś* Mənilək (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) moved with his court and founded a new ↗*kätäma* with the name Ǝ, which replaced also Dildila as the name for the mountain.

The town, which may also have been the site of an encampment of *aṣe* ↗Ləbna Dəngəl, had a

One of the buildings of *aṣe* Mənilək's compound at Ǝnṭoṭṭo; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers



Sketch map

predominantly military function. Soon it became the capital of Šäwa. The coronation of Mənilək II and *ətege* Ṭaytu Bəṭul was held in Ǝ. (and not in Aksum) in November 1889. From 1886 to 1887, the capital moved to the plains below the Ǝ. hills, around what were then the hot springs of ↗Finfinnee. Addis Abäba replaced Ǝ. because there was more wood for fuel and construction and because of the warmer milder climate. Ǝ. was windier, colder and more prone to lightening and thunder storms. Tradition has it that Ṭaytu preferred the plains below and persuaded Mənilək to move. After her husband's death she was exiled there and stayed in Ǝ. until her own death.

There are two significant churches still in use on Ǝ., ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam and ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Ragu'el and nearby are the remains of an early rock church ↗Yäkka Mika'el.

Src.: GueCopMen 162f., 170–75, 209–32, 240f., 264–73; *Guida*.

Lit.: PETER P. GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Abäba from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49), 4–8, 10; PankHist II, 174ff., 357; AKALU WÄLDÄ MIKAEL, "Urban Development in Ethiopia (1875-1899)", *JES* 11, 1, 1–16 (map); EDOUARD BERLAN, *Addis Abeba la plus haute ville d'Afrique*, Grenoble 1963.

Peter Garretson

Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam

The church of Ǝ.M. (እንጦጦ፡ ማርያም) was founded by *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul and became a significant centre of religious and intellectual life, as well as the major church to which the imperial court went for the veneration of St. Mary during the reigns of the imperial monarchs resident in ↗Addis Abäba, that is *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, *nəgəśtä nägäśtat* ↗Zäwditu and *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. After two years of construction (1885–87), the feast to bless the new foundation was held in 1887. Some of the measurements of the church were taken from those in the Bible of the temple of Solomon (cp. 1 Kgs 6; GueCopMen 212, n. 4). Carpenters came from ↗Gondär and the wood from the forest of ↗Männagäšä, just west of Addis Abäba. The foundation and consecration of Ǝ.M. make up a substantial portion of the longest chapter in Gäbrä Śəllase's chronicle of *aṣe* Mənilək II's reign. The banquette (↗*Gəbər*), which followed the consecration had over 20,000 guests, and the feasting lasted for many days. Thousands of cattle were consumed and there was no shortage because the dedication took place before the famine and rinderpest epidemic of 1889. In 1905 Ǝ.M. was rebuilt with stone with an encircling balcony. Some foreign expertise was used in the renovation.

Ǝ.M. remained the most prestigious church foundation in the name of Mary in the Addis Abäba area and special services were held there on the monthly feast of St. Mary on the 21th day of each month as well as on 20 *Mäskäräm*. The imperial courts of Mənilək II, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, Zäwditu and Ḫaylä Śəllase I would regularly celebrate the most important days of the year dedicated to Mary at Ǝ.M. Zäwditu also organized the *täzkär*, or memorial service, for *ətege* Ṭaytu at Ǝ.M. There is now a museum of *aṣe* Mənilək II there.

The architecture of Ǝ.M. is that of a traditional round Ethiopian church with a thatched roof and circular ornament at the peak. Later *ətege* Ṭaytu added a silvered and guilded dome. The church is encircled by a gallery, upheld by a series of rounded pillars.

Among the murals inside Ǝ.M. there is a painting of of Mənilək II and Ṭaytu represented as the Queen of Sheba and her son Mənilək I, a portrait of St. Mark and The Last Supper. Some of the murals were painted by *aläqa* Ḫəruy, his son ↗Ǝmä'alaf and ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus.

Src.: GueCopMen 170, 203 (ill.), 209–12, 217, 520f.; *Guida* 494.

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "The Iconography of the Deposition in Ethiopian Painting", in: *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*, London 1989, 14–22, here 21, fig. 45; JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale*, Paris 1890, 120f., 253–56; CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II: Ethiopia, 1883–1910*, London 1986, 43ff., 53, 65ff., 100, 258.

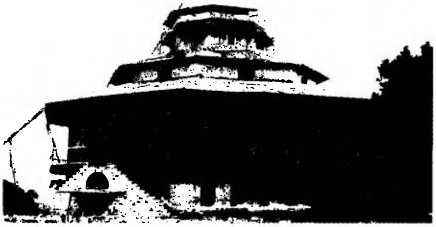
Peter Garretson

Ǝnṭoṭṭo Ragu'el

The church of Ǝ.R. (**እንጦጦ፡ ራጉኤል**) was built in the compound of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's palace at ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo, north of Addis Abäba. Its construction began in February 1885 and the church was inaugurated on 5 November 1889. There are different traditions as to where the ↗*tabot* of Raguʾel was obtained. The problem is all the more complex because of the presence of two *tabots* of Raguʾel. Some informants believe that a monk by the name of *abba* Bälaynäh carved the *tabot*. There is much difference of opinion on the second *tabot*. Some say that it was brought from Jerusalem by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, who gave it to Mənilək at the ↗Ləčče Agreement of 1878. Others believe that Mənilək brought it from Jerusalem.

Arab and Indian artisans were employed in the construction of the church. The main artisan was *ḥaǧǧī* Kawas, an Indian from Peshawar, who also participated in the construction of the churches of St. Gabriel in Addis Abäba, St. Mary at Addis ʿAläm and Mənilək's palace in Addis Abäba. There were also several masons from Gondär and Ankobär, timber was brought from Männagäša. The church is octagonal and has two floors. The walls of the *mäqdäs* are decorated by religious and secular paintings executed by eminent artists, such as *aläqa* Zäyoḥannəs from ↗Maḫdärä Maryam, *aläqa* ↗Luqas and his son *aläqa* Śahlu, *aläqa* ↗Mäzmur Zädawit and *näggadras* ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus. European travellers were full of admiration for the building (e.g., Powell-Cotton 1902:169).

Ǝ.R. is a ↗*däbr* church; in 1890–91 a total of 193 *gašša* of land was granted for support of its clergy. Ǝ.R.'s heads were among the most influential clerics of the period, with ↗Gäbrä Śəllase, who was Mənilək's chronicler and ↗*ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz*. The first ↗*gäbäz* of the church was *däǧǧazmač* ↗Mäšäša Wärqe, a secretary and interpreter in the court of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV and later an influential official in Mənilək's court. The next *gäbäz* was *ras* Mikaʾel Ali of Wällo (r. 1891–1909) and his successors, his daughter *wäyzäro* Səhin (1910–27) and her daughter *ətege* ↗Mänän Asfaw, also held the office. The traditional school of Ǝ.R. was opened soon after its establishment and large number of students who received their schooling there later gained prominence in the Imperial court.



Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel on an early 20th cent. photograph; after renovation, during which an additional small storey was added to the top; from the collection of Wolbert Smidt

Another Raguʾel church was built by *ətege* Mänän in 1955 at ↗Addis Kätäma (s. ↗Däbrä Ḫayl Qəddus Raguʾel), since she had vowed to build another church if St. Raguel's help would bring back her consort to power after the Italian invasion of 1935–36. After the liberation of 1941, she wanted to move the Ǝnṭoṭṭo church to Addis Abäba where a large parish would be founded. She was strongly opposed by the clergy at Ǝnṭoṭṭo, but with the intercession of *abunä* ↗Basəlyos, and promises of generous rewards, some of the clergy reluctantly accepted the transfer. When the new Raguʾel church was built, the church of Ǝ.R. was renamed as Ǝnṭoṭṭo Elyas to suppress the association of Raguʾel with the old site and thus enhance the Addis Abäba Raguʾel church. The *tabot* of Elyas was available there, since the Elyas church used to be the third one at Ǝnṭoṭṭo, but its clergy died during the Great Famine of 1882–92 (↗*Kəfu qän*) and Mənilək ordered it to be moved to Ǝ.R.

Although priests were assigned to Ǝnṭoṭṭo Elyas to provide religious services on Sundays, on days of important festivals, to hold services for the dead and to officiate at baptisms, the people of Ǝnṭoṭṭo did not get regular religious services. Because of financial problems and continued controversy between the two churches, religious services at Ǝnṭoṭṭo stopped completely in September 1976. A patriarchal committee was set up to revive Ǝ.R. church. With the financial support from the monthly salary of the Patriarch *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot for two priests, the church was opened in May 1979. The Ministry of Culture restored the old building of Ǝ.R. in 1982–84, but the final attempt to return the *tabot* of Raguʾel, along with some historical and ecclesiastical objects, from Addis Kätäma to Ǝnṭoṭṭo ended in a tragedy and some deaths when a large angry crowd opposed the removal, believing that the military government wanted to make it a museum, attacked the people who came to carry out the order of transfer on 10 May 1985.

Src.: GSMen 97, 100, 123f., 166ff., 198f., 326–33.

Lit.: Ethiopian Orthodox Church Ecclesiastical Office (ed.), ዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክና፡ የአዲስ፡ አበባ፡ አድባራት፡ የመጦ፡ ዓመታት፡ ገጽታ (*Dagmawi Məniləkənna yä'addis abäba adbarat: yämäṭo ʿamätat gäṣṣəta*, 'Mənilək II and Addis Abäba Cathedrals: the 100 Years Overlook'), *Dəmṣa täwaḥədo*, 15 *Ṭər* 1978 A.M. [1985/86 A.D.]; Id. (ed.), የደብረ፡ ኃይሌ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ራጉኤል፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን (*Yädäbrä Ḫayle Qəddus Raguʾel betä krəstiyan*, 'The Church of Däbrä Ḫayle Qəddus Raguʾel'), *ibid.*, 15 *Mäggabit* 1980 A.M. [1987/88 A.D.]; Haile Gabriel Dagne, "The Establishment of Churches in Addis Ababa", in: *CentAddis* 57–78, here 57, 62; Richard Pankhurst, "Menelik and the Utilization of Foreign Skills", *JES* 5, 1, 1967, 29–86, here 30, 35, 37f., 41, 50f.; Id., "Some Notes for a History of Ethiopian Secular Art", *EthObs* 10, 1, 1966, 18–20; Wudu Tafete, *The Twin Churches of Raguel, 1889–1985*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1989; Percy Horace Gordon Powell-Cotton, *A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia. A Narrative of Nine Months Journey from the Plains of the Hawash to the Snows of Simien ...*, London 1902, 169.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Environment

On the whole, two different groups of concepts of E. can be identified: (1) based on natural science, and (2) integrating social and natural sciences, in which society, with its patterns and processes, is an active part of a whole system (s. Leser 1997:922f.).

The term "degradation" of the E. originates in soil science, meaning all processes changing the soil structure (s. Leser 1997:133), including especially those which deteriorate soil fertility, such as soil erosion, change of biotic or/and abiotic structures of soils etc. Environmental degradation in most cases is used as a – not clearly defined – term for all processes deteriorating and devaluating such natural resources as soils, vegetation cover, water, biodiversity etc.

The great famines of the 1970s and 1980s resulted in an increased interest in the environmental processes of the Horn of Africa. E. degradation is seen as one of the most acute problems in Ethiopia and the surrounding countries, because of its effects on agriculture, which is the economic base of the country.

Environmental history

Most of the important developments in the history of E. in Ethiopa and Eritrea preceded the advent of man. The greatest changes in the ↗geomorphology of the area were shaped over millennia by the earth's own geological and climatic evolution. In more recent times, however, these changes have been dramatic, especially those directly caused by humans.

Soil erosion in the Ethiopian highlands; photo 1998, courtesy of Manfred Müller

Domestication of important agricultural crops, such as ↗*tef* and finger millet, is believed to have started about 7,000 years before present (B.P.). The ↗Aksumite culture selected and propagated specially adapted germ plasm and subspecies, thus becoming a primary centre for the diffusion of several cereals, pulses and oil-seed crops. The development of the ox-↗plough (ca. 1,000–500 B.C.) was a crucial stage in E. history; open space for ox-ploughing and for the various crops and pastures for the oxen was needed, one reason why long-term change of the vegetation structure has been severe (McCann 1999).

Bonnefille and Hamilton (1986), on the basis of palynological studies in Arsi and Bale, believe that there was wide-spread forest destruction around 1,850 years ago. From the presence of the pollen of plants usually associated with human habitation, the destruction in this period is believed to have been caused by man. There has been a decline in *Podocarpus* forest and a rise in places of ↗juniper forest following the opening up and burning of montane forests and a wide-spread presence of secondary forest and scrub vegetation (*Dodonaea* and *Celtis*-type vegetation).

The well-known and still often-repeated reports about heavy destruction of forests and woodlands since 1900 (e.g., Huffnagel 1961, von Breitenbach 1961) are criticized by McCann (1997; 1999) as being "narratives". Several regional studies (McCann 1999; Ritler 1997 and 2003) show that forest dynamics is a complex and nonlinear process and that the deforestation (and degradation) is much older than reported yet, especially in the central and northern highlands.

Obviously, in western and southern Ethiopia a broad deforestation recurred in the 20th cent., but studies fully covering these areas, or at least the larger of them, do not exist to date.

The "narrative" about heavy deforestation is based on figures which have never been proved (also because there do not exist any reliable figures about vegetation cover up to about 1960). Indeed, several researchers and institutions presented figures indicating an over-all deforestation since the 1950s (Wøien 1995). Being basically correct, the non-uniform use of terms like forest, woodland and bush leads to confusing figures and sometimes inaccurate conclusions.

Melaku Bekele (1998), basing on reports of travellers, states that the "Green Age" should be set before or immediately after the introduction of agriculture into Ethiopia at least 4,000 years B.P. There is evidence indicating that the Aksumite civilization was worn out by soil erosion and an associated decline in agricultural productivity. Several travellers wrote in the 16th–18th cent. of landscapes that were barely or not at all covered by trees. In the north-central part of Ethiopia, forested areas are reported to have been restricted to the vicinity of churches and monasteries. Travellers in the 19th and early 20th cent. wrote about the lack of forests in the central highlands of Šäwa (McCann 1999; Ritler 1997 and 2003).

But there is also the record of full forest recovery in areas previously known as open land, as was the case with Geeraa forest (McCann 1999). According to Massaja, in 1859 the highlands of Geeraa were open land bordered with forest. The status of the surrounding forest was described as already retreating due to agricultural expansion when Cecchi visited the area in the 1880s. When Geeraa came under the rule of *aṣe* MəniləkII in 1881, a mass exodus of the population of the region to other areas appears to have occurred. As a result, when Cerulli visited the area in 1928, the entire area was covered by a dense broad-leafed forest.

Degradation of resources

Resources are all those requirements of an organism, population or an ecosystem, which help the accumulation of energy by their increased availability. They are divided into two as: (i) biological (renewable) resources; and (ii) physical (non-renewable) resources.

Biodiversity is under pressure in many places because of deforestation, indigenous trees and crops being replaced by other imported species and of the extension of land-use in formerly low or uncultivated areas because of population growth (s. Eshetu Yirdaw 2002).

↗Wood is a basic and multi-functional resource of an agricultural society with almost no fossil resource reserves. In the central and northern highlands, wood deficit was a major problem already in the 19th cent. Since the 1890s ↗Eucalyptus as an imported species has been helping particularly to solve the energy problem in many places, but the high demand for water by this plant is provoking soil erosion, according to some scholars.

The major reasons for deforestation and degradation of forest resources are clearing of forests and woodlands for cultivating crops and cutting of trees and shrubs, e.g., for fuel-wood, charcoal, construction material, etc. Plantation forestry has been far from meeting the demand for wood, so that deforestation is inevitable. The causes of deforestation are, however, closely linked with a vicious cycle of mutually reinforcing factors, i.e., poverty, population growth, poor economic growth and the state of the environment. In 1994 it was estimated that high forests covered less than 2.7 % of the country and the process of deforestation still continues (EFAP 1994).

The degradation of soils is clearly linked to rainfall patterns (sum, intensity of rains, seasons), topography and vegetation cover or land-use, respectively. Soil erosion is a very old phenomenon: the fertility of the ↗Nile waters in Egypt since ancient times is mainly the effect of soil loss in Ethiopia. Hurni (1990:57) suggests for Ethiopia about 1.5 billion tons of soil loss per year, the highest rates per hectare coming from cropland and currently unproductive land. Tests of soil loss in several intensively used areas of the ↗*wäyna däga* show a great range, from very low (1 ton per ha) up to very high (212 tons per ha) rates per year (Herweg – Stillhardt 1999:16). A major problem for the farmers is that in several places soil depth will gain a critical level for agriculture in the next few decades, if it is not possible to slow down or even to stop this process with conservation measures.

Land degradation involves both soil erosion and loss of soil fertility. While the soils in the highlands have a high inherent fertility, the continuous removal of nutrients without replacement, as well as the steep and dessicated terrain with extensive areas of slopes, coupled with the high intensity of rainfall have led to accelerated soil erosion, reaching up to 400 tons/hectares/ annum (EPA 1997). In 1986 half of the arable land in the highlands was estimated to be moderately to seriously eroded (FAO 1986; EFAP 1994). Due to the scarcity of wood for fuel, animal dung and crop residues are used as fuel instead of their normal use as fertilizers which increases fertility loss. The impact of soil erosion on crop yields is estimated to be a reduction of between 1 % to 2 % per year. The biological degradation due to the decline in organic matter causes a further loss of 1 %.

↗Water, in terms of its availability and quality in general, its discharge patterns and the seasonal variation of rainfall, plays an integrating part in the system of environmental processes. Degradation of water resources involves both siltation and sedimentation, leading to changes in the physical, chemical and biological condition of the resources. Deforestation, poor agricultural practices and soil erosion increase surface run-off and reduce the amount of rainfall infiltrating the soil and eventually percolating into groundwater aquifers. About 74 % of the annual run-off of more than 110 billion m³ goes into the rivers that flow into Sudan, Egypt, Somalia and Kenya. Lower levels of infiltration and water storage in soils also affects the availability of water for human use. This, in turn, leads to higher peak flows in streams and rivers causing greater flood damage. Where soils are better at retaining moisture, spring- and river-flows are extended and evened out. This is important for irrigation development. Soil erosion also leads to a reduced life for storage dams due to siltation and may change the conditions for transport and hydropower production.

Reduced vegetation cover and the associated impact on land degradation threaten ecosystems. Decline or loss of vegetation cover reduces the amount of carbon that can be sequestered from the atmosphere, contributing to global warming.

The introduction of exotic species may cause several unforeseen risks, such as their becoming notorious competitive weeds (e.g., *Argemone mexicana*, *Parthenium hysterophorous*, *Prosopis juliflora*, water hyacinth, etc.), thereby reducing crop yield and replacing local flora, causing adverse effects on the E. (biotic and abiotic components) and the introduction of or susceptibility to disease.

The carrying capacity of the rangelands, 42% of the country's total area (above 1,700 m A.S.L.; average annual rainfall above 600 mm) is severely limited by inadequate watering facilities and by a consequent inefficient utilization of vegetation. The cutting of fodder instead of letting the animals range freely could be an improvement in order to reduce overgrazing and to increase biomass productivity.

Due to the expansion in irrigated crop cultivation in some of the traditional pastoral areas, some grazing lands have been lost. The pastoralists most affected are the ᶜAfar and Karrayyuu, who have lost close to 35,000 and 22,000 hectares of their best dry-season grazing areas, respectively. Grazing areas have been reduced for parks (19,767 km²; ↗National Parks), wildlife reserves (28,100 km²) and sanctuaries (9,536 km²). This situation has led to conflicts between pastoralists and animosities towards government organizations. The pastoralists have been forced to live in and utilize the marginal areas for livestock production and have, therefore, become more vulnerable to drought.

The continuing succession of droughts has affected livestock populations as well as the ability of highland farmers to produce crops. It has also led to catastrophic livestock losses, as well as deterioration in rangelands (Gedion Getahun 1999). The other climatic extreme, i.e. too much precipitation and the subsequent flooding, has also been a problem in many parts of the country (↗Climate).

Pollution

Pollution may be defined as any undesirable change in the physico-chemical and biological properties of air, water and soils, which may cause harm to humans and other organisms, or to cultural and natural elements of the human environment (Gupta – Bhardwaj 1979).

Air pollution is caused mainly by the addition of poisonous gases and particulate matter. Most of the gases are the product of combustion of fossil fuels in automobiles, industry and domestic use. These gases include a mixture of carbon and nitrogen oxides and hydrocarbons. Large quantities of highly poisonous carbon monoxide particles and lead are also produced during combustion. Urbanization and industrialization have resulted in areas of excessive pollution.

Ozone is highly oxidizing and can damage the leaves of crops. Being acidic in nature when combined with moisture, gases like sulphur dioxide and hydrogen sulphide affect metals, textiles and animals. Nitrogen oxides can kill organisms, but their greater role is in the formation of smog in cold and humid conditions. The various hydrocarbons and nitrogen oxides react together in the presence of light, producing peroxyacetyl nitrate and similar compounds. On foggy days, these chemical substances remain suspended in the atmosphere, adsorbed around particulate matter, and, e.g., cause irritation to the eyes and bronchial disorders. Another gaseous substance, fluorides, is produced from the aluminium industry. It causes serious damage to young leaves and fruit orchards, though some plants like onions, cotton, tobacco and citrus are highly resistant. The particulate matter arises from various industrial operations: mining, quarrying, grinding and polishing, saw-mills, textiles and burning of fuels. During cold or humid periods the smaller particles serve as nuclei for condensation of water vapour and produce fog. The particles, when deposited on the leaves, or even when suspended as part of fog, reduce light intensity, considerably affecting photosynthesis. If they are inhaled, they can cause numerous respiratory diseases and allergies. The particulate matter may also consist of various chemicals, pesticides and poisonous substances, such as organic compounds of tin, lead and cadmium, which may cause tuberculosis and carcinomas.

During recent years fresh-water streams in Ethiopia have turned into open sewers. The addition of domestic sewage, agricultural waste and industrial effluents reduces the oxygen content of the water body on which most of the aquatic life depends. The organic matter is not readily mineralized and the anaerobic conditions produce foul smell due to the production of ammonia and hydrogen sulphide. The additional input of materials leads to rapid growth of certain organisms, particularly the phytoplankton, which further add more organic matter. Many poisons are brought with the effluent and the pathogens make the water unfit for use.

The process in which the primary and secondary production of the water body increases rapidly is called eutrophication. The addition of detergents brings in large quantities of phosphates, which can be utilized only in certain groups of organisms, the blue-green algae, taking advantage of their nitrogen-fixing ability, and this is again the beginning of eutrophication. The agricultural run-off also brings with it several organic compounds as pesticides, which soon enter into the food chain and become gradually concentrated in the tissues of the organisms at a higher trophic level, resulting in death or impairment of life-activities of animals and man.

The process of removal of soda ash from Lake ↗Abyata provides a good example of mining associated with great risks of pollution for a water body known to have very rich fish and bird life.

Mercury compounds, another important pollutant of water, are produced as waste by paper mills, the chloralkali industry, mercury vapour lamps and plant-protection compounds. The inorganic salts of mercury are reduced under anaerobic conditions and in the presence of hydrocarbons into dimethyl mercury, which enters into the food chain.

Pollution of soils results from the excessive use of fertilizers, pesticides and herbicides, adversely affecting the physical, chemical and biological properties of the soil, which in turn affects plant growth. Mining, excavating soil for brick making and building and road construction etc. also reduce soil resources. Another source of soil pollution is dumping of solid wastes. Other sources of pollution include ionizing radiation. Many of the radioactive substances enter into the food chain and become concentrated, causing harmful effects.

↗Agriculture; ↗Deserts and Desertification; ↗Ecological zones; ↗Forests

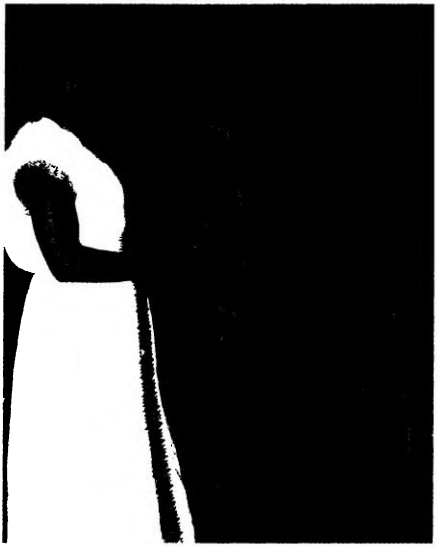
Lit.: HARTMUT LESER (ed.), *Diercke–Wörterbuch Allgemeine Geographie*, München – Braunschweig 1997 (Lit.), 133, 922f.; DEMEL TEKETAY et al., *State of the Environment in Ethiopia: Past, Present and Future Prospects*, Addis Ababa 2003; ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AUTHORITY [EPA] (ed.), *Conservation Strategy of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1997; DESALEGNE RAHMATO (ed.), *Environmental Change and State Policy in Ethiopia: Lessons from Past Experience*, Addis Ababa 2001; SUE EDWARDS et al., *Flora of Ethiopia and Eritrea*, 7 vols., Uppsala 1995–2000; ETHIOPIAN FORESTRY ACTION PROGRAM [EFAP], *Ethiopian Forestry Action Program*, Addis Ababa 1994; FAO, *Ethiopian Highland Reclamation Study*, Rome 1986; GEBRE MARKOS GEBRE SELASSIE, "The Forest Resources of Ethiopia: Past and Present", *Walia* 19, 1998, 10–28; GEDION ASFAW, "Environment Defined", *Tefetro* 1, 8, 1999, 3–6; JAMES MCCANN, "The Plow and the Forest, Narratives of Deforestation in Ethiopia, 1840–1992", *Environmental History* 2, 1997, 138–59 [Lit.]; ID., *Green Land, Brown Land, Black Land: an Environmental History of Africa, 1800–1990*, London 1999; MELAKU BEKELE, "The Ethiopian Forest from Ancient Times to 1900: a Brief Account (The Case of Northern Ethiopia)", *Walia* 18, 1998, 3–9; GLEN W. RUSS , *Reports on Ethiopian Forests 1940–1947*, Addis Ababa 1979; TEWOLDE BERHAN GEBRE EGZIABHER, "Ethiopian Vegetation: Past, Present and Future Trends", *SINET: Ethiopian Journal of Science* 9 (supplement), 1986, 3–13; FRIED VON BREITENBACH, "Forests and Woodlands of Ethiopia, a Geobotanical Contribution to the Knowledge of the Principal Communities of Ethiopia, with Special Regard to Forestry", *Forestry Review* 1, 1961, 5–16; H.L. Eshetu Yirdaw, *Restoration of the Native Woody-species Diversity, Using Plantation Species as Foster Trees, in the Degraded Highlands of Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Helsinki 2002 (Tropical Forestry Report 24) [Lit.]; Karl Herweg – Brigitta Stillhardt, *The Variability of Soil Erosion in the Highlands of Ethiopia and Eritrea. Average and Extreme Erosion Patterns*, Berne 1999 (Soil Conservation Research Programme, Ethiopia, Research Report 42) (Lit.), 16; Hans Hurni, "Degradation and Conservation of Soil Resources in the Ethiopian Highlands", in: Bruno Messerli – Hans Hurni (eds.), *African Mountains and Highlands. Problems and Perspectives*, Berne 1990, 51–63 (Lit.); Alfons Ritler, *Land Use, Forests and the Landscape of Ethiopia, 1699–1865*, Berne 1997 (Soil Conservation Research Programme, Research Report 38) [Lit.]; Id., *Forest, Land Use and Landscape of Central and Northern Ethiopia, 1865–1930*, Bern 2003 (African Studies Series 19) [Lit.]; Halvor Wøien, "Deforestation, Information and Citations, a Comment on Environmental Degradation in Highland Ethiopia", *GeoJournal*, 37, 1995, 501–11 [Lit.]; Mesfin Woldemariam, *Suffering under God's Environment. A Vertical Study of the Predicament of Peasants in North-Central Ethiopia*, Berne 1991; Alain Gascon, "La forêt perdue d'Éthiopie, un mythe contemporain", in: Monique Chastonet (ed.), *Plantes et paysages d'Afrique. Une histoire à explorer*, Paris 1998, 383-409.

Alfons Ritler – Demel Teketay

Ǝnzata

Ǝ. is an Amhara descent-group from the Gondär region, most of whom are musicians, called ↗*azmari* in Amharic. Today, non-*azmari* use the term *azmari* mainly in reference to professional ↗*masinqo* players and the female singers accompanying them. Ǝ., in contrast, is a self-designation relying on ancient genealogical links, which strictly distinguishes the in-group. Anyone who does not belong to this group is called *bugga* and is excluded from the Ǝ. group precisely because he/she does not share genealogical ties. Ǝ., also call themselves *liqä mäqʷas*, which used to be the title given by nobles to significant musicians serving for the court.

The complex network based on in-group marriage in areas with a high population density of Ǝ., such as Dämbəya, Ǝnfraz, Bäläsa and Wägära in Gondär, underlines their strong genealogical relations. The village of Bulboks near Gondär is exclusively inhabited by Ǝ., and nearby ↗Bahər Gəmb has a significant minority. Takuritu Ǝngəda, who was linked with the Gondärine court acting as *azmari*, is the common ancestor to large numbers of Ǝ. in both villages. Quite a few prominent figures, including Yərga Dubbale and Tädla Fante in the modern Ethiopian popular-music scene, are members of the Ǝ. descent group.



Ǝnzata musicians; Gondär; photo July 2004, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

Someone descending from a *bugga* family can be accepted by the group as an Ǝ. when he is a musician in at least the second generation and living within the Ǝ. group's networks.

The settlement pattern of Ǝ. is both to concentrate in the villages of origin and in urban areas, where they engage in extended musical activities. One can also find seasonal singers who normally live in the villages as farmers, but who go travelling for musical activities after the harvest season. Ǝ. therefore can be found in all major settlements of Ethiopia.

In addition to the system of in-group marriage, communication through the secret argot/slang of Ǝ. allows the group to share a sense of community and exclusivity. Moreover, it helps as a means of exchanging information they do not want outsiders (*bugga*) to know. Because of this and due to the high degree of non-intelligibility with Amharic it is often considered by the Ǝ. as a "language" on its own, called Ǝnzatañña or Ǝnzatlanqʷa by them. Communication by the Ǝ. argot can take place most advantageously when used during performances in front of an audience of *bugga*. It is strictly taboo to share the argot with outsiders.

The argot is formed on the basis of Amharic and can vary slightly according to generation and place. Several viewpoints can be put forward in tracing the origin of the argot. Leslau (1964) indicates that the great majority of its vocabulary is a deformation of Amharic words and it also borrows vocabulary from other languages such as Agäw, Sidaama and Oromiffa. Ten basic words from the Ǝ. argot are the following: *andəkä* ('one'), *git* ('two'), *säləst* ('three'), *əffənəč* ('fire'), *wačo* ('water'), *čäbärä* ('sun'), *čäləqləq* ('moon'), *bəran* ('blood'), *məlasməč* ('tongue'), *mamʷača* ('tooth').

In relation to the argot of Ǝ., it is worth noting a fundamental difference from the *yäwäf qʷanqʷa* (Amh. 'bird's language'), different codes of words used by young children and adolescents. Different from Ǝnzatəñña, these codes are formed spontaneously while speaking, following fixed rules of deformation. Ǝnzatəñña, however, is learnt by children as a second "mother tongue" besides Amharic, by listening to parents. Most of the vocabulary, therefore, would not be constructed while speaking; some Ǝ. even deny that they construct the words at all. However, a part of the vocabulary is associated with "bird's language". Both follow similar rules of reduplication of the root with a consonant inserted between the reduplicates (cp. *čäləqləq*). Also, the argot of ↗*lalibeločč*, the dawn-singers coming from Goǧǧam, northern Šäwa and Wällo, shares many common words with the argot of Ǝ. (cp., e.g., the words for 'two' and 'water').

Lit.: Anne Bolay, "The Burlesque Middleman of Ethiopian Society", in: *IES Ethnographic Museum* 1999, 16–17; Wolf Leslau, *Ethiopian Argots*, The Hague 1964, 52–65.

Itsushi Kawase

ᶜƎnzira səbḥat

The ᶜƎ.s. (**ዕንዚራ፡ ስብሐት**, usually rendered as 'The Lyre of Praise'), which is also sometimes called *Arganonä wəddase*, is a long hymnological composition in Gəᶜəz glorifying ↗Mary the Mother of God. The Gəᶜəz term *ᶜənzira* (cp. LesCDic 65) assumed different meanings over the centuries: sometimes it designated a stringed instrument ("instrumentum chordarum"), sometimes it was also used to indicate wind instruments, a kind of flute ("instrumentum flatus"). It is alphabetically structured; the author composed a verse (of different length) for each syllable of the Gəᶜəz syllabary. The ᶜƎ.s. is one of the most beautiful devotional works of the Ethiopian Mariological hymnology. Through praises and invocations, it stresses the holiness and motherhood of Mary. It witnesses the perfect veneration the Ethiopians have for Mary, always in the right measure and with no danger of Mariolatry.

The hymns of the ᶜƎ.s. are distributed according to the days of the week for a daily liturgical private recitation. The whole composition is in fact called **ዕንዚራ፡ ስብሐት፡ ዘሰብዓቱ፡ ዕለታት** (*ᶜƎnzira səbḥat zäsäbᶜattu ᶜəlätat*, 'The Lyre of Praise of Seven Days').

The ᶜƎ.s was probably intended for edification of pious Christians rather than as an apologetical work or a rejoinder to Mary's enemies. Sources for the ᶜƎ.s. are mainly the biblical books. Apocryphal books are also quoted everywhere in the work. Although the ᶜƎ.s. is traditionally attributed to ↗Ǝleni, *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob's wife, internal evidence suggests that the most likely candidate for its authorship must have lived between the 16th and the 17th cent.

↗Hymns

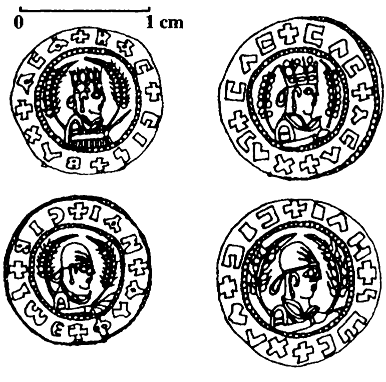
Src.: LesCDic 65; Marcus Antonius van den Oudenrijn (ed.), *Helenae Aethiopium reginae quae feruntur preces et carmina*, Louvain 1960–61 (CSCO 208, 211 [SAe 39, 40]), 1–93 (text) = 1–84 (tr.); Osvaldo Raineri, *La spiritualità etiopica*, Roma 1996 (La Spiritualità Cristiana Orientale 1), 221–346; HamTana II, 94.

Lit.: *liqä ṭäbäbt* Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos, **መርሐ፡ ልቡና** (*Märḥa ləbbuna*, 'The Guide of Prudence'), Addis Abäba 1945 A.M. [1952/53 A.D.], 83; Osvaldo Raineri, "L'effigie di Maria 'Patto di Misericordia'. Note per un 'Mariale Aethiopicum'", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 103, 1989, 92–109, here 106; Geneviève Nollet, "Le culte de Marie en Éthiopie", in: Hubert du Manoir de Juaye (ed.), *Maria, études sur la Sainte Vierge*, vol. 1, Paris 1949, 395–413; RicLett 828.

Habtemichael Kidane

Eon

E. was a Christian king of ↗Aksum in the late 4th or early 5th cent.; his more precise dating to "420–ca. 431" (Pedroni 1997:59–62, 80) is based on a few erroneous assumptions. Indeed, one of the first successors of ↗ᶜEzana and an immediate predecessor of ↗Ebana, he is actually known from his gold coins alone (↗Coinage), where he is portrayed on both sides, head and shoulders profile bust right, wearing a crown or a head cloth, with Christian crosses and Greek legends allround. His coins have also been found in South ↗Arabia, where the hoard of al-Maḍāriba (some 70 km west of Aden) has greatly increased our knowledge of this matter (Munro-Hay 1989:90ff.,



Coins of Eon; drawing courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

pls. 23ff.). They display four varieties (Types 59–60 and 61–62, in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995: 152–56), all written with reversed or incomplete letters. The obv. is possibly inscribed *basileus basileōn* "king of kings" (Browne 1992:295f.), but the interpretation of the legend (+ BAX + ACA + BAC + CIN and variants) remains uncertain. On the rev. legend reads *Eōn Bisi Anaaph*, but with such odd spelling vars. as to prompt the false reading *Bisi Aniōskal* (dismissed by Munro-Hay 1980–81). The clan or tribal name *Bisi Anaaph* ('Man of Anaaf'), also restored as *Bis*(*i*) *Ianaaph*, has been traced to the South Arabian personal name *Y*(*a*)*n*(*a*)*f* (Manzo 1995:74–77).

Whatever the general implications of such an intriguing connection (Fiaccadori 2004:110), E. cannot be satisfactorily identified with any of the rulers mentioned in the Ethiopian traditional "king lists", although a loose similarity of his name to that of Ǝllä Aḥyäwa (CRList 292, list C, no. 58) has been noticed (Hahn 1983:135). Nor can *Eōn* (EѠN) be turned into *Nōe* (NѠE), i.e. 'Noah' (DAE I, 55; followed by Anzani 1941: 88 and Hahn 2001:125, fig. 1), merely to achieve conformity with the (later) Aksumite kings who used a biblical name – and yet against the natural reading direction of the whole legend. The much more suitable *Eōn* (tentatively reconstructed as *ʿAwn* or *ʿEw*(*u*)*n* in CRStor 167, 216) should be rather compared, with no direct relationship whatsoever, to *Ḥyn* in the Ethiopic inscription of ↗Kaleb Ǝlla Aṣbəḥa (RIE no. 191.34f.), possibly one and the same as *Ḥywnʾ* (Drewes 1978) mentioned in the contents of the fragmentary Syriac *Book of the ↗Ḥimyarites* (heading of ch. 5) as the name of the leader of the military expedition sent to South Arabia by Kaleb himself in 518 or 523 (Moberg 1924:xc: "the name is probably disfigured"; Hahn 1983:135; MHAksum, 84f., 230). Nor can a relationship of *Eōn* to the Ethiopic root *ʾyn* (cp. LesCDic 50: *ʾayyänä*, *täʾayyänä* 'live well and comfortably') be easily excluded: e.g., in terms of a participial form **ʾƎy*(*y*)*un*, in Gr. garb, *'Εών (< *Αἰών?).

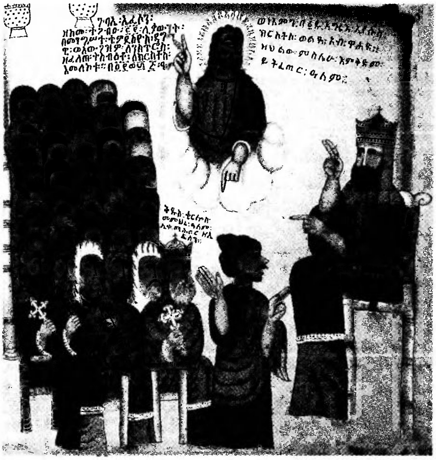
Src.: ARTURO ANZANI, "Numismatica axumita", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* ser. 3ª 3 [39], 1926, 5–110, here 34f., 64ff., nos. 85–93; ID., "Le Monete dei Re di Aksum. Studi supplementari", II, *ibid.* ser. 4ª 1 [43], 1941, 81–99, here 59; DAE I, 55; BENT JUEL-JENSEN, "Two Gold Coins of King Eon of Aksum Struck from Unpublished Dies", *Spink Numismatic Circular* 97, 2, 1999, 44–45; AXEL MOBERG (ed., tr.), *The Book of the Himyarites. Fragments of a Hitherto Unknown Syriac Work*, Lund 1924, 3ᵇ, xc, ci; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, "The al-Madhāriba Hoard of Gold Aksumite and Late Roman Coins", *The Numismatic Chronicle* 149, 1989, 83–100, pls. 22–29, here 90ff., pls. 23ff.; ID., *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999, 35, nos. 290–91, pl. 27; ID. – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 152–56; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica* ser. 1ª, 15, I–II [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 59–62; RIE no. 191.

Lit.: GERALD M. BROWNE, "Some Remarks on Axumite Coin Legends", in: *OrbAethChoj* vol. 2, 293-96; CRList 299; CRStor 167, 216; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "Kaleb and Himyar: Another Reference to ḤYWNʾ?", *Raydān* 1, 1978, 27–31; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 110; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches (Mit Katalog, metallurg. u. theolog. Anhang)", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80; ID., "Noe, Israel und andere Könige mit biblischen Namen auf axumitischen Münzen. Der Gottesbund als Legitimation der christlichen Königsherrschaft im alten Äthiopien", *Money Trend* 33, 12, 2001, 124–28; ARTHUR IRVINE – RICHARD PANKHURST, "Eôn", in: *DicEthBio* 58f. (Lit.); LesCDic 50; ANDREA MANZO, "Su alcuni recenti rinvenimenti a Ona Nagast (Bieta Giyorgis)", *RSE* 39, 1995 [1998], 71–79; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, "Aksumite Addenda – The Existence of 'Bisi Aniōskal'", *RSE* 28, 1980–81, 57–60; MHAksum 82, 84f., 160, 230.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Ephesus, Councils of

E. (Gr. Ἔφεσος, Gəʿəz ኤፌሶን, *Efeson*), a seaport in Asia Minor near the modern Selçuk, is famous for having hosted two important ecumenical Councils in 431 and 449. Against the background of the conflict for primacy between the patriarchal sees of Alexandria and Antioch, the third ecumenical Council of 431, summoned by the Byzantine Emperor Theodosios II, was aimed at settling the Christological controversy triggered by the Patriarch of Constantinople, ↗Nestorius,



"The Council of Ephesus"; wall-painting, Mädḫane ʿAläm, Gondär; 20th cent.; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

stating that Mary was not Θεότοκος (*Theotokos*, 'God-bearer'), but merely the mother of Christ-the-Man. The Patriarch of Alexandria, ↗Cyril, opened the Council (22 June) before the arrival of the Antiochene delegation, favourable to Nestorius, easily succeeding in having him condemned and deposed immediately. Pelagius's belief in the primacy of free will over grace and ecclesiastical institutions for the salvation of man was condemned as well. On his arrival, some days later, the Patriarch of Antioch John I summoned a separate council that in turn deposed Cyril. After a prolonged crisis and a hard confrontation, the controversy temporarily ended with a theological formula agreed upon by Cyril and John in 433 and with the substantial victory of the Alexandrian position. The Council of E. was in fact responsible for the birth of an independent Nestorian Church (↗Nestorius) in the decades immediately to come. It is the first of the great ecumenical councils of which the original acts are preserved (full list of the extant texts in CPG IV, nos. 8620–8867).

The second Council of E. (known also as *Latrocinium*, 'Robbery', so named by Pope Leo I) was summoned by Theodosios II in 449 to settle the conflict originating from the condemnation of the monastic leader ↗Eutyches by a synod of bishops held the year before in Constantinople (at the initiative of the Patriarch Flavian, without consulting Leo I), since he maintained that Christ had only one nature after the Incarnation and his flesh was not consubstantial with the human flesh. After a quarrel with Flavian of Constantinople (March 449), the Emperor summoned the Council, giving the chair to the powerful Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, a partisan of Eutyches. Leo I sent the short but important theological treatise *Tomus ad Flavianum*, but failed to settle the dispute (June 449), and his envoys were not even allowed to speak in the assembly. Dioscorus led the proceedings in a climate of growing violence and arbitrariness, with the support of the turbulent followers of the Syrian monk Barsauma, and succeeded in forcing the delegates to accept his thesis completely. A huge amount of original documents is extant on the Council of 449 (full list in CPG IV, nos. 8910–41), partially included in the Acts of the following ecumenical Council of ↗Chalcedon (451).

The first Council of E. is the last of the so-called "ecumenical councils", the deliberations of which were and still are accepted by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, while those of the following Council of Chalcedon (451) were not. The very existence in Ethiopia of the collection known as ↗*Qerəllos*, i.e. the 'Cyril [of Alexandria]' (cf. Weischer 1979:11–24; Brak-Kirche 164ff.), the real winner of the Council of E., is probably due to a pro-Monophysite (and anti-Chalcedonian) interpretation of writings originally intended mainly as anti-Nestorian (GuiSLett 18f.). The Gəʿəz version, probably from Greek, of a fragment from the so-called "Acts on the bishops of Cyprus" (*Gesta de episcopis Cypriis*, CPG IV, no. 8744; Greek text in Schwartz 1929:122, ll. 1–22; for the Coptic translation cf. Coquin 1981:43f., n. 13) is a recently discovered original document from the Council of E. of 431 (cf. Bausi 2002:148).

Ethiopian theological thought has indissolubly linked the name of the third ecumenical Council (431) with the condemnation of Nestorius (cf., e.g., the *Mäṣḥafä ↗senodos*, Bausi 1995:5 [text] = 2 [tr.] and the long chapter on Nestorius in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗məsṭir* by Giyorgis of Sägla: YaqMist I, 72–104 [text] = 44–62 [tr.]). The theological struggle of the first Council of E. was to be resumed as a consequence of the increasing theological disputations with the Catholic missionaries (↗Jesuits). In this connection, the *Treasure of the Faith* (↗*Mäzgäbä haymanot*), or *History of the Four Monophysite Councils*, composed between 1555 and 1559 at the bequest of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos (Cerulli 1960:1–33, esp. 8–11 [text], 67–100, esp. 74–76 [tr.], from five mss., cf. ibid. viii, to which at least mss. Ṭānāsee 52 [incomplete] and 65, EMML 1202, 1568, 2082, 4003, 4875 are now to be added; cf. also Wion in PICES 14, 288f.), ranks among the most important literary witnesses.

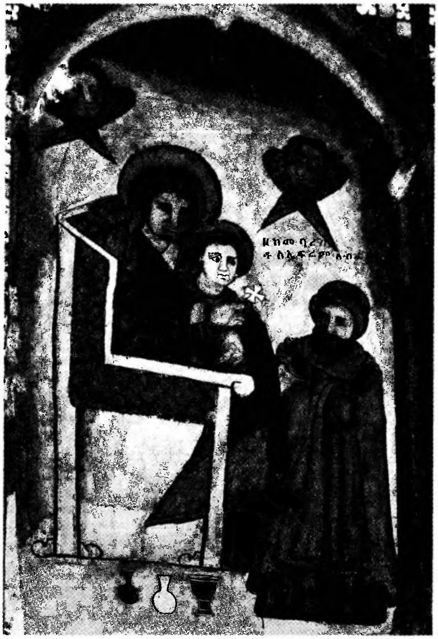
Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *Il Sēnodos etiopico. Canoni pseudoapostolici: Canoni dopo l'Ascensione, Canoni di Simone Cananeo, Canoni Apostolici, Lettera di Pietro*, Lovanii 1995 (CSCO 552, 553 [SAe 101, 102]), 5 (text) = 2 (tr.); ID., "New Egyptian Texts in Ethiopia", *Adamantius* 8, 2002, 146–51, here 148; ENRICO CERULLI, *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI–XVII*, II: *La Storia dei Quattro Concili ed altri opuscoli monofisiti*, Città del Vaticano 1960 (Studi e testi 204), 1–33 (text) = 67–100 (tr.); RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN (tr.), "Le *Corpus Canonum copte*. Un nouveau complément: le ms. I.F.A.O., Copte 6", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 50, 1981, 40–86, here 43f., n. 13; EMML IV, 164f.; V, 69; VI, 151; X, 4, 345; HamTana I, 202; HamTana II, 62; EDUARD SCHWARTZ (ed.), *Concilium Universale Ephesinum*, Vol. I: *Acta Graeca*, Pars VII: *Collectio Seguierana. Collectio Atheniensis. Collectiones minores*, Berolini – Lipsiae 1929 (Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum 1, 1, 7), 122; YaqMist I, 122, II, 1–22.

Lit.: BrakKirche 164ff.; CPG IV; GuiSLett 18f.; WILHELM DE VRIES, "Das Konzil von Ephesus 449, eine 'Räuber-Synode'?", *OrChrP* 41, 1975, 357–98; BERND MANUEL WEISCHER, *Qērellos IV*, 1: *Homilien und Briefe zum Konzil von Ephesos*, Wiesbaden 1979 (AeF 4), 11–24; ANAÏS WION, "The Manuscripts Library of Qoma Fasilädäs Monastery", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 275–300, here 288.

Alessandro Bausi

Ephrem

E. (Ephrem the Syrian, Lat. Ephraem Syrus; Syriac *Aprēm*, Gəʿəz ማር፡ ኤፍሬም፡ ሶርያዊ, *mar Efrem Soryawi*, '*mar* Ephrem the Syrian', b. ca. 306, d. 373) is a major saint of all Christian Churches. He was one of the most productive spiritual writers of his time. Born in upper Mesopotamia at or in the vicinity of Nisibis (today Nuṣaybin), where he lived as ascete, deacon and teacher, he wrote on and taught exegesis and dogmatics and wrote numerous hymns in his native Syriac. He was the main protagonist of his time in the struggle against the dualistic concepts of Marcionism and Manichaeism. When Nisibis was surrendered to the Persians in 363, E. fled to ↗Edessa, where he continued his teaching and writing until his death. The greater part of his original works are preserved in Syriac, some only in translations. Translations of his works, together with countless spurious works, can be found in most languages of ancient and medieval Christianity.



Ephrem in front of St. Mary; cloth mural by *abba* Dästa of Goǧǧam, painted in 1909; Adil Badil, Church of Däbrä Samuʾel; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

E. is also venerated in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. He is commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 15 *Ḥamle* (GuiSyn II, 330–33, BudSaint 1116ff.). His biography as given there has only slight correspondence with historical facts. E. appears also as a motif in Ethiopian book-paintings: E. together with Simeon of Amid (Səmʿon Zäʿaməd) asking their teacher Jacob of Nisibis (Yaʿəqob Zänəṣəbin) questions (cf. Hammerschmidt – Jäger 1968:101; Hammerschmidt 1977:34), E. in praise of Mary (cf. Hammerschmidt – Jäger 1968:103ff.; Hammerschmidt 1977:34–38; SixDeu 107), E. being blessed by Mary (mss. EMML 1400, fol. 163 b; 4938, fol. 27a), E. together with Mary, the Holy Child and angels (cf. HamTana I, 193); Mary ascending to Heaven after appearing to E. (e.g., ms. EMML 1762, fol. 136v). A feast for "the Virgin Mary and E. the Syrian" is mentioned in the ↗*Mäwaśəʾt* (cf. HamTana II, 98). E. is even used in a magical context (ms. EMML 628/2).

Ethiopian tradition attributes to E's. authorship of the ↗*Wəddase Maryam*; this is why he is usually depicted standing at the foot of enthroned St. Mary. This is stated, e.g., in the ↗*andəmta* commentaries (Cowley 1980:43f.) or in the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* (CerMaria 295ff.). In this context E. is called "the Potter" (**ለብሐዊ**, *läbḥawi*) or the "the Syrian Potter". This attribute is probably due to a confusion with Simeon the Potter (Syr. *qūqāyā*) of Gēšīr (cf. Euringer 1911; Baumstark 1920:42f.; Grohmann 1919:11–18; VelMe 270; Böll 1998:92f.). In this context also an unhistorical meeting between ↗Yared and ↗Cyriacus of Behnesa in Ethiopia is related (ms. EMML 1942, fol. 68v). Other texts under the name of E. in Ethiopic, attested in the mss., are:

- the prayers for Tuesday and Wednesday in the ↗*Wəddase Amlak*, cf. e.g. SixDeu 199;
- a homily on the second Sunday in Lent, EMML 1763 (42), fol. 148v–152v;
- a homily on Maundy Thursday, included in the ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*, e.g. EMML 2140, fol. 66bff.; also separately in EMML 1763 (58), fol. 184v–187r;
- a homily on the Passion of Our Lord and on the Thief on the right hand in other versions of the *Gəbrä ḥəmamat*, e.g., EMML 2868, fol. 161aff. or Manchester, Rylands University 18, III, 3 (as an appendix (cf. Strelcyn 1974:52);
- a homily on Easter Eve, e.g., London, BritLib, Orient. 8192 / 15 (cf. Strelcyn 1978, no. 56);
- a homily on Satan and death in a version of the *Gəbrä ḥəmamat*, e.g., EMML 2868, fol. 158rff.;
- several homilies in *Mäṣḥafä mänäkosat* (↗Monastic literature), ed. Arras 1963, nos. 5, 22f.; no. 22 also in Paris, BN, éth. 125, 3 (ZotBNat 150);
- extracts from homilies on the Virgin Mary and on the Precious Pearl as no. 20 of the ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, e.g., Paris, BN, éth. 111, fol. 27f. (cf. ZotBNat 113) or München, cod. aeth. 35, fol. 40f. (cf. SixBay 59), on its source cf. Grohmann 1919:378;
- a homily on fasting, repentance and prayer, Paris, BN, d'Abbadie 243, I , fol. 1–2;
- a homily on the Transfiguration, EMML 1939–1(4);
- four homilies on the last judgement and on repentance, EMML 1840 (10);
- an evening prayer, Vatican, cod. Vat. aeth 21, fol. 73–76;
- a prayer for learning, e.g., EMML 2116 – (v)1;
- excerpts "on the spiritual life", EMML 930, fol. 132ff.;
- sayings cited in the *Gännätä mänäkosat*, e.g., EMML 19;
- sayings (*nägärä mädḫanit*), Vatican, cod. Vat. aeth. 18, fol. 253–57 (GreTisVat 80).

A story of the prophet Eliah, ascribed to E. in the Arabic tradition, but probably spurious (GrafLit I, 426), is extant as an anonymous text in Ethiopic translation (Paris, BN, éth. 133/1, fol. 1–31, cf. ZotBNat 150).

The authenticity, provenance and transmission of these texts remain to be investigated.

Src.: VICTOR ARRAS (ed.), *Collectio monastica*, Louvain 1963 (CSCO 238, 239 [SAe 45, 46]); VERENA BÖLL, *Unsere Herrin Maria. Die traditionelle äthiopische Exegese der Marienanaphora des Cyriacus von Behnesa*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 48); BudSaint 116ff.; CerMaria; GreTisVat 80; GuiSyn II; EMML; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT (ed.), *Codices aethiopici*, 1: *Illuminierte Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz und Handschriften vom Tānāsee*, Graz 1977; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT – OTTO A. JÄGER, *Illuminierte äthiopische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1968 (VOHD 15); HamTana I, II; SixBay; SixDeu; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue of Ethiopic Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, Manchester 1974; VelMe I, II; ZotBNat 150.

Lit.: ANTON BAUMSTARK, "Ein frühchristliches Theotokion in mehrsprachiger Überlieferung", *OrChr* 9, 1920, 36–61; SEBASTIAN BROCK, *Syriac Studies. A Classified Bibliography (1960–1990)*, Kaslik 1996, 78–94 (Lit.); ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Une homélie éthiopienne attribuée à Saint Mar Éphrem sur le séjour d'Abraham et Sara in Égypte", in: *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont: contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux* ..., Genève 1988 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 20), 137–85; ROGER W. COWLEY, "Patristic Introduction in the Ethiopian 'Andəmta' Commentary Tradition", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 29, 1980, 39–49; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Der mutmaßliche Verfasser der koptischen Theotokien", *OrChr* 1, 1911, 215–26; MICHEL VAN ESBROECK, "Ephraem Syrus, Saint", in: *CE* vol. 3, 963–64; GrafLit I, 421–33; ADOLF GROHMANN, *Aethiopische Marienhymnen*, Leipzig 1919 (Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 33, 4).

Stefan Weninger

Epidemics

Over the centuries Ethiopia has frequently suffered from E., which have usually been the result of ↗famines. The most serious E. to affect Ethiopia were: smallpox and typhus, both endemic to Ethiopia; cholera (↗Diseases), which came in from the East; and influenza, which killed a large number of people in 1918.

The earliest recorded E. in Ethiopia cannot be identified. Two E., in the 9th and 12th cent., are recorded in the ↗*Sənkəssar*. A third, in the Harär area, was reported in a local chronicle, in 660 H. [1261/62 A.D.]. Other unidentified E. are mentioned in Christian hagiographical writings from the 12th to 14th cent., and also in the chronicles of Emperors Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (r. 1434–68), Śärṣä Dəngəl (r. 1563–97) and Susənyos (r. 1607–32). Reports of mainly unidentifiable E. are also reported by Francisco Alvares in the 16th cent. and the Jesuits in the 17th cent. (Pankhurst 1972, 1973).

The first suspected reference to smallpox in Ethiopia appears in the tradition that the disease was introduced into Arabia by Aksumite troops ca. 370 A.D., and perhaps again in 570/71 A.D. Reliable identification of smallpox in Ethiopia was, however, not available until more than a thousand years after these events. The disease is listed as *kufañ* in Hiob Ludolf's Amharic-Latin dictionary of 1698, and E. of *kufañ* are later mentioned in the royal chronicles for 1718 and 1768.

The first European accounts of the disease in Ethiopia were written by James Bruce, who describes an outbreak in 1769/70, which he claims to have treated; and by Nathaniel Pearce in 1811/12. Later E., accompanied by high mortality, were reported in 1838/39, 1854, 1878, 1886 and 1889/90 (Schaller – Kuls 1972:116, Pankhurst 1965).

Cholera, another killer disease, differed from smallpox because it was not native to Ethiopia, but spread in E. originating in the East. The disease, known in Gəᶜəz as *fängəl*, is first mentioned by that name in an Ethiopian chronicle for 1634/35, during the reign of *aṣe* Fasilädäs. Subsequent outbreaks were reported by European travellers, notably in the late 1830s, 1856, 1865 and 1889–91 (Schaller – Kuls 1972:108; Pankhurst 1968).

Typhus, known in Amharic as *nədad*, has long been prevalent in the country, and tended to be associated with dense concentrations of people, in military camps and crowded towns, and in certain instances, prisons. The disease was reported in *aṣe* Tewodros's army in 1866, among Egyptian troops in northern Ethiopia in 1876, and debilitating Mənilək's forces in 1888/89 and 1897. Minor E. of typhus, then generally known in Amharic as *tasbo*, were reported later in 1920, 1927 and 1933. (Schaller – Kuls 1972:105; Pankhurst 1976).

Influenza has been traditionally common in Ethiopia. Only one serious E., however, has been recorded; in 1918, when it formed part of the world wide E. known in Europe at the time as the "Spanish flu" (Schaller – Kuls 1972:119; Pankhurst 1975, 1977).

The diffusion of all four epidemic diseases after World War II was significantly curtailed, largely by the advance of modern medicine. No major post-war epidemics have been reported; and smallpox in particular is believed to have been eradicated in Ethiopia as in the rest of the world.

Lit.: Paul Mérab, *Médecins et médicine en Éthiopie*, Paris 1912; Karl Friedrich Schaller – Wolfgang Kuls, *Äthiopien: Eine geographisch-medizinische Landeskunde*, Heidelberg 1972 (Medizinische Länderkunde 3), 105, 116, 119; Richard Pankhurst, "The Earliest History of Famine and Pestilence in Traditional Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Medical Journal* 11, 1966, 31–70; Id., "The History of Famine and Pestilence in Ethiopia prior to the Founding of Gondär", *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 37–64; Id., "The History and Traditional Treatment of Smallpox in Ethiopia", *Medical History* 9, 1965, 343–55; Id., "The History of Cholera in Ethiopia", *ibid.* 12, 1968, 262–69; Id., "A Historical Note on Influenza in Ethiopia", *ibid.* 21, 1977, 195–200; Id., "The Hedar Bäšeta of 1918", *JES* 13, 2, 1975, 103–31; Id., *The History of Famine and Epidemics in Ethiopia Prior to the Twentieth Century*, Addis Ababa 1985; Id., *An Introduction to the Medical History of Ethiopia*, Trenton – New Jersey 1990; Richard Hodes (ed.), *Where There is No Doctor*, Addis Ababa 2001.

Richard Pankhurst

Epigraphic South Arabian

Historical and geographical context

The E.S.A. (also Ancient South Arabian) language belongs to the south-western branch of the ↗Semitic language family. Its four main dialects are Sabaic, Minaic, Qatabānic and Ḥaḍramitic, named after the major South Arabian ethnic groups of the 1st millennium B.C. Among these, Sabaic is the dialect known to have existed for the longest period of time and is attested in the largest number of inscriptions. Its core region was the area of Mārib and Ṣirwāḥ. Over time, however, it spread over to the greater part of the highlands. The earliest Sabaic inscriptions appear some time in the 8th cent. B.C., while the first (longer) written documents in Sabaic that can be dated reliably on the basis of synchrony with Assyrian sources go back to the beginning of the 7th cent. B.C. The latest dated inscription is from the year 559 A.D. Sabaic is roughly classified into three periods – Old Sabaic (8th to 3rd cent. B.C.), Middle Sabaic (1st cent. B.C. to the end of the 4th cent. A.D.) and Late Sabaic (end of the 4th to the 6th cent. A.D.). Most inscriptions found so far contain texts in Middle Sabaic from the areas of Mārib and the central Yemenite highlands. This is considered the standard dialect. Its linguistic properties distinguish it clearly both

Inscription on side A of the new ↗Abraha-Stele found in 2002 at Marīb dam, Yemen (s. Nebes 2004); photo courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin

from the idioms of the Old Sabaic and, even if less significantly, from that of the Late Sabaic periods. There also exist dialectal differences among the inscriptions from the Middle Sabaic period. For example, Harami inscriptions show a strong North Arabic influence, while the texts found in the area of ancient Radmān bear traces of a Qatabānic substrate. Dialectal features are also characteristic of the language of ↗Ḥimyar in the southern highlands. They are mainly represented by the body of inscriptions from the Late Sabaic period.

Epigraphic documentation of Minaic, Qatabānic and Ḥaḍramitic spreads from the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., when the Sabaean people were no longer prevailing in South Arabia. The first Minaic inscriptions appear, even though in small numbers, of the same time as the first Sabaic texts, and come from ancient cities along the Wadi Maḏāb, north-west of Mārib. Minaic inscriptions are equally found beyond the borders of South Arabia, for example, in ancient Dedān, today the city of al-ᶜUlā in Saudi Arabia, but also outside the peninsula as a whole: e.g., on the island of Delos and in Egypt – as a result of activities of Minaic merchants far away in the north. The Minaic dialect disappeared towards the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. The Qatabānic dialect spread as far as to the south-west and ↗Bāb al-Mandab in the 4th cent. B.C. With the political end of Qatabān, triggered by the expansion of Sabaᵓ and ↗Ḥaḍramawt at the end of the 2nd cent. A.D., epigraphic documents in Qatabānic ceased to appear. Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions are mainly documented in the ancient sites along the Wadi Ḥaḍramawt and its tributaries and in the capital city of Šabwat, the starting point of the incense route. Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions are also found several hundred kilometres to the east of Šabwat in Samārum, what today is Ḫawr Rūrī near Ṣalāla on the Indian Ocean. At the beginning of the 4th cent. A.D., Ḥaḍramawt was incorporated into Ḥimyar, marking the end of Ḥaḍramitic epigraphy.

In the Horn of Africa, E.S.A. inscriptions can be found in the Təgray highlands north and south-west of Aksum (↗Yəḥa, ↗Ḥawəlti, ↗Mäṭära). They prove the presence of Sabaic emigrants on the African shore of Bāb al-Mandab in the early 7th cent. B.C. (↗DᶜMT). The language of the few reliable sources is typical for the Old Sabaic period, with some influence from the Ethiopic adstrate.

Script and texts

The E.S.A. script consists of 29 graphemes appearing in inscriptions on rock and stone, as well as on metal surfaces. It was used for all the E.S.A. dialects. As a rule, the direction was from right to left; however, bustrophedon (writing direction changing from line to line) is characteristic of Old Sabaic. A typical feature of the

Late Sabaic/monotheistic period is characters in relief. The public character of the inscriptions is responsible for the form and content of the texts. Dedications are the most wide-spread text type, in some they contain complete descriptions of military campaigns. Besides, one can come across construction reports, various legal documents, epitaphs, so-called atonement texts, as well as many inscriptions and graffiti containing only personal names.

In the early 1970s the first inscriptions on wooden sticks were discovered in the Yemen, where an unknown minuscule script was appearing. The ca. three dozen of published documents show that this script, developed from the monumental epigraphic, was used for everyday legal and economic matters.

Central features

1. The E.S.A. alphabet with its 29 letters disposes of the largest grapheme set among the Semitic alphabet scripts. The graphemes are mostly, though not exclusively, used to represent consonants. The graphemes for *w* and *y* are sometimes used for /*ū*/ and /*ī*/; /*ā*/, which can be expressed by *h* as its *mater lectionis* in Ḥaḍramitic, is never written in Sabaic. Along with the laryngals and pharyngals (ʾ, *h* and *ḥ*, ʿ), the "emphatic" consonants *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ṣ* and *ẓ* are fully represented. Their phonetic realization, however, has not been fully clarified. Besides, E.S.A. possesses three sibilants – s^1, s^2 and s^3 – that etymologically correspond to the proto-Semitic *š*, *ś* and *s*.

2. The formation of the causative, which corresponds to the fourth verbal stem in Arabic, is dialect-specific. In Sabaic the causative is formed by prefixing an *h*-element, in Minaic, Qatabānic and Ḥaḍramitic by the prefix s^1- (cp. Sabaic *h-qny* vs., e.g., Qatabānic s^1*-qny* 'he dedicated'). Corresponding to this are the differences in the resumptive personal pronouns that in Sabaic begin with *h*- (e.g., *hwʾ*, 'he') and in the other dialects with s^1- (e.g., Qatabānic s^1*ww*).

3. Unlike in Arabic, the definite article in E.S.A. appears in postposition to the noun and has the form *-n* or, in Ḥaḍramitic *-hn* (cp. Sabaic *hqnyt-n*, 'the dedication'). The indefinite article *-m* is also attached to the noun in postposition, as in *hqnyt-m*, 'a dedication'.

4. The wooden-sticks inscriptions allow us to restore the paradigm of the suffix conjugation for the second person; the suffix is *-k* for the singular and *-kmw* for the plural. The suffix of the 1st pers. sg. is also *-k*.

5. Sabaic is characterized by two types of prefix conjugation, the simple or short form *yqtl* and the extended form *yqtln*. Defective imperfect graphs of a number of weak roots allow us to reconstruct /*qtVl*/ as the basic stem 0_1 of the prefix conjugation for Sabaic and the other E.S.A. dialects.

6. Contrary to other E.S.A. dialects, Sabaic uses both types of prefix conjugation in the past main clause to represent narrative or progressive action: e.g., *w-bnhw f-ytʾwlnn ʿdy hgrn nʿḍ* ... *w-yhṣr mlkn* ... ('From there they returned to the city of Naʿḍ ... Then the king went ...').

7. All E.S.A. dialects employ the infinitive as a paratactic continuation of a finite verb form, e.g., Sabaic *brʾw w-hwṯrn w-hšqrn bythmw*, 'they built, founded and completed their house'.

Similarities and differences between E.S.A. and Gəʿəz

1. In the basic stem 0_1 of the suffix conjugation of the verbs with the second radical *w* (and *y*) the Sabaic writings *kwn* and *kn* and, respectively, *šym* and *sm*, indicate vocalism with /*o*/ or /*e*/, similarly to Gəʿəz *konä* 'be' and *śemä* 'set'.

2. The initial *-k* of the personal suffix of the 2nd pers. sg./pl. and the 1st pers. sg. in suffix conjugation is in direct correspondence with Gəʿəz.

3. The base of the 0_1 stem in both prefix conjugation types *yqtl* and *yqtln* can be defined in Sabaic (and also in other E.S.A. dialects) as /*qtVl*/ and not /*qättəl*/ according to the Gəʿəz paradigm.

4. The main functions of the prefix conjugation in Sabaic are relative temporal ones (simultaneous ["gleichzeitig"] and posterior ["nachzeitig"] action). Unlike Ethiopic *yəqättəl*, Sabaic *yqtl* and *yqtln* are more often used to express posterior action (including modal usage). Simultaneity, as in the Gəʿəz phrase *ənzä yəqättəl*, has not yet been found in E.S.A. At the same time, the prefix conjugation is never used in Gəʿəz to indicate progressive or narrative action (s. Central features no. 6).

The position of E.S.A. within Semitic languages

Along with Akkadian, Canaanaite, Aramaic, North Arabic and Ethiopic, E.S.A. constitutes a separate language branch within the Semitic group. E.S.A. can neither be considered a historical forerunner of classical Arabic in the north, nor has it a close relationship with the Modern South Arabian. The identical structure of the imperfective base in stem O₁, together with some other shared morphological features allows grouping of E.S.A. together with North Arabic and North-west Semitic into the "Central Semitic" language group (s. Voigt 1987). Specific morphological and syntactical similarities inside this group reveal closer relationships between Sabaic and Canaanaite.

Lit.: Alfred Felix Landon Beeston, *Sabaic Grammar*, Manchester 1986 (JSS Monograph 6); Id. – M.A. Ghul – Walter W. Müller – Jacques Ryckmans, *Sabaic Dictionary* (*English-French-Arabic*), Louvain-la-Neuve – Beyrouth 1982; RIE nos. 1–179; Norbert Nebes, "Zur Form der Imperfektbasis des unvermehrten Grundstammes im Altsüdarabischen", in: Wolfhart Heinrichs – Gregor Schoeler (eds.), *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Band 1: *Semitische Studien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Südsemitistik*, Beirut 1994 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 54), 59–81; Id., "Verwendung und Funktion der Präfixkonjugation im Sabäischen", in: Id. (ed.), *Arabia Felix: Beiträge zur Sprache und Kultur des vorislamischen Arabien. Festschrift Walter W. Müller zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1994, 191–211; Id. – Peter Stein, "Ancient South Arabian", in: Roger D. Woodard (ed.), *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the World's Ancient Languages*, Cambridge 2004, 454–87; Jacques Ryckmans – Walter W. Müller – Yusuf M. Abdallah, *Textes du Yémen antique inscrits sur bois*. Avant-Propos de Jean-François Breton, Louvain-la-Neuve 1994 (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 43); Gianfrancesco Lusini, "A proposito delle iscrizioni sudarabiche d'Etiopia", *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico* 17, 2000, 95–103 (Lit.); Paolo Marrassini, "The Semites of Abyssinia: Onomastic and Lexicographic Notes", in: Leonid Kogan (ed.), *Studia Semitica*, Moscow 2003 (Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute 3), 141–51; Id., "Some Observation on South Semitic", in: Alan S. Kaye (ed.), *Semitic Studies in Honour of Wolf Leslau: on the Occasion of his Eighty-fifth Birthday November 14th, 1991*, Wiesbaden 1991, vol. 2, 1016–23; Norbert Nebes, "A New Abraha Inscription from the Great Dam of Marib", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 34, 2004, 221–30; Peter Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Phonologie und Morphologie des Sabäischen*, Rahden/Westfalen 2003 (Epigraphische Forschungen auf der Arabischen Halbinsel 3); Rainer Voigt, "The Classification of Central Semitic", *JSS* 32, 1987, 1–27; Stefan Weninger, *Das Verbalsystem des Altäthiopischen: Eine Untersuchung seiner Verwendung und Funktion unter Berücksichtigung des Interferenzproblems*, Wiesbaden 2001 (Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission 47).

Norbert Nebes

Epigraphy, Epigraphical documents ↗Inscriptions

Epiphanios of Salamis

E. (also E. of Cyprus, Gəʿəz: ኤጲፋኒስ Ep̣ifanis, ኤጲፋንዮስ Ep̣ifanyos or ቢፋንዮስ Bifanyos; b. ca. 315, near Eleutheropolis in Judaea, d. 403) was a prominent church author. As a young man he spent a couple of years in an Egyptian monastery and, having returned home, founded ca. 335 a monastery near Eleutheropolis, where he was subsequently archimandrite for ca. 30 years. In 367 he was elected Metropolitan of Cyprus in the seat of Constantia (the ancient Salamis, modern Famagusta, 365–403). He became known as a prosecutor of heresies, especially of the teaching of ↗Origen.

His energy pushed him into conflicts with high officials in other church provinces, as, for instance, with the Patriarch of Antioch Meletius (374), or with the Patriarch of Jerusalem John (394). In 399 he influenced Theophilus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, to condemn Origenism and in 402, on the latter's behalf, he even went to Constantinople to argue against some Origenist monks from Egypt. With no results, he headed back to Cyprus but died at sea in 403. His feast is on 12 May, in Ethiopia 17 *Gənbot* (= 22 May, in accordance with the ↗*Sənkəssar*).

His writings are mostly polemical, in defence of what he regarded to be orthodoxy. This can be seen already in the *Ancoratus* (Ἀγκυρωτός, ca. 374). His most famous work is *The Medicine Chest* (Πανάριον, 374–77), the main ancient heresiological treatise, in which he describes 80 heresies known to him, including pre-Christian philosophical schools and Jewish groups. *On Measures and Weights* (Περὶ μέτρων καὶ στάθμῶν, 382 or 392), preserved only in Syriac, is a learned manual of biblical studies and deals with the measures and weights used in the Bible, the geography of Palestine and the versions of the Old Testament. In the treatise *On the Twelve Gems* (Περὶ τῶν δώδεκα λίθων), preserved in full only in Georgian, E. provides an allegorical explanation of the jewels. He also left *Letters*, preserved among those of Jerome, e.g. Epistle 51, in which E. attacked the pictorial representations in the church. In the Byzantine tradition, several other writings are attributed to him, e.g. the *Physiologus* (↗Fisalgos).

In Ethiopic there are many writings attributed to E., but only few of them are authentic. To this category belongs the translation of the *Ancoratus* (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ankäriṭos*, unpublished). The collection of *The Faith of the Fathers* (↗*Haymanotä abäw*), translated from Arabic, contains 13 quotations of which nos. 1–11 and 13 are taken from the *Ancoratus* (መልሐ[ኅ]ቅ, *Mälḥa[ḫ]əq*), whereas no. 12 comes from the treatise *On the 12 Gems*

(መጽሐፍ፡ በእንተ፡ ፲ወ፪፡ አእባን, *Mäṣḥafä bäʾəntä 12 aʾəban*; ed. Weischer 1979a). Two homilies of E. are included in the ↗*Qerəllos* (IV:2, Weischer 1979a:27–47): *On the Faith* (ድርሳን፡ … በእንተ፡ ሃይማኖት, *Dərsan … bäʾəntä haymanot*) which can also be found outside the *Qerəllos* (e.g. in EMML 1763, fol. 209r–12v, 14th cent.); and *On the Trinity* (ድርሳን፡ … በእንተ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ፍክሬ, *Dərsan … bäʾəntä śəllase fəkre*), actually a creed (ed. Weischer 1979a:52–63).

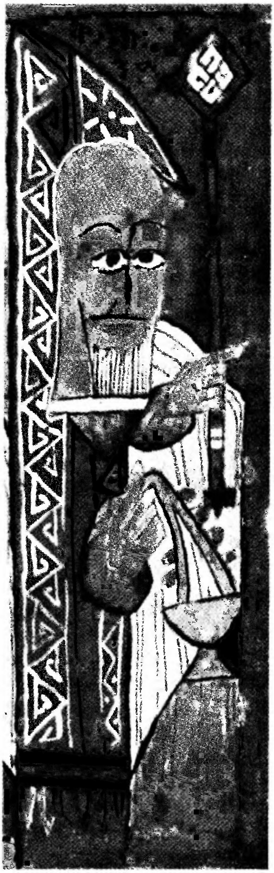
E.'s best-known composition in Ethiopia is the *Anaphora* (no. 9; አኰቴተ፡ ቍርባን፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ኤጲፋንዮስ, *Akʷätetä qʷərban zäqəddus Epifanyos*; s. ↗Anaphoras; ↗Eucharist) attributed to him. Other attributions are the ↗*Aksimaros* and, as a consequence, also the *Beginning of the Faith* (ጥንተ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ዘፈከረ፡ አብ፡ ማር፡ ኤጲፋኒስ, *Ṭəntä haymanot zäfäkärä ab mar Epifanis*), since it is regarded as a commentary on the *Aksimaros*, (e.g. in ms. BritLib Orient. 818, fol. 145r–60r).

Another, and anachronistic, attribution is the first anathematism in the *Decree of the 12 Orthodox Bishops after the Deposition of Nestorius* (431), e.g. in ms. BritLib Orient. 744, fol. 166v–68r, furthermore the *Life of Askänafer* (አስከናፍር), the judge of Rome, and the 13 thieves, which is inserted in the ↗*Gädlä sämaʿətat* collection. The author's name is given here in the form "Bifanyos Bishop of Cyprus", as in ms. BritLib Orient. 686, fol. 58r–59v, which reveals that the Vorlage of the *gädl* was probably in Arabic.

Yet another text attributed to E. is a panegyrical homily on the Archangel Michael and king Abraset, which is sometimes part of the ↗*Dərsanä Gäbrəʾel*, e.g. in ms. Kebran 3, ff. 42va–48va; sometimes of the ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel*, as in ms. BN 139. The day on which the homily should be read changes from 12 *Ṭərr* to 19 *Yäkkatit* or 19 *Miyazya*.

E. is also quoted in the (*Catena*) *Commentary on the Gospels*, based mostly on ↗John Chrysostom, e.g. ms. EMML 630 (E.'s name is given here as Awfanyos), in the *Commentary on Matthew* (ትርጓሜ፡ ወንጌል, *Tərgʷame wängel*; e.g., ms. BritLib Orient. 736); in an anonymous treatise in Amharic without title, called by Sergew Hable Sellasse *The Mystery of the Trinity* (ms. EMML 635); and in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Ḥawi* (e.g., in ms. BritLib Orient. 778).

The importance of E. is corroborated by the existence of the *Life of E.*, e.g. in ms. EMML 345, fol. 10r–12v (and in Amharic, e.g., in ms. EMML IV, 1315, fol. 153r–56r), composed on the basis of works extant in Ethiopic, such as the *Sənkəssar*, the *Mäṣḥafä ḥawi* and the *Universal History* by ↗Giyorgis Wäldä Amid.



St. Epiphanios of Salamis: miniature in a Gospel Book from Ṣawne (detail), church of St. Mary; fol. 97r; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Src.: CPG II, 324–41, nos. 3744–807; **Greek**: EPIPHANIUS, *Ancoratus und Panarion*, 3 vols., ed. by KARL HOLL, Leipzig 1915–33 (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderten 25, 31, 37) [new ed. of vols. 2–3 by JÜRGEN DUMMER, Berlin 1980–85 (same series)]; Engl. tr.: ID. *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*: Book I (Sects 1–46), tr. by FRANK WILLIAMS, Leiden 1987 (Nag Hammadi Studies 35); ID., *De Gemmis*, [ed.] by ROBERT P. BLAKE – HENRI DE VIS, London 1934 (Studies and Documents II); *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: the Syriac version*, ed. [& tr.] by JAMES ELMER DEAN, Chicago 1935 (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 11); **Eth.**: mss. BN 139; BritLib Orient. 686, 736, 744, 818; EMML 345, 630, 635, 1315, 1763; BERND

MANUEL WEISCHER (ed., tr.), *Qērellos IV 2: Traktate des Epiphanios von Zypern und des Proklos von Kyzikos*, Wiesbaden 1979 (AeF 6); ID., "Die Glaubenssymbole des Epiphanios von Salamis und des Gregorios Thaumaturgos in Qerellos", *OrChr* 61, 1977, 20–40; ID., "Ein arabisches und äthiopisches Fragment der Schrift 'De XII gemmis' des Epiphanios von Salamis", *OrChr* 63, 1979, 103–07; AUGUST HAFFNER, "Eine äthiopische Handschrift der k. k. Hofbibliothek in Wien zu den pseudo-epiphanischen Werken", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 26, 1912, 363–87.

Lit.: ROGER TANDONNET – JEAN KIRCHMEYER, "1. Épiphane (saint) de Constantia (Salamine) en Chypre, †403", in: ANDRÉ DERVILLE et al. (eds.), *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 4, Paris 1960, col. 854–62 (on Pseudo-Épiph. col. 861–62); PIERRE NAUTIN, "10. Épiphane (Saint) de Salamine", in: ROGER AUBERT (ed.), *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, vol. 15, Paris 1963, col. 617–31; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Die äthiopische Anaphora des hl. Epiphanius, Bischofs der Insel Cypern ...", *OrChr* 23, 1926, 98–124; DELIO VANIA PROVERBIO, "Introduzione alle versioni orientali dell'*Ancoratus* di Epifanio. La recensione etiopica", in: ID. (ed.), *Studi orientalistici in memoria di Emilio Teza*, Roma 1998 [print. 1999] (Miscellanea Marciana 12), 67–91; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli imperatori Onorio ed Arcadio nella tradizione etiopica", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 15–54, here 42f.

Witold Witakowski

Epiphany ↗Ṭəmqät

Epistles

The Pauline Epistles

The place of the Pauline Corpus (collective title in Gəʿəz: የቅዱስ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ መጽሐፍ, *Yäqəddus Pawlos mäṣḥaf*, 'Epistles of St. Paul'), as "inspired Word of God" is firmly established in Ethiopian Christian tradition by the fact that the Pauline E. are part and parcel of the Liturgy of the Word. They were translated into Gəʿəz from a Greek Vorlage during the 5th and early 6th cent. (↗Bible). There must be a reading from Paul at every Eucharistic celebration. The list of the canonical books of the Ethiopian Church, as it appears in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗senodos* and in the *↗Fətḥa nägäśt*, attributes to Paul 14 letters (Paulos Tzadua 1968:13). Paul's authorship of these writings is vehemently defended. On various occasions, introductions and commentaries on Paul try to quell doubts about Pauline authorship.

Some important works, translated into Gəʿəz in different periods, draw abundantly from Paul, as *↗Ankäriṭos* of Epiphanius of Salamis (translated most probably during the Aksumite time), the *↗Haymanotä abäw* or the *Dərsan* of ↗Severus of Ašmunayn (17th cent.?). An assessment of the extent to which Paul has been a source of inspiration to Ethiopian literary productions reveals two distinct areas of influence, namely, Liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) and ↗Theology. As just mentioned, the liturgical norms prescribe that there be a reading from Paul at every Eucharistic gathering. Of the four lections from the N.T. to be read during the Liturgy of the Word, Paul is always the first to be proclaimed. The *Mäṣḥafä ↗gəṣṣawe* clearly shows that there are passages taken from the 14 Letters "of Paul". Lections from P.E. form part of the administration of the Sacraments of Initiation and of Marriage. There is a surprising number of readings in the Sacrament of the Anointing of the Sick (↗Unction), namely, Rom 15:1–7; 1 Cor 12:28–13:8; Rom 8:14–21; Gal 2:16–20; Col 3:12–17; Eph 6:1–18. However, in the *↗Gəbrä ḥəmamat*, a bulky 14th cent. book containing readings for the Holy Week, Paul is almost nowhere to be seen. Even though quotations from and allusions to Paul are considerably present through many Patristic writings (e.g. of ↗John Chrysostom), there are only few readings from Paul proper in the *Gəbrä ḥəmamat*. There are portions from 1 Tim 4:9–5:10; 1 Cor 11:23–34 as Maundy Thursday readings; Gal 6:14–17; Phil 2:5–12 for Good Friday; 1 Cor 5:6–13; 15:1–23 for Holy Saturday. There are a few readings from Paul in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗gənzät* (s., e.g., the edition of Asmära 1963 A.M.) to be used in the long funeral services.

As to the *↗Dəggʷa*, the liturgical book of hymns attributed to ↗Yared, the very first impact with it will give the feeling that the Bible is its primary source. Among the N.T. books, the ↗Gospels are the major supplier of concepts and vocabulary, but there is a heavy presence of material adopted from the Pauline Corpus as well. Some of the figures and language of the Pauline E. to Hebrews, especially from chs. 9 and 10, recur very frequently and they are read in a Christological and Mariological light. The following thematically selected passages are examples drawn from the *Mäṣḥafä ↗ziq* (a collection of hymns from various sources including *Dəggʷa*) showing how widespread the influence of the Pauline E. is:

- Christ: "holds everything in his hands" 64, Col 1:17. "Jesus Christ is the sign of peace among men" 104, Eph 2:14. "You are the strength of Your Father, his Firstborn, his Son and his Word" 104, a language which reflects that of Heb 1. Christ is "the Angel of his Counsel" 104: "angel" referred to Christ is based on the Ethiopic version of Heb 12:2. "At the close of the age You (God) sent to us Your Son" 105, Gal 4:4; Heb 1:2. "He was nailed on the cross, we were saved by his cross" 128, Gal 3:14. "He was crucified and suffered for our sake, because of his love for us" 160, Rom 5:6–10. "He became the Firstborn from among the dead" 160, Col 1:18.

- Mary: "You are the Ark, Ark covered with gold which contains the Torah; You are the golden lampstand" 73, Heb 9:2–4.
- Saints: "they completed the race they set for themselves and pursued" 59, 2 Tim 4:7. "They found the vision of the heavenly kingdom which was built for them" 59, based on Heb 11:10. "They faced cold and nakedness; sweat and labour was the price they paid to defeat the devil. They wandered in desert places" 64: reminiscent of Heb 11:34–40. "They are the congregation of the firstborn" 64, Heb 12:23. "Columns of the earth" 64: allusion to Gal 2:9.
- Church: "Formerly You were not a people, now You are" 160, Rom 9:25. "He acquired his church with his blood" 64, Heb 13:12; "and sealed her with his cross" 64, allusion to Heb 13:20.

There is a big number of Pauline quotations in the ↗*Ṣomä dəggʷa*, a section of the *Dəggʷa* used during the Lenten season. They are: Rom 12:9; 14:10; 6:22; 8:39; 9:23; 1 Cor 16:13; 7:29; 2 Cor 8: 1–2; 4:2; Col 1:23; 1:27; 3:1; 3:2; Gal 5:22–23; Eph 1:18; 3:16; 3:8; 4:29; 5:19; 6:17; 1 Thes 2:2; 5:17; 5: 23; 1 Tim 1:15; 4:7; 6:11; Heb 12:6; 4:13; 9:11.

There are references to the Pauline Corpus in other liturgical texts like the *Mäṣḥafä qəddase* and in the various *mälkəʾ*-hymns. In the Anaphora of Our Lady ascribed to Cyriacus of Behnesa (↗Anaphoras), we read: "Jesus Christ ... became man, fulfilled all the law of man except sin ..."; "though He was rich in everything yet He became poor in everything"; "... now this divine bread has been broken and this banquet has been prepared. Let Him who desires come, but first examine yourselves and purify your heart and flesh" (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase* 1945:80, 82). These expressions are culled from Gal 4:4–5; Heb 4:15; 1 Cor 11:28. The Anaphora attributed to St. John Chrysostom falls back on Rom 8:29–30 when it says: "The ones He chose he called; those He called He loved; those He loved He honoured; whom He honoured He justified and the ones He justified them He glorified to be an adornment for his Son" (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase* 1945:182).

Paul's influence was particularly felt in theological works and debates. In theology, the Pauline E. were mainly used in apologetic way. They were seen as a quarry providing *testimonia* to defend traditional positions, especially in the field of ↗Christology. References are frequently made to classical *topoi*, especially when it comes to upholding the tenets related to the Humanity, Divinity and Unity of Jesus Christ. The *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśṭir* (14th cent.), the *Fəkkare mäläkot*, *Ḥamärä näfs* and *Märs amin*, three writings belonging to the 16th-17th cent., report verses from Paul that had become items of fierce theological strife. The verses of Rom 8:34 and of Heb 7:25 which speak of "the glorified Christ who intercedes on behalf of mankind", are some of the Pauline passages that have fuelled violent debates. The controversy about Christ's intercession after his enthronement at the right hand of his Father, as indicated by the above Pauline texts, still drags on (for the latest instance s. *abunä* Gäbrəʾel 1990). The *andəmta*-commentary on Heb 7:25 goes as far as emending the text in order to adjust it to the theological position which rejects the notion of Christ interceding on behalf of humans after his glorification. It changes the present form of the verb "He intercedes" into the past "He interceded", claiming that it would be insulting to Christ's present status of glory to maintain that he is still "ministering". The theological conviction is that his salvific work was fully accomplished on the Cross. His prayer "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do!" (Lk 23:34) has, according to interpreters, an eternal value and makes any need for fresh intercessions by Christ not only pointless but offensive.

Various passages from the Pauline Corpus have been employed in some of the most acrimonious Christological debates in the aftermath of the Jesuit Mission in the 17th cent. Rom 1:3–4; 8:29; Col 1:15–17; Heb 1:3; 1:6; 6:20; 2 Cor 8:9; Phil 2:7 are some of the most common verses used as argumentative weapons by the various factions. Besides, the Pauline Corpus and Hebrews in particular have much influenced the violent discussion on the Unction and Union of Christ (s. the biblical index, Yaqob Beyene 1981: 311, Getatchew Haile 1990:34). Often the parties appeal to the same passage, each trying to stretch it one's own side.

There are passages in the Ethiopic Version of the Pauline Corpus which are peculiar to Ethiopic textual tradition. One example is Rom 9: 22–23, which is used in the theological issues dealing with ↗angels. Pauline E. are employed in the form of quotations and allusions, in hagiographical writings and in literature of a more secular character like the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, or in the royal chronicles (cf., e.g., BlunChr 347, 354, 355, 358, 376). In summary, the influence of Paul’s personality and writings on Ethiopian tradition has been an important one.

Src.: BlunChr; ግብረ፡ ሕማማት (*Gəbrä ḥəmamat* ‘Acts of the Passions’), Addis Abäba 1972 A.M. [1979/80 A.D.]; *liqä liqawənt* MÄHARI TƎRFE (ed.), የቅዱስ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ መጽሐፍ (*Yäqəddus Ṗawlos mäṣḥaf*, ‘Epistles of St. Paul’), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]; መጽሐፈ፡ ድጓ (*Mäṣḥafä dəggʷa*, ‘The Book of the *Dəggʷa*’), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.]; መጽሐፈ፡ ግንዘት (*Mäṣḥafä gənzät*, ‘The Book of the Dead’s Wrapping’), Asmära 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; መጽሐፈ፡ ግጸዌ (*Mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe*, ‘The Book of the Exposition’), Addis Abäba ²1958 A.M. [1965/66]; መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, ‘Book of the Liturgy’), Città del Vaticano 1945; መጽሐፈ፡ ቀንዲል፡ ወንስሐ፡ (ኑዛዜ) ወሥርዓተ፡ ወሂቦተ፡ ቍርባን፡ ለሕሙማን (*Mäṣḥafä qändil wänəssəḥa* (*nuzaze*) *wäśərʿatä wähibotä qʷərban läḥəmuman*, ‘Book of the Anointment of the Sick and of Penitence [Confession], and the Order for giving Communion to the Sick’), Rome 1967 A.M. [1975 A.D.]; መጽሐፈ፡ ዚቅ (*Mäṣḥafä ziq*, ‘The Book of *ziq*-Hymns’), Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.]; VelSoDe I–II; ENRICO CERULLI, *Scritti teologici etiopici del secoli XVI-XVII*, Città del Vaticano 1958.

Lit.: ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and her only Son Menelik*, London 1922; CerLett; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church, I. The Temporal: Seasons and Sundays*, Addis Abäba 2001 (*Ethiopian Review of Cultures*, 9–10: Special issue); *abunä* GÄBRƎʾEL, ክብረ፡ ቅዱሳን (*Kəbrä qəddusan*, ‘Glory of the Saints’), Addis Abäba 1990 A.D. [1997/98 A.D.]; GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Faith of the Unctionists in the Ethiopian Church*, Louvain 1990 (CSCO 517, 518, [SAe 91, 92]), 39; GuiSLett; *abba* PAULOS TZADUA (tr.), *The Fetha Nagast: The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968; TEDROS ABRAHA, *La Lettera ai Romani. Testo e commentari della versione etiopica*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 57); YAQOB BEYENE, *L’Unzione di Cristo nella teologia etiopica. Contributo di ricerca sui nuovi documenti etiopici inediti*, Roma 1981 (OrChrA 215), 311.

Tedros Abraha

The Catholic Epistles

The seven Catholic E. (Gəʿəz ሰባዕቱ፡ መልእክታት, *säbaʿətu mälʾəktat*), i.e. letters of apostles James, first and second Peter, first, second and third John and Jude, were translated into Gəʿəz in the 5th-6th cent., from a Greek *Vorlage* that belonged to the Alexandrian recension. A revision was carried out some time in the 14th–15th cent. on the basis of an Arabic text that was in use in the Coptic Church (Hofmann – Uhlig 1993:32; Uhlig – Maehlum 1993:52). The oldest available witness of the Catholic E. is the celebrated 14th-cent. ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 20 inf. (Galbiati 1957:340; Hofmann – Uhlig 1993:13f.). The unique manuscript contains the N.T. texts (except the Gospels) in five languages (Gəʿəz, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic and Armenian); the Catholic E. are the two of Peter, the three of John and those of James and Jude.

A passage from the Epistle of John (መልእክተ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ሐዋርያ, *Mälʾəktä Yoḥannəs ḥawarya*), 1 Jn 1:1–7, is commonly memorized by those who begin to learn reading after mastery of the ↗*Abugida* and *Hahu* syllabaries, these being the first steps in traditional church ↗education.

In doctrinal works, in devotional material and in the liturgical texts there is a very clear tendency to concentrate quotations and readings on the Epistles of Peter (related to discussions of or expositions on the Passion of Christ and Atonement) and John (Christological issues). In fact, the compendium of doctrinal tracts, ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, abounds in numerous references (later insertions?) to the E. of Peter and John.

In the readings for the Week of Passions (↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*), one finds readings from 1 Pet for the eve of Palm Sunday, Palm Sunday itself, for Saturday in the Passion Week and for the night towards Sunday. In the Horologium (↗*Säʿatat*), there are readings from 1 Pet for Monday and Tuesday, from 2 Pet for Wednesday, from 1 Pet for Thursday and Friday and from 1 Jn for Sunday. The references to the E. of Jude seem to be the rarest.

Src.: JOSEF HOFMANN – SIEGBERT UHLIG, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: die katholischen Briefe*, Stuttgart 1993 (AeF 29), 13f., 32; *liqä liqawənt* MÄHARI TƎRFE (ed.), ዓሠርቱ፡ መጻሕፍቱ፡ ሐዲሳት፤ ንባብ፡ ከነትርጓሜው (*ʿAśśärtu mäṣaḥəftu ḥaddisat, nəbab kännätərgʷamew*, ‘Ten New Books, Reading and Commentary’), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.], here 195–346; .

Lit.: UllBibl 49f., 60; ENRICO GALBIATI, “I manoscritti etiopici dell’Ambrosiana di Milano (breve inventario)”, in: *Studi in onore di mons. Carlo Castiglioni*, Milano 1957, 339–53, here 340; TEDROS ABRAHA, *La lettera ai Romani. Testo e commentari della versione etiopica*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 57); SIEGBERT UHLIG – HELGE MAEHLUM, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: die Gefangenschaftsbriefe*, Stuttgart 1993, 52.

Ezra Gebremedhin

Epistolography

The deplorable state of Ethiopian archives, practically non-existent until the 20th cent., prohibits a thorough study of Ethiopian E. and limits a student of it to scarce evidence found in some chronicles and elsewhere. No doubt, E. must have existed for many centuries in a country with an ancient statehood, which certainly carried on an international and domestic correspondence.

The development of Ethiopian E. depended heavily upon the historical and cultural situation of the country. In Christian Ethiopia, until at least the middle of the 19th cent., the only written language was ↗Gəᶜəz. The Ethiopians also knew well E. as a N.T. literary genre, as is evidenced in the ↗Epistles. This pattern, however, hardly suited any practical needs of secular correspondence. In fact, correspondence was not an everyday matter even for Ethiopian monarchs, who wrote letters on relatively few occasions. In international correspondence (mainly with Patriarchs of Alexandria and Sultans of Egypt) they used ↗Arabic and the writing of these letters was usually entrusted either to Egyptian clerics from the entourage of the Coptic Metropolitan of Ethiopia, or to some local Muslim *qāḍī*. This correspondence followed the norms of Arabic E. of the time, including the use of ↗seals.

It seems that it was precisely the needs of foreign correspondence that were conducive to the appearance of Ethiopian royal seals, because foreign correspondents used their seals instead of a signature. Later, Gəᶜəz inscriptions were also introduced into Ethiopian royal seals for the needs of domestic correspondence, where such seals proved to be fairly practical. Domestic correspondence mainly consisted of a king's orders to his war-lords and governors, sent with special messengers (↗Postal system). Here the vernacular ↗Amharic was more convenient, at least for the purpose of precise understanding of these orders by addressees, and the message was probably articulated in Amharic both to the messenger and by the messenger to the correspondent. However, the messenger was supplied with a piece of parchment with an impression of the royal seal on it. This assured both confidence in his mission and the necessary provisions (↗*Dərgo*) for him *en route*. Thus, immediately after the enthronement of *aṣe* Iyasu I (1682–1707), the royal chancellors "sent a messenger with a seal to every province" (GuidiIohan 62 [text]).

In contrast to the business-like and laconic orders and messages, some other royal letters, which may be better called epistles, were not only verbose, but written with elegance and literary taste in excellent Gəᶜəz. Usually they were filled with religious rhetoric, but pursued quite mundane political and propagandistic ends. Such was an epistle written by *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl (1563–97) to the rebellious *baḥər nägaš* Yəsḥaq (CRHist 57 [text]) and an answer sent by *aṣe* Susənyos (1604–32) to the letter of the Qurban regiment which did not recognize his royal authority. It is remarkable that in this letter Susənyos (or his secretary, to be precise) distinguishes the literary manner of letter-writing from the businesslike and reprimands the soldiers: "This letter of yours is not good, and there are no words that are beautiful and ornamental" (PerChron 87 [text]).

The "Era of the Princes" (↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*) of 1769–1855 brought drastic changes. This period reveals an obvious and rapid decay in the mighty Christian feudal monarchy with its culture, including classical Gəᶜəz literature. However, it was a period of new dynamic developments, marked by the growing use and importance of the Amharic language as a means of written communication for quite practical reasons. The number of independent and semi-independent rulers in the country increased considerably, and so did their correspondence, both local and even foreign. As for the latter, it was carried out as usual in Arabic, but in domestic matters Amharic proved to be more practical; it was preferred also by those correspondents whose mother-tongue was another Ethiopian language, e.g., Təgrəñña.

Thanks to the efforts of Rubenson, rich epistolographic material has been published in the series of *Acta Æthiopica* (s. RubActa), which refers to the *Zämänä mäsafənt* and later periods. There we may see the process of gradual Amharization of Ethiopian correspondence, where Amharic letters were written according to the new pattern based mainly on norms of oral conversational etiquette. Finally, this Amharic trend in Ethiopian E. led to the emergence of genuine Amharic literary works, which in fact had already appeared during the times of *aṣe* Tewodros II (1855–67), but their emergence had been prepared by the epistolographic developments of the *Zämänä mäsafənt*.

The next period (the times of *aṣe* Tewodros II, Yoḥannəs IV [1872–89] and Mənilək II [1889–1913]) was important for the development of Ethiopian E. The process of the "Amharization" of correspondence progressed; Amharic, not Gəᶜəz, became the language usually used in the *incipits* of the letters, e.g. Amh. **የተላከ፡ ከ** ... **ይድረስ፡ ወደ/ከ** ... *yätälakä kä ... yədräs wädä/kä* ..., instead of previously typical Gəᶜəz **ዛቲ፡ ጦመር/መልእክት፡ ዘተፈነወት፡ እምኀበ** ... **ትብጻሕ፡ ኀበ** ... *zatti ṭomär/mälʾəkt zätäfännäwät əmḫabä ... təbṣaḥ ḫabä* ... for 'may [this letter] sent from ... reach ...'. This period is also partly represented in

Acta Æthiopica, but these particular letters have been taken mainly from the archives of European foreign offices and therefore deal mostly with foreign correspondence. For the samples of correspondence with European leaders s., e.g. Bairu Tafla (2000), where structures of E. are well documented. Meanwhile, during this period, a new type of correspondent appeared in Ethiopian E.: this was the missionary-educated Ethiopian who wrote to his teachers. Up to now these letters had not attracted any scholarly attention, though they are available in various missionary archives (both private and official) and offer important insights not only into the history of various missions in Ethiopia, but also into the course of the emergence of modern social thought and the development of westernization in the country. Unfortunately, the later periods of Ethiopian E., important as they are, remain unstudied, with the lack of available sources being the main hindrance. The majority of these letters, available in various archives, are neither described nor mentioned in catalogues (Platonov 1996 being a rare exception), let alone published. And letters still exist in non-governmental archives both in Ethiopia and elsewhere and potentially offer a vast field of research.

Src.: CRHist 57 (text); PerChron 62 (text); GuiIohan 54 (text); BAIRU TAFLA (ed., tr.), *Ethiopian Records of the Menilek Era: Selected Amharic Documents from the Nachlaß of Alfred Ilg, 1884–1900*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 54); OSVALDO RAINERI, *Lettere tra i pontefici romani e i principi etiopici (sec. XII–XX)*, Città del Vaticano 2003 (Studi e testi 412); ID., *Lettere tra i pontefici romani e i principi etiopici (sec. XII–XX). Versioni e integrazioni*, Città del Vaticano 2005 (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 55); RubActa I–III (Lit.); [VJAČESLAV PLATONOV], *Efiopskie rukopisi v sobranijah Sankt-Peterburga. Katalog* ('Ethiopian Manuscripts in St. Petersburg Collections. A Catalogue'), St. Petersburg 1996, 46–56; DAVID L. APPLEYARD – ARTHUS K. IRVINE (tr.), *Letters from Ethiopian Rulers*, New York – Oxford 1985.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "Letter Writing and the Use of Royal and Imperial Seals in Ethiopia prior to the Twentieth Century", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 179–208.

Sevir Chernetsov

Ep̣p̣isqop̣p̣os

The term E. (ኤጲስቆጶስ, also ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ, 'bishop', from Greek ἐπίσκοπος, 'overseer, bishop') was always clear in the Ethiopic context, even though it was sometimes interchanged or confused with the term ↗*p̣ap̣p̣as*, 'bishop, metropolitan [as head of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church]'. E. ranked after the patriarch (*liqä p̣ap̣p̣asat*, in the case of Ethiopia – the head of the ↗Coptic church) and metropolitan or archbishop (*p̣ap̣p̣as*). A wide range of books of ecclesiastical law, translated into Gəʿəz (↗*Qälemənṭos*, ↗*Kidan zäʾəgziʾənä Iyäsus Krəstos*, chs. 11, 54f.; the so-called "Church Order of Hippolytus", ch. 1, and particularly ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*, ch. 5) expose the idea of the apostolic origin of the episcopal office, the position of the E. within the ecclesiastical hierarchy and his responsibilities towards the Church and the faithful. The episcopal office, however, was established and incorporated into the hierarchy of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church only in the 20th cent.

It is assumed, that up to modern times Ethiopia was never properly divided into smaller ecclesiastical provinces, or dioceses. Usually no other bishops were installed, who would have been the suffragans of the ↗*abun*, making him metropolitan, or archbishop in the proper sense of the word. Since its foundation, the Ethiopian Church was formally under the jurisdiction of the Coptic Patriarchate, and the exclusive right of the Egyptian Patriarch to consecrate the *abun*, chosen from Coptic monks, was recognized by the Ethiopians themselves. The absence of local bishops was one of the main formal obstacles to the autocephaly, for a patriarch could be ordained by a sufficient number of bishops only.

There is some vague and scattered evidence that before the 14th cent. the organization of the Ethiopian Church might have been different. One difficulty is that the antique sources speak sometimes indiscriminately of "bishops" with reference to Aksum. Leaving aside the clay lamp with the inscription "Αββ[α Ἰωσὴ]φ ἐπίσκο(πος) (RIÉ 282), found at ↗Adulis but clearly imported from Egypt, Pseudo-Palladius tells about a certain Moses, Bishop of Adulis (s. Monneret de Villard 1947). An old Coptic tradition knows "four bishoprics" in the ecclesiastical province of *Nieksamitis* ("the Aksumites", s. Conti Rossini 1913:394), but their names can hardly be identified. According to the *History of the Patriarchs*, during the tenures of the Coptic Patriarch Gabriel II (1131–46) and *abunä* Mikaʾel, an (unnamed) Ethiopian king requested the Patriarch and the Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ consecrate more bishops for his kingdom, but his request was refused; the text specifies that there could be not more than seven bishops in both Nubia and Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian sources report of other personalities (at least some of them definitely Ethiopians) bearing the title of E. The E. ʿƎzra, Yərdaʾ

Mikaʾel and Samuʾel are mentioned after *p̣ap̣p̣as abba* Mikaʾel; E. Ḫaräyo is mentioned after *p̣ap̣p̣as abba* Giyorgis in two land charters granted by *nəguś* Lalibäla to the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana (s. CRDLib 13, 16). Of special interest are authors of the homilies listed in the 14th cent. ms. EMML 1763 (and the relevant group of homiliaries): "blessed and saintly Minas, E. of Aksum", "Tewoflos, E. of Aksum", Ǝlyas, Luləyanos (cp. ibid., *abba Yoḥannəs p̣ap̣p̣as zäʾityopya*), for they are indeed metropolitans, none of whom, however, are attested in other sources (cp. BrakKirche 124).

By the 15th cent., the pattern of the E. office in Ethiopia gets clearer. We know of E. Mikaʾel in a land charter of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos granted by *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (Taddesse Tamrat 1970:106, n. 101). Among the E. who came from Egypt, accompanying new metropolitans the best known is *abba* Yoḥannəs. He arrived together with metropolitans ↗Gäbrəʾel and Mikaʾel about 1440 (CerMaria 117), he was the author of the Homily in honour of *abba* ↗Gärima (s. Conti Rossini 1898:141f.) and, most probably, of some other works. Later, in 1480/81, *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər dispatched a mission to Egypt: according to local Ethiopian sources, it brought back two metropolitans, ↗Yəsḥaq and ↗Marqos, and two E., Mikaʾel and Yoḥannəs (Kur 1972:88), both deemed to be "coadjutor bishops" (s. Tedeschi in: CE, 1015), that is, in principle, without the right of succession; later they were followed by a few other ecclesiastics. A recent enquiry into contemporary Arabic documents of the Coptic Patriarchate has provided important evidence that, when Yəsḥaq died before 1497, he was formally succeeded by Yaʿəqob, his auxiliary metropolitan, and only later by E. Marqos, who had meanwhile become the auxiliary to Yaʿəqob (on this rather complicated but exemplary dossier s. Fiaccadori 2004).

It seems that the most important function of the E. was to assume the responsibilities of the *abun*, e.g., in case of his sudden death or grave illness. Being formally next in rank to the acting metropolitan, the E. was a highly esteemed ecclesiastic, but, unless he was asked to substitute the *abun*, it is not quite clear what his exact rôle in church life was. In most cases E. appears to have been a titular bishop, having no real power or jurisdiction. Otherwise an E. could be an assistant of the officiating metropolitan. However, there are clues that at least in some cases an E. might have acted with the same authority as the *abun*, at least ordaining priests (cp., e.g., CRRicBerhan II, 19f., 154).

Some Ethiopian ecclesiastic circles cherished the idea of independence from the Coptic Patriarchate, a constituent part of which being the division of the immense bishopric of Ethiopia into dioceses, with the episcopal offices occupied by Ethiopians. The vision of the country divided into two dioceses, one under the *abun*-metropolitan, another under the administration of an Ethiopian E., with the right to consecrate priests and ↗*tabots* is described in the early-16th-cent. Vita of *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot (s. Budge 1905, ch. 96). This, however, had not become a reality even as late as in the 19th cent., for after the death of *abunä* Atnatewos *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV managed to bring to the country four Egyptian bishops in 1881: metropolitan (*liqä p̣ap̣p̣asat*) *abunä* ↗P̣eṭros and coadjutor bishops (called *p̣ap̣p̣as* in the Chronicle of Yoḥannəs, s. BTafY 153) Matewos (to be the bishop of Šäwa), Marqos (Bägemdər and Səmen), Luqas (Goǧǧam). They were not entitled to consecrate other bishops. After Marqos died in 1882 and Luqas in 1901, their episcopacies remained vacant, and, as in the past, the consecration of clergy for the numerous churches of the vast country was invested in the hands of only two persons.

The situation improved only in 1928, when *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later ↗Ḫaylä Śəllasse I) undertook energetic efforts and agreed with the Coptic Patriarchate that, apart from the metropolitan, who would be a Copt according to old tradition, five Ethiopians (including *əččäge* Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, s. ↗Säwiros) would be consecrated bishops. After fulfilment of this agreement in 1929, the consecration of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus took place not in Egypt, but in Ethiopia, in January 1930. In January 1931 the responsibilities of the bishops (Säwiros, Abrəham, P̣eṭros, Mikaʾel, Yəsḥaq) and the limits of their dioceses were established (Shenk 1972:74). The reshaping of the Church administration was interrupted in 1935 by the Italian occupation. However, in 1937 a synod, summoned under the auspices of the Italians in the absence of *abunä* Qerəllos, proclaimed Abrəham, bishop of Gondär, archbishop (*p̣ap̣p̣as*) and nominated six new bishops (during the short office of Abrəham a total of 12 bishops were consecrated). In 1939, as *əččäge* Yoḥannəs substituted for the deceased Abrəham (Shenk 1972:148), other new bishops were ordained: Filəppos, secretary to Yoḥannəs, Gorgoryos for Wällo, Atnatewos for Goǧǧam, Matewos for Šäwa, suffragan bishop Qerəllos for Eritrea; in January 1940 suffragan bishop Zäkaryas was ordained for Jerusalem. After the end of the Italian regime, only Filəppos, Matewos, Marqos and Qerəllos received ordination again and remained in the Church (Shenk 1972:191).

Consecrations of the further E.-bishops coincided with the drive of the Ethiopian Church to full independence and took place in July 1948 (↗Basəlyos was ordained for Šäwa, Mika'el for Gondär, Tewoflos for Harär, Yaʿəqob for Wälläga, Timotewos for Sidamo). Having become the first Ethiopian archbishop, on 2 September 1951 Basəlyos consecrated five further bishops: Marqos for Eritrea, Filəppos for Jerusalem, Gorgoryos for Käfa, Tadewos for Illubabor, Gäbrə'el for Wällo. With the consecration of three more bishops (Säwiros for Gämu Gofa, Marqos for Goǧǧam, Luqas for Arusi) on 23 May 1953 and bishop Yoḥannəs to replace the deceased Yəsḥaq, bishop of Təgray, on 27 July 1956 (Shenk 1972: 205f.), the number of bishops increased to 14 (including one for the monastery of ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān in Jerusalem and one for Eritrea) – according to the number of the provinces. On 28 June, 1959, as Basəlyos became the first Ethiopian patriarch (*patriark* or *rə'əsä liqanä pappasat*), he ordained further bishops (all of them being elevated to archbishops). The establishment of dioceses more or less coinciding with administrative limits of the provinces completed the delineation of the territorial administration of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church.

Src.: CRRicBerhan II, 19f., 154; BTafY 153; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *The Life and Miracles of Tâklâ Hâymânôt in the Version of Dabra Libânôs* ..., London 1906, ch. 96; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'Omilia di Yohannes, vescovo d'Aksum, in onore di Garimâ", in: *Actes du onzième congrès international des orientalistes Paris–1897*, 4ème section, Paris 1898, 139–77, here 141f.; CRDLib 13, 16; EMML 1763; CerMaria 116–19; SawHist² vol. 3 [*Mark III–John V* (*A.D. 1102–1167*)], part 3, 56f.; STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marha Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [62, 63]), 88 (text); RIÉ 282; KƎNFÄ GABRƎ'EL ALTAYYÄ, **ሥርዓተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Śərʿatä betä krəstiyan*, 'The Order of the Church'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.], 71–82. **Lit.**: BrakKirche 117–25 (Lit.); DicEthBio 62 ["'Ǝzra"], 144 ["Samu'él"], 184f. ["Yerda' Mika'él"]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia. III–IV", *RSO* 6, 1913, 365–425, here 393ff.; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Däbrä Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 106; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Mikā'ēl I", in: *CE* vol. 4, 1006f., "Mikā'ēl II", *ibid.* 1007f., "Mikā'ēl III", "Gäbrə'el", "Yəsḥaq II", *ibid.* 1013–16, "Qerəllos III", *ibid.* 1040; CALVIN E. SHENK, *The Development of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and its Relationship with the Ethiopian Government from 1930 to 1970*, Ph.D. thesis, New York University 1972, 74, 148, 191, 205f.; SerHist 266, 268; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, "Mosè, vescovo di Adulis", *OrChrP* 13, 1947, 613–23; MHAlex, s. index; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sul ms. Parigi, B.n.F., d'Abb. 78 (C.R. 38) e i metropoliti Yesḥaq, Yāʿqob e Mārqos d'Etiopia (sec. XV–XVI)", *RANLmor* ser. 9ª, vol. 15, 2004 [2005], 679-90, here 687ff.

Denis Nosnitsin

ʿƎqa bet

The ʿƎ.b. (**ዕቃ፡ ቤት**, lit. 'storehouse, storeroom', from Amharic *ʿəqa*, 'thing, object' and *bet*, 'house') was a separate hut in a nobleman's household where his ceremonial clothes and valuable domestic utensils were kept under the supervision of a chamberlain (**እልፍኝ፡ አዛዥ**, *əlfəñ azzaž*). In poorer households all this was kept simply in chests which were in charge of the same chamberlain. This way of keeping things was quite practical for everyday noblemen's camp life, which limited the bulk of personal property.

In churches and monasteries the room with the same function, i.e. the sacristy, is also called ʿƎ.b. In it those ecclesiastic items (**ንዋየ፡ ቅድሳት**, *nəwayä qəddəsat*) are kept which are only used during church services, such as sacred vessels, liturgical garments (↗Clothes), umbrellas (↗*Dəbab*), ↗crosses, ↗manuscripts and icons. The Ǝ.b. is an important part of every Ethiopian church. In the early churches, chambers attached to one of the sanctuary's side rooms might have had the function similar to that of the ʿƎ.b. Approximately beginning with the 17th cent., the ʿƎ.b. is separated from the main church building and located north-east of it. In northern Ethiopia the ʿƎ.b. may be a solid one- to three-

Interior of *ʿəqa bet*; Yəḥa, Ǝnda Abba Afṣe Church; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers storied stone tower, round (as in the church of Ǝnda Śəllase, ↗ʿAdwa) or rectangular (Mädḫane ʿAläm, ʿAdwa). This ʿƎ.b. usually stands within the church precinct, like in the Arbaʿəttu Ǝnsəsa church of ↗Aksum, or it is sometimes built as part of the churchyard wall, as in Abba Liqanos, near Aksum (remains of the same type of ʿƎ.b. are typical for the Ṭana region, e.g., the 17th-cent. ↗Narga Śəllase church). Elsewhere the ʿƎ.b. is a simple round or rectangular hut; it is less solid than the church building and needs frequent reparation, but can be easily rebuilt (cp. Ṭana Qirqos, Daga Ǝsṭifanos). Large churches may have more than one ʿƎ.b. (cp. ↗Aksum Ṣəyon). Being the main treasury of the church or monastery, the ʿƎ.b. is carefully guarded by the sacristan; all non-authorised entries are strictly forbidden.

A sacristan of a church is called *qesä gäbäz* (lit. 'priest [in charge] of the treasure', cp. ↗*Gäbäz*), and that of a monastery, which usually possess much more property and many more items, is called ↗*mäggabi* ('steward', 'administrator').

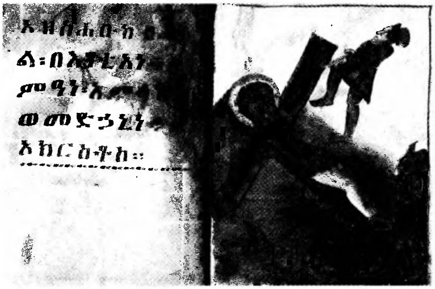
Src.: KaneDic II, 1183; DAE III, 46f., 57–61, 67f., Tafel VI; PerChron ch. 49, 186 (text); BeckHuntAlvar 323f.

Lit.: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, "L'histoire et l'art des églises du lac Ṭana", *AE* 16, 2000, 207–70, here 212, 256f.; HamTana 1, s. index; JEAN DORESSE, *La vie quotidienne des Ethiopiens chrétiens (aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris 1972, s. index; RICHARD PANKHURST, "A Glimpse of Ethiopia's First Public Library", *The Ethiopian Journal of Education* 3–1, 1975; 33–42; SERGEW HABLE-SELLASIE, "The Monastic Library of Dabra Hayq", in: OrbAethChoj 243–58; ERIC GODET, "Peut-on parler d'icônes en Ethiopie?", *Bulletin de la Maison des études éthiopiennes* 11, 1997, 9.

Sevir Chernetsov

ʿƎqäbänni

ʿƎ. (**ዕቀበኒ**, lit. 'protect me') is the name of a long litany addressed to Jesus, in which every petition begins with the words: **ኦ፡ እግዚእየ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዕቀበኒ፡ በእንተ** ... (O *əgziʾəyä Iyäsus Krəstos ʿəqäbänni bäʾəntä* ..., 'Oh my Lord Jesus Christ, protect me, for the sake of ...'; Grébaut 1935:427) or similar formula. The text is found in several magic scrolls (SixDeu 433f.) and a number of miscellaneous manuscripts containing anaphoras, prayers, *mälkəʾ*-hymns etc. The earliest of them (ms. Paris, BN Éth. 54) can be dated back to the 16th cent.



Page of text and miniature depicting the Raising of the Cross; ms. *ʿƎqäbänni*; Aksum, treasury of the old cathedral; fol. 3r; late 18th cent.; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

In the prayer Jesus Christ is beseeched to give the faithful his protection, first for the sake of the Holy Virgin Mary and Her love, and then for the sake of certain New Testament characters (the Magi, the people who gathered to hear Christ's preaching etc.) and events from Christ's life (ranging from the Nativity to the Resurrection).

The prayer ʿƎ. draws its inspiration from the irresistible prayer of St. Mary in the "Covenant of Mercy" (s. *Sənkəssar* on 16 *Yäkkatit*; s. ↗*Kidanä məḥrät*) stipulated with her son Jesus for her devotees, which runs: "I beg you for my breast which you suckled [...] for my womb which carried you during nine months and five days [...], for my lap on which I held you [...], for my lips which have kissed you [...], for my hand which embraced you [...], to remunerate with the great prize that you have and that 'no one ever saw or heard, no one ever thought could happen' those who give to the needy alms, to the afflicted comfort and make commemoration of me and build churches in my honour".

Some manuscripts are extensively illustrated by full-size miniatures which depict the events of Christ's passion. All presently known examples were exectued after 1850 and represent the so-called second Gondärine style.

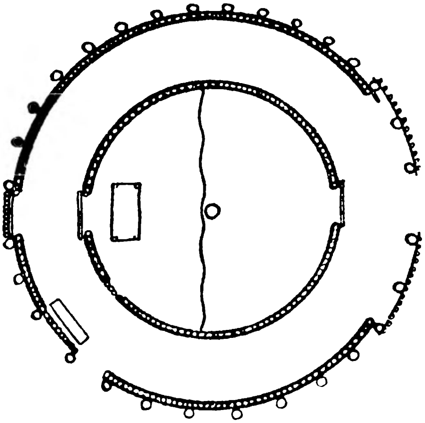
Src.: ZotBNat 76f., no. 68 [Éth. 54]; 78f., no. 70 [Éth. 132]; 98f., no. 107 [Éth. 73]; SixDeu 433f., nos. 195, 196; EMML 1169, 4001; WrBriMus 107, no. 158 [Orient. 595]; Addis Abäba, the Library of the Patriarchate of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, ms. no. 113, fol. 73–96.

Lit.: MARIUS CHAÎNE "Repertoire des salam et malke'e", *ROC* 18, 1913, 183–57, here 350, no. 371; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "La prière 'Eqabani' ou les litanies du Christ", *Orientalia* nuova ser., 4, 1935, 427–35; *abba* AYELE TEKLEHAYMANOT [MARIO DA ABIY-ADDI], "Il culto mariano nella chiesa etiopica", *Marianum* 19, 1957, 256–57; ENRICO CERULLI, "La festa etiopica del Patto di Misericordia e le sue fonti ...", in: '*Silloge Bizantina*' *in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati*, Roma 1957 (Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici 9), 53–71.

Ayele Teklehaymanot – Denis Nosnitsin

Eqo

E. (also *Heqo* or *Eeqoo*) was an element of the ↗Käfa traditional religion during the time of the kingdom which continues to be followed by a segment of the Käfa population today. Many traditions link the origin of E. to that of the Käfa kingdom itself.



The ground plan of a classical *Eqo* sanctuary; from Bieber 1920

E. is a spirit that dwells in a person belonging to a certain clan. The spirit is passed from generation to generation in that particular clan. The person in whom the E. dwells is known as *allamo* (a kind of priest or spirit medium). There is also a supreme E., referred to as *dooči*, which ranks above all E., and a supreme *allamo*, the *ibeda godo*. To be accepted as legitimate, all lower *allamo* have to be confirmed and then blessed by the supreme *allamo*. All E., including *dooči*, are believed to be spirits in the service of the high god Yeri. The name Yeri is today used by Christians as the name of their god.

The temple of the supreme E. is located close to the palace where the *ibeda godo* serves the king (↗*Tato*). Guided by the supreme E., the supreme *allamo* counsels, consults with and guides the king in important matters, including wars.

Like several other peoples of Käfa origin, inhabitants of the historic ↗Anfillo kingdom also worshipped E. (Bieber 1920:158).

↗Addiya

Lit.: WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *Dialectics of Divine "Kingship" in the Kafa Highlands*, Los Angeles 1976 (Occasional Paper Series, Monograph 8, African Studies Center UCLA); ID., *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982; FRIEDRICH BIEBER, *Kaffa: ein Altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster 1920, 158, 327.

Amanuel Karlo Gano

ʿƎqqub

ʿƎ. (**ዕቁብ**) is a popular traditional credit association, which is widely spread, mainly in the urban and to a certain extent in the rural areas. It has a strong social and economic value since it brings people of common interest together for the main purpose of saving money without going into the ↗banking system. There is disagreement about the origins of ʿƎ., though functionally it is similar to rotating credit associations found in India, South East Asia and elsewhere in Africa, which supports the theory that it was brought to Ethiopia by Indian merchants in the late 19th cent. In contrast, a more frequently quoted theory argues that ʿƎ. developed out of the ↗Gurage "milk–*ʿəqqub*", an association of neighbouring women. Milk is given weekly by all members and accumulated by one member in turn.

ʿƎ. comprise of a specified number of persons (**ዕቁብተኞች**, *ʿəqqubtäññoč*) depending on whether the contributions are made monthly, bi-weekly, or weekly. In practice, however, these individuals represent shares whereby two or more people can pool their resources to make up a full share. This fact allows people from different income brackets to participate. Because of the elasticity in defining a share, the recruitment profile of an ʿƎ. is rather open and unrestricted. Not only can people from different income brackets participate, but most ʿƎ. are open to women, young and old alike, workers from diverse occupations and people from different ethnic groups and religions. On the other hand, there are ʿƎ. which are highly restricted.

ʿƎ. payments are made to a chairperson called a ↗*daňňa* (lit. 'judge') and ʿƎ. is administered by a secretary, both elected from the members of ʿƎ. due to their high integrity, commanding respect and trust of all members. Then they orchestrate the lottery and disperse the fund to the lucky winner. The essential principle involves rotating access to a continually reconstituted fund. The person who receives the fund becomes indebted to all the other members until each participant has received his share. Three additional details are noteworthy. First, highly effective methods evolved to prevent an early recipient absconding with the money and thus failing to repay the other participants. By the 1960s the protocols of ᶜƎ. were sufficiently formalized for the default rate to become exceedingly low. Part of their success was their ubiquitous presence and the growing realization that to default in one ᶜƎ. would severely restrict one's access to another. Second, once all participants received their share, the ᶜƎ. was informally dissolved and a new rotating credit association was initiated. A few large ones have operated in this perpetual state of reconstitution for upwards of 50 years. Third, exceptionally complex credit-extension mechanisms developed so that an early recipient, who did not immediately require the extra money, could lend it out to others at interest. In other words, the luck of the draw enabled an early recipient to become a small-time money lender or facilitated other modes of capital creation.

Ethiopians' attitudes towards savings accounts changed little between the 1920s and the 1970s. Ethiopians preferred the informal savings and credit opportunities of ᶜƎ. over formal banking. Gradually, as the formal sector expanded, ᶜƎ. were no longer viewed as an alternative, but as a complement to formal financial institutions. Since the ↗Revolution ᶜƎ. have spread into all areas of economic life. The Marxist slogan during the *Därg* regime, "man became man due to work", was popularly converted to "man became man due to ᶜƎ.".

Nowadays ᶜƎ. are ubiquitous throughout the rural countryside from border to border; they span the social ladder from poor shoeshine boys to the wealthiest import-exporters; they have been recognized as viable capital-generating mechanisms by both government and NGOs; and they are so much a part of the salaried workplace that they have begun to institutionalize themselves as workers' credit and insurance agencies.

↗Ǝddər; ↗Maḫbär

Lit.: DEJENE AREDO, "The Iqqub: a Potential Means for the Mobilization of Domestic Resources for Capital Formation in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 449–61 (Lit.); GIRMA BEGASHAW, *The Economic Role of Traditional Savings and Credit Institutions in Ethiopia*, Ohio State University 1978 (Economics and Sociology Occasional Papers 456); CHARLES G.H. SCHAEFER, "Embodying Adaptability and Sustainability: the History of *Idir*, *Meredaja Mahaber*, and *Equb* in Ethiopia", in: ENDRE STIANSEN (ed.), *More than Money Matters: African Financial Institution in Political Perspective*, Bergen 2001.

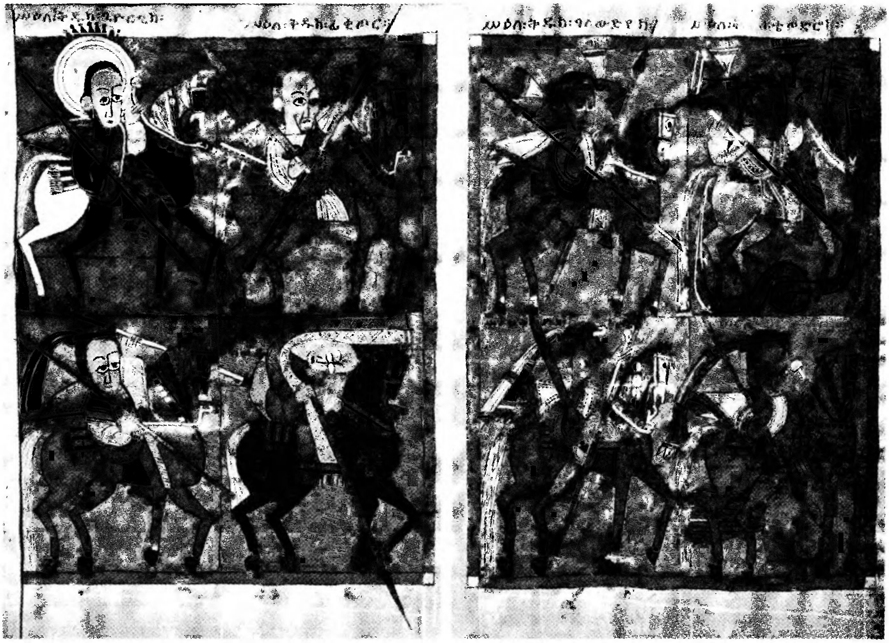
Charles G.H. Schaefer – Amsalu Aklilu

Equestrian saints

In Ethiopian pictorial tradition, the warrior or military saints are invariably represented as mounted knights, or E.s. In the Christian East, the cult of the warrior saints was spread, as it seems, even independently from that of their relics. They were conceived as *milites Christi* or *milites Dei* and *caelestis militia.* This status granted them an important apotropaic function, since they were invoked mainly as protectors against diabolical and human enemies. In Ethiopia, their cult developed under longstanding religious and cultural influence of the ↗Coptic Church, but their special popularity may be accounted for the political situation of the Christian monarchy, constantly involved in military conflicts with its Muslim neighbours. The introduction to Ethiopia in the 14th cent. of the ↗*Gädla sämaᶜətat* may have also played an important role.

The iconography of the E.s. developed in the ↗Byzantine Empire and in the Christian Orient was more or less directly relying upon antique triumphal imagery. The saints were depicted on horseback, but not necessarily wearing military dress. They were armed with sword, shield, spear or lance. A surmounting cross transformed the spear or lance from simple weapons into glorious *vexilla Christi.* Another attribute of the E.s., connected with triumphal iconography, was a crown or a wreath, also recalling the martyrdom of their bearers. The crown could be presented by a divine or angelic hand turning up out of the sky. E.s. were often portrayed in the symbolic scene representing the victory of Good over Evil: i.e., as involved in conflict with a real or fabulous vicious creature or with a wicked person, usually depicted as a misshapen figure with bestial features.

Generally, the Ethiopian artists followed this iconography of E.s. (in particular, the formulas developed in 13th–14th cent. in Coptic ↗Egypt) but many of peculiar local features can also be observed. For instance, from the end of the 15th cent. their richly ornamented horse trappings, weapons and clothes reflect the garments and accessories of Ethiopian nobility. Moreover, the iconographic type of each saint was not strictly defined. The physical features (age, colour of hair) and attributes (garments, weapon, horse's colour, defeated enemy) were not consistently applied by Ethiopian artists. Consequently, it is not always possible to recognize the saint if he is not depicted in a narrative scene or accompanied by an inscribed caption.



The Saints George, Victor, Mercury, Claudius, Theodore, Aboli, Mar Bəḫnam; miniatures from a 15th/16th-cent. Gospel Book; Ṣäwne in Təgray, Church of St. Mary; fol. 32r, 59r; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

The apotropaic function of the representations of E.s. is particularly striking in Ethiopia. Their portraits are placed near the entrances to a church and close to the sanctuaries (↗*Mäqdäs*). From the 17th cent. long suites of E.s. appear on the north exterior wall of the *mäqdäs*, i.e., facing the direction considered to be the abode of evil powers. E.s. also entered the pictorial repertory of ↗magic scrolls (e.g., ms. London, BritLib Orient. 12,859, 18th cent.: out of seven figures, only George can be identified, thanks to the inscription). The folded parchments in which each section is decorated with a portrait of a holy rider (e.g., ms. IES 3554, 17th cent.: ↗George [Giyorgis] of Lydda, Theodore [Tewodros], Mercury [↗Märqorewos], Victor [Fiqṭor], Mar Bəḫnam, Basilides [Fasilädäs], Justus [Yusṭos], Eusebius [Awsəbyos], Claudius [↗Gälawdewos], Menas [Minas], Abadir) were not only devotional but also apotropaic objects.

Among the pictures of Ethiopian E.s. three main representational categories can be distinguished: 1) simple portrait of the saint armed with a lance or spear and holding the reins of his horse; 2) saint spearing an enemy; 3) saint according to one of the aforementioned types placed in a narrative scene. All these formulas were applied throughout the centuries until modern times; very generally, it can be said that the narrative scenes appear mostly in old paintings (12th–14th cent.), while the simple portrait was particularly popular in the 16th cent. and the saints fighting with Evil were favoured from the 17th cent.

The oldest known Ethiopian representations of E.s. (four anonymous figures) are preserved in the church of ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos in Lasta and date to the end of the 12th cent. From the late 13th cent. the E.s. are known from ↗Gännätä Maryam: George rescuing the captured youth, and Mercury, accompanied by the cynocephalos, spearing Julian the Apostate; ↗Waša Mikaʾel near Gašäna, Wällo: George punishing the destroyer of his shrine, and Cyriacus (↗Qirqos); Əmäkina Mädḫane ʿAläm: George punishing the destroyer of his shrine, Theodore and snake, Victor, and Mar Bəḫnam; Betä Maryam in ↗Lalibäla: relief on the façade with two confronting, anonymous riders. From the 14th cent. remarkable are the paintings in the churches in ↗Gärʿalta: Harägʷa Mikaʾel (recently destroyed): George rescuing the youth, Theodore and Mercury; Bilbalä Qirqos: Cyriacus; Qorqor Maryam: Theodore and snake. A 14th-cent. *Gädla sämaʿǝtat* in Astit Kidanä Mǝḥrät, Ankobär (ms. EMML 2514) has remarkable miniatures of Mercury and George. From the 15th cent.: in Gärʿalta, Qʷärqʷär Danǝʾel: Mercury, Theodore the Oriental and snake, George; the monastery of ↗Däbrä Ṣǝyon: Claudius; George and snake, Mercury and Julian the Apostate. Psalters, ms. Paris, BN, d'Abbadie 105: George rescuing the youth, Theodore and snake (CRAbb 47f.). Paris, private collection: Mar Bǝḥnam, Theodore; London, collection of R. McCarthy: Theodore, George; two *Gädla sämaʿǝtat*, ↗Däbrä Maryam Qʷäḥayn, Säraye: George; ↗Gäbrä Krǝstos and Theodore, Mar Bǝḥnam. A manuscript with ↗*Täʾammǝrä Maryam*, Oslo/London, the Schøyen collection: Claudius, George, Theodore the Oriental. Processional cross, Addis Ababa, ms. IES no. 6038: George; painting on wood, Addis Abäba, ms. IES no. 4053: Theodore the Oriental; Basilides; Mercury, Aboli; George; Claudius, Lalibäla. Fragment of a manuscript, Munich, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, no. 86–307643: George, Theodore, Victor, Claudius (Mercier 2000:88).

The popularity of each E.s., measured by the number of times they are represented, is variable. Most frequently depicted are George, Theodore and Mercury. These three are also described in the *Apparition of the Virgin Mary at Däbrä Mǝṭmaq* (s. the *Sǝnkǝssar* on 21 *Gǝnbot*, BudSaint 917f.) and it is possible that this text influenced their iconography.

Since three warrior saints bear the name of Theodore (Tewodros) it is not always clear which of them is referred to: Theodore of Rome called Tiron or the Recruit (28 *Yäkkatit*), Theodore the Oriental, called Bänadǝlyos or Mǝśraqawi (12 *Ṭǝrr*), or Theodore the Stratelates (20 *Ḥamle*). Theodore, whoever he may be, is usually represented as a mature, bearded man on a brown horse slaying a snake. The scene recalls one of Theodore Tiron's miracles: the saint with divine help rescued a woman attacked by a snake when she was drawing water from a spring. In another version of the story, the snake was a local menace blocking the road to the saint's place of birth – Euchaïta. Some paintings show T. spearing a figure identified by the inscription as the "king of Qʷǝz" (triptych IES 4792), probably the illustration of a legend about Theodore the Oriental and his victory over a Persian commander.

The age and appearance of Mercury (commemorated on 18 *Mäskäram*) are not strictly defined, but he usually rides a dark or black horse and is armed with a sword. If he receives the sword from an angel, the image portrayed is the vision experienced by his fellow soldier (e.g., Aksum, Ǝnda Iyäsus). Märqorewos is most often depicted slaying Julian the Apostate – a scene which refers to his best-known posthumous miracle and may be complemented by the figures of saints Basil and Liberius who, according to some versions of the story, were witness to the event. The topic about the *cynocephali*, who became Christians, and Theodore's attendants is sometimes also illustrated (e.g., Gännätä Maryam church; ms. Genève, Eth. Mus. no. 21,051).

Ten E.s. forming the so-called Basilides's family, were all acquaintances of general Basilides (Fasilädäs; 11 *Mäskäräm*), brother-in-law of the Roman Emperor Numerianos, and all died as martyrs under Diocletian. The iconography of these saints, with a few exceptions, does not follow clearly defined rules. They bear the standard attributes of the warriors and their defeated enemy is haphazardly chosen. If these adversaries are humans they are represented on the ground, brandishing swords or spears and protecting themselves behind a shield. They sometimes wear Muslim turbans. The representatives of this group usually appear in long suites, which from the 17th cent. decorate the northern exterior wall of the *mäqdäs* in almost every church. We find there Basilides's two sons Eusebius (23 *Yäkkatit*), Macarius (Mäqarǝs; 14 *Mäskäräm*) and two sons of Basilides's second sister: Justus (25 *Ḥamle*) and Abadir (28 *Mäskäräm*). Her third son, Claudius (11 *Sane*), is one of the most popular Ethiopian saints. He is depicted either without distinctive attributes or spearing a centaur, that probably represents a member of the tribe defeated by the saint (legendary Qʷǝz or Beğğa), or the idol to which C. refused to sacrifice.

Claudius's friend Victor (27 *Miyazya*), son of the emperor Numerianus and Basilides's sister, was also popular. He is usually depicted on a dun horse. In some early representations he receives the crown of martyrdom from an angel. The illustration refers to the vision of a maiden mentioned in Victor's Vita. Sometimes a building is included in the scene, typifying either the shrine of the saint or the bathhouse where he was once tortured. Justus's son Aboli (1 *Näḥase*), Basilides's brother Stephen protomartyr (Ǝsṭifanos; 9 *Təqəmt*) and Theodore the Oriental (the son of Basilides's sister) also belong to this group.

The remaining eleven E.s. can be divided into two groups – the saints with relatively well-known legends that influenced their iconography, and a few minor personalities who, as standardised figures, are only appearing in the extensive suites of E.s.

Cyriacus, or better Quiricus (15 *Ṭər*), joined the E.s. at an early stage, but his iconography seems not to have a textual foundation, since, according to the legend, he died the martyr's death as a three years old child, together with his mother St. Julitta (Iyäluṭa). They are also often represented together, from the 17th cent., in a scene of torture on a fiery gridiron.

Menas (15 *Ḫədar*) was a soldier in Phrygia. His body was taken to Egypt and buried in Mareotis near Alexandria. His common portrayal as an adolescent orans flanked by two camels is unknown in Ethiopia, where he is always represented as a middle-aged warrior. This iconography is probably influenced by the descriptions of his frequent apparitions at the shrine, conveyed in the collection of his miracles well known in Ethiopia. A building is sometimes added to early representations of Minas, symbolising his church in Mareotis.

Mar Beḥnam (also Märbəḥnam/Marməḥnam; 14 *Taḫśaś*) is a Syrian saint converted by the anchorite Matthew; he was tortured and put to death together with his sister Sara and 40 attendants. When he is represented spearing a monster, this probably reflects his Vita, which recounts that his conversion took place during a wild beast hunt or refers to his power to chase the evil spirits.

Sisinios (↗Susənyos; 26 *Miyazya*) is venerated as the protector of newly-born children strangled by a female demon – his sister Wərzəlya in Ethiopian tradition. Susənyos is usually depicted spearing her with his lance. This picture appears frequently in magical scrolls.

Gigar (16 *Näḥase*) is known from the legends of the Virgin Mary describing the Flight of the Holy Family to Mount Lebanon. According to this story, Gigar, the governor or judge in Syria was protector of the Holy Family, and on account of this he was tortured by order of Herod and finally beheaded. Gigar is depicted taking revenge on the king, either spearing him or beheading him.

Philoteos (Filatäwos; 16 *Ṭərr*), is represented killing the bull called Maragäd, an idol worshiped in Antioch.

Seldom represented are: the holy physicians Sergius (Särgyus; 10 *Ṭəqəmt*) and Bacchus (Bakos; 4 *Ṭəqəmt*), Sebastian (Səbästyanos; 25 *Ṭərr*) and ↗Gäbrä Krəstos ("the man of God", i.e. St. Alexis, 14 *Ṭəqəmt*; thus, in the pictures he may be given the status of knight).

Also represented as E.s. are the four kings of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, recognised as saints by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church: ↗Lalibäla, ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, ↗Näʾakʷəto Läʾab and Harbe or Harbay (e.g., ↗Wəqro Mäsqäl, Säqoṭa). It is also the Archangel Michael, depicted as *archistratigós* or the commander of the heavenly host: so he appears in the frontispiece miniatures of ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel*. Finally, ↗Alexander the Great in the guise of a pious king and warrior fighting against supernatural powers and strange people is portrayed as the holy rider, usually ascending to heaven while mounted on his horse Bucephalus. Besides manuscripts, he is represented likewise in magical scrolls (e.g., Paris, Musée des arts d'Afrique et d'Oceanie, ms. no. 82) and in church murals (e.g., Amanuʾel church in Balč̣i).

Src.: RENÉ BASSET, *Les Apocryphes éthiopiens*, IV: *Les légendes de Saint Tertag et Saint Sousnyos*, Paris 1894; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *Legends of our Lady, the Perpetual Virgin, and her Mother Ḥannâ*, London 1922, 202–05; BudSaint; CRAbb 45–48, no. 19 [Abbadie 105]; PAUL DEVOS, "Un récit des miracles de S. Ménas en copte et en éthiopien", *ABoll* 77, 1959, 451–63, 78; *ibid.* 78, 1960, 154–60; EMML 2514; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, *Acta Martyrum*, Romae 1907 [repr. Louvain 1962] (CSCO 37, 38 [SAe 20, 21]); E. GALTIER, "Les actes de Victor, fils de Romanos", *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 4, 1905, 127–40; GENEVIÈVE NOLLET, "Les miracles de Saint Mercure Philopater", *Aethiops* 4, 2, 1931, 20–24; LANFRANCO RICCI, "La leggenda della Vergine al Libano e del Santo Gigar", *RSE* 8, 1949, 83–88.
Lit.: GUISEPPE BALESTRI, "Il martirio di S. Teodoro l'Orientale e de' suoi compagni Leonzio l'Arabo e Panegiris il Persiano", *Bessarione* ser. 2ª, 10, 1906, 151–68; *ibid.*, ser. 3ª, 2, 1907, 34–45; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, [Review of Bogdan Burtea, *Zwei äthiopische Zauberrollen*, Aachen 2001], *Annali IUO* 60–61, 2000–01, 591–93 (Lit.); ROBERT BEYLOT, "Sur la légende éthiopienne de Saint Mercure et le thème des cynocéphales", *Semitica* 36, 1986, 105–24; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Note on the Early Iconography of St. George and Related Equestrian Saints", *JES* 13, 2, 1974, 39–55; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "La légende de Sousneyos et de Werzelyâ d'après le ms. éthiop. Griaule no. 297", *Orientalia* 6, 1937, 177–83; WILLY HANGSTENBERG, "Der Drachenkampf des heiligen Theodore", *OrChr* 2, 1912,

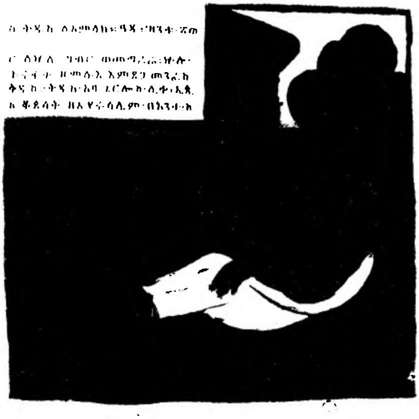
78–106, 241–80; JACQUES MERCIER, "Sousneyos, ou la protection des nouveau-nés", in: ID., *Le roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard. Art et médicine en Ethiopie*, Paris 1992, 168f.; ID., *L'arche Éthiopienne: art chrétienne d'Ethiopie*, Paris 2000, 56, 88; OSVALDO RAINERI, intr. by STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Santi guerrieri a cavallo. Tele etiopiche di Qēs Adamu Tesfaw. Warrior Saints on Horseback. Ethiopian Paintings by Qēs Adamu Tesfaw*, Clusone (bg) 1996; CHRISTOPHER WALTER, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*, Aldershot 2003; ID., "Theodore, Archetype of the Warrior Saint", *Revue des études byzantines* 57, 1999, 163–210; GEORGE SANDWITH, "Der heilige Mercurius und die Hundeköpfe. Ein Beispiel Visionärer Kunst aus Äthiopien", *Antaios* 4, 1963, 251–60.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

ʿƎrräfta

ʿƎ. (**ዕረፍት**, lit. 'Her falling asleep'), the feast of the Dormition of ↗Mary, is celebrated by the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church on 21 *Ṭərr* [29 January], whereas the feast of the Assumption of Mary's body to Heaven takes place on 16 *Näḥase* [22 August] (↗*Fəlsäta*). The commemoration of both as unmoveable ↗feasts was enforced by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, the 15th-cent. patron of the veneration and cult of Mary; accordingly, the celebrations must already have been established by the time he announced the 32/33 annual feasts to be included in the liturgical cycle (↗Calendar) and gave orders to translate the Introductory Rite (*Mäṣḥafä śərʿat*, 'Book of the Rules') of the Miracles of Mary from Arabic into Gəʿəz in 1441 (Getatchew Haile 1992; Heldman 1994:163ff.). The feasts of the Dormition (ʿƎ.) and Assumption (*Fəlsäta*) are part of the five main commemorations of Mary (alongside the *Kidanä Məhrät*, ↗*Lədäta* and *Qəddase Beta*).

The celebration of the Dormition and Assumption as two different feasts is related to the tradition of the ↗Coptic Church, celebrating the Dormition on the 21 *Ṭūba* [29 January] and the Assumption of Mary and apparition of her body to the Apostles on the 16 *Misrā* [22 August]. It dates back to the 6th cent. and originated from a Gnostic legend of St. Mary's death (Daley 2001: 81). Between the Dormition and the Assumption there is a time-span of seven months (206 days); the Assumption is the last celebration of the liturgical year of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. As the *Sənkəssar* reading for 16 *Näḥase* has it (GuiSyn III, 335–39; BudSaint 1222ff.), the Apostles had to wait fasting for two weeks before Mary appeared in front of them; as a memorial of that, the believers fast for two weeks before the feast of the Assumption. In addition, the feast of Mary's Dormition is commemorated on the 21st day of each month.



Burial of St. Mary; miniature; ms. *Laḥä Dəngəl*; 18th cent.; church in Ǝnda Abba Ḥadära, Tämben; fol. 144r; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Both the Dormition and the Assumption are important themes in Ethiopian iconography. The depictions of the Ascension, rare before the 17th cent., show Mary surrounded by the twelve Apostles (Chojnacki 2000:193) or by the angels (Assunta type). Ethiopian painters were mostly influenced by the narratives for both feasts given in the *Sənkəssar* (21 *Ṭərr* and 16 *Näḥase*). A triptych of the Dormition ascribed to Nicolò ↗Brancaleone (in the collection of the IES, Addis Abäba, previously at the monastery of ↗Getesemane Maryam, Goǧǧam), which could have influenced Ethiopian iconography of the scene, has a legend that reads: "How the Apostles gathered together on the clouds of the sky with the angels when Our Lady Mary went to Heaven" (ChojPaint 293). The scenes of Dormition and Assumption depicting the figure of Christ (the model originating from Byzantine iconography) appear first at the end of the 19th cent.

St. Mary's grave in Gethsemani, at the church of the Tomb of the Virgin Mary (or: of the Assumption) in ↗Jerusalem, is highly venerated by Ethiopians and is still today a place for pilgrimage to them. A small Ethiopian community has been established in this church, with its own altar at which they celebrate their liturgy, since the

15th cent. (CerPal vol. 1, 307–11). There is still an Ethiopian property near the Tomb of Our Lady (Stoffregen-Pedersen 1983:9).

Src.: Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge (ed., tr.), *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the History of the Likeness of Christ*, London 1899; Id., *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1915, 642; BudSaint 523–27, 1222ff.; GuiSyn III, 335–40; ColSyn IX, 150–57; Getatchew Haile, *The Mariology of Emperor Zärʾa Yaʿəqob of Ethiopia*, Roma 1992 (OrChrA 242).

Lit.: CerMaria 137ff.; CerPal vol. 1, 307–11; Enrico Cerulli, "La festa etiopica del Patto di Misericordia e le sue fonti nel greco 'Liber de Transitu' e nel racconto latino dei Cinque Dolori di Maria", in: *Silloge Bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati*, Roma 1957 (= Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici 9), 53–71; Stanisław Chojnacki, *Ethiopian Icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, 193, no. 182, s. index; ChojPaint 293, s. index; Brian J. Daley, "'At the Hour of our Death': Mary's Dormition and Christian Dying in Late Patristic and Early Byzantine Literature", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55, 2001 [2002], 71–89; DillmZarY; Emmanuel Fritsch, *"The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church"*, *Ethiopian Review of Cultures* [special issue] 9–10, 2001, 321–27; Marilyn E. Heldman, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon: a Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6), 163ff.; Bishop Gregorius, "Theotokos, Feast of the", in: *CE* vol. 7, 2256; Giovanni Migliorati, "Il culto di Maria in Etiopia", in: *MiscAethKur* 181–202, here 192–95 (Lit.); Kirsten Stoffregen-Pedersen, *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the Time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*, Jerusalem 1983, 9.

Verena Böll

ʿƎräfta lämaryam: Mäṣḥafä ʿəräfta lämaryam

M.ʿə. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ዕረፍታ፡ ለማርያም**, 'The Book of Mary's Dormition') is a work describing the circumstances of the death, or more precisely the "falling asleep" (Gəʿəz *ʿəräft*, Gr. κοίμησις, Lat. *dormitio*) of the Virgin ↗Mary in Jerusalem. The work (*Liber Requiei*) is divided into five chapters ("books"; Arras 1973:1–84). The first tells how Mary receives a book from the hand of a "great angel", who informs Mary of her early departure from the earthly life; the second reports how she went to the Mount of Olives (Däbrä Zäyt), there conversing with her son Jesus Christ; the third describes how the Apostles assembled at her grave; the fourth recounts how the Saviour appears in front of the Apostles and how Mary fell asleep, looking forward to being together again with him; the fifth speaks of the events after the Assumption.

The M.ʿə. is likely to have been translated from Greek in the Aksumite age (Fiaccadori 2003:204). Although the extant manuscripts date from the 15th cent. at least (the earliest one being ms. Vat. Aeth. 268, van Lantschoot 1962:470, and Arras 1973:v [text]), a clue for the more ancient circulation of the text is provided by the homily on the Dormition, 16 *Näḥase* (ms. EMML 2375, fol. 109a–122a) of ↗Rətuʿa Haymanot, who lived before 1424 (Getatchew Haile 1981). In addition to the M.ʿə., the Ethiopian *Transitus Mariae* literature is represented by a substantial number of other Dormition accounts, mostly homilies (cp. ↗*Dərsan*), but also ↗*malkəʾ*.

The M.ʿə. is closely connected with the tradition of the "Book of the Assumption" of St. Mary (s. *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ʿərgäta lämaryam*). The origin of the Greek, Arabic and Coptic sources of the literature about the Dormition and the Assumption of Mary may be connected with the rejection of the Christological formulations of the Council of Chalcedon. The rejection of the two-nature, one-hypostatis structure of Jesus Christ by the non-Chalcedonians was beneficial to the cult and veneration of Mary, the Mother of God (Daley 2001:72). There is a story of Mary's Dormition called *Astärəʾəyo Maryam* (**ዘአስተርእዮ፡ ዘይትነበብ፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩ለጥር**, 'Of the [Feast of] the Apparition, [to be read] on 21 *Ṭərr*'; Arras 1973:85–100; Budge 1933:152–67), which is also given in the reading for 21 *Ṭərr* in the ↗*Sənkəssar*, where John the Evangelist, who was taken "in the spirit" by the cloud from Ephesus, informs the Virgin Mary of her incumbent passing away (CANT no. 151). All Apostles, virgins and angels, and Jesus Christ himself surrounded her at once; and immediately a large number of miracles happened. Mary's soul was taken up into Heaven, wrapped in a cloth of light. The Apostles buried her body in Gethsemane, where it remained for three days. Mary asked her Son that all those who commemorate her and pray in her name should find mercy (cp. *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*kidanä məḥrät*). Mary was then 60 years old (ColSyn IX, 150–57; BudSaint 523–27).

In the homiliary of the Virgin entitled *Dərsanä Maryam*, some different Dormition/Assumption accounts can be found, e.g., in ms. EMML 3873, fol. 35a–40a, homily by a certain *pappas* Yoḥannəs for the Dormition of the Blessed Virgin; fol. 40a–43b (Arras 1974:56–61), anonymous homily on the Assumption, based on the account by John the Evangelist for 16 *Näḥase*; fol. 46a–58a (Chaîne 1909:23–49), anonymous homily on the Assumption for 18 *Näḥase*; fol. 58a–66b, homily of ↗Cyril of Jerusalem on the Assumption for

19 *Näḥase* (Budge 1915:642, Arras 1974:1–33); fol. 66b–76a, homily (by Rətuᶜa Haymanot?) on the Assumption for 20 *Näḥase*; fol. 76a–101a, the Book of the Assumption for 21 *Näḥase*; fol. 108b–109b, homily by ↗Minas, Bishop of Aksum, on the Dormition (and Assumption) of the Blessed Virgin for 21 *Ṭərr* (cp. mss. EMML 1763, 2044, 2461, 3998, 4279, 4355). Among the possible sources – albeit indirectly – was the homily written around 489 by ↗Jacob of Serug, which describes the holy death of Mary and her glorious entry into Heaven, and other similar Syriac texts of the 5th cent. (Daley 2001:80). Further sources could be apocryphal works or early Greek patristic writings about Mary's death and bodily ascension, such as those of John of Thessalonike or of Pseudo-John the Evangelist or of Pseudo-Melito of Sardis (*Liber Transitus Virginis Mariae*), composed prior to the 4th cent. The oldest text narrating the legend of the Dormition/Assumption seems to be the pseudo-Gospel of Bartholomew, probably of the 3rd cent. The *Liber Transitus Virginis Mariae* was condemned, along with several other apocryphal works, in the decree attributed to Pope Gelasius, actually of the 5th/6th cent. for that part (*Decretum de libris canonicis ecclesiasticis et apocryphis*, [Pope Gelasius 1, Epistle 42], in: *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 59, 162).

The liturgical celebration of the Dormition is integrated in the Ethiopian Orthodox calendar (cp. ↗*ᶜƎräfta*). The liturgy for death and burial, here of Coptic origin, retells the legend of Mary's death in a long prayer for the burial-cloth of the corpse. The prayer includes a few details of a Homily on Mary's Dormition by Theodosius, Patriarch of Alexandria, from the year 566 (Dobberahn 1997:882–86).

Src.: VICTOR ARRAS, *De Transitu Mariae. Apocrypha Aethiopice*, I, Louvain 1973 (CSCO 342, 343 [SAe 66, 67]), 1–84 (text) = 1–54 (tr.); II, Louvain 1974 (CSCO 351, 352 [SAe 68, 69]), 1–33 (text) = 1–25 (tr.), 56–61 (text) = 43–46 (tr.); MARIUS CHAÎNE, *Apocrypha de B. Maria Virgine*, II, Roma 1909 [repr. Louvain 1955] (CSCO 39, 40 [SAe 22, 23]), 23–49 (text) = 19–42 (tr.); ID., "Sermon de Théodose, patriarche d'Alexandrie, sur la dormition et l'assomption de la Vierge", *ROC* 29, 1933/34, 276–314; EMML 1763, 2044, 2375, 2461, 3873, 3998, 4279, 4355; ARNOLD VAN LANTSCHOOT, "Inventaire sommaire des mss. vaticans éthiopiens 251–99", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e testi 219), 454—512, here 470; ADOLPH GROHMANN, *Äthiopische Marienhymnen*, Leipzig 1919, 258–63; CONSTANTINUS TISCHENDORF (ed.), *Apocalypses apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Johannis, item Mariae dormitio, additis evangeliorum et actuum apocryphorum supplementis*, Lipsiae 1866, XXXIV–XLI, 95–136; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1915, 642; BudSaint 523–27; MELITO OF SARDES, "De transitu B.V.", in: JACQUES-PAUL MIGNE (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 5, 1233–34; GELASIUS, "Epistle 42", in: JACQUES-PAUL MIGNE (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 59, 162; ANDREAS CRETENSIS, "In dormitionem S.M. III", *ibid.*, vol. 97, 1100; CANT nos. 150–56; GuiSyn III, 335–40; ColSyn IX, 150–57.

Lit.: MONIKA HAIBACH-REINISCH, *Ein neuer 'Transitus Mariae' des Pseudo-Melito*, Roma 1962; BRIAN E. DALEY, *On the Dormition of Mary: Early Patristic Homilies*, Crestwood, NY 1998; ID., "'At the Hour of our Death': Mary's Dormition and Christian Dying in Late Patristic and Early Byzantine Literature", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55, 2001 [2002], 71–89; CerMaria; CHRISOSTOME HAY OZ, *Portrait de Marie: complainte de la Vierge*, Fribourg 1958; MARTIN JUGIE, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge, étude historico-doctrinale*, Città del Vaticano 1944; L. LEROY, "La Dormition de la Vierge", *ROC* 15, 1910, 162–72; MICHEL VAN ESBROECK, "Les textes littéraires sur l'Assomption avant le Xe siècle", in: FRANÇOIS BOVON et al. (ed.), *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres: Christianisme et monde païen*, Genève 1981, 265–88 [repr. in: MICHEL VAN ESBROECK, *Aux origines de la Dormition de la Vierge. Etudes historiques sur les traditions orientales*, Aldershot (Hampshire) 1995, no. I]; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *OrChr* 65, 1981, 102–36; FRIEDRICH ERICH DOBBERAHN, "Der äthiopische Begräbnisritus", in: HANSJAKOB BECKER – HERMANN ÜHLEIN, *Liturgie im Angesichts des Todes: Judentum und Ostkirchen*, Sankt Ottilien 1997, vol. 1, 657–84, vol. 2, 859–1036, here 882–86; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Πρόσοψις non πρόοψις. Efeso, Gerusalemme, Aquileia (Nota a *IEph* 495, 1 s.)", *La Parola del Passato* 58, 2003 [2004], 182–249, here 204.

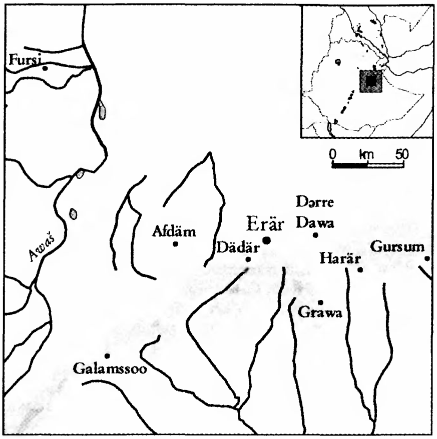
Verena Böll

Erär

E. (**ኤሬር**, or **ኤሬር፡ ጎታ** Erär-Gota, from ᶜAfar *errer*, 'change of camels') is a town located at 1,201 m A.S.L. It lies in an oasis at the foot of the Amhar mountains, on a crossing over the alluvial cone of the Erär stream. Originally a station of the Addis Abäba–Djibouti ↗railway (60 km from Dərre Dawa), E. is now a fast-growing town (3,429 inhabitants in 1984 vs. 5,705 in 2000).

In 1886, while travelling from Tağūra, the French traveller Jules ↗Borelli stopped by the well at E. He described the village, located at the crossroads of routes from Tağūra and Zaylaᶜ to Šäwa, as "neutral ground" where ᶜAfar, Oromo and ᶜIssa met.

Ras Täfäri Mäkʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), whilst governor of ↗Harär, had handed over concessions along the railroad to Europeans (among them the writer-adventurer Henry de



↗Monfreid). Under the Italian occupation, E. sheltered a hundred peasants who worked at the plantations of papaw, banana and citrus fruits, the largest of which had belonged to Ḫaylä Śəllase I. The Italians had transformed the Emperor's palace in the vicinity of thermal springs into a hotel, which was frequented till the very eve of the ↗Revolution by the European and Ethiopian middle classes of Dərre Dawa.

The most important projects in E. belonged (till the Revolution) to Ḫaylä Śəllase I and were managed by the Ḫaylä Śəllase Prize Trust. The Revolution nationalized the plantations and integrated them into the para-governmental Corporation for Fruit Sales and Commerce Ethfruit. The new government has announced its intentions to privatize it.

The markets of Dərre Dawa, well connected to E. by a passable road laid over the remains of an old Italian one, and those of Harär offer a significant outlet for E. fruit production.

The small borough which had grown around the small neighbouring railway stop of Gota (7 km from E.) has been gradually absorbed by E.

At the beginning of the 1970s, E. was the capital of the ᶜAdal – ᶜIssa (Ciise) – Gara Guračča *awrağğa*, where ᶜAfar and Somali lived, most of them nomadizing between the foot of Mount Amhar and the ↗Awaš. In 1984 E. was included into Dərre Dawa – ᶜAdal and Gurgura *awrağğa* but continued to belong to the region of Harär. In 1987 it belonged to the region of Dərre Dawa, one of the two Somali autonomous regions. Since 1991 the *wäräda* has joined the zone of Šənəle in Somali *kəlləl*. The separation of the administrative region of Dərre Dawa decreased the tensions in the population, but the *kəlləl* Somali and ᶜAfar continue today to dispute the southern banks of the Awaš as the disturbances from spring 2002 showed.

Src.: CSA 1984; CSA 1998; CSA 2000; ETHIOPIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, *Directory of Agriculture*, Addis Ababa 1973; EMAtlas; JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale; journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 77.

Lit.: AKALOU WOLDE-MICHAEL, "Urban Development in Ethiopia (1899–1925): Early Phase", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 1–16; MARC FONTRIER, *Abou-Bakr Ibrahim, pacha de Zeyla, marchand d'esclaves. Commerce et diplomatie dans le Golfe de Tadjoura 1840-1885*, Paris 2003; GasEth; *Guida* 420; ZerEth.

Alain Gascon

ᶜƎrgätä Isayyas ↗Isaiah, Ascention of

ᶜƎrgäta lämaryam: Mäṣḥafä ᶜərgäta lämaryam

M.ᶜə. (መጽሐፈ፡ ዕርገት፡ ለማርያም, 'The Book of Mary's Ascension') is a work containing the story of the Ascension of the body of St. ↗Mary (after her Assumption on 16 *Näḥase*, ↗*Fəlsäta*; s. also ↗*ᶜƎräfta*) into Heaven, where she prays until the Last Judgement. The book is in the name of Prochorus (Gəᶜəz: አብሮኮሮስ, Abrokoros), the disciple of John the Evangelist, and reports that the Apostles gathered from all over to be with Mary at her death. Jesus came to receive her soul; she was buried and three days later, while the earth was trembling, her body was taken from her tomb into heaven and translated to Paradise. Furthermore, the M.ᶜə. describes the reception of Mary's body by her Son, who praises it since he dwelled for nine months within it (Arras 1973:85–100).

The sources of the Ethiopic version should be sought for in early Greek (and Coptic) patristic writings and apocryphal literature available in Arabic translation. A homily about the *ᶜƎrgäta*, the corporeal assumption of Mary, is said to be by ↗Cyriacus of Behnesa (*ᶜƎrgäta* for 16 *Näḥase*; Arras 1974:34–55), who wrote several homilies on Mary; his ↗*Laḥa Maryam* was translated from Arabic into Gəᶜəz in the 14th cent. by *abba* ↗Sälama "the Translator". Another frequently quoted homily about Mary's Ascension is one by ↗Cyril of Jerusalem (*Zena ᶜərgäta*, 'Narrative of her Ascension', also for 16 *Näḥase*; Arras 1974:1–33).

The best-known Ethiopic Ascension story is included in the ↗*Sənkəssar* for 16 *Näḥase*, and is to be treated along with the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ʿəräfta lämaryam*. In both accounts ↗John the Evangelist plays a major role, being the one who has the vision of St. Mary's death and Ascension from Bethlehem into Heaven, as angels and archangels accompanied her. In the *Sənkəssar* account of the Ascension for 16 *Näḥase* ("On this day took place the Ascension of the body [ዕርገት፡ ሥጋ] of our pure and holy and honourable Lady the Virgin Mary ..."), she appears sitting on the right hand of her Son or, later, upon the Chariot of the Cherubim. The apostle Thomas, not present at the time of her death, was the first one who saw her body out of the grave carried to heaven by the angels. According to the *Sənkəssar*, the Apostles had to wait fasting for two weeks before Mary appeared in front of them: this is supposed to be the origin of the two-week fasting before the Ascension (*ʿƎrgäta* for 21 *Ṭərr*; BudSaint 523–27; GuiSyn IX, 150–57).

In several homilies the Dormition and the Assumption are treated together: e.g., in the Homily by ↗Minas, Bishop of Aksum, "on the Dormition (and Assumption) of the Blessed Virgin" for 21 *Ṭərr* (cp. mss. EMML 1763, 2044, 2461, 3998, 4279, 4355). Likewise, a book called መጽሐፈ፡ ዕረፍታ፡ ወፍልሰታ (*Mäṣḥafä ʿəräfta wäfəlsäta*, 'Book of the Dormition and Assumption') is mentioned in some manuscripts (CerMaria 310); the *Maṣḥafä fəlsäta lämaryam* shares a large amount of material with the M.ʿə. (Chaîne 1962:37). The *Zena lämaryam wäfəlsäta* ('Story of Mary and her Assumption') contains various traditions on Mary and her Ascension (ms. BritLib Orient. 604, fol. 53).

Like the Dormition, Mary's Assumption is not only the subject of a number of homilies, but also of ↗*malkəʾ* and other ↗hymns. The *Mälkəʾa fəlsäta* ('Images of the Assumption'), ascribed to *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, vol. 1, 373), presents a detailed description of the event (Raineri 1989:107).

Src.: VICTOR ARRAS, *De Transitu Mariae. Apocrypha Aethiopice*, I, Louvain 1973 (CSCO 342, 343 [SAe 66, 67]), 85–100 (text) = 55–66 (tr.); II, 1974 (CSCO 351, 352 [SAe 68, 69]), 34–55 (text) = 26–42 (tr.); BudSaint 523–27, 1222–25; CANT; ColSyn IX, 150–57; EMML 1763, 2044, 2461, 3998, 4279, 4355; MARIUS CHAÎNE, *Apocrypha de B. Maria Virgine*, II. *Liber de Transitu Virginis Mariae*, Roma 1909 [repr. Louvain 1955] (CSCO 39, 40 [SAe 22, 23]), 21–49 (text) = 19–42 (tr.); CONSTANTINUS TISCHENDORF, *Apocalypses apocryphae* ..., Lipsiae 1866; WrBriMus 143ff., no. 217 [Orient. 604].

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "La festa etiopica del Patto di Misericordia e le sue fonti nel greco 'Liber de Transitu' e nel racconto latino dei Cinque Dolori di Maria", in: *Silloge Bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati*, Roma 1957 (= *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 9), 53–71; CerMaria 310; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns: Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 369–75, here 373; PAULOS YOHANNES, *Filsata: the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and the Mariological Tradition of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church*, Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University 1988; OSVALDO RAINERI, "L'Effigie di Maria 'Patto di Misericordia': note per un 'Mariale Aethiopicum'", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 103, 1989, 92–109, here 107; MICHEL VAN ESBROECK, "Les textes littéraires sur l'Assomption avant le X^{e} siècle", in: FRANÇOIS BOVON et al. (eds.), *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres: Christianisme et monde païen*, Genève 1981, 265–88; ARNOLD VAN LANTSCHOOT, "L'Assumption de la S. Vierge chez les Coptes", *Gregorianum* 27, 1946, 493–526.

Verena Böll

Eritrea

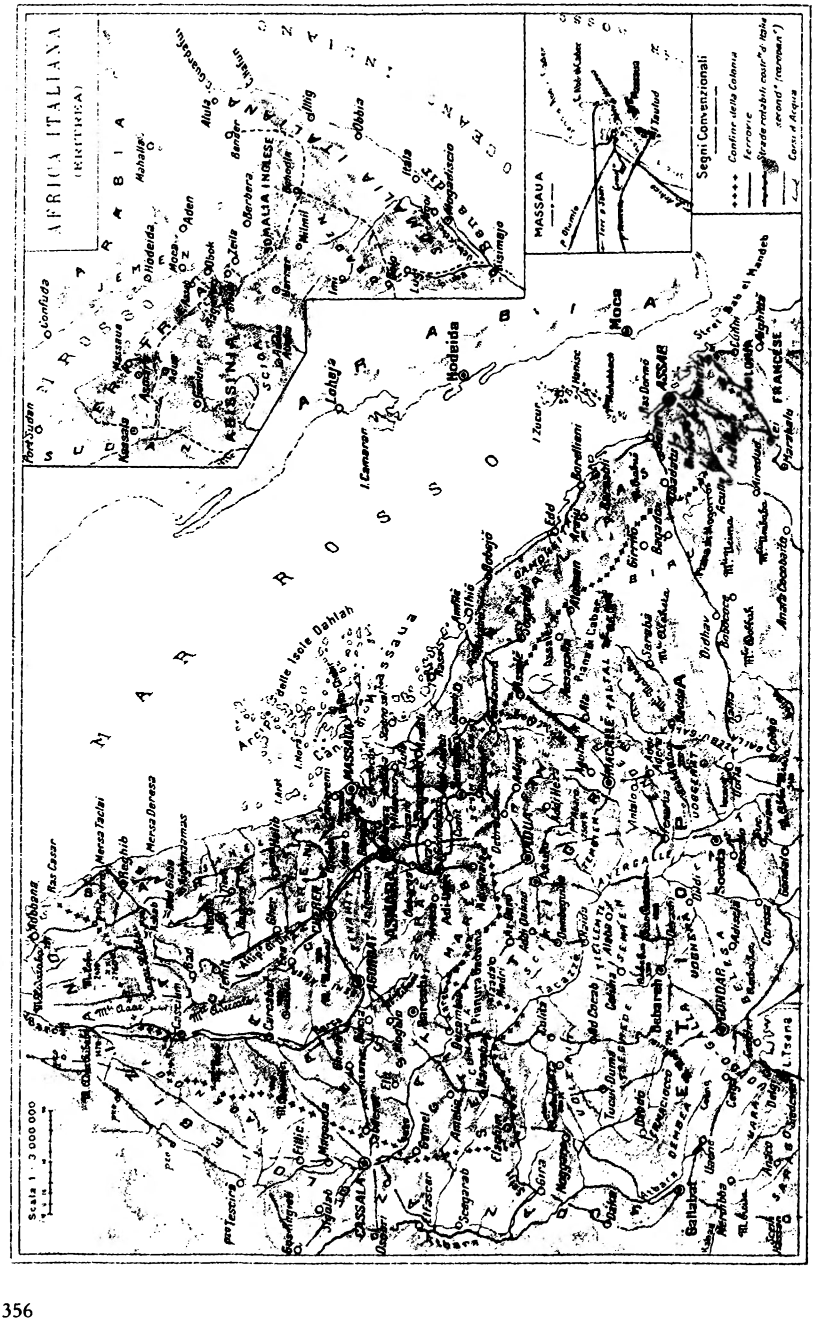
I. Geography

E. (ኤርትራ, *Erətra*) is situated in the ↗Horn of Africa. It is bordered to the north-east and east by the ↗Red Sea (Lat. *Mare Erythraeum*, whence the name "[Colonia] Eritrea", coined by the Italians in 1890 upon the declaraion of their new colony; cp. also ↗Erythraea), to the west and north-west by the ↗Sudan, to the south by ↗Ethiopia and to the south-east by ↗Djibouti (↗Boundaries). It covers an area of ca. 124,000 km^2 (including the ↗Dahlak archipelago and the ↗Ḥaniš islands). The capital of E. is ↗Asmära.

The largest part of the country is a high plateau with elevations between 1,800 and 3,000 m A.S.L. (↗Geography). The highest point is ↗Amba Soyra (3,018 m A.S.L.). The lowland strip along the Red Sea coast enjoys a hot ↗desert climate. The lowest point is Lake Kullul in the north of the ↗ʿAfar Depression (75 m B.S.L.). The rivers of E. are mainly seasonal, the principal ones being the ↗Gaš, the ↗Barka and the Setit (↗Täkkäze).

II. Peoples and languages

E. has ca. 4,400,000 inhabitants (2004 estimate). The two most widely spread languages are ↗Təgrəñña (mother tongue for ca. 50 % of the population) and ↗Təgre (31 %). Other languages are ↗Sāho, ↗ʿAfar, ↗Beğa, ↗Kunama, ↗Nara, ↗Bilin. Of these, Kunama and Nara belong to the ↗Nilo-Saharan phylum. The other languages are ↗Afro-Asiatic, Təgrəñña and Təgre being ↗Semitic (↗Ethio-Semitic), the rest (Sāho, ʿAfar, Beğa, Bilin) ↗Cushitic. In addition, a Hiğāzī dialect of ↗Arabic is spoken by


AFRICA ITALIANA
(ERITREA)
Scala 1 : 3 000 000
MAR ROSSO
ARABIA
Segni Convenzionali
Confine della Colonia
Ferrovie
Corsi d'Acqua
MASSAUA
ASMARA
MASSAUA
CASSALA
CHEREN
AGORDAT
ADUA
ASSAB
Hodeida
Moca
Loheja
Arcip. delle Isole Dahlah
SOMALIA INGLESE
ABISSINIA
Mogadiscio
Aden
OCEANO
Port Sudan
Massaua
Asmara
Gondar
L. Tsana
Macallè
FRANCESE
Bab el Mandeb
I. Camaran
I. Zucur

Map of the Colonia Eritrea as shown on a 1920s' Italian postcard; from the estate of Lorenz Jensen the ↗Rašāʾida. Some native speakers of ↗Italian are also present. The national languages of E. are Təgrəñña, Standard Arabic and ↗English, used for secondary and University education (↗Languages and peoples).

Officially, E. has nine ethnic groups, some of these composed of subgroups which in the past had considered themselves independent from each other (e.g., ↗Mänsaʾ, ↗Marya).

Most Eritreans confess ↗Christianity (chiefly Orthodox; also Catholic, Protestant) or ↗Islam (predominantly Sunni Muslims). Since 1994, the Eritrean Orthodox Church has been independent from the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. The first Patriarch, late *abunä* Filəppos, was anointed in 1998.

III. History

E. started taking its modern shape during the colonial period in the late 19th cent., in particular through colonization by ↗Italy in the 1880s (occupation of Massawa 1885, of Asmära 1889). Until that time, the highland was largely within the influence-domain of the Ethiopian monarchy (↗*Baḥər nägaš*; ↗Märäb Məllaš; ↗*Təgre mäkʷännən*). The coastal areas were partially under Ottoman control after the fall of the ↗Dahlak sultanate (esp. ↗Massawa), partially under independent local *šayḫs* (near Massawa, often being vassals of Ethiopian leaders), whereas the south was in the hands of smaller ᶜAfar principalities (↗Rahayta, ↗Dankali, ↗Áwsa) and the western lowlands were controlled by ↗Beni ᶜAmər clans and Šəmagille groups of the Təgre (s. the sub-article on E.'s pre-colonial history).

The history of E. since the formation of the entity under the Italians can be roughly divided into five phases: (1) the time of Colonia Eritrea (1890–1941, s. the sub-article on E.'s colonial history; s. also ↗Africa Orientale Italiana); (2) the period of the ↗British Military Administration (1941–52); (3) the years of the ↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation (1952–62); (4) the time as Ethiopia's 14th province (s. the sub-article on Eritrea in the years 1962–91); (5) E.'s independence.

IV. Government and political system

E. (official denominations **ሃገረ፡ ኤርትራ**, *Hagärä Erətra*; دولة ارتريا, *Dawlat Iritriyā*; State of E.) has been an independent state since 1993 (referendum and acknowledgement of independence from Ethiopia). The present government consists of the legislative (the National Assembly, with 75 members of the PFDJ and 75 popularly elected members), the executive (the president and the cabinet, with 16 ministers) and the judicial (Supreme Court, provincial and district courts) branches. The constitution was ratified by the Constitutional Assembly on 23 May 1997, but most of its provisions have not yet (2005) come into effect.

The country is divided into six zones (*zoba*) which are in turn subdivided into sub-zones (*nəʾus zoba*; s. the sub-article on E.'s administrative division).

V. Economy

The economy of E. is largely based on subsistence ↗agriculture. Traditionally, the inhabitants of the highlands were mostly involved in crop-farming, whereas the pastoral peoples of the lowlands bred cattle. Such a division is still valid. Today, ca. 80 % of the population is involved in agriculture. Lack of a dependable water-supply, aggravated by ↗environmental degradation, hampers development of agriculture, which is only responsible for ca. 20 % of the gross domestic product (GDP purchasing power parity US-$ 1,030 per capita in 2003). Military conflicts of the past decade have contributed to the low growth rate.

E. exports ↗coffee, ↗cotton, fruit, hides and meat and imports machinery, petroleum products, food and manufactured goods. The import volumes (US-$ 500 million in 2001) exceed by far export volumes (US-$ 20 million in 2001). The national currency of E. is the *naqfa* (since 1997; before that E. shared the same currency [↗*bərr*] with Ethiopia).

The road network stretches for ca. 4,000 km (of which 874 km are paved). A (partially reconstructed) railway connected ↗Aq̱ordät and Asmära with ↗Massawa, the main E. seaport (the other one being ↗Asäb).

VI. State symbols

The flag of E. was adopted in December 1995, replacing the UN-created flag of 1952, used by the Provisional Government of E. It consists of three triangles: a red isosceles triangle based on the hoist side, an upper green triangle and a lower blue one. A gold wreath around a gold olive branch is located inside the red triangle.

The coat of arms was designed in 1993. It shows a camel inside a gold wreath, with the words "The State of Eritrea" in English, Təgrəñña and Arabic at the bottom.

The national anthem of E., "*Erətra*, *Erətra*, *Erətra*" by Sälomon Ṣ́äḥaye Bäraḵi (text in

Təgrəñña), Yəsḥaq Abrəham Mäharəzgi and Aron Täklä Täsfaṣəyon (music) was adopted in 1993.

Red.

Pre-Colonial Eritrea

The name E. – after *Mare Eritreum*, the Latin name of the Red Sea, which was in its turn a translation of the Gr. Ἐρυθρὰ θάλαττα (Ionic: Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα) – was coined by the Italian imperialists in January 1890 upon the declaration of their new colony. The concept of this entity, a strip of land stretching from the Red Sea coast through the core mountains of the northern Ethiopian plateau and down to eastern Sudan, was somewhat older. The term "Erythräa" was used in German geographical literature of the 1870s (cp. Bairu Tafla in PICES 12, 511). In a political sense, it was already used by the early modern rulers of Egypt, notably by *khedive* ↗Ismāᶜīl *bāšā* (r. 1863–79), who attempted to establish an all-Nile Egyptian empire with its centre at Khartoum. During the 1860s and early 1870s, he renewed Egyptian rule in the Sudan (1865) and occupied the African Red Sea coast and beyond into the Indian Ocean and Harär. At that time the only route between these two spheres of the Egyptian empire passed through ↗Massawa, ↗Kärän, ↗Kassala and Khartoum. Moreover, it was only through this route that a modern railway (planned by Egypt since the 1870s) could ensure good communications with the Sudan. By 1872 the Egyptians had captured this strip and began colonizing it, building a chain of forts and even encouraging European missionaries to settle and develop agriculture there. Safeguarding this vital route, however, also necessitated the conquest of the core highlands of northern Ethiopia, then under the Təgrayan emperor ↗Yoḥannəs IV (r. 1872–89), who was centred in the north.

Prior to this Egyptian enterprise, the territories united by this new concept had little history in common. They were three independent cultural entities with dissimilar historical orientations. The western lowlands, from Bogos to Kassala (↗Barka), was the home of various ethnic groups led by the Təgre-speaking ↗Beni ᶜAmər clans. Though occasionally raided and taxed by the Christian Təgrayans of the highlands, they were no less associated with Sudanese history. As of the 1820s, the Sudanese orientation of the Beni ᶜAmər was solidified by the Mīrġani family (↗*Mīrġanīya*), who successfully worked to convert the Beni ᶜAmər to Islam; this family was based in the new *Ṣūfī* headquarters of the Ḫatmīya in Kassala. The coastal area had entirely different linguistic-ethnic settings and regional orientations. Initially an integral part of Aksumite Ethiopia (with the port of ↗Adulis, today's Zula, as Aksum's commercial centre), the coastal region was occasionally restored as ባሕር፡ ምድር (*Baḥər mədər*; cp. ↗B*aḥər nägaš*), Ethiopia's 'land of the Sea'; one such restoration occurred during the reign of *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (r. 1434–68). However, as of the 8th cent. it was predominantly associated with the history of Islam in the Red Sea (s. the Sultanate of ↗Dahlak). Its main centre was the town of Massawa, which, with a local Arab nucleus, was part of the Islamic urban presence along the eastern coast of the whole Horn. Massawa's long history cannot be presented here, but one episode exemplifying its connection to the greater Islamic world was its conquest by the Ottomans (↗Ottoman Empire) during 1557–78. The Ottomans (like their later successors, the modern Egyptians and the Italians) attempted to annex the coastal area to their "Province of Ḥabeš" (↗Ḥabeš eyaleti), along with parts of the Ethiopian highlands, but were defeated. Though they abandoned this enterprise, the Ottomans still considered the western coast of the Red Sea as part of their Islamic empire.

The coastal area was the home of various autonomous groups exposed to Islamic influences. The inner desert between Massawa and ↗Djibouti was inhabited by the ᶜAfar nomadic and independent clansmen, who by the 16th cent. had adopted Islamic rituals. In between these two spheres lay the mountainous areas – ↗Ḥamasen, ↗Säraye and ↗Akkälä Guzay – inhabited by Təgrəñña-speaking Christians who were, from their incipience, an integral part of the Ethiopian world.

This highland territory was part of the heartland of ancient Aksum and the cradle of Ethiopian Christianity and monasticism. It was later the core of Baḥər mədər and a part of Təgray-Təgrəñ, the term describing the lands inhabited by all Təgrəñña speakers. Separated by the River Märäb from the rest of the empire, the region was often called ↗Märäb Məllaš ('beyond the Märäb'). Just like practically every other part of Ethiopia, the history of the Märäb Məllaš also revolved around tensions between the central Ethiopian imperial authority and the local elite, who in turn were torn by internal divisions and rivalries. The core region of the Märäb Məllaš, Ḥamasen, was for centuries led mostly by two rival families from the villages of ↗Hazzäga and ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga. The local elite groups enjoyed relative independence because they were sheltered by the Märäb and at times were able to obtain power from external forces, as well as from the frequent raiding and taxing of local lands. It was all, however, within the rules of Ethiopian culture and tradition.

The 19th-cent. Egyptian attempt to unify these regions and separate them from Ethiopia initiated a "pre-colonial modern history of E." (we shall use here the Ethiopian term Märäb Məllaš to describe events up until 1890). Between 1875 and 1890 four states competed over the territory and left enduring legacies for the various local factions.

First there was an Ethiopian–Egyptian struggle between 1875 and 1884. It began with an Egyptian attempt to invade the Christian highlands which led to their double defeat by the army of Yoḥannəs in ↗Gundät, 16 November 1875, and more disastrously at ↗Guraᶜ, 7–9 March 1876. Having failed, the Egyptians nevertheless remained in the lowlands and Bogos (↗Bilin), entrenched on the Massawa–Kärän–Kassala route and engaged in a war of attrition against the Ethiopians. The Ethiopian Emperor, for his part, was now determined to solidify his hold on the mountainous core of Ḥamasen, Säraye and Akkälä Guzay.

In 1876 *aṣe* Yoḥannəs appointed his general *ras* Alula Ǝngəda, an outsider to the region, as governor of the Märäb Məllaš. Temporarily the former governor *raʾəsi* ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel, with Egyptian backing, regained control of Ḥamasen, until he was imprisoned in 1879. Alula then widened his offensive politics against the Egyptians, raiding their military posts and Bogos. This was ended by the 1884 ↗Hewett Treaty, when the Ethiopians agreed to help the evacuation of Egyptian garrisons, threatened by the Mahdi, from the Sudan, in exchange with Bogos. However, shortly after, in February 1885, the Italians landed in Massawa and started their encroachment inland. In September 1885 Alula collided with the Mahdists at the victorious battle of ↗Kufit, but his plans to occupy Kassala were made impossible due to the threat posed by the Italians. Even if Alula massacred a battalion at ↗Dogᶜali in 1887, followed by a skirmish at Saᶜaṭi in 1888, the expansion could not be stopped, due to Italian strength and to the war with the Mahdists. In 1888 the Ethiopian army retreated over the Märäb and in 1889 the Italians entered ↗Asmära without any fighting.

The fall of the Märäb Məllaš was perhaps Ethiopia's only loss during its conflicts with late 19th-cent. Western imperialism. This loss had far-reaching implications for her 20th cent. developments. The process summarized above has also left enduring legacies for the Eritreans. The links established at this time – between the Muslims of western E., Sudan and Egypt; and between the Muslims of Massawa, the coast and the core of the Middle East – survived the colonial period. They formed the background for the establishment of the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front in the late 1950s, with its ideology of E.'s revolutionary Arabism. Moreover, the resentment of the Ḥamasen local Təgrayan Christian elite against Alula's centralization in the name of Ethiopian Imperial authority survived and was integrated into the nationalistic ethos of the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Interdependence through Independence: the Challenges of Eritrean Historiography", in: *PICES* 12, 497–514; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Italia ed Etiopia*, Roma 1935; HAGGAI ERLICH, *A Political Biography of Ras Alula*, Michigan 1983 [= *Ras Alula and the Scramble for Africa, Ethiopia and Eritrea 1875 – 1897*, New Jersey—Asmara, ^{2}1996] (Lit.); ID., *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder 1994; ZewYohan; PETER MALCOLM HOLT, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan 1881–1898. A Study of Its Origins, Development and Overthrow*, Oxford 1970; KolTrad 2; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea, 1882 – 1941*, Uppsala 1987 (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Historica Upsaliensia 148); PankHist I; RubInd.

Haggai Erlich

Colonial history of Eritrea

Expansion of Italian dominion

In March 1882, the Italian government acquired legal rights along the south-western Red Sea coast from a shipping company and purchased lands in the surroundings of the harbour of ↗ᶜAsäb and in the nearby islands by concluding agreements with local rulers. In July, ᶜAsäb was declared an Italian colony (↗Colonia di Assab). In February 1885, thanks to British consent, the Italians occupied the port of ↗Massawa, which was under Egyptian control. Following this, the Italians took over the north-western areas of Sämhar and Saḥəl through peaceful means, signing protectorate treaties with the local chiefs. Meanwhile, they expanded southwards by a "divide and conquer" policy, as well as through armed expansion. They were able to conquer Ḥamasen, Säraye, and Akkälä Guzay, availing themselves of the struggle between the ↗Mahdists and Ethiopia and of the rivalries within the Ethiopian empire. Helping *aṣe* Mənilək of Šäwa (the future ↗Mənilək II) to succeed Yoḥannəs on the imperial throne in exchange for his acceptance of Italian sovereignty over the Red Sea possessions (the ↗Italo-Ethiopia Convention [Wəçale Treaty] of May 1889), the Italians seized the northern edge of the Abyssinian plateau and extended their possession in Akkälä Guzay up to the Märäb River, against the conditions in Article 3 which restricted the Italians to the eastern edge of the plateau (RubInd 399ff.). In 1890, they gave this colony the name of "E.", from the ancient Greek name for the Red Sea.

Besides the Christian Təgrəñña-speaking settled agriculturalists in the highland plateau, the northern highland and the western lowlands were mainly inhabited by semi-nomadic Muslim ethno-linguistic groups: the Beni ᶜĀmər, ↗Bilin, ↗Ḥabab, ↗Mänsaᶜ and ↗Marya, as well as by the agro-pastoralists ↗Kunama and ↗Nara; the ↗ᶜAfar and the Sāho pastoral communities inhabited the southern coastal strip and the eastern escarpments of E. The 1893 census roughly estimated the whole population at 191,127.

The Italians set up a bureaucratic colonial administration ruled by military governors and centred in the capital city of Massawa. In 1890/91 they adopted a policy of harsh treatment towards the local *élite*; 12 rebel chiefs and 800 followers were either executed or deported to the prison island of Nokra. This violent repression, which was condemned by a Commission of Enquiry, broke down any further attempt at mass resistance until the first half of the 1890s, when the colonizers began a policy of settlement in the temperate plateau, alienating 314,792 hectares of common native land for landless Italian peasants, following Leopoldo Franchetti's plan. This plan failed because of the native opposition to extensive dispossessions. In December 1894, the uprising, led by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Bahta Ḥagos, opened the way to an Italian attempt to conquer further areas in Təgray. In October 1895 this determined the outbreak of an offensive war against Ethiopia, which Italy claimed to be under its protection according to a misinterpretation of article XVII of the Wəçale Treaty. Under Mənilək's guidance, the Ethiopian army defeated the invaders at ↗Ambalage in December 1895, and later at ᶜAdwa (↗ᶜAdwa, battle of) in March 1896. This impressive event – the biggest defeat of an European army in Africa – left profound traces in Italian colonialism. The wartime policy of wasting money adopted by the military governors in E. (up to 1896, Italy had spent around 500 million lire and lost about 10,000 men) was then relinquished in favour of peaceful-neighbour relations with Ethiopia.

Consolidation of the colony

Following the peace treaty of October 1896, Italy recognized Ethiopia's sovereignity and kept its own colony, trying to define its international frontiers and consolidate the territorial possession. Member of Parliament Ferdinando ↗Martini was appointed civil governor in December 1897 and succeeded in establishing a stable colonial administration, despite the scanty budget. He reduced the influence of the army and shelved the policy of white settlement. Between 1897 and 1908 E. was internally organized in administrative divisions and sub-divisions that were meant to respect the ethno-cultural variety of the communities. The ↗Dahlak islands, the ↗ᶜAfar and the ↗Sämhar areas were united to form the Eastern Division, with Massawa as the provincial capital. The Western Division, administered by ↗Aqordät, was composed of Beni ᶜĀmər, Nara and Kunama lands. The northern edge of Ḥamasen, inhabited by Muslim groups, was joined to ↗Bet Asgäde and ↗ᶜAd Šek lands and ruled from the town of ↗Kärän. The rest of ↗Ḥamasen and ↗Säraye, with Asmära and ᶜAddi Wəgri (Mändäfära) as their respective capitals, kept their administrative features, while the Sāho area was united to Akkälä Guzay and centred in ↗ᶜAddi Q̱äyyəḥ (for more details s. the subarticle below). A hierarchical structure of Italian officials administered each division. The village of ↗Asmära became the new capital of E. in 1898, replacing Massawa that had served as main town since 1885. While the bureaucratic administration was put on a sound basis of territorial centralization, the internal administration underwent only slight changes: the districts were reduced to five in 1931. International treaties and conventions with the neighbouring countries – Ethiopia, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Djibouti – delineated the external frontiers of E. between 1898 and 1908. It took three years of diplomatic negotiations and a financial compensation of 5 million lire to convince, in May 1900, the Ethiopian government to accept a common boundary running along the rivers Märäb, Bäläsa and Muna. The highlanders who shared the same language, faith and multiple elements of material culture were now officially split between southern E. and northern Ethiopia.

Administration of the colony

From 1898, the Italians adopted an indigenous policy that promoted collaboration, awarding privileges to members of the traditional ruling *élite*. The colonizers introduced a hierarchical system of appointed salaried chiefs, supervised by colonial officers, to administer the indigenous populations. These chiefs collected tribute in their districts, maintained law and order through their armed followers and detained the judicial power to settle "collective disputes" regarding civil matters between natives. The Italians did not in fact resort to a uniform jurisdictional order in E. While Italian laws were applied to the colonizers, traditional laws – both Islamic laws and customary rules (↗*Ḥəggi*) – were preserved for the natives, although customary rules in penal matters underwent a deep transformation: many traditional forms of punishment were forbidden because unfitted to the new social reality shaped by colonialism. The administration of justice had four court instances, from native courts up to the governor. The freezing of these bodies of law signified the recognition of the mixed social texture of Eritrean society. The collaboration of the traditional *élite* was politically successful because it minimized the risks of extensive organized resistance and anti-colonial consciousness, so that only isolated acts of resistance took place throughout Italian colonization. The few leaders, such as *däǧǧazmač* ↗Abärra Gəzaw, Muḥammad Nuri and Gäbrä Mädḫən Ḥagos, who sought to prolong resistance, were forced to flee to Ethiopia and never represented a serious menace to colonial rule. Collaboration was easily gained by the non-Təgrəñña speakers who, in pre-colonial times, were raided and pillaged by the highlanders. Colonial pacification, based on a "law and order" policy, instead put an end to these raids and to inter-ethnic hostilities among the various communities. The Italians were mainly committed to maintaining political stability and constantly feared the possibility of an all-Təgrəñña uprising; they therefore tried to break the social ties between the Christian Təgrəñña-speaking groups, using every means at their disposal.

Although the colonial government was officially committed to respecting religious liberty in E., a Catholic Mission challenged the religious authority of the Orthodox Church, even if with little success (↗Catholicism). The Apostolic Prefecture of Erythraea was established in 1894–95, granted to the ↗Capuchins, and became a Vicariate in 1911. They replaced the French ↗Lazarists (↗Vicariate Apostolic of Abyssinia), who had arrived in the region already in the 1850s and were suspected of lacking loyalty. But Eritrean Orthodox conversions remained few, for two main reasons. First, the Italians actively encouraged the spread of Islam in E. in order to achieve the support of their Muslim subjects and to set them against the Orthodox. Secondly, although the Orthodox Church was no longer an economic power in Märäb Məllaš since the Italians confiscated its lands, the social importance of monasteries never faded. In fact, the influence of the Orthodox Church remained strong owing to the proximity of co-religionist Ethiopia, where the Church represented a pillar of the State and the most powerful ideological institution. Təgrəñña speakers from E. and Ethiopians shared the same faith and cultural values and, from the 1920s, the Eritrean Orthodox clergy encouraged the spread of irredentism. In 1929, to counteract this potentially dangerous influence, the Italians abolished the Ethiopian ecclesiastical jurisdiction over E., but this step did not break down the underground links with the empire.

The educational policy for Eritreans was mostly delegated to missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant. The Italians limited the school-system in order to avoid native enlightenment that could jeopardize their rule. Martini denied native access to ↗education and only in 1911 were Eritreans allowed to attend lower elementary education in the few state schools that were meant to produce educated workers for the colonial services. From 1923, government schools were handed over to the Catholic Mission, which became responsible for colonial teaching and for the propagation of Italian culture. The ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission promoted the spread of written literature in vernacular languages and provided pupils with a wider school programme. But in 1932 the colonial government expelled the Swedish missionaries because their educational work fostered pro-Ethiopian political and civic loyalty. Though the reliability of the official figures can only be relative, it can be assumed that the Italians prevented the birth of an Eritrean intelligentsia, as no more than 2 % of the total school-age population gained access to education.

Italian colonists and indigenous populations

The Italian community in E. had slowly increased until the 1930s. In 1934 there were 4,500 Italians (representing 0.76% of the total inhabitants); that number grew to nearly 75,000 in 1939. E. became a colony of settlement. Among the new colonialist settlers there were factory owners and farmers, but the vast majority of the newcomers decided to settle in fast-growing towns like Asmära and Massawa, two modern European-style cities. Therefore, the Italians promoted a similar drift for those Eritreans who were looking for employment. At the end of the 1930s, ca. 20 % of the natives lived in urban centres. They earned low wages and could only aim at subordinate posts in the colonial administration. Compelled to live in "native quarters", they were not allowed to obtain Italian citizenship, to express political views or attend to public matters. Although Eritrean subjects were never treated as equals – as the defence of Italian "prestige" *vis-à-vis* the native corresponded to one of the pillars of the ideology of colonialism – their situation worsened in the Fascist era, when active discrimination was practised. In the late 1930s, a racist campaign produced the discriminatory legislation that prohibited intermarriages and inter-racial cohabitation between Europeans and natives, which had been widespread since the very beginnings of the colonial period because of the demographic imbalance of the Italians in E., who were mainly single men. Thereafter, the colonial government implemented a policy of separation of races along "apartheid" lines. In 1940, the half-castes lost their rights to citizenship and to education because they were declared subjects. The fascist civil police fostered the repressive attitude shown by the colonial administration towards the subjects.

After 1936, E. experienced a positive economic trend. There was a sudden growth of industrial enterprises linked to the exploitation of the empire, especially in the fields of transport, mining, construction and food supplies. The colonial administration fostered this boom, granting credit facilities and licenses to Europeans to promote their investments. At the end of the 1930s, there were 2,198 industrial firms in E. But even in this period the Italians did not secure the colony's self-reliance because they preferred to encourage imports instead of producing the needed goods locally. E. had always been economically dependent on the colonial power (for more details on Eritrean economic development s. ↗Economy).

During Italian rule, the colonial economic policy determined the first labour divisions between the rural and urban sectors. A limited native working class had emerged, between those employed in colonial-infrastructure projects, in farming state lands and in industrial plants. Between 10 and 15% of the able-bodied male population (between 4,000 and 5,000 Eritreans) worked as salaried employees in the productive sector of the economy. Besides the natives employed in the lower positions of the bureaucratic administration – i.e. clerks, interpreters – and those who worked as domestic servants in Italian houses, the largest employer was still the colonial army. From 1936 to 1941, 60,000 Eritrean soldiers served in the whole AOI, about 40% of the male adults. Although some of them deserted during the Ethiopian campaign and participated in the anti-Italian resistance, Eritreans contributed to the colonization of Ethiopia. As a reward, the Italians placed them on top of the colonial hierarchical order and granted them economic privileges.

The collaboration of Eritreans with the colonial system has been explained in terms of the long-lasting political stability. Different communities inhabited the colony, living peacefully side-by-side in a stable administrative framework that did not cancel but subdued the life-style differences between the ethno-linguistic groups, favouring their coexistence. During Italian colonization, the improvement of health conditions, the growth in consumption of goods, the spreading of the market economy and the vanishing of the threat of drought improved the welfare of the natives. A telling consequence was the noticeable demographic growth of the Eritrean population: from 275,000 inhabitants in 1905 to 614,000 in 1935. The Təgrəñña speakers became the largest ethno-linguistic group, constituting 54 % of the total population. Their better socio-economic living standards explained the spread of a feeling of identity distinct from the neighbouring Ethiopians.

A historiographic debate concerning the depth of the economic and political transformation of E. during Italian colonization, fuelled by the ensuing events that set Eritrean nationalists against Ethiopia, has been unfolding for years and is still of burning political relevance (s. Taddia 1986; Ruth Iyob 1995; Tesfatsion Medhanie 1986; Markakis 1987; Jordan Gebre-Medhin 1988). Looking from a different angle, a parallel debate stressing the overall importance of colonialism in the transformation of traditional society has also developed (s. Tekeste Negash 1987; Haggai Erlich 1982). From the 80s, the Eritrean literature of militancy began to assign to Italian colonialism the foundations of the rise of a territorially based civic nationalism, in order to challenge the Ethiopian national historiography, which maintained that E. was historically an integral part of the Ethiopian empire.

Situation after World War II

After Italian involvement in World War II, British forces entered E. from the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in January 1941 and by April had occupied it (battle of ↗Käräṇ). The Italian East African Empire was then dismantled and a ↗British Military Administration (BMA) took over the colony. The main concern of the British was to preserve the situation in E. in view of post-war decisions about the future of the country. In the 1947 Peace Treaty Italy ceded E. to the four powers, it therefore ceased to be an Italian colony. Thus the "Occupied Enemy Territory Administration" (OETA) was formally replaced by a mandatory administration. A Chief Administrator led the BMA from 1943 to 1949. From 1949 until 1952 E. came under the British Foreign Office's sphere of competence, working together with the ↗United Nations' Commission for E. (1950–52).

In accordance with the British aim to keep law and order in E., between 1944 and 1947 the country was internally re-arranged along ethnic lines into 5 divisions, due to the fusion of the Kärän and Aq̣ordät districts into the new Western Province, as well as to the unification of Massawa and ᶜAsäb into the Red Sea Division. The British did not alter the Italian colonial administrative system and relied on the same local chiefs, leaving them their fiscal and judicial tasks, while Italian laws were kept in force. In fact, the British, who were understaffed, did not immediately dismiss the Italian colonial staff and slowly began to induct native clerks into the administration. The British repealed the discriminative legislation towards Eritreans and provided services for them ranging from public health to employment and freedom of the press. Successful efforts were made in education, widening the levels and the number of schools (up to over 100), where the pupils were taught in Arabic and Təgrəñña. The diffusion of written literature in those two languages began to flourish.

The wartime economic trend allowed E. to become almost self-sufficient, with a fairly satisfactory balance of payments. Agricultural production rose, because the British increased land concessions up to 256,000 of cultivated hectares for an output of 59,000 tons. Industry gave the most impressive results: the already existing concerns were developed and many more were set up to comply with the new – mainly military – requirements. Both skilled Italian manpower and Eritrean labourers were employed and for the very first time the natives were allowed to form trade unions. Meanwhile, the British began to dismantle a large part of the infrastructure built during Italian colonization, in order to gain profits. However, after the post-war crumbling of demand, that boom proved to be short-lived. E.'s agricultural and industrial output was not guarded against foreign competition and soon could not compete with it. Another important factor in this decline was the detailed restrictions imposed by the BMA on manufacturers, business loans, banks' foreign-currency dealings and working licences. The industrial shutdown was followed by large-scale unemployment. Around 10,000 Eritreans were jobless in 1948, angered by the economic hardship and by the strong increase in the cost of living. They began to protest with public demonstrations, asking for the "Eritreanization" of the economy and of the administration.

Following the BMA policies, Eritreans began to acquire some knowledge of public affairs. Since 1941, representatives of the whole Eritrean society set up an anti-colonial patriotic association, ↗*Maḥbär fəqri ḫagär*, to communicate their needs to the BMA. Shortly after, Təgrəñña-speaking urban notables and younger intelligentsia, supported by Ethiopia, began to advocate pro-Ethiopian irredentist feelings and to dominate the association. In 1943, several Muslims and some Christians who inhabited the Eritrean southern and central highland districts left the *Maḥbär* and formed a Separatist Movement to counteract pro-Ethiopian irredentism. The Eritreans mistrusted the British, feeling a deeply rooted embitterment towards the former colonizers. In summer 1946, the bloody incidents in Asmära between pro-Unionists and the Sudan Defence Force, stationed in E. under the BMA's command, fostered the growth of political tension; it also set the start for the attacks against Italian residents by pro-Unionists. In October 1946, the British lifted the ban on political parties.

After the 1947 Peace Treaty with Italy, which stated that the Allies should settle the future status of its pre-fascist African colonies – E., Somalia and Libya – the four allied powers decided to send a Commission of Enquiry to E. with the task of acquainting themselves with the wishes of the inhabitants. Although the relative strength of the political organizations was difficult to ascertain and the system adopted debatable, the following proved to be the most representative Eritrean parties: 1) the Unionist Party, officially registered in February 1947, which came after the *Maḥbär* and was mainly supported by the Tǝgrǝñña speakers of the Ḥamasen region, but also by Muslim aristocrats who counteracted the serf-emancipation movement promoted by the ↗Muslim League (ML); it stood for unconditional union with Ethiopia and was the largest single party in the country (48 % of supporters); 2) the ML was the second largest party of E. (30 %); it mobilized the Muslim communities and demanded independence or, at least, a UN trusteeship; 3) the ↗Liberal Progressive Party, which derived from the Separatist Movement and was composed of Christian highlanders, was sponsored by the BMA to favour the independence of E. together with the Tǝgrǝñña districts of Ethiopia; 4) the Pro-Italy Party, composed of Italians, half-castes and natives who obtained privileges during colonialism (i.e. the members of the Eritrean War Veterans Association) sought the maintenance of Italian political rule in the country.

The interests of the powers – Great Britain, Italy and Ethiopia – involved in E.'s future further complicated the situation. Great Britain, the occupying power, believed that E. could not constitute a viable independent State and, from 1943, was inclined to split the country, assigning the western Muslim-inhabited lowland to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and leaving the Christian Tǝgrǝñña-speaking inhabited plateau to Ethiopia. Italy, the former colonial power, tried to prolong her control over E. by the award of a UN trusteeship or calling for the independence of the country; the Italians still living in E. worked to safeguard their interests and privileges, looking for the support of half-castes and veterans. Ethiopia claimed E. by virtue of its rights over the territory – based on historical, geographical, ethnic and economic reasons – and of strategic issues, such as an outlet to the sea for the land-locked empire. According to imperial propaganda, E. and Ethiopia were politically indistinguishable. After Ḫaylä Śǝllase's promise to return the Eritrean lands confiscated by the colonizers to its owners, Eritrean Orthodox clergy became openly involved with the Unionist Party.

The ↗Four Power Commission of Enquiry visited E. from November 1947 to January 1948. The Commission received the platform of political parties and written petitions and interviewed traditional élites, but failed to reach agreement over a unified report. As the Allies were not able to come to an agreement concerning the disposal of E., the question was submitted to the international forum of the UN in 1948. An Anglo-Italian attempt – known as the ↗Bevin-Sforza Plan – to partition E. between Ethiopia and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and grant a special status to the densely populated Italian coastal towns of Massawa and ʿAsäb was rejected by the UN General Assembly in May 1949. After that, E. endured a period of political turmoil. To promote the birth of a sovereign nation state, the ML promoted the formation of an Independence Bloc, rallying other parties, such as the Liberal Progressive Party and the New Eritrea Pro-Italy Party. But, despite its numerical majority, the coalition was weakened by its own socio-political heterogeneity. Both the fear of the return of Italy and the Ethiopian assurance concerning respect for Islamic identity (Muslim discrimination in the Empire was well-known) drove many adherents to accept the idea of conditional union with Ethiopia. Meanwhile, economic reasons determined the outbreak of social tension between Muslims and Christians and cleavages among the ethno-linguistic groups of the country. Muslim aristocracy, threatened by the ML's policy for the abolition of serfdom, allied with the Christian nobles to support unionism.

Political propaganda from all sides resulted in plotting and bribery. These reached their climax in 1950, when the UN fact-finding Commission of Enquiry visited E. between February and April. The Commission had to investigate the wishes of the inhabitants and their political maturity for self-government in order to satisfy their welfare. A parallel task was also to envisage broad international interests connected to Ethiopia's political demands. A terrorist campaign, led by organized gangs (↗Šəfta), provoked many casualties amongst anti-Unionists – both Eritreans and Italians – affecting social equilibrium. The UN Commission's hearings and investigations led by ↗Anze Matienzo were not able to shed much light on the Eritreans' political self-consciousness. The representatives of South Africa and Burma recommended the federation of E. with Ethiopia, the Norwegian delegate opted for the annexation to Ethiopia, while those of Pakistan and Guatemala proposed a ten-year UN trusteeship to pave the way for E.'s future independence. All of them also rejected the hypothesis of immediate independence for socio-economic reasons, such as the non-viability of E. and the absence of a cohesive national entity ready for self-government, as the inhabitants were considered politically backward. After lengthy debates and long diplomatic interplay between the powers involved, in December 1950 the UN General Assembly voted the Resolution 390 A (V) to federate E. with Ethiopia as an autonomous entity under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown. Geopolitical international considerations and the USA taking a pro-Ethiopian stand settled the question. After a transitional period, the Federation was put in force in September 1952 (↗Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation).

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Federica Guazzini

Eritrea from 1962 to 1991

After the annexation that put an end to the ↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation, E. became Ethiopia's 14th province and remained legally in this capacity till May 1991. In practice, however, Eritrean society, which had enjoyed institutions of representative politics, was reluctant to integrate with Imperial Ethiopia. Parts of its leadership had long rejected any affiliation with Ethiopia and others grew resentful of its absolutist system. The whole new period was marked by an active struggle for independence, led first by local Muslim separatists and later by a comprehensive, modern all-Eritrean nationalist movement. The history of this struggle can be divided into two chapters: ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I years up to 1974 and the time of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam.

The 1962–74 period was marked by dualities in both the Imperial Ethiopian approach, and the local Eritrean public. In trying to absorb E. into his authoritarian regime, Ḫaylä Śəllase wavered between a policy of full centralization advocated by the Prime Minister ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld and a policy of some administrative flexibility aimed at allowing the continuation of local Eritrean identity within Imperial Ethiopia. This latter policy was pursued by the 1964–70 provincial governor, *ras* ↗ᶜAśratä Kaśa. ᶜAśratä's premise was that most Eritrean Christians would continue to identify with Ethiopia and that general decentralization of the entire Empire would better enable the survival of the Imperial system. On the part of the Eritrean public, indeed, most of the Christian elite, as long as ᶜAśratä was in office, remained at least passively oriented towards Ethiopia. Many Eritrean Christians continued to emigrate to the capital and join the somewhat prosperous Eritrean community in the centre. Quite a number of those Eritreans reached leading positions in the Imperial establishment. On the other hand, already in the 1960s, a good number of Christian youngsters and some veterans of the ↗British Military Administration and of the autonomy periods gave up on this kind of Ethiopianness. Most Muslims never accepted it. Many young members of the Muslim communities, mainly in western E., but also on the coast, joined the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (E.L.F.), which had been established in 1960 in Cairo. E.'s Muslim rebels implemented guerrilla methods borrowed from the Arab world and adopted Arab revolutionary identity. "The Arabism of the Eritrean people" turned into a slogan reflecting a multi-dimensional connection between the Eritrean struggle in the 1960s and the pan-Arab movements of Nasserism and Baᶜthism in the Middle East. By the end of the decade, however, the Eritreans began splitting. Young Christians could hardly join the pan-Arab cause and Muslims of the coastal zones felt alienated by the western Eritrean-dominated E.L.F. Pan-Arabism lost its momentum and deepening inter-Arab rivalries further fuelled Eritrean disunity. With the establishment of the Christian dominated ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (E.P.L.F), the splitting of the Eritrean movement was institutionalized, and in 1972–74 it seemed to reach a dead end. By late 1970, however, the constant warfare in the province also undermined *ras* ᶜAśratä's policy. Following his removal in November 1970, the Ethiopian army was given a free hand by the Emperor to deal with the issue the army's way.

1974, the year of the Ethiopian ↗revolution, saw another round of Ethiopian duality. The *Därg's* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) first chairman, Lieutenant-General ↗Aman Mikaʾel Andom, himself an Eritrean, initiated a plan to revive E.'s political identity within a new, pluralist Ethiopia. He was, however, soon defeated by his younger army officers, headed by Major Mängəśtu. After their killing of Aman, on 23 November 1974, revolutionary Ethiopia's policy in E. would not change till 1991. It went on pursuing a military victory over the local movements. The latter, for their part, were revived and strengthened due to the massive recruiting of young Christians, now totally disillusioned of their Ethiopianness. Consequently, as of the second half of the 1970s, the Eritrean movements could claim to be launching a fully-fledged all-Eritrean nationalist struggle, and to be building in the process various compatible infrastructures. Yet, in spite of the common war against the Ethiopian army and in spite of some growing similarities between the rival fronts in social terminology, no Eritrean unity was achieved. After the massive joining of the Christians, the more Marxist E.P.L.F. gradually got stronger than the previously pan-Arab oriented E.L.F. Following futile negotiations and fratricidal battles throughout 1981–84, the E.L.F. was beaten and the E.P.L.F. remained to dominate the Eritreans' revolt. In the second half of the 1980s, as the anti-Mängəśtu struggle in the rest of Ethiopia by other ↗liberation fronts also gained momentum (and after Mängəśtu in early 1987 reached a dead-end, even with the Soviets), the E.P.L.F. scored repeated victories. They culminated in a strategic beating of the Ethiopian army in ↗Afᶜabät in March 1988. Under the growing authoritarian leadership of Isayyas Afäwärqi, the E.P.L.F. went on to ensure E.'s independence following the final collapse of Mängəśtu's regime in May 1991.

The Eritrean struggle with all of its vicissitudes, not only paved the way for the emergence of E. as an independent state (officially declared in 1993). It also made a tremendous impact on the general development of Ethiopia. One major aspect was its contribution to the modernization of Ethiopian politics. As mentioned, twice during the said years the forces in Ethiopia, striving for centralized absolutism, defeated those who, through the Eritrean issue, tried to render the political sphere more flexible and open. E., from this perspective, was a dynamic laboratory of political transformations for the whole region. The adoption from the Arab world and implementation in E. of the "liberation front", as a concept and as a framework for modern guerrilla and modern institutionalized politics, spread, to be followed by most anti-Mängəštu forces in Ethiopia, where during 1975–91 various liberation fronts introduced the first dimensions of modern representative structures in societies hitherto mostly subject to authoritarianism.

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Haggai Erlich

Administrative division of Eritrea

In the beginning, 1885, the Egyptian administrative division was kept for the lowlands (*mudiria* ['province'] *di Massaua*, which comprised the whole coast from Qarora, in Ḥabab territory, to ᶜƎdd, in ᶜAfar territory). After the formal declaration of the colony in 1890, the administrative division was reorganized and the following zones, headed by comandanti, created (cp. report on the tributes from ↗Sämhar, 1891, d'Avray 2000:59): Zona della Asmara (the highlands), zona di Cheren (all territories and ethnic groups from – in the west – the Nara, Beni Amər and Bilin to the Marya and Ḥabab in the east, 1894–97, also including the provincia di Cassala), zona Massaua (including Sämhar, Dahlak and Buri, with the capital Massawa) and *zona di Assab*. After Italian troops had advanced south of the Bäläsa-Märäb line, the military Governor ↗Baratieri on 9 July 1895 decreed the zona dell'Agamè (capital Adigrat) and the zona del Tigrè (capital Adua), composed of provincie following local usage, in some cases further divided into circondari (Camera dei Deputati 1895: 134ff.). After the battle of ᶜAdwa, however, both zones had to be given up.

On 29 June 1898 the Governor ↗Martini issued a decree dividing the Colonia Eritrea into four provinces (commissariati regionali), districts (residenze) and sub-districts (vice residenze). The commissario, heading the commissariato, had a military unit under his command; in the administration he was assisted by the Eritrean assistente amministrativo and local interpreters. Eritrean traditional or newly appointed chiefs were responsible to the residenza or, if existing, the vice residenza, and received salaries from them. The first four commissariati were Hamasien (also Amasen), Serae, Oculè-Cusai and Massaua (Martini 1913:51–53). In 1903 three provinces were added, Sahel, Assab and Barca, and later in 1909 Gasc-Setit as an eighth commissariato.

Names and boundaries of the commissariati sometimes changed, responding to local needs and to the Italians' moving further inland. On 4 August 1902 the region Sahel, under the commissariato regionale of Massaua, was established as a separate residenza, with its capital Nacfa (with jurisdiction over the ᶜAd Təmariam, ᶜAd Tawra, ᶜAd Muᶜallim, ᶜAd Šayḫ, Ḥabab, ᶜAd Hasri and Rašayda, d'Avray 2000:142, 288). A short time later this residenza became the core of the new commissariato Sahel (since 1931 called Chéren). When new treaties with Mənilək II led to the recognition of Italian sovereignty over the ↗Kunama in 1902, the commissariato Gasc-Setit was created.

During most of the Eritrean colonial period the eight provinces did not change their shape; especially the three highland provinces Hamasien, Serae and Oculè-Cusai did not after 1898 (however, ↗Akkälä Guzay got its own access to the sea). The provinces were "with the exception of the western lowlands, based on the historical and geographical factors that predate colonialism" (Tekeste Negash 1987:102).

In 1931 the eight provinces were reduced to five (Seraè and Acchelè Guzài becoming the Confine Meridionale, Gasc-Setit and Barka the Bassopiano Occidentale, Assab and Massaua the Bassopiano Orientale, Pollera 1935:289ff.), but not for long – in 1936, e.g., the former commissariato Assab was restored under the name Dancália. The names of the commissariati were now (names of the residenze and vice residenze in brackets): Hamasièn (Asmára), Seraè (Áddi Úgri, vice residenza in Addi Qualà), Acchelè Guzài (Addì Caièh, two vice residenze in Senafè and Aráfali), Bassopiano Orientale (Massáua, vice residenza in Ghínda), Chéren with its capital Chéren (Chéren and Nacfa), Bassopiano Occidentale with its capital Agordàt (Agordàt, Barentù, Tessenèi, the latter with the vice residenze Om Áger) and Dancália with its capital Ássab (Ássab and Thió, the former with vice residenze Sardò and Sifáni).

When on 9 May 1936 ↗Africa Orientale Italiana (AOI) was proclaimed, Təgray administratively became part of the new Governo Eritréa (Guida 33, s. ↗Administrative division of Ethiopia). The five commissariati newly added to E. were: Tigrài Occidentale (Ádua with the vice residenza Mài Cannetà, Axùm, Endà Sellassiè, Ad Darò, Enticciò), Adigràt (Adigràt, Hausièn, Azbì with its vice residenze Agulà and Aù), Macallè (Macallè, Debùb with its vice residenza Aragurè, Quóram with its vice residenze Endà Medáni Alem, and Mài Cèu), Tembièn (Abbì Addì, Samrè, and Avergallè) and the Paesi Galla (Allomatà with the vice residenze Corbettà, Alà, Cercèr and Zobèl).

As the AOI had not been recognized internationally, the ↗British Military Administration after the battle of Kärän in 1941 restored the pre-1936 borders of E., including the six provinces, now called Divisions. Thus ^{c}Asäb once again became part of the Eastern Lowlands Division. A further reduction of the number of provinces to five in 1947 (Kärän and ^{c}Aq̱ordät merged following the ↗Bevin-Sforza Plan to partition E.) was only short-lived and not maintained in the Federation period. The Constitution of E. 1952 does not make explicit mention of the administrative divisions. The six Eritrean provinces within the Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation (*Guide Book of Ethiopia* 1954:390–406) were Ḥamasen (with the capital Aśmära), Akkälä Guzay, Särawe, Məṣṣəwa^{c}, Kärän and ^{c}Aq̱ordät. When elections for the Assembly of E. were held during the Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation (1952, 1956), E. had seven election districts, different from the provincial division: Asmara division, Massawa division and Massawa sub-division, Akeleguzai division, Serae division, Hamassien division, Keren division and Assab division. The most-populated cities Asmära and Massawa thus had their own election districts, with their hinterlands (Ḥamasen, respectively Massawa sub-division, i.e. Sämhar) as seperated districts (for the elections of 1956, s. Tekeste Negash 1997:219f.).

After E. had become the 14th province or Governorate-General (*ṭäqlay gəzat*) of Ethiopia in 1962, three of the the six provinces were split up; from 1964 onwards there were nine provinces (*awraǧǧa*), Ḥamasen, Akkälä Guzay, Särawe, Məṣṣəwa^{c} (later called Sämhar), Kärän (later called Sänhit), ^{c}Aq̱ordät (later called Barka), Saḥəl, ^{c}Asäb (later called Dänkäl) and Täsänäy (later called Gaš Setit). In 1987 Dänkäl was split from the new autonomous region (*yäras gäz akkababi*) Erətra, and merged into a greater ^{c}Afar region, the new autonomous region called ^{c}Asäb. This, however, was soon reversed, when on 26 May 1991 the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front occupied ^{c}Asäb port, and E., in its pre-1987 boundaries, was declared de facto independent shortly afterwards. The nine provinces of E. were restored. Under the *awraǧǧas* there were the *nə^{c}us awraǧǧas* (sub-provinces), composed of *wärädas*.

On 9 May 1995 the administrative division was radically reformed; the provinces (or 'zones', Tgn. *zoba*), which until now had largely corresponded to traditional and ethnic boundaries, were redrawn following pure administrative needs. First called only by numbers, starting from 1996 they had names in Təgrəñña: ^{c}Ansäba (capital Kärän); Däbub (Mändäfära), Däbubawi Qäyyəḥ Baḥri, 'Southern Red Sea' (^{c}Asäb); Gaš Barka (^{c}Aq̱ordät); Maʾəkäl, 'Central [province]' (Asmära); Sämenawi Qäyyəḥ Baḥri, 'Northern Red Sea' (Məṣəwwa^{c}). The *zobas* are divided into *nə^{c}us zobas* ('sub-zones') and smaller administrative units.

Src.: Decreto no. 444 [of the Governor of the colony, Martini, regarding the division of the colony], 29 June 1898; Reale decreto no. 168 [on the organic ordering of the colony], 30 March 1902; CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI, *Documenti Diplomatici presentati al Parlamento Italiano dal Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Blanc), Halai-Coatit-Senafè, Seduta antimeridiana del 25 luglio 1895*, Roma 1895 (Atti Parlamentari, Legislatura XIX – Prima Sessione 1895), 134–36.

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and Impact, Uppsala 1987, 102f., 116f.; ID., *Eritrea and Ethiopia. The Federal Experience*, New Brunswick, NJ – Uppsala 1997, 219f.; CHAMBER OF COMMERCE (ed.), መሪ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ለኢትዮጵያ *Guide Book of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1954, 390–406; KilHDic 38–41.

Wolbert Smidt

Eritrea Daily News

The British Ministry of Information began the publication of the morning daily *L'Informazione* in Asmära on 21 April 1941. Published in English and Italian, it became the E.D.N. on 12 June 1942. On 1 August 1944 the name was changed to *Il Quotidiano Eritreo*. The major paper published by the British Information Services contained world and local news and had an Italian staff. Published articles were received from the British Ministry of Information in London and Cairo. The editorial policy was to present world and local news, to foster goodwill among the local population towards Britain, the democratic way of life and the United Nations, to help maintain public order, to elicit maximum co-operation from the civilian population with the ↗British Military Administration and to help eradicate "reactionary" influences in the education and outlook of the community of ↗Eritrea.

Sales in 1944 stabilized at 14,000 (12,000 Italians and 2,000 British). Newsprint shortages made expanding circulation difficult. By 1949 the circulation had dropped to 6,000; in 1950 it was 6,500 and in 1951 5,400. After the British left, the Ethiopian Ministry of Information took over the journal. The Ethiopian military government closed *Il Quotidiano* in 1977, officially arguing that it had no readers.

Lit.: STEPHEN HEMSLEY LONGRIGG, *Occupied Enemy Territory Administration Eritrea, Half Yearly Report by the Military Administrator on the Occupied Enemy Territory of Eritrea for the Period 1st January to 20th June 1942*, Cairo 1942; F.G. DREW, *Eritrean Annual Report for 1949, submitted on Dec. 31, 1949*, London 1949; ID., *Eritrean Annual Report for 1950, submitted on Dec. 31, 1950*, London 1950; ID., *Eritrean Annual Report for 1951, submitted on Dec. 31, 1951*, London 1951; Eritrea: *Annual Review* for 1954.

Deborah Johnson

Eritrean Assembly

The E.A. (Tgn. ባይቶ, *bayto*, lit. 'Assembly') was the parliamentary assembly of ↗Eritrea, founded by the ↗British Military Administration on the initiative of the UN Commissioner ↗Anze Matienzo at the end of their administration. In the beginning, before the adoption of the Constitution, it also appeared as "Eritrean Constituent Assembly". In the Constitution, Part II (Art. 39–58), it was simply called "Assembly", but in official documents known mostly as "E.A." (in half-official documents it also appears as "Parliament of Eritrea"). As the Constitution, drafted by the UN, was supposed to be adopted by representatives of the Eritrean population, it was necessary to create a local parliament which could discuss and adopt the Constitution (Commissaire des Nations Unies pour l'Erythrée 1952:15).

The first E.A. was constituted following country-wide elections in March 1952, held under *British Administration Electoral Proclamation* (*121*). The procedure of election chosen was adapted to the local realities; in rural areas the representatives were appointed by electoral committees (consisting of local notables), only in the cities of Asmära and Massawa there were direct and secret elections. The E.A. had 66, then 68 members, belonging to the Unionist Party (UP, 32 seats), the Eritrean Democratic Front (19), the ↗Muslim League of the Western Province (MLWP, 15) and, with one seat each, the National Party and the Independent Muslim League (cp. Ruth Iyob 1995:86f.). An alliance between the UP and the MLWP led to the election of ↗Tädla Bayru of the UP as the head of the Eritrean government (Chief Executive) and of ↗ʿAli Mäḥammäd Musa Rädʾay of the MLWP as the E.A.'s president (Speaker).

The draft constitution, proposed by the UN High Commissioner for Eritrea, was discussed by the E.A. starting from May, followed by its adoption in July. A single-chamber system was chosen. When in September the ↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation entered into force, the E.A. was already the fully active legislative body of autonomous Eritrea. The government was dominated by the UP, a party which, however, only partially believed in the autonomy. Thus, from the beginning interferences from the Ethiopian state only met unorganized and weak resistance. The crisis reached its first peak in 1955 when Tädla Bayru and ʿAli Rädʾay resigned following a revolt within the E.A. The new Speaker was Idrīs Muḥammad Adam, an Eritrean nationalist, but he was removed in June 1956. The new Chief Executive, elected by the E.A. on 8 August 1955, was *bətwäddäd* ↗Asfəḥa Wäldä Mikaʾel of the UP, simultanously acting as the deputy Imperial Representative to Eritrea.

The factual powerlessness of the E.A., which gradually changed into an acclamation assembly, was especially felt after the second elections (still following the electoral law installed by the British) of September 1956. The new Speaker was the non-Unionist *šayḫ* Ḥamid Fāraǧ Ḥamid (MLWP). But Asfəha, allying himself with the Deputy Speaker *abba* ↗Dəmeṭros Gäbrä Maryam, a Unionist, was able to make the E.A. adopt often unconstitutional, anti-autonomous legislation, such as the replacement of Eritrea's flag, seal and arms by Ethiopia's on 14 November 1958. Protests against the extension of Ethiopian citizenship to all citizens of the Federation, or against the gradual submission of the Eritrean administration under the authority of the Ethiopian government (while juridically the Emperor was only the sovereign over two entities, separate from each other, having two different constitutions), which should have been the task of the Eritrean government or the E.A., was only expressed by relatively powerless, mostly Muslim groups. The elections for the third E.A. took place in August 1960. At that time anti-unionist parties had been dissolved and many of their leaders, like ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam, had gone into exile. The Imperial Representative (*əndärase*) in Eritrea, Abiye Abbäbä, had concentrated de-facto executive power in his hands since 1959. These factors decisively contributed to the relatively easy dissolution of the E.A. and of the Federation, declared at the E.A. on 14 November 1962.

The E.A. was founded in a period which had developed a "heightened sense of Tigrinya national consciousness" through the emergence of a number of newspapers and other literary activities (Ullendorff 1985:19) and the coming into existence of political parties since the mid-1940s and of other interest groups. Təgrəñña was thus chosen as the working language of the E.A., while Eritrea's official languages were Arabic and Təgrəñña. Only at the end of a long process of erosion did the E.A. chose Amharic as the official language (9 May 1960).

Src.: COMMISSAIRE DES NATIONS UNIES POUR L'ERYTHRÉE, *Questions juridique relatives à l'exécution de la résolution de l'Assemblée générale du 2 décembre 1950 concernant l'Erythrée. Rapport général des juristes* [PAUL GUGGENHEIM, ROBERT JENNINGS, JAN VOLKERT RIJPPERDA WIERDSMA], Genève, 20 janvier 1952 (Nations unies, Assemblée générale, A/AC. 44/SC.1/R.1); *British Administration Electoral Proclamation* (*121*); *Constitution of Eritrea*, adopted on 15 July 1952 [repr. in Tekeste Negash 1997:188–208].

Lit.: KilHDic 102ff., 307; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia. The Federal Experience*, New Brunswick, NJ – Uppsala 1997, 84f., 195–99; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *A Tigrinya Chrestomathy* ..., Stuttgart 1985 (AeF 19), 19; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence. Domination, Resistance and Nationalism, 1941–1993*, Cambridge, MA 1995, 86–94; ZÄWDÄ RÄTTA, **የኤርትራ፡ ጉዳይ** *1941–1963* (*Yä'ertəra gudday 1941–1963*, 'The Eritrean Affair 1941–1963'), Addis Abäba 1999.

Wolbert Smidt

Eritrean Liberation Front

The E.L.F. (popularly called Arab. *Ǧabḥā*) was the first movement to combine political and military strategies to obtain Eritrean independence. It played a leading role in the history of ↗Eritrea from the early 1960s to the early 1980s. The backbone of the movement initially consisted of ↗Beni ʿAmər clan members from western Eritrea and *Mīrġanīya* Muslims centred in the nearby Sudanese town of Kassala.

Following the establishment of the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation (1952), when the imperial regime of Ḫaylä Śəllase began neutralizing the autonomous status of Eritrea, many Beni ʿAmər youngsters went to Cairo to obtain higher education and were inspired by the Nasserite Arab–Egyptian revolution. In 1959 they were joined there by two established Eritrean leaders, ↗Ibrāhīm Sulṭān and ↗Idrīs Muḥammad Adim. In July 1960 they announced the establishment of the ELF, with its headquarters in ↗Kassala. The first clash with the Ethiopian authorities in the Beni ʿAmər area (September 1961, headed by ↗Ḥamid Idrīs ʿAwate) heralded the beginning of the military struggle over Eritrea, which lasted until 1991.

The young Eritreans adopted the term "front" whilst in Cairo, from the then successful Algerian Front de Libération Nationale (F.L.N.). The "front" concept served to create an all-Eritrean movement loosely associated with the pan-Arab and anti-colonial struggles. It also served to institutionalize a modern guerrilla organization led by a political apparatus both in Eritrea and abroad. By 1965 the E.L.F. had developed into a fully-fledged modern "front". The leading exiles – notably the two founding members, as well as an Eritrean-born Təgrayan Christian, ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam, and a Massawan Muslim, ʿUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī – formed a Foreign Mission tasked with recruiting members, especially in Arab capitals. Five "commands" were established across Eritrea proper (the Arabic term *wilāya* was adopted, as in the F.L.N.), organizing fighters of hitherto rival areas and groups. A ten-man General Command in Kassala controlled action in the field and was in contact with the Foreign Mission. Dominated by the western Eritrean Beni ᶜAmər Muslims, the "front" absorbed fighters from the coastal Muslim areas and the Christian population of the core mountain region. By 1967 their total number was estimated at ca. 2,000.

After this, two key factors caused the E.L.F.'s unity to erode: the rapid growth of the movement and the strategic changes in the Middle East following the Arab defeat of June 1967. In September 1968 the fighters of the three non-Beni ᶜAmər "commands", who resented the western Eritrean domination, formed a Tripartite Union between themselves. When the first E.L.F. general congress was assembled in August 1969, the western "commands" reasserted their hegemony by forming a new 38-member General Command. This move effectively forced delegates of the Tripartite Union out of the picture.

Meanwhile another split had emerged between the General Command and the Foreign Mission. The latter was now dominated by ↗ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī, who was connected to the Saudis, the Libyans (as of 1969) and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (P.L.O.). The General Command foreign relations, however, were oriented towards the rival Arab camp of the Baᶜth Party regimes of Syria and Iraq. At a P.L.O. camp in Amman (November 1969), ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī, together with the Christian veteran politician Ḫəruy Tädla Bayru and some other leaders, established a new movement called the Peoples' Liberation Front (P.L.F.). In February 1972 members of the P.L.F. and the Tripartite Union established the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (E.P.L.F.), thus creating a dominant entity in the Eritrean movement which would outlive the E.L.F.

Sometime before the establishment of the E.P.L.F., the E.L.F. had been reorganized. A new general congress in October 1971 confirmed the dismantling of the General Command and its replacement by a Revolutionary Council (R.C.), headed by Idrīs Muḥammad Adam and Ḫəruy Tädla Bayru. The renewed E.L.F.–R.C., though mostly dominated again by western Eritreans, proclaimed itself the only legitimate Eritrean movement. During 1972–74 it devoted a great deal of time to fighting the rival E.P.L.F. and estimates of casualties in this "fratricidal" war were between 2,000–3,000. Thus, in the years prior to the fall of Ḫaylä Śəllase's government, the Eritrean movement missed an opportunity to unite against a confused and increasingly brutal Ethiopian regime.

After the emergence of the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) regime in Ethiopia and the oppressive measures it took against Eritrea, the number of people within the Eritrean organizations dramatically increased. The total number was estimated at ca. 2,000 in 1973 and grew to ca. 20,000 in late 1975 and ca. 40,000 in 1977. However, the E.L.F.–R.C. (as of 1975 headed by Aḥmad Nāṣir) in spite of its own growth, gradually began losing in its competition with the E.P.L.F. The latter gained more power due to the mass absorption of young Christian Təgrayans who were embittered with Mängəśtu's oppressive centralism. By now the E.L.F.–R.C. was deeply entrenched in its conviction that it was the sole representative of Eritrean nationalism. Its pretension contrasted with the reality: the main arena for the struggle against the Ethiopian forces moved to the Asmära–Kärän and Asmära–Massawa regions, areas controlled by the E.P.L.F. Most of the negotiations between the E.P.L.F. and other Eritrean bodies proved futile; moreover, further divisions arose. In March 1976 ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī and his P.L.F. exiles broke with the E.P.L.F. and later formed a new E.L.F.–P.L.F. Some military co-ordination, however, was achieved between the E.P.L.F. and the E.L.F. in January 1977, which led to some victories against the Ethiopian army (including the occupation of Kärän in July). But as the two movements were closing on Asmära in November–December, they again proved unable to overcome their rivalry. In early 1978 a newly Soviet-equipped and Cuban-trained Ethiopian army pushed the Eritreans back and E.L.F.–R.C. forces retreated to the western regions. In August 1981 E.L.F.–R.C. forces were severely beaten in a major clash with the E.P.L.F. and throughout the early 1980s many of its fighters gradually defected to the rival front.

The demise and subsequent dismemberment of the E.L.F. in the 1980s stemmed from two discernable processes. First, the western Muslim population could no longer remain the movement's driving force when the Christian Təgrayans of the core regions joined the anti-Ethiopian struggle (mid-1970s). Second, the

E.L.F. had thrived on the pan-Arabism of the 1960s, benefiting from its Arab Middle Eastern support. Consequently, when pan-Arabism was losing ground in the Arab Middle East of the 1970s, the E.L.F. also lost support. Thus, the movement which initiated the modern struggle for Eritrean independence was practically no longer in existence when independence finally materialized.

In spite of this, the historical significance of the E.L.F. cannot be downplayed. In borrowing the "liberation front" concept from the Arab Middle East and in adapting and implementing it in Eritrea, the E.L.F. can be considered the first modern military and political movement in the Ethiopian–Eritrean context. It thus heralded, inspired and served as a model for all other "liberation fronts" that were later to challenge and defeat the authoritarian politics inherited from imperial Ethiopia by its succeeding military dictatorship.

Lit.: HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Struggle over Eritrea*, Stanford 1983; ID., *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder 1984; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence. Domination, Resistance, Nationalism, 1941–1993*, Cambridge, MA 1995; NIAZ MURTAZA, *The Pillage of Sustainability in Eritrea*, London 1998; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia. The Federal Experience*, New Brunswick, NJ – Uppsala 1997; MEDHANE TADDESSE, *The Eritrean–Ethiopian War: Retrospect and Prospect*, Addis Ababa 1999; LLOYD ELLINGSON, "The Origins and Development of the Eritrean Liberation Movement", in: *PICES* 5b, 613–28; BEREKET HABTE SELASSIE, *Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa*, New York 1980; PLINY THE MIDDLE-AGED, "Eclectic Notes on the Eritrean Liberation Movement", *Ethiopianist Notes* 2, 1978, 37–46; ʿABDALLĀH IDRĪS, *Īrītriyā wa-masʾuliyyat mā-baʿd al-istiqlāl* ('Eritrea and the Responsibility of Independence'), Cairo 1993; ʿUṮMĀN SĀLIH SABĪ, *Taʾriḫ īrītriyā* ('A History of Eritrea'), Beirut 1974; TAHIR ĪBRĀHĪM FADAB, *Ḥarakat taḥrīr īrītriyā wa-masīratuhā at-taʾriḫīya* ('The Eritrean Liberation Movement and its Historical Destiny'), Cairo 1994.

Haggai Erlich

Eritrean Liberation Movement

The E.L.M. (Arab. *Ḥarakat at-Taḥrīr al-Īrītriyā*, Tgn. ማሕበር፡ ሸውዓተ፡ ሓረካ *Maḥbär Šäwʿattä Ḥaräka*, 'Association of Seven Movement'), the first radical clandestine political organization of Eritrea, working for the country's independence, was the response to the unimportance of official Eritrean political parties and organizations and historically the first stage in the development of clandestine politics of protest. Influenced by socialist and nationalist movements in the Arabic world, it was founded in November 1958 by five young Muslim Eritrean exiles in Port Sudan during that phase of the ↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation's development, as a result of the erosion of Eritrean autonomy. Their leader Maḥmūd Saʿīd Nawd was a member of the Sudanese Communist Party, a fact which strongly influenced the structure of the E.L.M. (Ruth Iyob 1995:99). A central idea of this mainly urban-based group was secularization, aiming at the reconciliation of Muslims and Christians in Eritrea. Political change was to be reached by civil disobedience and finally by a coup. The ↗coup d'état of 1960, however, came too early to be used by the E.L.M. cells.

The E.L.M. first took hold in the Eritrean lowlands. The structure of this underground organization and the successful trials to overcome religious schisms, however, allowed it to spread quickly also in the highlands, especially in Asmära. Starting from 1959 Saliḥ Aḥmad Iyay, a worker in Kärän, and Yāsīn al-Gade from Asmära organized the first clandestine cells in their cities. Each cell consisted of seven members, every cell member having exclusive contact with another cell, only known to him (and sometimes recruited by him). This decentralized structure made it difficult for the government to counteract. The cells met bi-weekly and every member contributed three percent of his income to the nationalist cause (Ruth Iyob 1995:100).

The appearance of a militant rival organisation, the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (E.L.F.), in 1961 finally contributed to a shift from civil disobedience to a more radical form of anti-Ethiopian movements. In October 1961 the E.L.M.'s assassination attempt against *abba* ↗Dəmeṭros Gäbrä Maryam of the ↗Eritrean Assembly failed, followed by the arrest of many of its leading members by the Ethiopian security. In 1963 the E.L.M. started to plan an armed struggle. Its structure, however, did not allow any quick communication among the cells, some of which were also already infiltrated by government agents. Other cells had already joined the E.L.F. In 1964 conflicts over the idea of sending an armed group to Eritrea led to the resignation of ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam, a member of the leadership in Cairo since 1962. Finally, this group of about 50 fighters (some of them recruited from the Sudan Defence Force) was attacked by the E.L.F. at ʿƎla Ṣaʿəda in Saḥəl in May 1965 and disarmed after heavy casualties. In March the E.L.M. had started a last attempt at civil disobedience, a secondary-school students' strike in Asmära against the annexation of Eritrea, asking, among other things, for a UN-supervised referendum. The strike, however, ended dramatically with mass-arrests. Thereafter the E.L.M. ceased most of its activities. It was dissolved formally in 1970, the last members joining ʿUṯman Ṣāliḥ Sabi's E.L.F.-P.L.F.

Src.: E.L.M. Charter, 1958.
Lit.: KilHDic 195ff.; JOHN MARKAKIS, "The Nationalist Revolution in Eritrea", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 26, 1, March 1988, 55; ID., *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, Cambridge, MA 1987, 109; STEFANO POSCIA, *Eritrea Colonia tradita*, Roma 1989, 83; RUTH IYOB, *The Struggle for Independence. Domination, Resistance, Nationalism 1941–1993*, Cambridge, MA 1995, 98–101, 104–07, 166–69.

Wolbert Smidt

Eritrean People's Liberation Front

The E.P.L.F. (popularly called Arab. *Šaʿabiyya*) was established in 1972 and in the mid-1980s became the principal organization in the Eritrean nationalist movement. It led ↗Eritrea to a military victory over Mängəstu Ḫaylä Maryam's regime (↗Provisional Military Administration Council), and to statehood and independence in 1991 (made official after a referendum in May 1993). Up until the Ethiopian revolution of 1974, the E.P.L.F. was still an organization in the making, a minor rival to the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (E.L.F.).

When Isayyas Afäwärqi joined the E.L.F. in 1966, he rejected the movement's hegemony and increased his influence in the Kärän–Asmära areas throughout 1970–71. In February 1972 his men joined with other fighters from the Tripartite Union to announce the establishment of the E.P.L.F. (For more relevant information on this process s. the entries on E.L.F. and ↗ʿUṯman Ṣāliḥ Sabi).

Between 1972–74 the new E.P.L.F. engaged in a "fratricidal" war with the E.L.F., while its relations with ʿUṯman Ṣāliḥ Sabī deteriorated. The latter continued to develop his concept of Eritrea's Arabism, which was now rejected by the younger Christians and Muslims in the field. Instead, they focused on Marxist ideology and the idea of Eritrea's uniqueness, which more naturally bridged their own differences. After the rise of the *Därg* and the liquidation of General ↗Aman Mikaʾel Andom (23 November 1974), who adopted a conciliatory approach towards Eritrea, thousands of Christian Təgrayans from Eritrea's highlands joined the E.P.L.F. By that time the new organization had further modified the "front" concept to contain a multifaceted dialogue between the movement and the entire Eritrean population. During the second half of the 1970s, the fast growing E.P.L.F – estimated at 20,000 fighters in 1977 and supported by both the Soviets and other Marxist revolutionaries around the world – developed various institutions in the fields of self-subsidiary economy, education and health, in addition to self-sufficiency in ammunition manufacturing.

After the rise of Mängəstu's regime, when the struggle over Eritrea turned into a full-scale war, the E.P.L.F. grew stronger than the E.L.F. In March 1976 it broke all contact with ʿUṯman Ṣāliḥ Sabī's P.L.F. and came under the undisputed leadership of Isayas. In negotiating with the E.L.F.–R.C., the E.P.L.F. insisted on dictating its seniority. An E.P.L.F. congress in January 1977 countered the E.L.F.–R.C.'s slogan, "Unity before Victory", by adopting the slogan "Revolution before Unity", implying that only an acceptance of its Marxist terminology and sole leadership was acceptable. After a major clash with E.L.F.–R.C. forces in August 1981, which ended in an E.P.L.F. victory, the E.L.F.–R.C. gradually lost its relevance and the E.P.L.F. emerged as the leader of the Eritrean movement. Its understanding of the "liberation front", as a movement that addresses the various needs of society, can be considered an important stage in the political modernization of the entire region. The E.P.L.F.'s Marxist terminology was gradually abandoned after its general congress of April 1987.

Within the new state of Eritrea, the E.P.L.F. was the only legitimate political party, and was renamed as the People's Front for Democracy and Justice.

↗Liberation Movements;
↗Təgray People's Liberation Front

Lit.: HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Struggle over Eritrea*, Stanford, CA 1983 (lit.); s. also bibliography for the Eritrean Liberation Front.

Haggai Erlich

Eritrean Weekly News

The E.W.N. (Tgn. ናይ፡ ኤርትራ፡ ሰሙናዊ፡ ጋዜጣ, *Nay Erətra sämunawi gazeṭa*) was the first Təgrəñña newspaper, founded in 1942 by the British Information Services shortly after the occupation of Eritrea by the British. It had a weekly circulation of 6,000, limited by a newsprint shortage, and was edited by ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam (Johnson 1996:147). In over ten years it had some 520 issues, each of four to six pages of large format (Ullendorff 1985:19).

The E.W.N. is one of the most important sources on the historical period preceding the ↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation. In around 1945 it spread the idea of an Eritrean union with Təgray. When the registration of political parties started on the occasion of the cession of the Eritrean colony by Italy in 1947, the E.W.N. played an interesting role. Wäldä Ab, the chief editor, was one of the founders of the Liberal Progressive Party (L.P.P.), advocating Eritrea's independence. But the newspaper acted as a forum for the diverging views of several parties.

The great majority of articles in 1947/48 was written by supporters of the Unionist Party (U.P.), especially by Catholics who had enjoyed superior education and mastered Təgrəñña, e.g., by *abba* Ḫaylu Gäbrä Iyäsus or *abba* ↗Yaᶜəqob Gäbrä Iyäsus (Tekeste Negash 1997:44f.). With the extensive publication of articles in the E.W.N. the U.P. assured a stable basis of support. Additionally the British Military Administration of Eritrea, censoring the newspaper, used the E.W.N. for announcements and the spreading of information, e.g., on its anti-*šəfta* policy, including deliberate misinformation (s. Tekeste Negash 1997:62). The only important publicist of the L.P.P. (which had less support in the population) was the prolific writer Wäldä Ab, whose articles in the E.W.N. are considered as having been very influential in the formation of a modern standard Təgrəñña language (Ullendorff 1985:20).

The flourishing period of steadily growing press freedom and diversity ceased in the beginning of the Federation, when in 1953 the sovereign of the Federation ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I banned all Eritrean newspapers, except the Unionist Party's *Ethiopia Weekly*.

Src.: *Eritrean Weekly News* 1942–53; BRITISH MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, *The First to be Freed: the Record of British Military Administration in Eritrea and Somalia, 1941–3*, London 1944, 19.

Lit.: KilHDic 431f.; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia. The Federal Experience*, New Brunswick, NJ – Uppsala 1997, 44f., 47, 62f.; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *A Tigrinya (Təgrəñña) Chrestomathy* ..., Stuttgart 1985 (AeF 19), 17–20, 118–27 [extracts from E.W.N.]; JORDAN GEBRE-MEDHIN, *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 1989; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence. Domination, Resistance, Nationalism, 1941–1993*, Cambridge, MA 1995, 156, 161ff., 165, 182; DEBORAH JOHNSON, "Media History of Eritrea", *Eritrean Studies Review* 1, 1, Spring 1996, 143–54.

Wolbert Smidt

Erlanger, Carlo Freiherr von

Baron E. (b. 5 September 1872, Niederingelheim, d. 4 September 1904, Salzburg) was a German zoologist, renowned for his ornithological studies. He was the leader of a zoological-botanical expedition crossing the Horn of Africa from the east to the west, accompanied by Oscar Neumann, a zoologist, the physician Ellenbeck, interested in botany, the cartographer Johann Holtermüller and the taxidermist Carl Hildgarth. Encouraged by ↗Ilg, they departed from Hamburg in late 1899, starting the expedition from ↗Zaylaᶜ in January 1900. Their caravan, consisting of more than 100 locals and 120 camels, reached ↗Harär, where they waited for *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's permission for taking an unusual route southwards Addis Abäba. The permission granted, they could explore ↗Bale and ↗Arsi, following the route to the Muslim holy centre ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn.

From the capital, the expedition split up. E. went to Lake ↗Abbaya and then to ↗Somalia via ↗Sidamo and ↗Boräna, while Neumann, also reaching Abbaya, went via ↗Gofa, ↗Käfa to ↗Fashoda and ↗Khartoum, Sudan. The results of this fruitful expedition, including the description of new bird species, are documented in a number of scholarly publications and maps. The expedition's success was also a sign for the stabilization of unified Ethiopia, which made travelling more secure (Bairu Tafla 1981:30). After E. the number of ↗expeditions rose considerably. In addition the access of Germans and Austrians to Ethiopia and especially to the court was from now on greatly fascilitated due to E's and the ↗Hall family's good contacts with *aṣe* Mənilək (Zischka 1935:125).

Src.: CARLO FREIHERR VON ERLANGER, "Bericht über meine Expedition in Nordost-Afrika in den Jahren 1899–1901", *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 38, 1904, 89–117; for full bibliography s. Lockot I, 29, 63, 74, 114, 122f. (Lit.), Collection Erlanger at the Linden-Museum, Stuttgart; Diary of "Opa Götz", unpubl. ms.

Lit.: "Abschluß der Expedition Baron Erlanger – Neumann", *Globus* 80, 1901, 325–26; ANTON ZISCHKA, *Abessinien, "Das letzte ungelöste Problem Afrikas"*, Bern – Leipzig – Wien 1935, 125; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Germany: Cultural, Political and Economic Relations, 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5), 61–64, 310f., 315 (Lit.).

Wolbert Smidt

Erythraea

E. was a bimonthly periodical, with the sub-title *Bollettino bimestrale de Gruppo Eritreo del Touring Club Italiano*, published in Asmära at the Tipografia Francescana in 1920. The Touring Club, founded in Milan on 8 November 1894 with the aim of promoting tourism, developing itineraries and publishing maps, was active in Eritrea through the lawyer Giuseppe Latilla, the medical doctors Giovanni Provera and Antonio Tenenti and the engineers Paolo Reviglio and Alberto Chiarottino.

The aim of E. was to make known, promote and encourage tourism in Eritrea. The periodical had a small format and the first copy was issued in January/February 1920. It was not well distributed and its publication stopped with no. 6 of November/December the same year. However, several of the illustrated articles are an interesting source for Eritrean history and historical architecture (e.g., for ↗Ənda Maryam). The name of the journal, in its pseudo-Greek orthography, was taken from German geographical literature of the 1870s (cp. Bairu Tafla, in PICES 12, 511). Originally it meant vaguely the southern Red Sea region and the African shores, but it was later mostly identified with the Colonia Eritrea (with the exception of Leo ↗Frobenius, who developed a wider meaning of this term).

The Touring Club continued to prepare publications, the most important being the guide published in 1929 with 400,00 copies and that of the Africa Orientale Italiana published in 1938 with 490,000 copies under the new name Consociazione Turistica Italiana (*Guida*).

Lit.: GIUSEPPE VOTA, *I sessant'anni del Touring Club Italiano*, Milano 1954; ALDOBRANDINO MALVEZZI, "Intorno ai mezzi per diffondere la conoscenza delle nostre colonie", in: *Atti dell'VIII Congresso Geografico Italiano*, Firenze 1922, 237–38; TOURING CLUB ITALIANO, *Guida d'Italia, Possedimenti e Colonie, Isole Egee, Tripolitania, Cirenaica, Eritrea, Somalia*, Milano 1929; *Guida*; BAIRU TAFLA, "Interdependence through Independence: the Challenges of Eritrean Historiography", in: *PICES* 12, 497–514.

Gian Carlo Stella

Erythrean Sea ↗ Red Sea

Əšätän

Ə. (**እሻታን**, also Ašätän, Aštän, 3,219 m A.S.L.) is a bulky mountain of volcanic origin in Lasta; it rises south-east of ↗Lalibäla, from where its flat-topped summit is clearly visible. Derivation of the name is unclear, for *əšät* (Amh. 'young grain') has no logical relationship to the mountain. The name may be an adaptation from the Agäw language.

Chapel below Əšätän Maryam; photo 1992, courtesy of Paul B. Henze

The mountain has two still-active early churches: Əšätän Maryam, rock-hewn in a cliff on the north side of the mountain, ca. 50 m below the summit; and Näʾakʷəto Läʾab, in a broad open cave at the base of the mountain on the southern side, by tradition established during the reign of ↗Näʾakʷəto Läʾab, a ruler of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, who reigned briefly during the first half of the 13th cent. This appears to be supported by the Acts of Näʾakʷəto Läʾab, where the king is reported as having completed the construction of a church called Däbrä Ṣəyon in "the land of Aštän" (Conti Rossini 1943:164, 222).

Both churches have libraries and collections of church paraphernalia, some of them clearly very old. An outstanding piece of art in the possession of Əšätän Maryam is a booklet of miniatures (ca. 17th cent.), painted in a geometric style (ChojPaint 492ff., 521ff.). Both churches have long been accessible over trails from Lalibäla. The new highway from the Lalibäla airport to the town, completed in 1999, now passes within 350 m of Näʾakʷəto Läʾab.

Src.: WILLIAM F. MACOMBER, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts from Abbā Garimā, Ašatan (Church of St. Mary), Axum (Church of Zion)* ..., Collegeville, MI 1979 (mimeographed), 12f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Gli atti di re Naʾakuĕto La-ʾAb", in: *Scritti dedicati alla memoria di Francesco Gallina*, Roma 1943, 103–232, here 164, 222.
Lit.: LINO BIANCHI-BARRIVIERA, "Le chiese in roccia di Lalibelà e di altri luoghi del Lasta", *RSE* 19, 1963, 5–118, here 91ff.; BERNHARD LINDAHL, *Archaeological History of Ethiopia in Pictures*, Addis Ababa 1970, 57; BEATRICE PLAYNE, *St. George for Ethiopia*, London 1954, 141ff. ["Ashaten Maryam"], 156ff. ["Naacateleb"]; DAVID BUXTON, *Travels in Ethiopia*, London 1949, 167f.; ChojPaint 492ff., 521ff.; ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 269, nos. 49–52; EWALD HEIN – BRIGITTE KLEIDT, *Ethiopia – Christian Africa*, Ratingen 1999, 12.

Paul B. Henze

Ǝšäte of Qʷara

Ǝ. (እሸቴ; d. March 1768), son of *abeto* Märqorewos and *wäyzäro* Birutawit, was one of the significant figures in the group, known collectivelly as *Qʷaräññočč*, which supported the reign of his cousin, *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa). At different times he held the titles of *assalafi*, *balambaras* and *däğğazmač*. Ǝ. held lands tributary to the Gondär churches, Qaha Iyäsus and ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam and to the church of ↗Narga Śəllase, in addition to numerous fiefs. He entered the historical record in February 1742 in connection with an expedition to the Sinnār-Galabbat frontier. Seven years later, in October 1749, he helped suppress a rebellion in the north-western province of ↗Wälqayt. In 1755, on the death of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II, he played a key role in securing the succession of Iyasu's son, ↗Iyoʾas, acting as intermediary between Məntəwwab, her brother *ras* ↗Wäldä Ləʾul and *ras* ↗Wädağo, ruler of Amhara, as the Queen's main representative. In 1757 he married *wäyzäro* Wälättä Rufaʾel, heir to the so-called *aläqənnät* of ↗Gälawdewos, the son of *ras* Wäldä Gyiorgis. They had at least four children, one of whom, Ḫaylu, was the principal heir. Wälättä Rufaʾel died in October 1762 and was buried at Qʷəsqʷam. During the reign of Iyoʾas, Damot and Agäw Mədər was his principle theatre of action. Ǝ.'s prominence at this time is indicated by the fact that it was he who, in October 1757, arranged for the burial of *wäyzäro* ↗Ǝnkoyye, mother of *ətege* Məntəwwab, at the church of Dämbäzä Śəllase. Ǝ. died in March 1768 in Agäw Mədər in one of the battles which heralded the start of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. His bones were later translated to the monastery of ↗Waldəbba.

Src.: Guilyas 11, 121, 161, 165, 172, 175–80, 184, 188–91, 203f., 206ff., 231, 234, 236–39, 257; BlunChr 212f.; BruNile 609f.
Lit.: CrumLand.

Donald Crummey

Ǝsato

Ǝ. (እሳቶ), also known as Gudit, Judith and Esther (cp. also ↗Tərdaʾ Gäbäz), is the name of a legendary queen said to have been the conqueror of ↗Aksum.

The story of Ǝ. exists in several versions. She is generally said to have been a resident of Aksum, perhaps a member of the royal family reduced to prostitution. She was tricked by a local priest, who sought to have sexual relations with her. Disgraced and mutilated, she left Ethiopia. She met a Jewish ruler whom she married and convinced to destroy Aksum in revenge for the indignity she had suffered. At this time the ↗Ark of the Covenant was taken from Aksum and hidden.

From a literary point of view the story of Ǝ. can be shown to be built around structural oppositions to the story of the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda) as found in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*. Historically, the legend seems to have been constructed around a kernel of truth regarding the late 10th-cent. queen of the Banū l-Ham(u)wīya (as the Arabic sources have it), who came to rule on Aksum by killing "the king of the Ethiopians", possibly ↗Dəgnağan – and is however believed to have come from the south, perhaps from ↗Damot or ↗Bale.

Although certainly not the originator of the Ǝ. legend, James ↗Bruce appears most responsible for its dissemination into both scholarly and popular writings (BruNile II, 452f.). According to him, the beautiful Ǝ. set out to destroy Christianity and eliminate the Solomonic line. She massacred the royal house and established a Jewish dynasty that ruled Ethiopia for many generations. Ignazio Guidi claimed she was the queen of the "Banū l-Yahūdiya" and also identified her as Jewish, as did Basset (BassÉt 227) and Rathjens (1921:18–24). Although Conti Rossini (CRStor 285–89) demonstrated that significant reasons exist for rejecting the queen's alleged Jewishness, authors have continued to describe her as a "Falaša" (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel) queen. In keeping with other Arabic and Ethiopic sources – e.g., the *Kitāb aḏ-ḏaḫāʾir wa t-tuḥaf* (‘*Book of the treasures and precious gifts*’) by *qāḍī* ar-Rašīd az-Zubayr, of the second half of the 11th cent., and the ↗*Maṣḥafa məsṭirä sämay wämədr*, which was “revealed” to Baḫayla Mikaʾel before 1450 – she is rather likely to have ruled over, and come from the Sidaama area of ↗Bale (Fiaccadori 1992).

ḥaṣ́ani ↗Danəʾel

Lit.: KNUD TAGE ANDERSEN, “The Queen of the Habasha in Ethiopian History, tradition and chronology”, *BSOAS* 63, 2000, 31–63; BassÉt 227; BELAYNESH MIKAEL, “Gudit”, in: *DicEthBio* 76–78; ID., “Tərdəʾa Gäbäz”, *ibid.* 161–62; BruNile II, 452f.; CRStor 285–89; ENRICO CERULLI, “L’Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi”, *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94, here 272–76 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80, here 256–61]; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, “Bâli”, *La Parola del Passato* 47, 1992, 439–45 (Lit.); MOHAMMED EL-CHENNAFI, “Mention nouvelle d’une ‘reine éthiopienne’ au IVᵉ s. de l’hégire/Xᵉ s. ap. J.-C.”, *AE* 10, 1976, 119–21; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Beta Israel in Ethiopia from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York, 1992, 44–47; CAROLINE LEVI, *Yodit*, Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London 1992; CARL RATHJENS, *Die Juden in Abessinien*, Hamburg 1921, 18–24; SERGEW HABLE SELASSIE, “The Problem of Gudit”, *JES* 10, 1972, 113–24; SerHist 225–37.

Steven Kaplan

Ǝšätu Č̣ole

Ǝ.Č̣. (**እሸቱ፡ ጮሌ**; b. 11 September 1945, Nagallee, Boräna, d. 18 June 1998, Nairobi) was an outstanding Ethiopian economist. He had his elementary education in Nagallee and his secondary education at the General Wingate Secondary School in Addis Abäba. He then joined Ḫaylä Śəllase I University and graduated in 1966 with a B.A. degree in Economics, earning “Great Distinction” and winning the Chancellor’s Medal. Joining the Department of Economics as Graduate Assistant, he proceeded to do his graduate and post-graduate study in the United States, getting his M.A. from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1968 and his Ph.D. from Syracuse University in 1973.

Ǝ.Č̣. had a distinguished academic career, emerging as one of Ethiopia’s leading economists. He was a dedicated and inspiring teacher and a prolific writer. He occupied the Deanship of the Faculty of Arts from 1974 to 1976. He also served as member of the Editorial Board of the ↗*Journal of Ethiopian Studies* and as one of the two Ethiopian members in the International Organizing Committee of the ↗International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies. From 1983 to 1991, he was Chief Economic Expert at the Institute for the Study of Ethiopian Nationalities. He could be said to have attained the high moment of his professional career as founding member and President of the Ethiopian Economic Association from 1991 to 1994.

Ǝšätu Č̣ole; photo courtesy of the author

Nor was Ǝ.Č̣.’s academic career confined to national bounds. Thus he was Member of the Executive Committee of the Council for the Development of Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA) from 1992 to 1995. He also held various positions in the sub-regional research network, Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA), serving as Editor of its Journal, *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review* (1986–90), its Resident Vice-President (1986–90) and its Executive Secretary (1990–92). In 1995 he was Visiting Associate Professor of Public and International Affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University.

In addition to his academic brilliance and professional distinction, Ǝ.Č̣. was a committed nationalist who ardently sought the progress of his country and the improvement of the lot of his fellow Ethiopians. Thus, he played an active role in the student movement. He was President of the Main Campus Student Union in 1965–66. Later, he also served as Secretary of the Ethiopian Teachers’ Association (1969–70) and founding member of the more radical breakaway group, known as “Forum”, which was in the forefront of the struggle against military rule in 1974. The *Därg*, apprehensive of Ǝ.Č̣.’s popularity, put him behind bars for a total period of seven years (1974–75 and 1976–82). Managing to endure the long period of confinement thanks to his high morale and his inexhaustible repertoire of wit, he re-emerged to attain higher distinctions and honours.

Src.: Assefa Bequele – Eshetu Chole, *A Profile of the Ethiopian Economy*, Nairobi 1969; Eshetu Chole et al. (eds.), *Options for Rural Development in Ethiopia*, London 1990; Eshetu Chole et al. (eds.), *Democratisation Processes in Africa: Problems and Prospects*, Dakar 1995; Id., "The African Economic Crisis: Character, Origins and Impact on Society", in: J. Balogun – G. Mutahaba (eds.), *Economic Restructuring and Public Administration in Africa*, West Hartford 1989; Id. et al., "The Macroeconomic Performance of the Ethiopian Economy 1974–1990", in: Mekonnen Taddese (ed.), *The Ethiopian Economy: Structure, Problems and Policy Issues*, Addis Ababa 1992; Id., "Running to Keep in the Same Place: Industralization 1941–74", in: Shiferaw Bekele (ed.), *An Economic History of Ethiopia*, Dakar 1995, 194–231; Id., "Towards a History of the Fiscal Policy of the Pre-Revolutionary Ethiopian State: 1941–74", *JES* 17, 1984, 88–106; Id., "Some Problems in the Measurement of Import Substitution: a Critical Review of the Literature", *EJDR* 5–7, 1983; Id., "The African Economic Crisis", *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review* 1, 2, 1985.
Lit.: *Addis Tribune* 19 and 26 June 1998; OSSREA, *The OSSREA Newsletter* 16, 3, 1998.

Bahru Zewde

Əšätu Wəbe

Däǧǧazmač Ə.W. (እሸቴ፡ ውቤ, also Əšäte; d. February 1855) was the son of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, ruler of Səmen and northern Ethiopia from about 1830 to 1855. Ə.W. was one of the four children of Wəbe named in the sources. He fought alongside his father in the Battle of ↗Däräsge, which ended with Wəbe's rule and ushered in that of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II.

Src.: CRNuov 410.

Donald Crummey

Esbroeck, Michel van

E. (b. 17 June 1934, Malines, d. 21 November 2003, Louvain-la-Neuve) was a Belgian Orientalist. He studied Classics, Philosophy, History and Philology of the Orient as well as Theology in Brussels, Louvain and Beirut. He joined the Jesuits in 1953 and became involved with the Bollandistes, the Jesuit editorial group of the *Acta sanctorum*. After many different positions and research projects, he became Professor for Philology of the Christian Orient at the University of Munich in 1987 (successor of Julius ↗Aßfalg) and held this post until his retirement in 1999. He was an impressive polyglot in ancient and modern languages and one of the major researchers in the field of Christian Oriental studies. His constant goal was the search for old hagiographic material and other neglected Christian texts. He always stressed the interdependency of Christian oriental literatures. Thus, in his vast research, he time and again touched on Gəʿəz texts and their relationship to those in other languages.

Src.: Alexis Smets – Michel van Esbroeck, *Basile de Césarée. Sur l'origine de l'homme*, Paris 1970; Michel van Esbroeck, *Aux origines de la dormition de la Vierge*, Aldershot 1995; Id., "L'Ethiopie a l'epoque de Justinien: S.Arethas de Negrān et S.Athanase de Clysma", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 117–39; Id., "ʿAbiyä Əgziʾ", in: *EAE* vol. 1, 43; Heinzgerd Brakmann – Michel van Esbroeck, "Kālēb Ella Aṣbeḥā bisi LZN", *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 5, 1996, 1141.
Lit.: Hubert Kaufhold, [obituary], *OrChr* 88, 2004, 257–61.

Stefan Weninger

Escarra, Jean

E. (b. 1885, d. 1955), French professor of Commercial Law in Paris and specialist in Oriental law, was the first drafter of the Commercial Code of Ethiopia. After his sudden death, the drafting was continued and completed by Alfred Jauffret.

In the latter part of 1953 E., at the time chairman of the Commission for the codification of a Commercial Code, accepted an invitation from the Imperial Ethiopian Government to draft a Commercial Code and a Maritime Code for the country. He submitted to the Commission the bulk of the texts later promulgated as Books II, IV and V of the Ethiopian Commercial Code. E.'s death in August 1955, interrupted the work on the Commercial Code. It was only several years later that the Imperial Ethiopian Government asked Alfred Jauffret, a professor of Commercial Law at the University of Aix-Marseille in France, to continue the texts of Books I and III. Having accepted this invitation, Jauffret submitted his draft version along with a Final Report on 1 March 1958. The Codification Commission reviewed these drafts in April 1958 and made several amendments to the text of Book I. The Amharic translation of these texts was then submitted to the Parliament which, in early 1960, approved the draft with several amendments. On 5 May 1960 Ḫaylä Śəllase I implemented the text of the Commercial Code with Proclamation No. 166 of 1960, the Code coming into force on 11 September 1960.

In his notes, E. stressed the need to draft a title with general provisions applicable to all forms of business organization and the desirability of co-ordinating the Commercial Code provisions with those in the Civil Code dealing with civil or ordinary partnerships. In January 1955 René David, the expert draftsman of the Civil Code, submitted to the Codification Commission a draft text regulating ordinary partnerships. It is not clear whether E. specifically approved this addition since, on some points, David's draft contradicted views expressed earlier by E. at the meetings of the Sub-Commission and in his own notes on the motifs.

From the strictly legal point of view, E. wished to receive instructions on several aspects of the Ethiopian legal organization, such as the nature of the local laws, their importance and use and the role of the courts. He also inquired about the existence of any kind of commercial laws, case laws, commercial customs or professional practices, contractual practices within the different commercial communities, bills of exchange, current accounts and bankruptcy.

↗Commercial Law

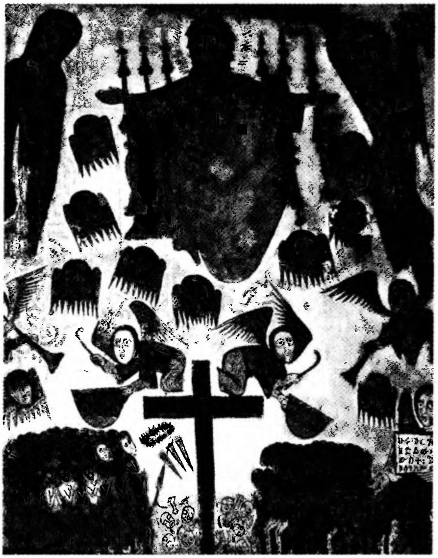
Src.: "Commercial Code of the Empire of Ethiopia of 1960", *Nägarit Gazeṭa,* extraordinary issue 3, Addis Abäba 1960; *Proclamation* no. 166, 1960; PETER WINSHIP (ed., tr.), *Background Documents of the Ethiopian Commercial Code of 1960,* Addis Ababa 1974.
Lit.: HEINRICH SCHOLLER, *The Special Code of Ethiopia 1920-1935,* Stuttgart 1985 (AeF 15), 18; JACQUES VANDERLINDEN, *Introduction au droit de l'Éthiopie moderne,* Paris 1971.

Heinrich Scholler

Eschatology

In its broader sense, E. is the religious doctrine dealing with the "last things" (Gr. τὰ ἔσχατα), namely the after-life of the human being and the end of the earthly world history.

Eschatological views within the ethnic ↗religions of Ethiopia deal mainly with the dwelling-place of the spirits and the way they interfere in the lives of living beings. The ↗Kunama of Eritrea believe that the soul descends into the tomb along with the dead; after the funeral ceremonies and the related sacrifices, the spirit is allowed to leave and to move freely about the earth; only the souls of the righteous can find shelter in their tombs at night, whereas the impious are condemned to remain in the open, and thus they can have a negative influence on the living. The ↗Boorana of southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya still preserve the traditional Oromo religion and believe that the spirits do not wander upon or under the earth; the righteous stay near the highest god ↗*Waaqa*, the impious burn in an eternal fire, and those who were neither good nor bad hang about as shadows. The belief in the end of the world is absent from Ethiopian ethnic religions because of the widespread idea that the highest god, after having created the world, lost any interest in earthly affairs.



Last Judgement; cloth mural; Balči in Sankora, eastern Šäwa, Amanuʾel Church, south wall; second half of the 19th cent.; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

In spite of the scarcity of positive data, one can admit that in the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. the religious ideas circulating among the Semitic-speaking communities of the Ethiopian highlands were melting with elements of African substratum, as the Ethiopian conception of ↗kingship seems to prove. The influence of pre-Islamic ↗Arabia can be detected in the observance of sacral sovereignty as reflected in the divine filiation of the Aksumite king (*wäldä Mäḥrəm*, 'the son of ↗Mäḥrəm', to be compared with the titles of the kings of Awsan and Qataban), a belief probably connected with an eschatological role of the monarch. The African substratum can be recognized in the practice of building stelae over the Aksumite tombs, according to an architectural tradition whose cradle has been identified in the Sudanese-Ethiopian borderlands. The meaning of these Aksumite monuments is a matter of debate, but it must be considered that the practice recalls the animistic rite of planting trees over graves, both because the presence of the plant allows the memory of the dead to survive and because its first flourishing of the plant is regarded as a visible sign that the spirit is out from the tomb and free.

The translation of the ↗Bible into Gəᶜəz brought eschatological ideas from the Old Testament into circulation in Ethiopia, namely, those from the major prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel) and the Book of Daniel. Within the New Testament the ↗*Revelation of John* was the object of an obvious reverence as the earlist model of Christian prophecy. Yet, the Ethiopian Christian E. was influenced in a decisive and original way by the great works of the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period: the most ancient sections of ↗*Enoch*, the *Fourth Book of* ↗*Ezra* and ↗*Jubilees*, and by some works of early Christian times, such as, the *Ascension of* ↗*Isaiah*, the *Antichrist* of Hyppolitus and the *Shepherd of* ↗*Hermas*. Most probably all these texts, belonging originally to different historical periods and cultural assetts, were translated into Gəᶜəz as parts of a coherent religious creed; both the identity and provenance of the Christian group which brought into Ethiopia the attention over that is still debated. The general matter of these works deals mainly with the imminence of divine intervention for the destruction of the Evil and the establishment of the Reign of God. Polemics against civil institution, either government or state organizations is hereby included, and contributes to the growing of a fundamentalist political theology. The literary form of this eschatological vision is represented by the Jewish-Christian apocalypse, i.e. the revelation a divine messenger gives to a seer about events to take place at the end of time.

In the wake of Coptic tradition, for Ethiopian theologians the journey of the soul after death has different phases, described by examples in the ↗*Qäleməntos* (4:6–14). In the first one, between the end of the earthly life and the Last Judgement, the soul abandons the body and moves to a temporary place, waiting for its destiny to be achieved. The approach of the end of the world is announced by a sequence of fatal events: physical phenomena extraneous to the natural course, the appearance of false prophets and the establishment in Jerusalem of the tyranny of the Antichrist, who will rule the world until Enoch and Elijah will return and denounce the mistakes done by mankind. The beginning of the true end is marked by the descent of Jesus onto earth and is conceived as a succession of three scenes, each announced by a blast of the trumpet. First, the mortal remains shall take again the shape they had before death; then, the souls will leave their temporary places and once and for all will get back to their restored bodies; finally, in the same time, all the dead shall rise again and undergo the judgement of God, by which the sinners are separated from the righteous. In Gəᶜəz, the place of eternal joy is called ኤዶም (*Edom*, 'Eden'), or ገነት (*Gännät*, 'Garden'), both with several Semitic parallels; the dwelling-place of the sinners is called ገሀነም (*Gähännäm*) and ሲኦል (*Siᵓol*), both terms deriving from the Bible.

Like other non-Chalcedonian denominations, the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church accepts the millenarian doctrine, i.e. the belief in the Second Coming of Christ (↗*Dagəm mäṣᵓatu läkrəstos*). According to the picture drawn by Giyorgis of Sägla (ca. 1424) in his *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məsṭir*, before the Last Judgement Jesus will descend on earth once again to cancel the reign of the Antichrist, release the souls of the righteous and take them to the one-thousand-year long banquet on Mount Zion (↗*Däbrä Ṣəyon*). During the first half of the 15th cent., particularly in the years of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓä Yaᶜəqob, this belief became the subject of a theological dispute: the monastic communities of the disciples of ↗Ǝsṭifanos and Zämikaᵓel (↗Mikaᵓelites) rejected the millenarian faith and thus were condemned by the emperor and the metropolitans. The defence of Millenarianism against the spiritualistic objections of such monastic circles was clearly connected to the specific eschatological role traditionally assigned to the Ethiopian emperor. According to a concept going back to the 6th–7th cent., he is the earthly representative of the heavenly king or βασιλεύς, the defender of the Orthodox faith and the head of the troops called to fight against the infidels. In a celebrated prophecy reported in such works like the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (ch. 117) and the *Raᵓəyä Sinoda* (ch. 3), at the end of the history of the World the Byzantine and the Ethiopian rulers shall defeat the enemies of the Christian faith (namely the Jews), then they will meet in Jerusalem, share the earth and rule the world in peace until the coming of the Antichrist.

The dogma of the resurrection of the body also became a matter of a controversy in Ethiopic sources since the 14th cent. at least. The supporters of the anti-materialistic E., as against human corporeity, could base on the *Ascension of Isaiah* (4:16–17): according to this famous apocryphon, the flesh is an integral part of the earthly world, so that they are doomed to dissolve together. Reflections of a debate already existing in the 14th cent. are traceable in the *Christian Romance of ↗Alexander the Great* (ch. 29–30), where a discussion about the resurrection between Alexander and his counsellor Komsat is reported. For this section the author exploited the arguments found in a work written by the 4th-cent. Syriac writer ↗Aphrahat, the treatise *On the Vivification of the Dead*, also known in a Gəʿəz version (ms. Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Or. 148) under the title **ነገር፡ በእንተ፡ እለ፡ ይክሕዱ፡ ትንሣኤ፡ ምውታን** (*Nägär bäʾəntä əllä yəkəḥədu tənśaʾe məwətan*, 'Treatise on those who deny the resurrection of the dead'). These literary documents seem to be directed against those contemporary theologians who preached the contrast between the material and perishable body of earthly life and the heavenly and imperishable garments (**ልብሳት**, *ləbsat*) the souls shall wear on resurrecting. This gnostic-like attitude was seemingly inherited by the disciples of Zämikaʾel, because it reemerges in the works they composed during the Jesuit mission in Ethiopia (1557–1632; ↗Jesuits). Particularly, the work entitled **መርስ፡ አሚን** (*Märs amin*, 'Safe harbour') deals with the Catholic objections to the Ethiopian practice of circumcising children on the eighth day after their birth (and therefore before ↗Baptism, administered on the fortieth day), because this would prevent an even small part of the body from taking part in the resurrection and in the final salvation. To these statements the Ethiopian author of the treatise opposes the spiritual interpretation of the resurrection, which concerns the baptized as a whole, because the sacrament involves his soul, not his body.

A description of the eternal punishments is contained in the *Apocalypse of ↗Peter*, the 2nd-cent. apocryphon fully transmitted only in the Gəʿəz translation made from a lost Arabic *Vorlage*. The Ethiopic text of this apocalypse did not circulate independently, but was used as the first part of the treatise **ዳግም፡ ምጽአቱ፡ ለክርስቶስ፡ ወትንሣኤ፡ ምውታን** (*Dagəm məṣʾatu läkrəstos wätənśaʾe məwətan*, 'The second coming of Christ and resurrection of the dead'), a part of the eschatological dossier transmitted the mss. Paris, BN Abb. 51 and Ṭānāsee 35 along with the **በእንተ፡ ኵናኔ፡ ኃጥአን** (*Bäʾəntä kʷənnane ḫaṭəʾan*, 'On the judgement of the sinners'). The revelations of Peter to Clement about the eternal punishments, preserved in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, are followed in the first treatise (*Dagəm məṣʾatu läkrəstos*) by a long dialogue between Peter and Jesus. At the end, the Son of God declares that he will intercede with his Father in order to obtain from him salvation for the whole of mankind, including the sinners (with the exception of the ↗Devil and of the demonic beings). This is a radical conception of God's mercy, showing some relations with the E. of the 3rd-cent. Greek writer ↗Origen of Alexandria, and his controversial doctrine of the ἀποκατάστασις. These ideas are corroborated in the second treatise (*Bäʾəntä kʷənnane ḫaṭəʾan*), a new speech, in which Peter is relating to Clement the contents of God's revelations about the same doctrine of the universal restoration, according to eschatological view that seems to be prompted by ancient contacts with Egyptian monastic circles.

A similar conception can be traced in some aspects of the ↗Betä Əsraʾel E., which shares with the Christian view both the millenaristic expectation of the advent and of the mystic King Tewodros (destined to bring to earth the era of peace before the consumption of the world), as well as some basic ideas about the final events. For the Betä Əsraʾel of central importance is the concept of the ↗Sabbath. At the end of times, after the final catastrophes, in spite of the God's judgement rewarding merits and punishing sins, some wicked souls can still receive forgiveness and be saved from eternal damnation only due to their strict observance of Saturday rest. According to the ↗*Təʾəzazä sänbat*, Sabbath, the feminine personification of the Seventh Day, will be standing next to God and obtain from him the redemption for the sinners, who never neglected to commemorate the Creation and to honour the Sabbath as an eschatological symbol of the life to come.

The Islamic view of the final events is grounded on the description in several Qurʾānic passages. The first judgement takes place immediately after the death and an examination within the tomb (Qurʾān 8:50–51; 50:17–18). Destructive natural phenomena will precede the coming of the last day, announced by a blast of trumpet and marked by the annihilation of the world (*fanā*ʾ), the resurrection of the bodies (*qiyāma*) and the universal assembly (*ḥašr*) for the Last Judgement (36:51–54, 77–80; 50:20–23, 41–44). After the evaluation of the earthly deeds (7:8–9) each soul will be sent to paradise or hell, elaborately described by several authors. For Muslims, too, during the last days before the final destruction the earth will be ruled by an eschatological leader (*Mahdī*, 'the guided'), who will restore justice and faith. In the history of the Islamic communities different personalities styled themselves by this title in order to enjoy the political and religious authority. In the Sudan, between 1882 and 1885, Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh declared himself Mahdi and led an anti-Egyptian secession movement, which brought about the conquest of Khartoum and the independence of the Sudan up to 1898. After his death in 1885, the political and religious unrest involved some Ethiopian provinces, so that *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV was forced to face the ↗Mahdist army in the battle of Mäṭämma, where the Emperor himself found death on 11 March 1889.

Src.: CRAbb no. 37 [Abbadie 51], IV, V; HamTana I, 165, Ṭānāsee 35 = Kəbrān 35, fol. 59rc–70va; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *Il Qalēmenṭos etiopico. La rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente. I libri 3–7*, Napoli 1992 (StAfEt 2), 94ff.; YaqMist I, II; BezKebr 170f. (text) = 136f. (tr.); ERNEST ALBERT WALLIS BUDGE, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great: Being a Series of Ethiopic Texts*, 2 vols., London 1896, 338–52 (text) = 536–53 (tr.); ADOLF GROHMANN, "Die im Äthiopischen, Arabischen und Koptischen erhaltenen Visionen Apa Schenute's von Atripe" I, *ZDMG* 67, 1913, 187–267, here 255–65; LORENZO PERRONE (ed.) – ENRICO NORELLI (tr.), "Ascensione di Isaia profeta. Versione etiopica", in: *Ascensio Isaiae. Textus*, Turnhout 1995 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Apocryphorum 7), 3–129, here 68f.; ENRICO CERULLI, "'De Resurrectione Mortuorum'. Opuscolo della Chiesa Etiopica del sec. XIV", in: *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, part 2: *Orient Chrétien*, vol. 1, Città del Vaticano 1964 (Studi e testi 232), 1–27; ID., *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI–XVII*, part 1: *Tre opuscoli dei Mikaeliti*, Città del Vaticano 1958 (Studi e testi 198); PAOLO MARRASSINI, "L'Apocalisse di Pietro", in: *EtRicci* 171–232; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine", *ROC* 12, 1907, 285–97, 380–23; *ibid.* 13, 1908, 166–80, 314–20; *ibid.* 15, 1910, 198–214, 307–23, 425–39; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Journey to Heaven. The Popular Belief of Reward and Punishment in Ethiopian Christianity", in: *StudAeth* 41–65; JOSEPH HALÉVY, *Teʾezaza Sanbat* (*Commandements du Sabbat*), Paris 1902.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La regalità sacra in Abissinia e nei regni dell'Africa centrale ed occidentale", *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 21, 1947–48, 12–31; ID., "Due capitoli del Libro del Mistero di Giyorgis da Sagla", *RSE* 7, 1948, 13–53; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "La royauté sacrale en Éthiopie", *AE* 2, 1957, 205–18; HabKön 149–72; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "Some Remarks on the Origins of the Aksumite Stelae", *AE* 14, 1957, 43–69; JAMES C. VANDERKAM – WILLIAM ADLER (eds.,), *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*, Assen – Minneapolis 1996; ROBERT BEYLOT, "Le millénarisme, article de foi dans l'Église Éthiopienne", *RSE* 25, 1971–72 [1974], 31–43; TJITZE BAARDA, "Another Treatise of Aphrahat the Persian Sage in Ethiopic Translation: a Short Note", *New Testament Studies* 27, 1981, 632–40; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Literary Origins of Ethiopian Millenarianism", in: *PICES* 9, 161–72, here 166–69; ENRICO NORELLI, *Ascensio Isaiae. Commentarius*, Turnhout 1995 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Apocryphorum 8), 272; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Escatologia e Scrittura nelle piú antiche tradizioni etiopiche", *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 16, 1999, 235–40; ID., "Riflessi etiopici dell'escatologia di Afraate", *ibid.* 17, 2000, 151–59; ID., "Elementi romani nella tradizione letteraria aksumita", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 42–54; ID., "Tradizione origeniana in Etiopia", in: LORENZO PERRONE (ed.), *Origeniana Octava. Origene e la tradizione alessandrina*, Louvain 2003 (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 164), 1177–84; AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 133–36; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens*, Berlin – New York 1971, 238ff.; STEVEN KAPLAN, *Les Falashas*, Turnhout 1990, 53–58.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Escherich, Georg

E. (Amh. ኤሸሪህ; b. 4 January 1870, Schwandorf, d. 26 August 1941) was an adventurous forester who travelled in several East and West African countries. In early 1907 he participated in a hunting-expedition in Ethiopia at the foot of the south-eastern escarpment in Oromo areas. His enterprising character soon led to close contacts to *aṣe* Mənilək II's government and semi-officials like Jakob Hall. He suggested a law to protect wild animals and initiated the introduction of new plants. The Emperor, remembering that Addis Abäba was formerly covered by thick forests, made him return to Ethiopia in 1909 to start plantations in the capital. However, the leadership of Ethiopia was already partially paralyzed due to the Emperor's illness; E., therefore, only experimented on the German Legation's compound, explored regions as far as Lake Rudolph (today Turkana) and submitted – unsuccessfully – forestry plans to the government. His brother Karl, the entomologist and professor in Tharandt near Dresden and Munich, also travelled to the region, publishing notes on Eritrea in 1908 (Lockot I, 63).

Internationally, E.'s presence at the court was understood as a further enforcement of Germany's influence on Ethiopia; for Zintgraff was appointed counsellor, Steinkühler acted as the Emperor's physician and Pinnow was Crown Prince Iyasu's tutor. E.'s publications contain several interesting details on this turbulent period. In Germany, E. became a prominent leader of the right-wing monarchist movement in Bavaria after the fall of the German emperor (as the founder of the militant "Organisation Escherich" or "Orgesch", 1919).

Src.: GEORG ESCHERICH, *Jagdreisen in Norwegen, Bosnien-Herzegowina und Abessinien*, Berlin 1910; ID., *Im Lande des Negus*, Berlin 1912, ^{2}1921; ID., *Der alte Forstmann: Fahrten und Fährten in weiter Welt*, Berlin 1935; Lockot I, 63, 77; N.N., "Im innersten Abessinien", *Jahrbuch der Weltreisen und geographischen Forschungen* 12, 1913, 133-45; *ibid.* 9, 1910, 103ff.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Germany: Cultural, Political and Economic Relations, 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5), index, 311; Lockot I, 63, 77 (Lit.).

Wolbert Smidt

Esimiphaios ↗Sumyafaᶜ Aśwaᶜ

Əskəndər

Aṣe Ə. (እስክንድር; b. 15 July 1471, d. 1494 [r. 1478–94]) was a son of *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam I and one of his wives, *əmmäbet* Romna. Bäʾədä Maryam felt uneasy about the fate of his first-born son at the court, always fraught with plot and conspiracy, and gave the baby to Anbäsa Dawit, an influential governor of ↗Goǧǧam. However, Anbäsa Dawit died shortly afterwards of plague and the Emperor had to take his son back. In 1475, when for security reasons the Emperor sent all his other children to Gänz (↗Gänäzo), Ə. was entrusted to *bitwäddäd* ᶜAmdä Mikaʾel, a mighty warlord whose main task was to cope with Muslim raids at the frontier areas of ↗Wäǧ and ↗Fäṭägar. ᶜAmdä Mikaʾel was on campaign together with Ə. when Bäʾədä Maryam died on 8 November 1478. Naᶜod, a younger brother of Ə., was then proclaimed Emperor. However, ᶜAmdä Mikaʾel returned immediately and had his six-year-old protégé crowned (with the throne name Iyosyas, s. Fiaccadori 2004). It was certainly the mighty *bitwäddäd* who formed the council of regency, which included himself, Romna and *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Täsfa Giyorgis (fl. 1478–86, s. Taddesse Tamrat 1970:109ff.). He also established most cordial relations with *əččäge* ↗Märḥa Krəstos.

ᶜAmdä Mikaʾel aspired to stop the growing religious dissent. So he sent a delegation to Egypt which in 1481 brought from Alexandria five Coptic ecclesiastics, among them two bishops (↗Yəsḥaq and ↗Marqos). He wanted also to subjugate ↗ᶜAdal, the main Muslim rival of Christian Ethiopia and to consolidate the central authority, which at that time belonged not so much to the Emperor as to ᶜAmdä Mikaʾel himself. This policy was to encounter wide opposition "when they saw him ruling all Ethiopia on his own" (PerrEsk 339).

Ə. himself refused to remain an ever-"baby-king" and with the help of ᶜAmdä Mikaʾel's opponents he deposed him sometime before 1486. ᶜAmdä Mikaʾel was eventually exiled and secretly executed. This immediately alienated Ə. from ↗Däbrä Libanos, where ᶜAmdä Mikaʾel was not only buried, but also demonstratively canonized. As a result, in the chronicles compiled by the scribes of Däbrä Libanos, Ə.'s reign is described only in its three first years, when relations between Däbrä Libanos and the council of regency were still unclouded. After that, Ə. led the typical life of the itinerant feudal rulers of the time: he built churches (↗Däbrä Məśwaᶜ; Däbrä Məsṭir in Šäwa, s. Kur 1972:90f.; possibly Gännätä Giyorgis in Gəšše, s. DerDom 341), pacified his rebellious vassals and fought ᶜAdal with no success, until he was accidentally killed by the poisonous arrow of a ↗Maya archer in 1494 at the early age of 22. His empire remained in no better state than it was when he had been proclaimed emperor in 1478.

Src.: PerrEsk; STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 88–91, 96, 98 (text).

Lit.: TadTChurch 286–93; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 526–29; ID., "The Abbots of Däbrä Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 109ff.; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos, capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo la 'lista rimata' (sec. XIV–XVIII)", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 13, 1944, 137–82, here 145–49; DerDom 341, s. index; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sul ms. Parigi, B.n.F., d'Abb. 78 (C.R. 38) e i metropoliti Yesḥaq, Yāᶜeqob e Mārqos d'Etiopia (sec. XV–XVI)", *RANLmor* ser. 9^{a}, 15, 2004 [2005], 679–90, here 680 and n. 9.

Sevir Chernetsov

Əskəndər

Alexander Boghossian (b. 1937, Addis Abäba, d. 2003, Washington DC), who called himself Ə. (እስክንድር; or Skunder), was a prominent artist. Son of an Armenian father, Kosreff Boghossian, and an Ethiopian mother, he was awarded an Ethiopian government scholarship to study art in Europe. From 1955–57 he attended three London-based schools: Saint Martin's School, the Central School and the Slade School of Fine

Arts. Following this he spent nine years in Paris (1957–66) where he attended and taught at the École des Beaux Arts and the Académie de la Grande Chaumière.

Whilst in London and Paris, Ǝ. was greatly inspired by African, Latin American and African American artists. The philosophy and art of Négritude, Paul Klee's pictorial symbols and the work of the surrealists also deeply impressed him. From 1966–69, after he had returned to Addis Abäba, Ǝ. taught at the ↗School of Fine Arts, where he has exercized a lasting impact on a generation of young Ethiopian artists. Together with ↗Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa, Ǝ. was a pioneer of Ethiopian modern art and his leaving Ethiopia was a great loss. Many of Ǝ.'s students followed him to Washington DC, where he lectured as an Associate Professor of Painting at Howard University (1969–2000). Ǝ. was the first Ethiopian artist to have his work purchased by the Musée d'Art Moderne, Paris 1963, and the Museum of Modern Art, New York 1965.

Lit.: TRITOBIA HAYES BENJAMIN, "Skunder Boghossian – A Different Magnificence", *African Arts* [Los Angeles] 5, 4, 1972, 22–25; ELISABETH BIASIO, *Die verborgene Wirklichkeit – Drei äthiopische Maler der Gegenwart*, Zürich 1989, 74–78; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Skunder: his First Addis Ababa Exhibition", *EthObs* 10, 3, 1966, 184–85; ID., "A Survey of Modern Ethiopian Art", in: *Äthiopien*, [Sonderausgabe der] *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, Stuttgart 1973, 88–89; SALAH M. HASSAN – ACHAMYELEH DEBELA, "Addis Connections: the Making of the Modern Ethiopian Art Movement", in: CLÉMENTINE DELISS (ed.), *Seven Stories about Modern Art in Africa*, New York 1995, 131–32; SIDNEY LITTLEFIELD KASFIR, *Contemporary African Art*, London 1999, 191ff.; JEAN KENNEDY, *New Currents, Ancient Rivers – Contemporary African Artists in a Generation of Change*, Washington 1992, 128ff.; SOLOMON DERESSA, "Skunder: in Retrospect Precociously", *EthObs* 10, 3, 1966, 174–84; WENDY KINDRED, "Skunder and Modern Ethiopian Art", in: PAUL B. HENZE (ed.), *Aspects of Ethiopian Art from Ancient Axum to the Twentieth Century*, London 1993, 126–33; OKEKE CHIKA, "Modern African Art", in: OKWUI ENWEZOR (ed.), *The Short Century – Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa 1945–1994*, München 2001, 29–36, here 33, 66f. (ill.).

Elisabeth Biasio

Ǝskəndər ↗Alexander the Great

Ǝskəndər Dästa

Vice-Admiral Ǝskəndər Dästa as Commodor of the Ethiopian Navy; photo by Bassano, courtesy of the IES (no. 3E1, 799)

Commodore Ǝ.D. (**እስክንድር፡ ደስታ**; b. 6 August 1934, Addis Abäba, d. 23 November 1974, Addis Abäba) was grandson of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, son of *ras* ↗Dästa Dämṭäw and ↗Tänaññä Wärq Ḫaylä Śəllase. He received most of his education in Britain. In 1955, he became deputy commander of the newly formed Ethiopian Imperial Navy under Ḫaylä Śəllase I, who was the commander-in-chief of all the armed forces. Despite his affiliation with the royal family and his reputation as a "vigorous and progressive" commander, Ǝ.D. played, at least on the surface, a comparatively minor role in the Imperial government. Some sources suggest that he was a possible successor to Ḫaylä Śəllase. Others maintain, however, that the Emperor distrusted him and therefore never offered him significant responsibilities in the government. As a result, Ǝ.D. frequently performed minor representational duties such as serving on the International Christian Fellowship's executive committee, attending to Prince Henry the Navigator's celebrations in Lisbon and to a royal wedding in Brussels in 1960. During an armed forces revolt on 25–26 February 1974, Ǝ.D. temporarily fled the main naval base at Massawa and sought refuge in Djibouti. On 23 November 1974 Ǝ.D. was executed by the *Därg* along with 59 other men in what has been known as the "Bloody Saturday" massacre (↗Revolution).

Lit.: RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 204, 357, 382; ATNAFU MAKONNEN, *Ethiopia Today*, Tokyo 1960, 273; TEFERRA

HAILE-SELASSIE, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974–1991: from a Monarchical Autocracy to a Military Oligarchy*, London – New York 1997, 143.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Ǝskəsta ↗Dances

Ǝslam Däḥar

Ǝ.D. (**እስላም፡ ደሐር**; Arab. اسلام دحر, Islām Daḥar, perhaps from Arab. *daḥara* 'to expel') was, according to the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, son of Kum Däḥar, son-in-law of *aṣe* Ǝskəndər and regent of ↗Wäǧ.

When *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, pursued by *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"), fled hastily to Gäbärge (near ↗Zəqwala, s. BasHist 113, no. 1), he was joined by the "patrician" (Ar.: *al-baṭrīq*) Wäsän Sägad, who had come from Wäǧ (Waǧ in the Arabic text). He blamed the "patricians" for having abandoned ↗Damot and wanted to know where Ǝ.D. was. When the latter arrived, Wäsän Sägad asked him to indicate a fortified place in Wäǧ where the Christians could take refuge. Ǝ.D. said they should go down to the market of Wīzǧibya (cp. MarAmdS 219, s. under "Wäge") and stay there. Ǝ.D. promised that he would lead the Christians to a safe place. After two days the Muslims entered the land of ↗Wäräb, in the district of Andāqābṭān (↗Ǝndägäbṭän; s. BasHist 245, no. 3; TadTChurch 117 no. 8; MarAmdS 200, 219). Aḥmad Grañ sent ↗ᶜAbdannāṣir to reconnoitre, but the Christians thought it was the *imām* himself. Ǝ.D. then led the Christians into Wäǧ to a narrow place. A renegade by the name of Ḥaybī told Grañ that there was no place for the Ethiopian Emperor to escape to, neither to ↗Gurage, whose inhabitants were his enemies, nor to ↗Däwaro. But the Muslims did not follow Ḥaybī's advice and returned to Šäwa via Wīz, while ᶜAbdannāṣir moved to pillage and burn the town and monastery of Ǝndägäbṭän.

Some time later, Grañ, while in Wäǧ, ordered *wazīr* Muḥammad to conquer Wäǧ and Gäbärge. The inhabitants did not resist him, but Ǝ.D. and Yonadab, brother-in-law of Ləbnä Dəngəl, refused to embrace Islam and moved to the heights of Gurage. When Grañ pitched camp in a place called Dūǧ, in Wäǧ, the two "patricians" separated. Yonadab went to ↗Angot in order to join the king in Damot, but Ǝ.D., afraid that the land would be destroyed, sent his son to Grañ, accompanied by his son-in-law ᶜAsbo and 13 horsemen. ᶜAsbo, an eloquent and intelligent man, presented Ǝ.D.'s son as a gift to Grañ with the request not to burn their churches and ravage their land. He also asked that they might keep their religion, in which case they would pay the capitation. The *imām* agreed, but told the Christians to repeat after him the Muslim profession of faith. ᶜAsbo repeated the formula "and became a good Muslim". Ǝ.D.'s son was willing to become a Muslim too, but on the condition that Grañ would consider him as his own son. Grañ said that he would do anything for him provided he embraced Islam. The young man, too, repeated the formula, as did the Christian horsemen, upon which they all received a garment (of honour; s. BassHist 364f.).

After Grañ had established himself firmly in Däwaro, he sent *wazīr* Muǧāhid to Wäǧ. Half of the inhabitants refused to embrace Islam and entrenched themselves with 30 "patricians" and their chief Ǝ.D. in the mountains; however, soon they were defeated. Ǝ.D. was captured and put to death, together with many others. The entirety of Wäǧ submitted to the *wazīr*, who sent an envoy to announce the victory to Grañ, whom he found in Ǧurāǧī (Gurage).

Src.: BassHist 113, 245, 364f.; MarAmdS 219.
Lit.: TadTChurch 117.

Emeri van Donzel

Ǝslam Sägäd

Ras Ǝ.S. (**እስላም፡ ሰገድ**, also known as Ǝslamo, d. 31 March 1531) was a warlord of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, who had also granted him the titles of both ↗*ras* and ↗*bitwäddäd*. He was a governor of the important frontier province of ↗Fäṭägar, where his main duty was to repel regular Muslim raids into his province which were undertaken under the banner of ↗*ǧihād*. Ǝ. was quite successful in this, because he knew well the usual tactics of these raiders (well described by ↗Alvarez, s. BeckHuntAlvar 307). At his disposal he had well-armed cavalry guards of his own and Fäṭägar levies who fought bravely to defend their home. The situation changed drastically when in February 1531 the Emperor sent Ǝ.S. instead of his brother-in-law ↗Dägälhan to withstand the main forces of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī in another area. The levies had no stimulus to fight outside their homeland and Ǝ.'s guards alone could not resist the Muslim well-trained cavalry attack at Ayfärs on 31 March. The levies fled and the cavalry guards died to a man. Ǝ.S. himself was killed by *amīr* Abū Bakr b. Yimāğ Aḥmad (BassHist 202) together with many Ethiopian noblemen.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 307ff.; BassHist 180ff., 186f., 192, 195, 197, 202, 230; BassÉt I, 327f.; II, 328; MANFRED KROPP, *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 10 (text) = 9 (tr.), s. index; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Storia di Lebna Dengel re d'Etiopia", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 1, 1894, 617–40, here 629; BegCron 17; DombrChr 160; BruNile vol. 2, 162.

Sevir Chernetsov

Ǝslam Sägäd

Azmač Ǝ.S. (**እስላም፡ ሰገድ**, lit. 'the Muslims bowed to him', d. November 1564) is also known under the abbreviated name Ǝslamo. He was a commander of one of the royal regiments of *aṣe* ↗Minas. After the death of the latter, Ǝ.S. refused to accept the enthronement of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl and intrigued in favour of his own candidate to the throne, *abetohun* ↗Hamälmal, son of Romanä Wärq, *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl's sister. Young Śärṣä Dəngəl was opposed by many at his enthronement, but his enemies lacked unity and soon died one by one in their habitual feuds, Ǝ.S. among them.

Src.: DombrChr 181; BassÉt II, 328.
Lit.: TSTarik 3, 216f.

Sevir Chernetsov

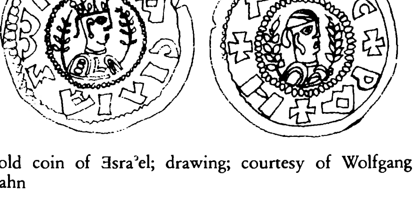
Ǝslambet; Ǝslamge ↗Addis ᶜAläm; ↗Gondär

Ǝsraʾel

Ǝ. (**እስራኤል**, or Yəsraʾel, also known as Betä Ǝsraʾel or Zäʾəsraʾel; Gr. ICPAHΛ, i.e. Ἰσραήλ) was a 6th-cent. Christian king of ↗Aksum. A son and probably the immediate successor of ↗Kaleb Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa, who retired to hermitic life around 523/24 or within 529/30 (Fiaccadori 2003:184f., 232f.), he is known from both literary and numismatic sources. The latter are often referred to an early 7th-cent. namesake (s. CRStor 216, 260f.) – with no cogent reason but the difficulty to put the rulers after Kaleb into sequence. In a series of gold coins, most of which from a hoard discovered at ↗Adulis, and in one rare silver example Ǝ. appears on both sides, half-length bust rightwards, wearing a low tiara or a head cloth respectively; his figure is flanked by two stalks and enclosed in an inner beaded circle with cross and Greek legends (pleading as well for a 6th-cent. chronology). The obv. is inscribed: BACIΛỊ AΞϢMI, i.e. *Basilé*[*us*] *Axōmi*[*t*(*ôn*)] 'King of the Aksumites'; on the rev.: *Israēl* (Type 143 in Munro-Hay–Juel-Jensen 1995:254f.). Even rarer examples of copper display the same subject as the obv. of his gold, but labelled in Gəᶜəz: *ngś Ysrʾl* 'King Yəsraʾel'; the rev. shows a cross with flared arms equal in length and a Greek legend all-round (including a small cross) that can be read: *śhl lʾḥzb* or *lʾḥzb śhl* 'mercy to the people' (Mordini 1959:182; Type 144 in Munro-Hay–Juel-Jensen 1995:255f.).

According to the controversial late antique evidence embedded in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (ch. 117) and further elaborated in local traditions of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa (CecZeila 370–73), Ǝ. is Kaleb's elder son, the younger one being later *aṣe* ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl, with whom Ǝ. had a long-sustained conflict that was to culminate in the fight "at the narrow end of the Sea of Liba" (or rather, "of the western region"), alluded to also in other sources (Fiaccadori 1992:73ff., 91). Against an apocalyptic background with marked eschatological overtones, in the *Kəbrä nägäśt* Ǝ. is appointed king of ↗Nağrān and then left in ↗Jerusalem by his father Kaleb, who has chosen to be succeeded by Gäbrä Mäsqäl; at the end, thanks to Kaleb's efforts, the engagement between his two sons is averted: Ǝ. is doomed to be the invisible lord of "the heavenly chariot", while Gäbrä Mäsqäl shall reign visibly over ↗Zion, "upon the throne of his father" (↗Eschatology). More recent stories have it that, as the second son, Ǝ. seized power by force taking advantage of his brother's absence, for Kaleb had abdicated with no designated successor.

Yet, in the more authoritative Life and Miracles of *abba* ↗Libanos or Mäṭ(ṭ)aᶜ, a 14th/15th-cent. product likely to draw on material contemporary to the Saint, two kings are introduced: the iniquitous Zägäbäzä Aksum (var.: Ǝllä Gäbäz) and his pious successor Gäbrä Mäsqäl (Bausi 2003, §§33, 36, 135, 413). The latter is indeed



Gold coin of Ǝsraʾel; drawing; courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn the son of Kaleb who, in accordance with different traditions, ascended the throne either after his father – i.e., in 530/31 at the latest – or after his brother Ǝ., whose tenure seems to have been relatively brief (8 months in the "king lists"). In the narrative of the Vita a few ancient elements relevant to the struggle between the two brothers are apparent, the memory of which was to fade in the progress of time: for such a struggle must have been triggered by Kaleb's abdication and then settled in favour of Gäbrä Mäsqäl (the negative characterization of Ǝllä Gäbäz/Zägäbäz is quite symptomatic).

It is therefore tempting to conclude that Ǝllä Gäbäz might rather be the "royal name" of Ǝ., otherwise unknown in Greek or Ethiopic hagiographies; and Gäbrä Mäsqäl, by way of exclusion, the "Christian name" of ↗W^{c}ZB, 'king of Aksum' and 'son of Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa' in his own inscription from ↗Aksum Ṣəyon cathedral (RIE 192), and probably ruling from 534 to 548 ca. (against MHAksum 89, 93, 187, 194, BrakKirche 108, and Bausi 2003:XXIXf., n. 26–27 [tr.], s. Lusini 2001:522f., and in *StudAeth* 70 n. 17, though Ǝ. is here distinguished from both Ǝllä Gäbäz and W^{c}ZB/Gäbrä Mäsqäl).

Such a logical conclusion should definitely prevent the recurrent identification of Zägäbäzä (or Ǝllä Gäbäz) mentioned in the Life of *abba* Libanos with ↗Ǝllä Gäbäz known from Greek legends (ΑΛΛΑ/ΕΛΛΑ ΓΑΒΑΖΗϹ or ΓΑΒΑΖΝΓ = *n*[*ə*]*g*[*uś*] 'king'?) on Aksumite coins dated to the late 6th or early 7th cent., both persons being possibly encompassed by Ǝllä Gäbäz/Zägäbäz(ä Aksum) of the Ethiopic "king lists", where reference to Betä Ǝsraʾel is also made ("list C", nos. 80, 90).

Src.: DAE I, 54, 58; ENNO LITTMANN, "Eine neue Goldmünze des Königs Israel von Aksum", *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 35, 1925, 272–74, pl. XIV/8; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Monete aksumite", *Africa Italiana* 1, 1927, 179–212, here 203 [§25]; BezKebr 170f. (text) = 136f. (tr.); ARTURO ANZANI, "Numismatica axumita", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* ser. 3a, 3 [39], 1926, 5–110, here 39, 86 (no. 215–49), 106f. (pl. H); ID., "Le monete dei re di Aksum. Studi supplementari", *ibid.* ser. 4a, 1 [43], 1941, 81–99, here 60f.; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Appunti di numismatica aksumita", *AE* 3, 1959, 179–83, here 182; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999, 45, no. 554, pl. 13; ID. – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 254ff.; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica* ser. 1a, 15, I-II [28-29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 74f.; ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed., tr.), *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596, [SAe 105, 106]), 15f., 162 (text) = 12f., 93 (tr.); CRList 294f.; CecZeila 370–73.

Lit.: JEAN-NOËL BARRANDON – ERIC GODET – CÉCILE MORRISSON, "Le monnayage d'or axoumite: une altération particulière", *Revue numismatique* 6e sér., 32, 1990, 186–211, here 192ff., 199, 203, 211; BrakKirche 108; CRStor 167, 210f., 216; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992, s. index; ID., "Bâli", *La Parola del Passato* 47, 1992, 439–45, here 441, 444; ID., "Πρόσοψις, non πρόοψις: Efeso, Gerusalemme, Aquileia (Nota a *IEph* 495, 1 s.)", *ibid.* 58, 2003 [2004], 182–249, here 189f., 232f.; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Die Münzprägung des axumitischen Reiches (Mit Katalog, metallurg. u. theolog. Anhang)", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80, here 117, 119, 138–41, 173f., no. 46; ID., "Noe, Israel und andere Könige mit biblischen Namen auf axumitischen Münzen. Der Gottesbund als Legitimation der christlichen Königsherrschaft im alten Äthiopien", *Money Trend* 33, 12, 2001, 124–28, here 126, fig. 3; ARTHUR K. IRVINE – SERGEW HABLE-SELASSIE – RICHARD K.P. PANKHURST, "Bétä-ʾEsraʾél", in: *DicEthBio* 41f. (Lit.); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "L'Église axoumite et ses traditions historiographiques (IVe–VIe s.)", in: BERNARD POUDERON – YVES-MARIE DUVAL (eds.), *L'historiographie de l'Église des premiers siècles*, Paris 2001 (Théologie historique 114), 541–57, here 522f.; ID., "Note linguistiche per la storia dell'Etiopia antica", in: *StudAeth* 67–77, here 68f.; SERGEW HABLE SELASSIE, "A History of Axum: The Successors of Kaleb", *Rural Africana* 11, 1970, 30–36, here 32f.; SerHist 42, 159ff.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

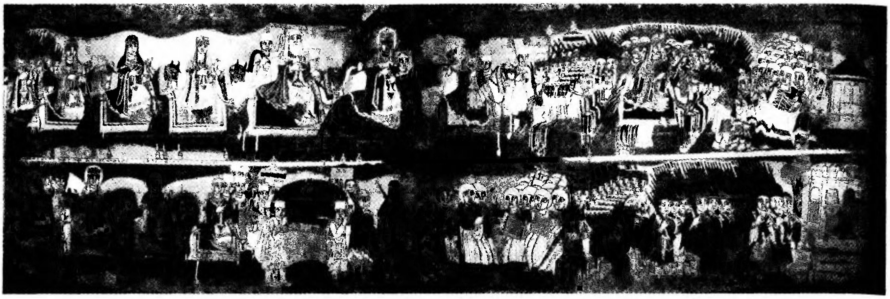
Ǝsṭäzya

Aläqa Ǝ. (**አስጠዝያ**, baptismal name Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer; b. 1872, Maryam Ḥəmbərti, Ḥamasen, d. 1942, Ḥamasen), was a traditional Ethiopian painter. He received a traditional church education in ↗Däbrä Bizän, Eritrea. After his ordination as deacon, Ǝ. continued his education in ↗*qəne bet* and in ↗*zema bet*. He studied church painting in the same monastery, possibly under the guidance Gäbrä Giyorgis from Goǧǧam.

Since his original intention was to be a monk, Ǝ. served one year as a novice in the monastery of Mäkanä Ḥəywät in Çəq (Tämben), but was never ordained. Yet, he was allowed to stay in the monastery and received a piece of land from its holding. He married a local girl named Wälättä Mikaʾel, with whom he had three children. His son Fəṣṣame also became an ↗*aläqa* and a church painter.

It seems that Ǝ.'s main interest was monumental wall-painting. The murals in the following churches were painted by him:

- in Tämben: Kidanä Məḥrät in Qäqäma; Śəllase in Çəq; Maryam in Mälfa; Qəddus Giyorgis in Ruba Kʷəsa; Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus in Mänya, Iyäsus in Gäläbäda;
- in Ǝndärta: Qəddus Yoḥannəs in Qoqolo;



Royal procession towards a church; cloth mural by *aläqa* Ǝsṭäzya; Ruba Kʷəsa, church of St. George, south wall of the *mäqdäs*; 19th/20th cent.; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

– in Eritrea: Maryam in ʿAddi K̲ʷala; Maryam in Ḥəmbərti; Täklä Haymanot in Liban; Qəddus Mikaʾel in ʿAddi Räʾəsi;
– in Gondär: Qəddus Giyorgis in Däräsge, Səmen, and Qəddus Giyorgis in Ǧähǧäh, Wägära.

From the documents it appears that he received 400 Maria Theresia thalers for each church, which included the expenses for painting materials. An exception was Çəq, where he charged only 200 thalers for the purchase of materials.

Although Ǝ.'s works have not yet been studied, judging from the paintings which have been recently recorded (Çəq, Ruba Kʷisa) he followed the iconographical programme established for the central churches in the 17th cent., sometimes adding elements which seem to be his own, thus bearing witness to his deep knowledge of biblical texts and theological commentaries (e.g., a fettered ↗Devil falling down in the Crucifixion in Çəq; Jacob's ladder in Ruba Kʷisa).

Ǝ. was a very skilful draftsman who paid great attention to details, quite often rendered with remarkable naturalism. On account of that, a large painting in Ruba Kʷisa depicting a procession attended by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV and his civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries could well be considered as an important historical document.

The painter used traditionally prepared paints where dark red, deep yellow, emerald green and dark blue dominate. One of the characteristic features of his style is the careful modelling of the human body, especially the face, with light brown and beige.

Src.: documents in possession of *mämhər* Rädda, the abbot of Çəq Śəllase, grandson of Ǝsṭäzya.
Lit.: GIRMA ELIAS, "Aläqa Estezia's Church Painting and the Sources of their Captions in Sacred Books", *Bulletin de la Maison des Études Éthiopiennes* 11, 1997, 85–95.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Ǝste

Ǝ. (**እስቴ**) is a region east of Lake Ṭana and north of the Abbay in southern Bägemdər, some 40 km south of Däbrä Tabor. The Wanqa River, a tributary of the Abbay, is its most-notable geographical feature. The area hosts a number of churches, many of which were founded some 400–500 years ago, an indication of the era when the indigenous Agäw population was Christianized. Ǝ. has long been famed for the production of religious ↗manuscripts. Local scribes, many working in a district known as Andəbet, are still producing quantities of manuscripts by traditional methods. The region is perhaps the last locale in the northern highlands where significant production still occurs at the turn of the 21st cent. A.D.

In the past, Ǝ. was also prominent in economic and military affairs. It was a station on the long-distance trade routes that ran from the southern highlands across Goǧǧam to Lake Ṭana and Gondär. From at least the time of *aṣe* Susənyos (r. 1607–32), Ǝ. was a campsite on the line of march from Lake Ṭana to Amhara and Goǧǧam. Iyasu I (r. 1682–1706) especially favoured it as a staging-ground for campaigns into Oromo lands across the Abbay and the Bäšəlo.

Under the imperial administration of the mid-20th cent., Ǝ. was a *wäräda* in Däbrä Tabor *awraǧǧa* in the Province of Bägemdər and Səmen. Today, a small village bears this name.

Src.: GuiIohan 78, 163, 187f., 191 (tr.); MINISTRY OF LAND REFORM AND ADMINISTRATION (ed.), *Report on Land Survey of Begemedeir and Simien Province*, Addis Ababa 1970, Appendix I; PerChron 121, 200, 202.
Lit.: CrumLand 154, 164, maps 101, 116; HuntGeogr [revised ed. New York – Toronto 1989] 167, 177, 204–07, 216f., 221f.; JOHN MELLORS – ANNE PARSONS, *Bookmaking in Rural Ethiopia in the Twenty-first Century – Scribes of South Gondar*, London 2002, 1–16, maps.

LaVerle B. Berry

Esteves Pereira, Francisco Maria

E.P. (b. 9 August 1854, Miranda do Douro, d. 9 December 1924, Lisbon) was a renowned Portuguese scholar who gave important contributions to ↗Ethiopian studies. He formed as a military engineer, graduating in 1882. He joined the Portuguese Army in 1875, serving as an officer since 1883, and reaching the grade of major in 1904. Placed on the reserve list in 1916, he became an official of the Avis and Santiago knightly orders, and was later a member of the Academy of Sciences, Lisbon, and of the Portuguese and French Geographical Societies. As a student and through self-learning he aquired a wide knowledge of Latin, Greek and Sanskrit as well as Hebrew, Arabic and Gəʿəz, thus devouting his entire life to Oriental Studies, with special attention over Ethiopia and related matters – on various aspects of which he wrote significantly. In this connection, he was in touch with, and highly considered by, such outstanDing European scholars as ↗Basset, Conti Rossini, ↗Gallina, ↗Goldschmidt (with whom he also collaborated), ↗Guidi, ↗Littmann, ↗Mondon-Vidailhet and ↗Perruchon. In Basset's words (1892:8), E.P. "restored, or rather created Ethiopian studies in Portugal". as a matter of fact, his scholarly achievements went far beyond the scope of his native country – in which, as an Orientalist, he was somewhat isolated, with almost no success for Ethiopian studies.

His researches also focused on Portuguese tradition and history of science and technical lore (s., e.g., his essay on the astronomical calculation by Pedro Nunes, Esteves Pereira 1912), more often seen with reference to the Ethiopian milieu. Yet, in spite of such a vast range of interests and competences, he always looked at his scholarhip as at a private leisure; and this may well explain why he left no students.

In some 25 years of assiduous work, he edited, translated and annotated a number of biblical (↗Bible), hagiographic (↗Hagiography) and historical (↗Historiography) texts in Gəʿəz. His versions are extremely cautious and literal, the original terms being directly introduced whenever conveying a pregnant or specifical meaning. Most of his editions, especially of the royal chronicles, with accurate commentaries (e.g., that of ↗Susənyos [PerChron]), are still standard reference works in Ethiopian studies. Eight out of the ten publications he issued by 1897 deal with Ethiopian literature and culture – which earned him the Star of Honour by ↗Mənilək II, awarded to him in that year. He bequeathed his important personal library, specialized in literature, languages and history of Ethiopia, Syria, Armenia, India and the Arab world, to the Portuguese Academy of Sciences.

Esteves Pereira; from CRStor pl. II, no. 21

Src.: GIUSEPPE FUMAGALLI, *Bibliografia etiopica*, Milano 1893, 137, 161f., nos. 1316–16bis, 1520, 1530; GEORG F. BLACK, *Ethiopica & Amharica: a List of Works in the New York Public Library*, New York 1928, s. index (77, 80); ZanBib117f., nos. 202*bis*–03*bis*. Besides: FRANCISCO M. ESTEVES PEREIRA, *Notice sur le Magseph Assetat* (መቅሠፍተ፡ ሐሰታት, Maqsafta hassetat) *du P. Antonio Fernandes*, tr. by RENÉ BASSET, Alger 1886; ID., *Carta que a Dom João III Rei de Portugal enviou Gälawdewos Rei da Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888; ID., *Victorias de Amdä Sion, Rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1891 [from the abridged tr. by Manoel de Almeida]; ID., *Dos feitos de D. Christovam da Gama. Tratado composto por Miguel de Castanhoso*, Lisboa 1898; ID., *Vida do Padre Täklä Haymanot, pelo P. Manoel de Almeida*, Lisboa 1899; ID., *Canção de Gälawdewos, Rei da Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1900; ID., *Vida de S. Gregório, Patriarcha da Arménia*, Lisboa 1900; ID., *Le Livre de Job*, Paris 1905 (PO 2, 5); ID., "A fonte do Nilo Azul. Descrição do Padre Pêro Paes, da Companhia de Jesus", *Revista portuguesa colonial e marítima* 8, 16 [95], 1905, 193–200; ID., "Documentos inéditos para a história e geografia de Ethiopia", *ibid.* 10, 20 [118], 1907, 169–71; ID., "Cálculo da duração do crepúsculo da tarde de 1 de Outubro de 1541, em Lisboa, pelo Dr. Pedro Nunes", *Revista de engenharia militar* 17, 1912, 282–90; ID., *O Livro do Profeta Amós e a sua versão etiópica*, Coimbra 1917; ID., *Le troisième livre de ʿEzrâ*, Paris 1919 [Turnhout 1973] (PO 13, 5); ID. – LAZARUS GOLDSCHMIDT, *Vida do Abbä Daniel do Mosteiro de Scəte*, Lisboa 1897.

Lit.: RENÉ BASSET, "Rapport sur le progrès des études berbères, éthiopiens et arabes (1887–1891)", London [Woking, Oriental University Institute] 1892, 5–10 ("Rapport sur les études éthiopennes"), here 8; DAVID LOPES, "Um orientalista português – F.M. Esteves Pereira", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras* 7, 1940–41, 121–33; "Esteves Pereira (Francisco Maria)", in: *Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. 10, Lisboa – Rio de Janeiro 1942, 457; ISABEL BOAVIDA, "Notas para o estudo da vida e obra de F.M. Esteves Pereira", paper presented at the *Colóquio Cinco séculos de Arabismo e Orientalismo em Portugal (1497–1997)*, Lisbon, May 1997, ms.

Isabel Boavida – Red.

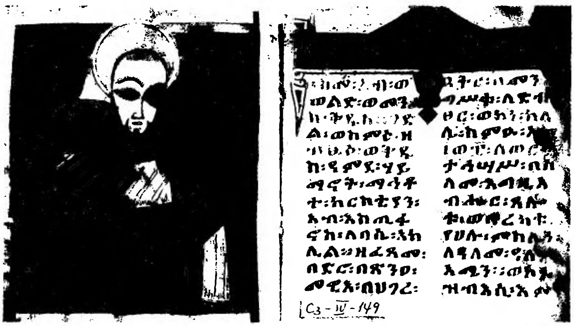
Ǝsṭifanos

Ǝ. (**እስጢፋኖስ**; b. ca. 1397/98, ʿAgamä, Təgray, d. 18 *Taḫśaś* 1437 A.M. [15 December 1444 A.D.], Wazerma) was a saint and the leader of the 15th–16th cent. religious movement of ↗Stephanites.

According to his hagiography, Ǝ. was born to a family of local chiefs of Mar(ä)wa, not far from Aksum, and named Hadgä Anbäsa. His father Bərhanä Mäsqäl died before his birth, and his mother Sara sent the boy to his uncle, the chief of Zəqlay and Gəfmela. Ǝ. spent his childhood as a shepherd, overcoming his relatives's objections to his intention to lead a pious life. At the age of 19, he was ordained deacon by *abunä* ↗Bärtälomewos, and soon entered the monastery of *abba* Samuʾel (possibly, ↗Samuʾel of Qʷoyäṣa, s. Beylot 1981:30, n. 38). Ǝ. worked hard for the monastery, also serving as scribe and teacher of novices. However, he was much disappointed with the traditional way of monastic life: the abbot did not properly oversee the spiritual life of the monks, some of whom having rather a lax behaviour, and some other following more narrow rules, yet only "on account of their vanity". Ǝ. distinguished himself by his extreme obduracy; he received revelations and "won his flesh"; soon, his ideas were followed by other monks. All this generated tension, but at the age of 30 (ca. 1427–28) Ǝ. was ordained priest by *abunä* ↗Bärtälomewos, who approved of both his ascetic practices and theological views. After several quarrels and strives with senior monks, Ǝ. and his followers were exluded from communion, and eventually expelled. So, they established themselves in Wägära. In mid-1428, Ǝ. was called by Samuʾel to reconcile: yet, immediately after returning, he was thrown into a dungeon and only accidentally set free.

The group led by Ǝ. (with ↗Gäbrä Krəstos as his closest assistant) settled then near the ↗Täkkäze, where an exemplary monastic organization was established. Ǝ. acted as its head, teaching and giving spiritual guidance; the monks were divided into self-sufficient units (12 members each), with one elected "administrator" (*qäwami*), responsible for all material works, and two "overseers", in charge for the spiritual matters. Everyday life – e.g., the amount of food and clothes for each monk – was strictly regulated. The main principles were the complete independency from the outside world, unity and equality in everything; it was prohibited to accumulate any good or accept gifts. Products exceeding one-day needs were to be distributed among the poor. Besides, Ǝ. struggled to abolish any practice of "sorcery"; in keeping with the ↗*Senodos*, he also propagated the celebration of two ↗Sabbath-days. Ǝ.'s radical teaching was to raise conflicts in other monastic communities. His enemies attempted to accuse Ǝ. before the "governors of the country", but could not win the case. As the *nəguś* was invoked during the litigation, Ǝ. rebuked by calling upon the absolute superiority of the word of the "heavenly King". He and his followers were sent to the royal court. However, the verdict, given in the presence of the Emperor (probably, *aṣe* ↗Täklä Maryam, 1430-33) and the Metropolitan (according to the Vita, *abunä* ↗Mikaʾel, who reached Ethiopia, however, not before 1438), was largely in favour of Ǝ. and his teaching – including the definition of the ↗Trinity and the two Sabbaths.

The fortunes of Ǝ. and his disciples changed with *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob's rise to power. Ǝ. was again summoned to the court. He refused to join other monks and priests in judgements over civil matters; he easily thwarted old accusations of his



Miniature and front page from ms. *Gädlä Ǝsṭifanos*; Gundä Gunde (Mordini 146); fols. 4v–5r; first half of the 16th cent.; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers enemies, but rejected the proposal of the Emperor to renounce to one of the Sabbath-days. Angered at Ə.'s bold speeches, the Emperor had him flogged; later though, Ə. was released and sent back to his place. In the meantime, the situation of the Stephanite congregation was deteriorating, due to its isolation from other monastic communities or even the latter's open animosity.

On the occasion of his second appearance at court in January 1444, Ə. was accused, among other things, of rejecting the veneration of the Cross (↗*Mäsqäl*) and the doctrine of ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon, of disrespecting ↗Eucharist and the Marian feasts (this most likely referring to Ə.'s general disapproval of exaggerations in this matter). Besides, Ə. refused to prostrate in front of the Emperor, maintaining that, according to the Scriptures, "prostration" (*sägid*) is becoming to God alone, whereas "blessing and prayers" are indeed fitting for kings. He was tortured and, after months of detention, released – by then sick and disabled. In the meanwhile, supported by local governors, his opponents had been chasing his disciples in Təgray. Ə. was summoned to several other meetings, but did not give in. Finally, he was imprisoned in Wazerma where he died. His disciples vainly strived for receiving permission to bury him in Təgray. Instead, Zärʾa Yaʿəqob had his corpse sent to Ṣakara, in ↗Däwaro: here it was placed near a Muslim grave and burnt in front of local people on 4 April 1447.

Ə.'s movement continued long after his death with a number of his successors (like ↗Abäkäräzun, whose Vita has further details on the life of Ə., ↗Gäbrä Mäsiḥ etc.) and the monastery of ↗Gundä Gunde serving as its most important centre. Ə.'s Vita, a document of great importance, possibly of the late 15th cent., is extant in at least two mss. of Gundä Gunde (both recorded by Mordini 1954:50, nos. 103 and 146, the second, the one copied for Conti Rossini [StrANL 88, no. 24] and photographed by Schneider, being usually referred to), but its scholarly edition is still missing.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta sancti Abakerazun*, II. *Acta sancti Takla Hawāryāt*, Louvain 1910 (CSCO 56, 57 [SAe 24, 25]), 7–20 (text); **ገድለ፡ አቡነ፡ እስጢፋኖስ፡ ዘጉንዳጉንዶ** (*Gädlä abunä Əsṭifanos zä-Gundagundo*, 'The Vita of our Father Estifanos of Gundä Gunde'), n.p. [Addis Abäba], 1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.]; StrANL 88, no. 24; KinBibl 69f., no. 48; ROBERT BEYLOT, "Actes des Pères et Frères de Debra Garzen: introduction et instructions spirituelles et théologiques d'Estifanos", *AE* 15, 1990, 7–43.

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, "Estifanos hétérodoxe éthiopien du XV^{e} siècle", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 198, 3, 1981, 279–84 (Lit.); ID., "Sur quelques hétérodoxes éthiopiens. Estifanos, Abakerazun, Gabra Masih, Ezra", *ibid.* 201, 1, 1984, 25–36, here 30–33; ID., "La dissidance stéphanite en Éthiopie", in: JEAN-CHRISTOPHE ATTIAS, *De la conversion*, Paris 1997, 119–32; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Cause of the Əsṭifanosites: a Fundamentalist Sect in the Church of Ethiopia", *Paideuma* 29, 1983, 93–119; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *RSE* 12, 1953 [1954], 29-63, here 50 [nos. 103, 146], 56–59, figs. 23f.; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Some Notes of the Fifteenth Century Stephanite 'Heresy' in the Ethiopian Church", *RSE* 22, 1966 [1968], 103–15, here 104f. (Lit.); SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Stefano", in: *EncSan* 1111ff. (Lit.).

Steven Kaplan – Denis Nosnitsin

Əsṭifanos

Afä nəguś Ə. (**እስጢፋኖስ**; d. 1922) was one of the few learned officials of the ↗Mənilək II era. He was small in size and physically frail, but he exercised an immense influence both in political and ecclesiastical affairs.

The exact place and date of his birth are unknown. Ə. started his career as a clerk in the court of *wäyzäro* ↗Bafäna from where he was transferred to the service of *nəguś* Mənilək in the late 1870s. He seems to have continued more or less the same occupation in the 1980s, as he is not mentioned among the significant officials. After the fall from office of *liqä kahənat* (later *nəburä əd*) Admasu in 1893, Ə. was raised to the position of *liqä kahənat* of the state and head of the ↗Däbrä Ṣəge Qəddus Uraʾel church of Addis Abäba. In addition, he was appointed *qäññ wämbär* ('judge of the right') in 1907 and was assigned to assist *afä nəguś* ↗Näsibu who was ageing and ailing. He succeeded him as chief justice after Näsibu's death in the next year.

Under *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, Ə. was replaced by Ṭəlahun as *afä nəguś* and by *nəburä əd* Admasu as *liqä kahənat*. He thus threw his lot with the opponents of *ləǧ* Iyasu in 1916. He was reinstated to his former offices by the new government headed by ↗Zäwditu, which he retained until his death. He died of illness and was buried at the Uraʾel church cemetery in Addis Abäba.

Src.: GueCopMen 537; PAUL MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Ethiopie ...*, 3 vols., Paris 1922, vol. 2, 55, 85; GebMolIyas 362, 377, 383, 422.

Lit.: HerTar 59; GUSTAV ARÉN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia in the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers, 1898–1936*, Stockholm 1999, 46, 76, 83, 126; PETER GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Ababa from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49), 47.

Bairu Tafla

ᶜƎṭan ↗Incense

ᶜƎṭanä mogär

The ᶜƎ.m. (**ዕጣነ፡ ሞገር**, lit. 'Throwing of the incense') is one of eleven poetic modes of the ↗*qəne*-hymns which, together with the ↗*kəbr yəᶜəti*, is performed by the ↗*däbtära* during the Divine Liturgy, precisely at the moment of the Communion (↗Eucharist), extolling the sacrifice of Christ.

The length of the ᶜƎ.m. depends on the melody through which it is performed. If the Divine Liturgy is celebrated in ↗*gəʿəz* mode, which happens mainly during the penitential period, the ᶜƎ.m. is also sung in *gəʿəz* mode; in this case the ᶜƎ.m. scores seven verses (*bet*). But when the Divine Liturgy is celebrated in ↗*ʿəzəl*, the *däbtäras* compose the ᶜƎ.m. with eleven verses; the last five verses of the ᶜƎ.m. (if it is chanted in *ʿəzəl* mode) or the three last verses (if it is chanted in *gəʿəz* mode) are both called *aśärä nəguś* (**አሠረ፡ ንጉሥ**). Thus, the ᶜƎ.m., be it sung in *gəʿəz* or *ʿəzəl* mode, is a compound of two strophes that may have the same rhythm, but with different content or reference.

The first strophe, i.e. the ᶜƎ.m., has always religious content and the second strophe is called *aśärä nəguś* or *aśärä nägaśi*, which is traditionally interpreted as: a) "the desire, the path, the job of the king" or b) "he has bound the king". The *aśärä nəguś* usually refers to the worldly life: in fact it has the aim to praise the king, to thank him when he is considered to be ruling well, or correct his bad conduct using a good manner, or castigate him. Finally, it may also deal with the historical events or current situation of the country. The ᶜƎ.m. is not necessarily always followed by the *aśärä nəguś*, whilst the *aśärä nəguś* cannot be on its own without the preceding ᶜƎ.m. The ᶜƎ.m. is the completion or the "seal" of the prayer and for this reason it is performed at the end of the Divine Liturgy.

According to some *qəne* scholars, the ᶜƎ.m. symbolizes prayers that rise up to the presence of God like incense (Ps 140[141]:2). Another different point of view maintains that this *qəne* mode is the replacement of the ancient practice of incensing towards the cross, which was performed at the end of the Divine Liturgy.

↗Qəddase

Src.: ADMASU ǦÄMBÄRE, **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ። ዝክረ፡ ሊቃውንት** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne. Zəkrä liqawənt*, 'The Book of the Qəne. The Memory of the Doctors'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M [1971/72 A.D.]; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), **ምዕራፍ፡ ዘደረሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ያሬድ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ** (*Məʿəraf zädäräsä qəddus Yared Ityoṗyawi*, 'The *Məʿəraf* composed by Saint Yared the Ethiopian'), Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1987/88 A.D.]; *mämhər* YƎḪEYƎS WÄRQE, **ንባብ፡ ወትርጓሜ፡ ዘቅኔያት፤ አዕማደ፡ ምሥጢራት** (*Nəbab wätərgʷame zäqəneyat: aʿəmadä məsṭirat*, 'Text and Interpretation of the Qəne: the Pillars of Mysteries'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; VelMe II 64f.

Lit.: CRAbb IV, 222–32; *aläqa* ᶜƎNBAQOM QALÄWÄLD, **ስለ፡ ቅኔ፡ ትምህርትና፡ ስለ፡ ጥቅሙ** (*Səlä qəne təmhərtənna səlä ṭəqmu*, 'About the Teaching of the Qəne and its Importance'), in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 117–32; ERIC GODET, "La métrique du qene gueze", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 117–203; HabUff 215f. (Lit.); JOSEPH TUBIANA, "Poésie et Histoire: Asara Negus", in: *EtRicci* 279–98.

Habtemichael Kidane

Ǝtege

Ǝ. (**እቴጌ**, others forms: *ətey, ite, əteyye, iteyye, əte, ətäge*) was a title designating the coronated spouse of an emperor. The title was different from that of a female sovereign ruling in her own right, i.e. *nəgəśtä nägäśtat* (↗*Nəguś*).

According to the book of the court regulations and rituals, the ↗*Śərʿatä mängəśt*, Ǝ. sat on the right-hand side of the emperor's throne on a minor throne. She also had the right to precede the court taking place in her own apartments.

It seems that the title was introduced to the court to substitute the ↗*bäʿaltiḥat*, which disappeared with ↗Ǝleni. In history, there were recorded cases of women reigning with the title of Ǝ. already after the death of the husband, like ↗Bərhan Mogäsa, who acted as a regent during the reign of her son ↗Iyasu II and her grand-son, ↗Iyoas.

According to the tradition the Ǝ. was crowned three days after the emperor. The first time when the ceremony took place simultaneously was during *aṣe* Mənilək II's and ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul's coronation.

Src.: BaetDic col. 659; EMMANUIL GANKIN, *Amharsko-russkiy slovar* ('Amharic-Russian Dictionary'), Moscow 1969, 539; GuiVoc 457f.; GebMolIyas 17f., 312f.; KaneDic 1210; BTafA 911; THMDic 18; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Contributi alla storia letteraria di Abissinia", *RRALm* 31, 3–4, 1922, 65–94 ["I. Il 'Serʿata Mangest'", 65–89, here 75f.]; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (*Šerʿata Mangešt*)", *ZA* 30, 1915, 1–45, here 41–45.

Lit.: CrumLand 94; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Time and Reign of Menelik II of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1975, 235; PETER GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Ababa from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49), 24; IGNAZIO GUIDI, *Contributi alla storia letteraria di Abissinia*, Roma 1923, 75f.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Ethiopia

I. Geography

The state of E. (ኢትዮጵያ, *Ityop̣ya*, from Gr. ↗Aithiopía; on the history of the term s. also ↗Orbis Aethiopicus; officially Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia) is situated in the Horn of Africa, bordered in the north and north-east by ↗Eritrea, in the east by ↗Djibouti and ↗Somalia, in the south by ↗Kenya and in the west and south-west by the ↗Sudan. Since Eritrea's independence E. has been a land-locked power (↗Boundaries). It covers an area of ca. 1,106,000 km², stretching from 2°30' N to 15°N and from 33°E to 48°E. The capital of E. is ↗Addis Abäba.

One-third of the area of the country is a high plateau with elevations between ca. 1,800 to 3,000 m A.S.L., some mountains reaching over 4,000 m A.S.L. 80 % of the total population is settled on the highlands. The main mass of the East African tableland, of which E.'s highlands are part, is composed of metamorphic Archaean rocks (↗Geology). Elevation is generally highest just before the point of descent to the ↗Rift Valley, splitting the highland plateau into two. The highest peaks lie in the ↗Səmen and ↗Goǧǧam areas (e.g., Ras Dašän in Səmen, 4,620 m A.S.L.). The ↗ᶜAfar Depression (Danakil) in the north-east presents the other end of the elevation range of the country, with ground levels reaching below 115 m B.S.L.

Numerous river-beds cut through the highland plateaus. Most of the rivers take north-western direction flowing towards the Nile, including E.'s main water arteries, the ↗Täkkäze in the north, the ↗Baro in the south and, most notably, the ↗Abbay (Blue ↗Nile), which takes its source in Goǧǧam ca. 100 km south of Lake ↗Ṭana and runs, after passing the lake, westwards in a large circle, thus bringing its waters to a large part of the central highlands. Of the rivers running eastwards, the ↗Awaš in the north-east of the country is the most important one. The south is generally drier, the ↗Omo river and the lakes (↗Zʷay, ↗Šala, ↗Abyata, ↗Abbaya) being the main sources of life-bringing water for the people (↗Geography).

The ↗climate is generally temperate on the plateau and dry and hot in the lowlands. In Addis Abäba, which ranges from 2,200 to 2,600 m A.S.L., maximum temperature is 26°C and minimum 4°C, typical for the ↗*wäyna däga* zone (1,800–2,400 m A.S.L.). The other main ↗ecological zones present in E. are the ↗*däga* (above 2,400 m A.S.L.) and the ↗*qʷälla* (below 1,800 m A.S.L.). The lowlands being arid (up to ↗desert and semi-desert in ᶜAfar), the highlands group together 4/5 of the population on 2/3 of the territory. *Bäräha* (below 500 m A.S.L.) and *wərč̣* (above 3,200 m A.S.L.) are not inhabited (↗Ecological zones).

Due to the huge climatic range, flora and fauna in E. vary considerably across the country (↗Animals; ↗Plants). Valleys and lowlands are rich in vegetation, whereas the plateaux are comparatively bare and are scarcely covered with trees and bushes, partially as a result of human influence and deforestation (only 3% of the entire area of the country is covered by ↗forests). The state of E. tries to protect its natural resources by establishing ↗National parks.

II. Peoples and languages

E. has ca. 71,066,000 inhabitants (2004 CSA estimate; 1994 census 53,130,779) and is marked by a large and diverse array of ethnic groups and languages (↗Languages and peoples).

According to different sources, from 70 to 90 languages are spoken in E., which belong to two language phyla – ↗Afro-Asiatic (represented by ↗Semitic, ↗Cushitic and ↗Omotic families) and ↗Nilo-Saharan. ↗Cushitic languages are spoken by ca. 49.8 % of the population. Of these, ↗Oromiffa is spoken by about 31 % of the population, followed by ↗Somali (6 %). Semitic languages are represented by the ↗Ethio-Semitic family, ↗Amharic and ↗Təgrəñña being the most important. The *lingua franca* and the official working-language of the government is Amharic, spoken as the first (33 %) or second language by the majority of the population. Regional working-languages are, e.g., Amharic, Somali, Təgrəñña, ↗ᶜAfar, ↗Harari and Oromiffa; together with Amharic, ↗English is the language of secondary and higher education. Omotic speakers constitute around 7.5 % of the population (↗Wälaytta being the biggest language), and Nilo-Saharan speakers number under 1 %. The lasting situation of language contact, especially between Cushitic and Ethio-Semitic speakers, possibly led to the theory of the ↗Ethiopian Language Area.

In terms of ethnic composition, the ↗Oromo people, the ↗Amhara and the ↗Təgrəñña speakers make up for ca. 80 % of the population, but all together there live over 80 ethnic groups, some of them counting just a few hundred members. The number of members of an ethnic group may differ from the number of speakers of the corresponding language (e.g., only 17% of the ↗Argobba people speak Argobba). Several ethnic groups have no languages of their own (e.g., the ↗Wäyṭo speak Amharic as their mother-tongue).

The peopling of E. has been a complex process, spanning more than six millennia and shaped by numerous migrations. Agäw-speaking and Omotic-speaking groups were perhaps the most ancient populations settled in the highlands, with some Nilo-Saharan groups in the southern border areas. Several waves of migrations of (South-)Semitic-speaking peoples from the Arabian peninsula eventually led to their fusion with the Cushitic speakers and to the emergence of the first state-formations. Apart from the influence from ↗Arabia (in the first millennium B.C. at the latest), the ethnogenesis in E. received its greatest impulses through wars and invasions, most importantly the spreading of Semitic speakers from the north across the highlands into the southern regions starting with Aksumite times, the Agäw migration in the 13th cent., the *ǧihād* of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") in the 16th cent., the Oromo expansion during the 16th–19th cent. and the expansion of the Ethiopian State, in particular during the second half of the 19th cent. (↗Population history). The less-noticeable but not-less-important process of constant interaction, assimilation and dissimilation has been also playing an important role in the process of formation of the Ethiopian nation. Nationalistic and independence movements in today's E. keep reshaping the country's ethnic dynamics.

The former state religion of E. is represented by the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (50.6 % of the population in 1994; CSA 1998). Other Christian denominations include ↗Protestantism (10.1 %) and ↗Catholicism (0.9 %). Muslims (32.7 % in 1994) have a growing share in the society (↗Islam). The remaining population adheres to, among others, traditional ↗religions (ca. 5 %) or ↗Judaism (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel).

III. History

The origins of the state of E. are traditionally traced back to the ancient Aksumite empire (↗Aksum). After the decline of Aksum, a period of decentralization followed, while the legacy of the Christian empire is believed to have passed to the ↗Zagʷe royal dynasty. Since the 13th cent., the ↗Solomonic dynasty (↗Yəkunno Amlak) has been in power. The development was not smooth, and periods of strong centralized power were followed by times of strong local autonomy (e.g., ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*; cp. the sub-entry on ↗Ethiopian history for an approach to ↗periodization).

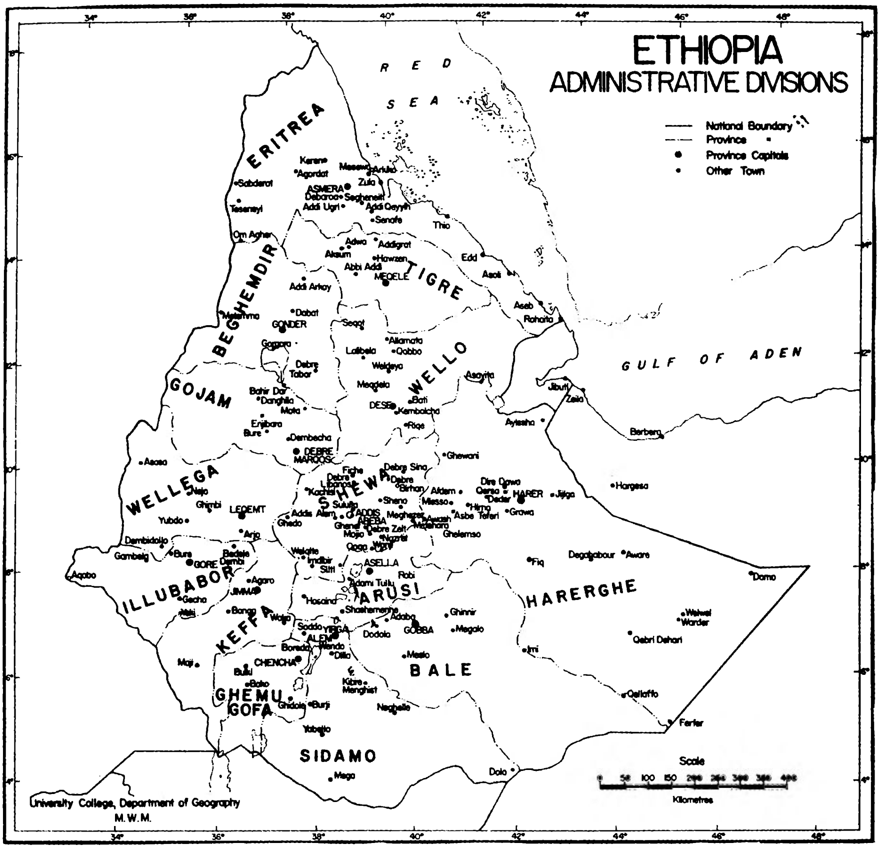
As a modern state, E. was created in the course of the second half of the 19th cent. It emerged out of processes of reforms and conflicts within the ancient state (with the core being ↗Təgray, ↗Goǧǧam, ↗Bägəmdər, ↗Amhara, ↗Wällo and ↗Šäwa) and through an important territorial expansion, especially under ↗Tewodros II and ↗Yoḥannəs IV. Neighbouring kingdoms (e.g., ↗Käfa, ↗Wälaytta, ↗Ǝnnarya), principalities (e.g., ↗Gibe states) or sultanates (e.g., ↗Ǻwsa) and acephalous societies or petty tribal principalities in the south (like ↗Anfillo, ↗Kambaata, ↗Kara and many others) were included mostly through the expansion of the kingdom of Šäwa under *nəguś* Mənilək (later Emperor ↗Mənilək II).

Christianity, the ancient state religion, slowly lost its position of absolute dominance, whilst important Muslim areas, with the holy city and former emirate of ↗Harär as a prominent example, played an increasingly important role. Former non-Christian, non-Muslim areas witness today the rise of Evangelical Protestantism (↗Missions) and Islamization. While being very diversified internally, the modern state by different means has tried to develop a somewhat unified appearance, at least in its political symbolism and in its legal system (↗Law) since the 1940s, after the Italian occupation (↗Africa Orientale Italiana).

Modern E. has undergone radical changes through the reform of ↗feudalism and the establishment of a centralized Imperial state under ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I (↗Constitutions) and further reforms, especially after the 1974 ↗Revolution and after 1991. The traditional hierarchical, sometimes authoritarian, system of governance also continues to mark the society deeply. Local, highly participatory elements of self-governance have also in many cases remained valid (cp. ↗*Gadaa*) and are, to some degree, recognized by the modern federal state.

IV. Government and political system

The present ↗Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (ኢትዮጵያ፡ ፌዴራላዊ፡ ዲሞክራሲያዊ፡ ሪፓብሊክ, *Ityoṗya federalawi dimokrasiyawi ripablik*) was adopted in December 1994 and the government was installed in August


ETHIOPIA
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS
National Boundary
Province
Province Capitals
Other Town
RED SEA
GULF OF ADEN
ERITREA
TIGRE
BEGHEMDIR
WELLO
GOJAM
WELLEGA
SHEWA
ILLUBABOR
KEFFA
ARUSI
HARERGHE
BALE
GHEMU GOFA
SIDAMO
ASMERA
MEQELE
GONDER
DESE
DEBRE MARQOS
ADDIS ABEBA
LEQEMT
GORE
JIMMA
ASELLA
HARER
GOBBA
YIRGA ALEM
CHENCHA
Keren
Agordat
Massawa
Arkiko
Zula
Sabderat
Tesenayi
Debaroa
Segheneiti
Addi Ugri
Addi Qayyih
Senafe
Thio
Om Agher
Adwa
Addigrat
Aksum
Hawzen
Abbi Addi
Addi Arkay
Edd
Asab
Asab
Rahaita
Dabat
Metemma
Seqot
Gorgora
Debre Tabor
Alamata
Lalibela
Qobbo
Weldeya
Meqdela
Asayita
Jibuti
Zeila
Bahir Dar
Danghila
Mota
Bati
Kembolcha
Rike
Enjibara
Bure
Dembecha
Aylesha
Berbera
Asosa
Ghewani
Fiche
Debre Sina
Debre Libanos
Debre Birhan
Aldem
Dire Dawa
Qerso
Deder
Jijiga
Hargesa
Naja
Ghimbi
Kachisi
Sululta
Sheno
Messo
Hirna
Asbe Teferi
Grawa
Yubdo
Addis Alem
Ghedo
Meghezez
Awash
Mojo
Ghenet
Debre Zeit
Mojo
Nazret
Ghelemso
Arjo
Dembidollo
Gambela
Bure
Bedele
Dembi
Welqite
Imdibir
Sitti
Qoqa
Wonji
Degehabour
Aware
Fiq
Domo
Aqobo
Agaro
Adami Tullu
Robi
Gecha
Hosaina
Mizan
Bonga
Shashemenne
Walqa
Soddo
Adaba
Ghinnir
Dodola
Megalo
Welwel
Warder
Qebri Dehari
Boreda
Wendo
Dilla
Maji
Mesla
Bulki
Imi
Kibre Menghist
Bako
Ghidole
Burji
Neghelle
Qallaffo
Yabello
Ferfer
Dolo
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0 50 100 150 200 250 300 350 400
Kilometres
University College, Department of Geography
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4° 6° 8° 10° 12° 14° 16° 18°

Administrative division of Ethiopia during the late reign of Ḫaylä Śəllase I; from Last 1962

1995. The executive branch of the government is represented by the President (chief of state, elected by the House of People's Representatives), the Prime Minister (head of government) and the Council of Ministers (cabinet selected by the Prime Minister and approved by the House of People's Representatives). The legislative branch is represented by a bi-cameral parliament comprising the House of Federation (117 members elected by state assemblies for five years) and the House of People's Representatives (548 members elected directly by popular vote for the term of five years). The judicial branch is formed by the Federal Supreme Court (↗Law and judiciary).

The political system of E. had a long development (↗Government). In historical times, Ethiopia was a tributary state (↗Feudalism), built on a landed nobility (↗Aristocracy) living on the produce of the peasants. Until the 17th cent., there was no hereditary nobility having a right to certain positions; even later succession also depended on personal merits.

E. (until 1974: የኢትዮጵያ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ መንግሥት, *Yä'ityopya nəgusä nägäśt mängəst*) acquired its modern shape under *aṣe* MəniləkII, who needed a centralized administration to manage his newly (re-)conquered southern lands. He entrusted his local administration, particularly in the newly conquered areas, to a personal deputy, an ↗*əndärase*, a system which was financed through land rights (↗land tenure). Formally, the system of noblemen controlling the peasants was the same for the traditional north and for the newly incorporated south, but the new rulers did not have any blood relationship, nor felt any accountability to the peasants. They reached and kept their positions through force of arms, the reason for which they were locally called ↗*näfṭäñña*, 'gun-man' rather than nobility or aristocracy (↗*č̣äwa*).

↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I took up the challenge to build a modern structure of government. With him, government remained a function of the Emperor, a rule sanctioned by God's Grace and, hence, not based on the will of the people or on a "social contract" (↗Kingship, divine). But a reigning government also evolved. Thus, he granted his country a Constitution in 1931, which he revised in 1955 – not ratified, though, by a sovereign election.

Centred around the person of the Emperor, government was built on the nobility, but gave room for individuals from the southern peoples, as well as a few persons from the nascent intellectual "Amharized" elites (i.e. the ↗*balabbat*). There were no political parties or other expressions of public political opinion, as politics was the domain of the Emperor solely: he appointed ministers and constituted a cabinet. However, his government was not a dictatorship. The Emperor's power was limited by God's will – as the Emperor understood it. Additionally, the Constitution of 1955 established a parliament with elected deputies, but the membership was in practice limited to the nobility, in particular to the class of land owners: to be eligible as a candidate, a certain value of land-holding had to be documented, or twice the amount in movable property.

The system remained in function till the Revolution of 1974. The power in E. (**የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሕዝባዊ፡ ዲሞክራሲያዊ፡ ሪፓብሊክ**, *Yäʾityop̣ya ḥəzbawi dimokrasiyawi ripablik*, People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia) went over to the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council – until in May 1991 a new overthrow followed, led by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). In July 1991, the EPRDF, together with the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and other ↗Liberation movements, established the Transitional Government of E. In 1992 the OLF withdrew from the government, followed in March 1993 by the Southern Ethiopia People's Democratic Coalition. In the course of the same process, the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) assumed control of Eritrea and established a provisional government there. In 1993, Eritrea's independence was recognized by the government of E.

E. is divided today into nine regional states (*kəlləl*): ʿAfar, Amara, Beni Šangul-Gumuz, Gambella, Harari, Oromiyaa, Soomaali, the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (*Dəbub həzbočč bəher bəherägäbočč*) and Təgray. Additionally, there are two cities that are not subject to regional governments (*yäʾastädadär akkababi*), Addis Abäba and ↗Dərre Dawa. This division replaced in 1991 the older ↗Administrative division with its traditional provinces.

V. Economy

The Ethiopian ↗economy over the past half century was marked by numerous attempts by succeeding governments to carry out a structural transformation, e.g., by land reform (1975) and, rather unsuccessfully, hastening the pace of industrialization (↗Industry). Basic features of the economy, however, largely remained the same as they had been for the past centuries.

Throughout its recorded history, E. has been essentially rural and based on substinence ↗agriculture, including both crop- and animal-farming, with local markets used to exchange the surplus products. The agricultural development in E. has been rendered difficult through periodic droughts and ↗famines, ↗environmental degradation (mainly due to overgrazing, deforestation and overpopulation) and poorly developed infrastructure. Today, the economy of E. is still based on the two – slightly commercialized – farming types, which together account for over 50 % of gross domestic product (GDP purchasing power parity US-$ 800 per capita in 2003). Industry has the share of ca. 11 %, the services account for 37 %. 4/5 of the population are employed in and live from agriculture, 90 % of exports are formed by agricultural products. In spite of a drastic increase in population, these values have changed little over the past 50 years – neither have the earnings per capita: while in 1954 it was 277 ↗*bərr* (the national ↗currency), in 2000 it was estimated at 273 *bərr*.

Of the crops, ↗coffee accounts for ca. 60 % of the country's foreign-exchange earnings and provides livelihood for over one-fourth of the entire population. ↗*Č̣at* and pulses are also exported. The other cultivated ↗plants (↗*ṭef* and other millets, ↗sorghum, ↗barley etc.) and nearly all domestic ↗animals are farmed for substinence and inland consumption.

Gold and marble are mined in E.; potash, natural gas, iron ore and possibly oil await development (↗Minerals). Foreign ↗investment in the mining sector began in the 1990s.

The road-network in E. counts (estimation 2000) ca. 24,000 km. Addis Abäba is connected to Djibouti by a ↗railway. ↗Ethiopian Airlines connect most administrative centres of the country, in addition to serving dozens of international destinations. The foreign trade is difficult in landlocked E. Prior to the outbreak of the 1998–2000 Ethio-Eritrean conflict, E. used the seaports of ↗Asäb (90 %) and ↗Massawa, now it has to rely on the ports of Djibouti (90 %) and Port Sudan.

VI. State symbols

The Ethiopian ↗State symbols have come a long way since they were first introduced, partially in the 19th cent., as each change in political system brought about changes in the state symbols.

The current official flag of E. was adopted on 6 February 1996. This tri-colour can boast of a more-than-1,000-year-long history. It has three equal horizontal bands of green (top), yellow and red with a yellow pentagram and single yellow rays emanating from the angles between the points on a light blue disk centred on the three bands. The colours of E.'s flag have so often been adopted by other African countries upon independence that they became known as the pan-African colours.

This blue disk with the yellow pentagram from the national flag is in fact the country's official coat of arms.

The national anthem, adopted in 1992, is *Wädäfit gäsgəši wədd ənnate Ityopya* ('March forward, Dear Mother Ethiopia'). It was written by Däräğe Mälʾaku Mängäša (text) and Sälomon Lulu Mətəkku (music).

VII. Art

The peoples of E. have a rich and varying culture that finds its expression in everyday life (particular ways of celebrating ↗feasts, preparing ↗food and ↗drinks etc.) and, above all, in their artistic traditions.

The visual arts may be divided into ↗architecture, ↗painting, sculpture and useful arts (↗Handicrafts), including ↗pottery, ↗weaving, metalworking (↗Blacksmiths, ↗Crosses, ↗Goldsmiths, ↗Jewellery), ↗basketry and wood-working.

Vernacular domestic architecture (↗Houses) generally hardly survives the generation for whom it was built, even if constructed of stone, so that the history of architecture usually focuses on ↗church buildings and palaces or residences of the elite. Since ↗Aksumite times (↗Aksum Ṣəyon) till the late middle ages, churches were of rectangular (basilican) plan (e.g., ↗Däbrä Damo, ↗rock-hewn churches of, e.g., ↗Lalibäla). From the 15th cent. onward, churches of round plan, similar in type to dwelling houses, began to dominate the ecclesiastical architectural landscape. During the 16th–17th cent., Portuguese influences (↗Jesuits, ↗Portugal, relations with) redefined the face of civil architecture (↗Gondär).

The earliest examples of ↗painting on the territory of E. is rock-art, e.g., in the Sidamo or Harär area. The bulk of Ethiopian pictorial tradition is to be sought in Christian highland wall-paintings (earliest examples dating back to the 13th cent.) and manuscript illuminations (from the 11th cent. onward).

Sculpture is rare in E.; in Christian tradition only reliefs are known. An independent tradition of carved stone monoliths (↗Stelae; ↗Megalithic culture), datable to the 11th–13th cent., has been documented in the areas of Šäwa and Sidamo, some with a funerary function (↗Graves). The forms vary from simple phallic monoliths to steles carved with abstract designs or abstract human figures in relief and to steles sculpted as simple three-dimensional anthropomorphic figures (e.g., ↗Konso sculptures).

There are oral and written literatures in many of E.'s languages (e.g., ↗Gəʿəz literature, ↗Amharic literature, ↗Oromo literature, ↗Somali literature).

Among performing arts, ↗music has had a long history on the territory of E. ↗Theatre was only introduced in the 20th cent.

Red.

Ethiopia – history and periodization

By the 13th cent. "E." had become a leading term by which the elites, who dominated the kingdom ruled by a dynasty claiming descent from ↗Solomon and Sheba (↗Makədda), defined their country. Thus, the history of "E." is inevitably tied up with the Solomonic kingdom. The following periodization sees the history of "E." and north-east Africa, the larger region within which it was embedded, in terms of oscillations between periods of dispersed political authority, on the one hand, and the assertion of centralising authority on the other. In the oscillations from one state to the other factors both endogenous and exogenous to the region were at work.

Foundational

The immediate pre-history of the region saw the establishment of pastoralism and agriculture as modes of livelihood, probably no later than 2,000 B.C. (Phillipson 1993). By this time the principal language groups – Cushitic, Semitic, Omotic and Sudanic – must all have been present. The earliest agricultural societies were most probably Cushitic in speech. Equally foundational were a widespread set of beliefs, the emergence of which is impossible to date: beliefs in a pre-eminent sky-god, in spirit possession; in the evil eye, and the special powers of the serpent, as well as the use of spiritual calendars and of sacred groves, and the practices of pilgrimage, animal sacrifice and food taboos (LevWax).

Dispersed Political Authority: Period I (mid-1st millenium B.C. to turn of the era)

Major developments, resting on the productivity of local agriculture, occurred on the northern highlands in the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. Towns appeared, as well as a number of ritual centres. Cultural parallels with contemporary South Arabia, not least inscriptions in Sabean, a Semitic language and script, indicate a dominant Semitic culture. While the kingdom of ↗Dᶜ MT may have briefly enjoyed broad sway, the characteristic form of political organization was the autonomous town or city state. The culture of dominance exhibited in this period, persisted well into the next period, with the gods of South Arabia prevailing into the 4th cent. A.D. (Fattovich in: PICES 10; Michels in: PICES 9; Phillipson 1998:111–14).

Imperial Authority: Period I (Aksum, 1st to 7th cent. A.D.)

The first assertion of a wider political authority in the Horn came with the rise to dominance in the first cent. A.D. of ↗Aksum (Michels in: PICES 9; MHAksum; Phillipson 1998; SerHist). Aksum was at its peak between the 3rd and 7th cent. A.D. Its armies ranged into the Nile Valley, across the Red Sea into South Arabia and southwards across the Täkäzze. Following the conversion of King ↗ᶜEzana to Christianity in the third quarter of the 4th cent. Christianity and political authority in the highlands were inextricably linked. Ethnically, while the dominant culture of Aksum was Semitic in language, the subjects of the state also spoke Cushitic and Sudanic languages. Aksum's continuing influence in later periods of history may be seen in: the use of its language, Gəᶜəz, for literature and in the liturgy; the Christian Church (↗Christianity) as molder of elite and popular consciousness alike; and in the language of political authority.

Dispersed Political Authority: Period II (8th cent. A.D. to 1270)

The rise of Islam in the lands on the opposite side of the Red Sea in the middle decades of the 7th cent. led to the eclipse and decline of Aksum, not least through Aksum's losing control of the trade of the Red Sea. With the decline of Aksum political authority dispersed throughout the region. Local peoples contributing to Aksum's eclipse include the ↗Beğa to the north, the ↗Wälqayt to the south-west, and, if one interpretation is correct (TadTchurch 38f.), the ↗Damot in the south, whose impact crystallizes around the figure of Gudit (↗Ǝsato), and devastating attacks in the early 10th cent. We know little of these traditions, associated primarily with Cushitic peoples, until we see them again in the 14th cent. through the prism of the Solomonic kingdom. Meanwhile, the legacy of Aksum passed to the ↗Zagʷe, an Agäw dynasty, who ruled from what is now Lasta. Their authority seems to have been limited to the northern plateau, although extending down well into what was to become Wällo. An increasingly important source of authority, religious, political and civic, was ↗Islam, which from about the 10th cent. onwards developed a political tradition, as a chain of Muslim states pushed its way from ↗Zaylaᶜ into the lands of the middle Awaš. By the 13th cent., the sultanate of ↗Ifat was established in the Šäwan highlands. Ifat was to be a major concern of the second iteration of imperial rule, which was launched with the emergence, in 1270, of the Solomonic dynasty (TadTChurch).

Imperial Authority: Period II (1270–1527)

The kingdom ruled by the self-proclaimed Solomonic dynasty was definitive for our understanding of "E." as an historical entity (TadTChurch). It was the product of the long, slow southward movement of Christianity and Semitic speech, a movement which produced a new people, the Amhara, largely converted Agäws. The tradition that the rulers of the first imperial order were descended from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba developed after their demise. In practical terms it meant that political legitimacy and Semitic language and culture were inextricably connected.

Although the Solomonics claimed a direct connection to Aksum, the relationship between the two must have been more uncertain. Nevertheless, the Solomonics did inherit, in Gəᶜəz, a language and culture of rule, the royal title of *nəgušä nägäšt*, and a Christian Church.

Regional dominance was established by vigorous military expansion under ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I (r. 1314–44) and his successors. The strengthening of Christian power in the western highlands meant a relative weakening of the Muslim states of the Rift Valley and the eastern highlands, where ↗ᶜAdal now rose to prominence. Solomonic dominance reached deep down the Rift Valley and into the southern highlands. Many of the peoples of historic Šäwa and what are now Goǧǧam and Bägemdər converted to Orthodox Christianity (TadTChurch; KapMon). Christianity was also deeply impressed upon the peoples of the south-west and internalised into aspects of their cultures (Lange 1982).

The apogee of the Solomonic state was reached under Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob (r. 1434–68). Its political reach was at its greatest. Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob completed a rapprochement between church and state, which set an enduring model. Here, then, is historic E.: an empire ruled by a Christian dynasty, sustained by a Christian peasantry, but with a population heterogeneous in language, religion, and mode of livelihood, rooted in the western highlands and exercising domination over much of the Rift Valley, the eastern highlands and into the south-west highlands.

Dispersed Political Authority: Period III (16th to 19th cent.)

Solomonic rule depended on a delicate balance, which was profoundly disturbed in 1527 by an assertion of Muslim power under ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ", Abir 1980, ch. 4; Merid Wolde Aregay 1971, chs. 1, 2); as a consequence, a new era of dispersed political authority ushered. Grañ established a short-lived Sultanate of Ḥabaša, which ended with his death in 1543.

Muslim resurgence was followed by Cushitic resurgence. In the 1540s the Oromo people began a long process of migration into and settlement of the eastern highlands, the middle Rift Valley, Šäwa, Amhara (which eventually became Wällo), Damot and all the territories westward as far as the edge of the plateau bordering the Sudan in what became Wälläga (MHasOr; Negaso Gidada 1984). This brought a permanent linguistic, cultural and political transformation of these regions. The Christian empire was reduced to a rump north of the Abbay.

Following cultural revival in the 17th and earlier 18th cent., the Christian empire collapsed entirely in the later 18th cent. (CrumLand, chs. 4, 5, 7). Muslim political authority in the eastern highlands was increasingly restricted to the town of ↗Harär. Elsewhere, political initiative passed to the Oromo, who, in the 17th and 18th cent., went through a process of regional diversification and social and political transformation. In many areas they adopted plow-agriculture; in others ↗*ənsät* cultivation. They became Muslim in the eastern highlands, in Wällo and the south-west. In parts of the northern highlands, in Goǧǧam and Bägemdər they became Orthodox Christians, and by the middle of the 18th cent. they entered the politics of the remnant Christian empire (LevWax 21–28). In Wällo they laid the foundations for the emergence in the later 18th cent. of a cluster of principalities (Hussein Ahmed 2001) and in the south-west in the late 18th and early 19th cent. they created the kingdoms of ↗Ǧimma, ↗Geeraa, ↗Guummaa, ↗Gomma, and ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya (MHasOr, ch. 3).

Meanwhile, older political traditions of south-west E. re-asserted themselves in Wälaytta and in the Omotic-speaking kingdom of ↗Käfa. Relations between and among these very different political structures was restless, sometimes violent, and never reached an equilibrium, but was also mediated by trade, which flowed across the region, by diplomacy and marriage alliances.

The Modern Period: Imperial vs. Dispersed Authority (mid-1870s onwards)

Beginning with the later 19th cent. the region entered a period in which the tension between imperial and dispersed authority was continuous with significant changes in the balance of local power visible on a scale of decades, rather than centuries. At least three major sub-periods are evident: 1870s–ca. 1910; 1910s–44; 1944–74.

The Neo-Solomonic State: Stage I (1870s-ca. 1910)

The 19th cent. brought a rapidly changing external world, which in the last three decades of the cent. pressed ever more heavily (RubInd). Throughout the region rulers responded in their own ways. For example, new Oromo authorities emerged in what was to become east and western Wälläga (*moti* ↗Ǧootee Tulluu). The decisive moment, heralding a new era in regional political history, came in the years between the successful rejection in 1875–76 of the Egyptian invasion (↗Egyptian-Ethiopian War) by Yoḥannəs IV (r. 1872–89) and the Battle of ↗Əmbabo in 1882. Yoḥannəs converted his victories into the re-establishment of monarchical hegemony. This, in turn, released powerful expansionist forces, which built to an early climax at Əmbabo, resolving in favor of the latter Goǧǧame and Šäwan rivalry to control the south-west. Thereafter, ↗Mənilək II's armies marched to and beyond the previous limits of Solomonic sway (Marcus 1975).

A revived neo-Solomonic monarchy was firmly in place, successfully surviving the challenge of Italian invasion in 1896 (↗ʿAdwa, Battle of) and guaranteeing the country's passage to the 20th cent. as an independent empire (BZHist). E. was once again dominant over much of the region, this time through the suppression and/or incorporation of all other political authorities and rivalled, not by such authorities, but by European imperial powers now in occupation of all the surrounding territory. Yoḥannəs and his successor, Mənilək (r. 1889–1913), left the challenge of negotiating a world dominated by European colonialism and forces of modernity to their successors.

Indigenous Authority Contested (1910s–40s)

The years following Mənilək's incapacitation, ca. 1910, were perilous, at best. Britain (↗United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, relations with the), France (↗France, relations with) and Italy (↗Italy, relations with) controlled the entire coastlands of the region, the colony of ↗Eritrea in the north, and, in ↗British Somaliland, the North-east Frontier District of Kenya, and ↗Italian Somaliland, a considerable portion of the lands historically used by the Somali. The powers negotiated treaties with E. which gave them extra-territorial jurisdiction and, in the deeply uncertain years following the death of Mənilək in 1913, intervened decisively in Ethiopia's internal politics, forcing, in 1916, the overthrow of Mənilək's successor, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, and easing the path to power of Täfäri Mäkʷännən, crowned, in 1930, as ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

Imperial intervention climaxed in October 1935 with the Italian invasion of E., which ushered in almost a decade of European imperial rule over the region, and the ephemeral political unification of most of Northeast Africa. While formally, Italian conquest brought E. within the orbit of European imperialism, the Italians failed to establish themselves throughout their newly-subjugated territories. They never overcame resistance in many parts of the country and found themselves increasingly confined to the towns. They did invest substantially in infrastructure and pursued policies designed to expand agricultural production, but such fruits as these developments bore were turned, ultimately, to the re-establishment of centralized Ethiopian authority.

Nonetheless, the expulsion of Italy, in 1941, did not lead to the immediate restoration of Ethiopian independence neither to the emergence of other forms of indigenous political authority, but to continued imperial domination of Northeast Africa through the agency of a ↗British Military Administration. While Ḫaylä Śəllase, restored to his throne in 1941, immediately began the centralization and modernization of the country's state structures, his sovereignty was compromised by control by the British, who did not begin to withdraw until 1944, with the signing of an Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty, which recognized Ethiopian sovereignty. E. did not fully recover the boundaries negotiated by Mənilək until 1954 when the British relinquished the last of the Ethiopian-claimed territories in the ↗Ogaden.

The Neo-Solomonic State: Stage II (1940s–74)

In spite of British dominance, on his restoration in 1941 Ḫaylä Śəllase embarked on an ambitious program to reform governmental administration. Since the 1920s as regent *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən, and then as crowned monarch, from 1930 to his overthrow in 1974, Ḫaylä Śəllase seized the role of modernizer, one to which he was ambiguously committed (Marcus 1987). Ever of central importance to him was his personal autocracy (Markakis 1974, ClapHS). The forces of autocracy and modernization coursed unevenly through the decades of his greatest impact, the later 1940s and the 1950s. The 1960s saw a slow waning of his powers and a transformation of the region, which brought new and alternative forms of political authority (Gebru Tareke 1991). European imperial rule gave way to indigenous rule—in the Sudan in 1956; in the Somalilands in 1960 (Lewis 1965); and in Kenya in 1963 – exposing E. to the challenges of 20th cent. popular nationalism and of social revolution and laying the groundwork for yet another transformation in regional power relations.

Lit.: MORDECHAI ABIR, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea. The Rise and Decline of the Solomonic Dynasty and Muslim-*

European Rivalry in the Region, London 1980; BrHad; RICHARD A. CAULK, "The Occupation of Harar: January 1887", *JES* 9, 1971, 1–20; ClapHS; CrumLand; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "The Contribution of the Recent Field Work at Kassala (Eastern Sudan) to Ethiopian Archaeology", in: *PICES* 10, 43–51; KapMon; GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest: Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 1991; HUSSEIN AHMED, *Islam in Nineteenth Century Wallo, Ethiopia: Revival, Reform and Reaction*, Leiden 2001; WERNER LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982; LevWax; DONALD LEVINE, *Greater Ethiopia. The Evolution of a Multiethnic Society*, Chicago 1974, 46–53; IOAN MYRRDIN LEWIS, *The Modern History of Somaliland, from Nation to State*, London 1965; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975; ID., *Haile Sellassie I. The Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley 1987; JOHN MARKAKIS, *Ethiopia. Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*, Oxford 1974; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *Southern Ethiopia and the Christian Kingdom: 1508–1708, with Special Reference to the Galla Migrations and their Consequences*, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS University of London 1971, chs. 1, 2; JOSEPH W. MICHELS, "The Axumite Kingdom: A Settlement Archaeology Perspective", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 6, 173–83; MHasOr; MHAksum; NEGASO GIDADA, *History of the Sayoo Oromoo of southwestern Wallaga, Ethiopia, from about 1730 to 1886*, Ph.D. thesis, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main 1984; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, *Ancient Ethiopia. Aksum: its Antecedents and Successors*, London 1998; ID., "The Antiquity of Cultivation and Herding in Ethiopia", in: THURSTAN SHAW – PAUL SINCLAIR – BASSEY ANDAH – ALEX OKPOKO (eds.), *The Archaeology of Africa. Food, Metals and Towns*, London 1993, 344–57; RubInd; SerHist; TadTChurch; BZHist.

Donald Crummey

Ethiopia Mirror

The E.M. was a quarterly magazine in English published by the Ministry of Information. The first issue, which came out in September 1961, was printed at the Commercial Printing Press in Addis Abäba and sold for 1.50 *bərr* a copy. The name of the editor was not specified until the October-December 1965 issue, where the name of Oscar Rampone appeared. In the November 1972 issue Yäwändwässän T. Marqos became the editor, ᶜAläm Public Relations became the publishers by special appointment of the Ministry of Information. The format and contents of the magazine were altered, its price was reduced to 1.25 *bərr* and its size also changed beginning with this issue. This time it was printed at the Artistic Printing Press in Addis Abäba.

The Preface to the maiden issue states that the E.M. "... will endeavour to illustrate the traditions, customs, arts, events, and all the manifold aspects of Ethiopia", being its "faithful mirror".

The "E.M.'s Competitions", held on various occasions, seem to be among the ways of achieving the aims of the magazine. One of them, organized in collaboration with Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre, was a popular-song contest to encourage musicians and contribute towards the improvement of the standard of Ethiopian folk songs. An amateur photo competition was held in co-operation with the Visual Department of the Ministry of Information.

The E.M. had columns entitled "Our Country", "Our People", "Our Children", "Our Fauna" etc., all well illustrated. The range of articles in the E.M. was large, cp., e.g., articles by Ṣäggaye Däbalqe on music, folk-songs and dances, by Osram and MacPhearson on the painter Afäwärq Täkle, by Murray on art in general, by Nägaš Gäbrä Maryam on the problem of the bachelor, book reviews and interviews with and biographies of prominent persons. There were also efforts to describe traditional religious feasts, ancient monuments, pilgrimages and society events such as fashion shows and beauty contests.

It must be noted that since the September 1972 issue the magazine, that had been largely pictorial at the start, was transformed, as stated in the editorial, to "a balanced blend of both pictorial and editorial coverage, with emphasis on the latter". The last issue of this useful source for research into the imperial era is that of July 1974.

Src.: issues of the magazine September 1961–July 1974.

Fekade Azeze

Ethiopia Observer

E.O. is a "Journal of Independent Opinion, Economics, History and the Arts" that first came out in December 1956 under the editorship of Sylvia ↗Pankhurst. It was published in Britain and Ethiopia and its price was 1 *bərr*. The cover illustration was Afäwärq Täkle's portrait of *fitawrari* ᶜAbdullāhi Mursal, "Sultan of Shekash in the Ogaden, Member of Parliament for the Ogaden in the Ethiopian Chamber of Deputies". The editorial of this maiden issue states that E.O. came to replace ↗*New Times and Ethiopian News* and that the journal's mission was to mirror every facet of Ethiopia's renaissance.

The issues covered in the journal range from history to economics (land tenure, population, agriculture, fishery, industry, trade, transport and communications and budget), from foreign affairs to health and education, from African affairs to community development, law and constitution, among other topics.

The special issues on topics such as the languages of Ethiopia, education, Ethiopia's Five-Year Plan, Eritrea, Ethiopian patriots, Ethiopian history and geography and the Addis Abäba African Summit Conference (with full text of all speeches, the charter and resolution) give an in-depth and broad coverage of the issues involved.

In the area of art, culture and literature there are valuable English translations of Gəʿəz chronicles (↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, ↗Bäʿəda Maryam, etc.), Amharic fiction (the novels of ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus and *ras* Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase, plays by ↗Mängəśtu Lämma, Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən, a short story by Assäfa Liban), of valuable Amharic documents relating to the traditional system of land tenure and taxation.

Ethiopian literature in English is represented by the poetry of Solomon Däressa and Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən, a short story by Ašänafi Käbbädä, an article about the patriot martyr *abunä* Peṭros in Ethiopian theatre and numerous articles on Ethiopian art and poetry.

E.O. is certainly a valuable source for studies and comments made on the early art of three renowned Ethiopian artists, Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa, Afäwärq Täkle and ↗Ǝskəndər, and for the works of Bərhanä Mähari, Mäḥammäd Ali and the sculptor Alämayyähu Bəzunäh.

There is an index by Chris Prouty Rosenfeld to the first ten years of E.O. by author's name, a subject index and an index of titles; another one by Zännäbu covers vols. 1–16. The last issue of the Journal was vol. 16, no. 4, 1974.

Src.: *EthObs*, all issues, IES, Addis Abäba.

Fekade Azeze

The Ethiopia Star

The E.S., a short-lived weekly (1941), was Ethiopia's first English-language newspaper. Produced by the British Military Administration in Addis Abäba, the publication, as stated in its first issue of 19 October, sought to "give readers of British and other nationalities articles on the progress of the war and international affairs generally", as well as studies "by local experts on Ethiopian matters". Besides articles on British military victories in Ethiopia and elsewhere, the paper carried the text of an important telegram to Winston Churchill from *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, pressing the British Government to sign a Treaty recognising Ethiopia's independence. The paper also published the text of two of the Emperor's speeches; an account of pre-war Addis Abäba by the English prelate A. C. Matthew; translated extracts from a report by the Italian fascist Arconovaldo Bonaccorsi condemning corruption in the former Italian empire; and a little-known interview with the Ethiopian Patriot *wäyzäro* ↗Šäwaräggäd Gädle. The penultimate issue, of 7 December, announced, prematurely, that British troops were "to leave Ethiopia" forthwith, while the last issue, of 14 December, provided documentation on the allied capture of Gondär.

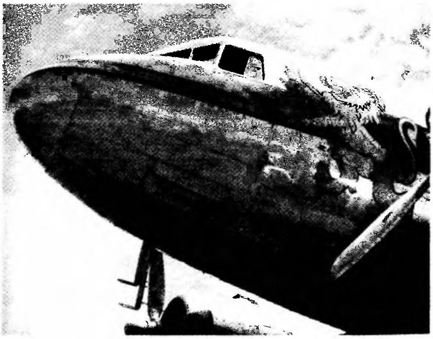
With the signing of the first Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement, on 31 January of the following year, the purpose of the paper, which was read mainly by the British officers in Addis Ababa and a few other foreigners, came to an end. Copies can be consulted at the British Library newspaper division in London, and at the IES library in Addis Abäba.

Lit.: GEORGE LOWTHER STEER, *Sealed and Delivered; a Book on the Abyssinian Campaign*, London 1942, 3; JOHN HATHAWAY SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay: a Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, New York 1944 [^{2}1984, ^{3}1987], 93–99.

Richard Pankhurst

Ethiopian Airlines

E.A. was established in 1945, as a result of an agreement signed on 8 September between the Ethiopian Government and the American airline company, Transcontinental and Western Airlines (later known as Transworld Airlines, TWA). The charter officially setting up the airline, Ethiopian Air Lines Inc., was proclaimed on 21 December. Scheduled passenger service was inaugurated

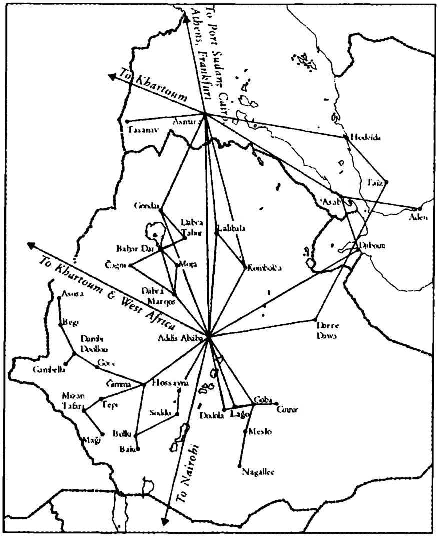


Airplane of Ethiopian Airlines in the 1960's; photo courtesy of the IES on 8 April 1946 when a Douglas C-47 aircraft made the flight from Addis Abäba to Cairo in ten hours.

For over a decade, both domestic and international flights were served primarily by the indomitable C-47 aircraft, DC-3 in its relatively more luxurious passenger edition. Leftovers from World War II, these aircraft remained the trademark of the airline's domestic service until replaced some four decades later by the ATR-40. Thanks to the pilots' ingenuity and its own remarkable adaptability to Ethiopian conditions, it played an indispensable role, not only in transporting passengers and cargo, but also in integrating hitherto inaccessible places to the centre. For its international service, the airline acquired progressively more sophisticated aircraft, like the four-engined propeller aircraft Douglas DC-6, in 1958 and entering the jet age in 1962 with the purchase of two Boeing 720-B's. The acquisition of a wide-bodied aircraft, in the shape of the Boeing 767, in June 1984 marked the climax of its aircraft development.

At the same time, the history of the airline was marked by steady expansion and diversification of routes, both in its domestic and international service. Landmarks in the latter category were extension of the service to Athens and Frankfurt, inauguration of the first trans-African flight in 1960 (the year, appropriately enough, of African independence), the first flight to Beijing by an African carrier in 1973 and its first transatlantic passenger flight (to Newark, New Jersey) in 1998. Until 1962 the airline operated its flights from an airfield in south-west Addis Abäba left over by the Italians, now known as the Old Airport. In that year, it moved to its current premises at Bole.

The history of the airline was also characterized by a relentless struggle for Ethiopianization. In the initial years, both management and flight operations were dominated by Americans. Landmarks in the steady advance in Ethiopian control of both spheres were the checking-out of the first Ethiopian captain, Captain Alämayyähu Abbäbä, in 1957 and the appointment of the first Ethiopian general manager, Colonel Səmret Mədhane, in 1971. In the technical services as well, Ethiopians gradually took over from non-Ethiopian personnel. This process of Ethiopianization was assisted by the airline's training programmes, which subsequently came to serve, not only Ethiopia, but also other African countries.



Ethiopian air route system in 1962; after the map of the Imperial Ethiopian Mapping and Geography Institute

Nevertheless, the history of the airline has not been one of unadulterated success. Following the outbreak of the Ethiopian revolution, the airline went through a period of grave crisis. This did not change until 1980, when the government, putting an end to the political interference that had contributed to the crisis, appointed a new general manager, Captain Mohammed Ahmed, and gave him a free hand in the management of the airline. Again, after the change of regime in 1991, government interference brought the airline to the brink of collapse. This has now been reversed in large measure after the appointment of a veteran, *ato* Bəsrat Nəgatu.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Bringing Africa Together: the Story of Ethiopian Airlines*, Addis Ababa 1988; "From Chad to China: Africa's Global Airline", *African Aviation*, February 2003, 8–14; THEODORE GEIGER, *United States Business Performance Abroad: the Case Study of TWA's Service to Ethiopia*, Washington 1959; SYLVIA PANKHURST, "Ethiopian Aviation Past and Present", *EthObs* 2, 1, 1957, 13–23; LEM TEW, *Fly Sheba: Ethiopia as I Remember it*, n.p. 1977.

Bahru Zewde

Ethiopian argots

Some particular social groups within different communities of Ethiopia use characteristic language varieties, known as A., in order to prevent the outsiders from understanding their conversation. The existence of different A. in the Amharic speaking communities became known over the recent time: A. of the ↗merchants, of the ↗*azmari*-minstrels (s. also ↗Ənzata) and of people possessed by the *zar*-spirit (↗Possession cults), as well as an A. of a women's secret society, *mʷəyät*, in the Gogot- and Čaha-speaking regions of ↗Gurage (s. Leslau 1964a; 1964b; 1964c). Some A. of Addis Abäba are discussed by Bender and Teshome Demmisse (1983) and Aregga Hailemichael (1996). Further on, an A. of ↗Wäyṭo, "the hippopotamus hunters", living on the shores of Lake Ṭana (whose everyday language is Amharic) was collected by Marcel ↗Griaule (s. Cohen 1939:360–71). As to some other ↗marginalized groups in Ethiopia, s. Freeman – Pankhurst (2003); an A. of a Somali "low cast" of hunters was described by Cerulli (1926). The usage of A. or other special languages, ranging from A. to slang (e.g., **የራዳ፡ ቋንቋ**, *yarada qʷanqʷa*, the well-known 'language of Arada', Addis Abäba) is wide-spread and, as an important linguistic and social feature, deserves closer attention of researchers. Some principles of the first four mentioned A. are exposed below.

The A. use various procedures for the transformation of the original root of the standard language (the features mentioned below do not necessarily occur in all the A.). One of the principles is augmentation of the root through repetition of a radical or of the whole root or through addition of a consonant. A radical is repeated in the A. of the *mʷəyät*, e.g., *kinanna*, 'prevent' (Gogot: *känna-m*; cp. Soddo *källa-m*, Amh. *källa*), and of the *azmari* A., e.g., *ananba*, 'tear' (Amh.: *ənba*), *däsäsna mossäñ*, 'I am pleased' (Amh.: *däss aläññ*). Reduplication of a biradical root with addition of *n* occurs in the *azmari* A.: *sərənsər*, 'grass' (Amh.: *sar*); *fərənfər*, 'fruit' (Amh.: *fəre*).

The root can be also augmented by adding of a new element. Thus, in the *azmari* A., one finds *qärädda*, 'draw water' (Amh.: *qädda*), *bälännäṭä*, 'exceed' (Amh.: *bälläṭä*). In the A. of the *mʷəyät*, the following examples can be found: *fʷägäš*, 'cow' (from Amh. *goš*, 'buffalo'), *č̣äwaga*, 'price' (Amh.: *waga*), *gʷamməst*, 'five' (Amh.: *amməst*).

Suffixation is another device used in forming the words of A. The suffix *-it* (the feminine suffix in Amharic) occurs in the A. of the people possessed by *zar* as qualifier suffix, e.g., *č̣arit*, 'hen' (lit. 'that which scratches'), *läblabit*, 'pepper' (lit. 'that which burns'), *läslasit*, 'bread' (lit. 'that which is smooth').

The suffix *-o*, that occurs in Amharic, e.g., for the expression of abstracts and in the names of plants, is found in the *azmari* A. without having, however, a special meaning. Cf. *kärso*, 'belly' (Gəʿəz, Amh.: *kärs*), *sitto*, 'woman' (Amh.: *set*), *wərabʷo*, 'hyena' (Səlṭi, Wälläne: *wärabä*).

The A. of the *mʷəyät* also has suffixes, such as *-yä*, *-ya* and others, which do not seem to have a definite value in the standard language, e.g., *bərrəyä*, 'fowl' (from the root *brr*, 'fly'), *säbäyä*, 'man' (Gogot: *säb*).

Palatalization is widely used in the *mʷəyät*-A. of Gogot: *šərämma*, 'hear' (Gogot: *sämma*; note also the augmented *r*), *šəräddäbä*, 'insult' (Gogot: *säddäbä-m*), *yägräžža*, 'slave' (from Gogot *gäzza-m*, 'possess'), *č̣ərabbäṭä*, 'seize' (Amh.: *č̣äbbäṭä*).

In the A. of the *zar*-possession cult the labial *m* may be substituted for any consonant, as in *mänzäb*, 'money' for Amh. *gänzäb*. The labial *w* is substituted for any consonant in the *azmari* A., e.g., in *wämmärä*, 'add' (Amh.: *č̣ämmärä*), *wäkkärä*, 'be drunk' (Amh.: *säkkärä*).

The dental *t* is substituted for *h* in the *azmari* A., in *atun*, 'now' (Amh.: *ahun*), *tullu*, 'all' (Amh.: *hullu*), and in the merchants' A. in *yətiyäw*, 'this' (Amh.: *yəh*).

Substitution of homorganic sounds is likewise employed in the root formation of *mʷəyät*-A.: one liquid for another, as in *wənannädä*, 'go down' (from the root *wrd*), *täsrabbätä*, 'take leave' (Gogot: *täsnabbätä*), or one labial for another labial as in *ač̣fäč̣č̣äfä*, 'sing' (from *ač̣bač̣č̣äbä*).

Metathesis occurs in the *azmari* A., e.g., in bisyllable roots *ṭawwa*, 'go out' (Amh.: *wäṭṭa*), *tama*, 'evening' (Amh.: *mata*), *čəbba*, 'alone' (Amh.: *bəčča*). In trisyllabic roots any of the radicals can change places: e.g., 1–2–3 can become 2–1–3 as in Amh. *wäddäqä*, 'fall' becoming *däwwäqä*, or it can become 3–1–2, as in Amh. *(tä)qäbbälä*, 'receive' becoming *(tä)läqqʷäbä*.

Besides the phonetic changes, various types of semantic changes, such as generalization and metaphor, take place in A. Thus, in the A. of the *zar*-cults, 'drink' is *č̣alləṭ* (cp. Amh. *č̣älläṭä*, 'drink to the last drop'); in the *azmari* A., 'master, king' is *urus* (cp. Har. *urūs*, 'head'); in the merchants' A. 'brother, companion' is *mäntiya* (cp. Amh. *mänta*, 'twin').

Some meanings are expressed in a paraphrastic way. In this procedure, a new term is created by a combination of roots already used in the A.

Thus, in the A. of the people possessed by the *zar*-spirit 'water' is *yäbäräha ṭäǧ* (lit. 'mead of the desert'), 'door' is *ç̣älläma ayfäre* (lit. 'that which does not fear darkness'). In the A. of the *mʷəyät*, 'calf' is expressed by *kuččəf fʷägäš* (lit. 'small cow'), 'egg' is *yäbərrəyä yiwräç̣ç̣əbʷä* (lit. 'that from which a hen comes out'), 'jackal' is *ahlelwä yiräṭ* (lit. 'who eats goats'), 'moon' is *yägussariya iǧrammə*ʾ (lit. 'the disc of the night'). In the A. of the *mʷəyät*, 'ear' is *yəššəramma* (lit. 'that with which one hears'), 'headrest' is *yuradəʾəbbʷä* (lit. 'that on which one sleeps').

Nearly every A. has loanwords depending on the nature of the A. and its geographic position. Thus, e.g., the merchants' A. borrows lexemes from ↗Arabic and ↗Harari. The A. of the *zar*-possessed people has a lot of Arabic and Oromo loanwords. The A. of the *mʷəyät* has loanwords from various Gurage dialects. The *azmari* A. borrows from various South and North Ethio-Semitic languages, from Cushitic languages, and from Arabic.

Lit.: AREGGA HAILEMICHAEL, "The Argot of Definable Street Children in Addis Ababa: Sociolinguistic Implications for the 'Survival of the Fittest'", in: HABTAMU WONDIMU (ed.), *Research Papers on the Situation of Children and Adolescents in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1996, 67-86; DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST, *Peripheral People: the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003, s. index; MOCHIZUKI KOJI, "A Cognitive Anthropological Analysis of Slang as an Expression of Urban Subculture: the Case of Yarada Qwanqwa, or the Language of Addis Ababa", in: *PICES* 15, in preparation; MARVIN LIONEL BENDER – TESHOME DEMMISSE, "An Argot of Addis Ababa Unattached Girls", *Language in Society* 12, 2, 1983, 339–47; WOLF LESLAU, *Ethiopian Argots*, The Hague 1964a (Janua linguarum, Studia memoriae Nicolai van Wijk dedicata. Series practica 17) [Lit.]; ID., "Ethiopian Argots. Linguistic Principles", *JSS* 9, 1964b, 58–66; ID., "An Ethiopian Argot of a Gurage Secret Society", *Journal of African Languages* 3, 1964c, 52–65; MARCEL COHEN, *Nouvelles études d'éthiopien méridional*, Paris 1939, 360–71.

Wolf Leslau

Ethiopian Bible Society ↗British and Foreign Bible Society

Ethiopian Dynasty

E.D. is the name given by the 4th-cent.-B.C. Alexandrian historian Manetho (1940:166–69) referring to those rulers that, coming from Nubia, conquered Egypt ca. 713 B.C. and ruled it until 663 B.C. Manetho's E.D. has thus no relation with the modern Ethiopian dynasties. The old designation of "Ethiopians" referred basically to the dark skin of the Nubian people and stressed the particularities of the Nubian rulers as a different ethnic group: accentuated brachycephalism, low forehead, swollen cheeks and strong chin. To avoid any confusion with modern Ethiopian history, the most recent historians refer today to this 25th Egyptian dynasty with the term "Cushitic", from the Biblical name of ↗Kush in Nubia. Their rulers bear the Nubian names of Shabaka (r. 713–01 B.C.), Shabataka (r. 701–690 B.C.), Taharka (690–64 B.C.) and Tanoutamon (664–56 B.C.), their big necropolis of El Kurru and Nouri being found near the "holy mountain" of Ǧebel Barkal, near the 4th Nile Cataract and within the modern area of Meroë (Sudan).

Lit.: MANETHO, *Aegyptiaca Epitome*, ed., tr. by WILLIAM GILLAN WADDELL, London – Cambridge, MA 1940, fragments 66f., 166–69.

Jean Leclant

Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation

UN Commission and approval of a Constitution

After World War II, the disposal of ↗Eritrea proved to be a fairly problematic question. The Allies failed to reach an agreement and in 1948 passed the matter on to the United Nations, where the divergent interests and claims of neighbouring ↗Ethiopia, of the former colonial power – Italy – and of the administering power – Great Britain – clashed. Following long diplomatic negotiations, the United Nations General Assembly considered that the Eritreans were not yet politically mature for self-government and in December 1950 voted to federate Eritrea with Ethiopia as "an autonomous unit under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian crown" (Resolution 390A, V, later known as the "Federal Act").

In February 1951, a UN Commissioner, the Bolivian delegate Eduardo ↗Anze Matienzo, went to Eritrea to assist in the implementation of the E.E.F. (Amh.: *Yäʾityopyanna Ertəra fädäräšən*, Tgn: *Fädäräšən nay Ityopyan Ertəran*). Anze Matienzo soon realized that he was in an awkward situation because of the disagreements concerning the interpretation of the Federal Resolution, which was foreign to the Eritrean and Ethiopian conception of political power. The Ethiopian monarchy interpreted the Resolution as a formula that would allow the incorporation of Eritrea into Ethiopia. On the Eritrean side, the political parties accepted the UN resolution but disagreed about the real significance of the federation. The Unionists, who had campaigned for a complete union between

Eritrea and Ethiopia, were close to the Ethiopian standpoint. By contrast, the Eritrean Democratic Front (EDF), led by ↗Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, rallied the former adherents of the Independence Bloc and was eager to protect the autonomy granted to Eritrea by the UN Resolution.

The federal settlement reflected these conflicting pressures as well as the imbalance of power between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Moreover, the reasons quoted in the Resolution's preface in support of the federation – "the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants", "the interests of peace and security in East Africa" and "the rights and claims of Ethiopia" – clashed. Above all, the Resolution did not envisage autonomous and distinct institutions, both Eritrean and Ethiopian governments being entrusted with regulating their own relationship. The only organ with advisory powers on common affairs – the ↗Imperial Federal Council – was actually powerless. Thus, the Ethiopian government acted in practice as the Federal government.

According to the Eritrean Constitution, Eritrea was a sovereign unit with distinct territory, citizenship, official languages (Təgrəñña and Arabic), flag, seals and arms and a democratic form of government, on the principle of the separation of powers and their effective exercise by the people. In the field of domestic affairs, the Eritrean government possessed legislative powers (which lay in the ↗Eritrean Assembly), executive powers (the Chief Executive and his Cabinet) and judicial powers (a hierarchic judicial system entrusted to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, held by a former British colonial servant). The Eritrean government's jurisdiction included budget, taxation, health, education, administration and police. The British administering power had outlined the framework of this administrative system during the transition period. Political parties, trade unions, human rights, freedom of press and speech were recognized in the Constitution, whose liberal-democratic principles put Eritrea well in advance of the Imperial Ethiopian absolutist establishment. The jurisdiction of the Federal Government included foreign affairs, defence, currency and finance, foreign and interstate commerce, and communications. Entrusted with the power of maintaining the federation's integrity, the Federal Government had also to impose uniform taxes to bear the costs of the federal services. ↗Andärgaččäw Mäsay, son-in-law of the Ethiopian Emperor, became the Representative of the Crown in Eritrea. He was the *trait d'union* between ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and the Eritreans and was granted the right to empower the Eritrean Chief Executive elected by the Eritrean Assembly. The Chief Executive was responsible for the maintenance of public order and for the direction of public services and was also entrusted with the power of proposing laws to the Assembly.

The Eritrean Assembly and the Constitution

The Eritrean Assembly was formed in March 1952. On 10 July 1952, the Eritrean Assembly adopted the Constitution, which incorporated the Federal Act, and by September the Ethiopian government had ratified both the Constitution and the Federal Act. On 15 September 1952 the administering power transferred its powers to the Federal Government.

However, since the beginning, the Federal Act was encroached upon, both by Ethiopian and Eritrean authorities. The government of Addis Abäba began to regulate common federal matters and staffed the Federal departments – such as police, army, air force, telecommunications and transport – with Ethiopian citizens, leaving minor decision tasks to Eritreans. The Ethiopian flag was imposed on the Federation and Eritreans were regarded as Ethiopian nationals. At his arrival in Asmära, Andärgaččäw Mäsay declared his lack of confidence on the federation's viability. Meanwhile, the Ethiopian military presence in Eritrea increased and the United States' right to use military installations in the country was officially recognized.

Political destabilization in Eritrea

The destabilizing impact of these measures on Eritrean internal politics was worsened by the short political democratic apprenticeship of the Eritrean leaders. Since the beginning, institutional relations between Eritrean legislative and executive powers proved to be difficult, as the Assembly denounced the authoritarian direction taken by the Chief Executive. In 1953 ↗Tädla Bayru directed an intimidation campaign against his political opponents, such as ↗Abräha Täsämma and ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam, resorting to arbitrary incarceration and shooting. The Unionist Party (UP) supported Tädla Bayru, as the majority of the adherents, still campaigning for complete union with Ethiopia, were given the preference in public offices.

Dissatisfaction grew amongst EDF's members, especially in the Western province, a region that had demanded independence since the 1940s, and it was further fuelled by the worsening of socio-economic conditions. An inefficient economic policy by the government determined burdensome taxation and an increase in the cost of living. Although the free movements of goods and persons had been stated in the Federal Act, custom duties were soon raised by Addis Abäba on bilateral exchanges, which amounted to ca. 25 % of Eritrean imports/exports. While Federal and Eritrean Governments shared the former Italian state properties in Eritrea, Italian citizens regained all the rights, properties and interests legally acquired before the war. Moreover, renewal or *ex-novo* granting of titles of concessions – in the fields of industry, mining, agriculture and transport – to foreign citizens was witnessed with ill-concealed discomfort by the Eritreans. They felt that the wealth of their country was being deliberately undermined by Ethiopian intervention.

In autumn 1953, opposition movements recovered strength. The Moslem League (ML) was restored and soon its members organized public protests in order to defend the Eritrean Constitution and to protect their interests as Moslems. Around 1953, Eritrean uneasiness was also witnessed outside the Assembly, with several strikes and general unrest among the dock-workers. The Chief Executive suppressed the freedom of press and of assembly guaranteed by the Federal Act. Opposition newspapers were closed down. In February 1954 the ML representatives sent a memorandum protest to Ḫaylä Śəllase and to the UN and, in May, they presented two motions to the Assembly. Eritrean public opinion was divided, not necessarily along ethnic lines, while internal quarrels tore the opposition: Ibrāhīm Sulṭān himself was driven away from ML leadership because he was suspected of being, out of his own ambitions, too close to the Unionist milieu. The political offensive of the ML parliamentary members was successful in undermining the prestige of Tädla Bayru, who was now criticized even by his own party.

The revival of ↗*šəfta* banditism sapped public order in the Eritrean highlands while civil disobedience spread in the Western Province. In an official speech at the Eritrean Assembly in March 1955, Andärgaččäw Mäsay insisted on the concept that Eritrea was politically indistinguishable from Ethiopia, thus embittering the frictions between the Assembly and the Chief Executive. The clash then involved President ᶜAli Rädʾay, whom the Assembly wanted to remove in order to bring down Tädla Bayru. In July the latter resorted again to the suspension of the parliamentary session for a period longer than that allowed by the Constitution. The Eritrean opposition turned to the Emperor. Ḫaylä Śəllase rejected as unconstitutional the suspension of the Assembly and forced both Tädla Bayru and ᶜAli Rädʾay to resign. The fervent Unionist *bitwäddäd* ↗Asfəḥa Wäldä Mikaʾel, vice-representative of the Crown in Eritrea, replaced Tädla Bayru without renouncing to his former office. The Assembly elected as its president an EDF representative, *šayḫ* Saᶜīd ↗Idrīs Muḥammad Adim. From then on, the demarcation of spheres of authority between the Eritrean and the Ethiopian government was completely disregarded and Addis Abäba constantly interfered in the policy of the Cabinet, which was composed of fervent Unionists who accelerated the Federation's dismantling. ML members of the Assembly challenged any attempts to undermine Eritrean rights in the Federation by submitting to Ḫaylä Śəllase a detailed memorandum protest. The UP succeeded, however, in splitting the ML and weakened the opposition with a negative vote of confidence to the president of the Assembly.

In September 1956, the elections for the Eritrean Assembly took place in a tense atmosphere, with police harassment over anti-Unionists and suspicions of corruption and irregularities. As a result, the UP emerged stronger, electing 32 out of 68 seats. As civic rights were infringed, dissension continued to grow in the country. Ethiopia was suspected of financing political *šəfta*-ism in order to demonstrate that Eritrea was almost ungovernable. But *šəfta*-ism was also fed by the economic decline the country had been experiencing since 1945. Although the Italian community dropped from 17,000 in 1952 to around 7,000 in 1962, Italian manufacturing concerns and agricultural concessions still held a dominant position in the Eritrean economy. To avoid double taxation, they relocated many industries in Ethiopia, thus sharpening Eritrean unemployment. Despite their economic failure, the Unionists strikingly dominated Eritrea. Meanwhile, the Emperor never ceased to lobby the Assembly to erode Eritrean autonomy and in November 1956 he spoke of the reintegration of Eritrea into the

Ethiopian motherland. By then, even ML leaders had dropped any hopes of survival for the federation. In October 1957 Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam and Muḥammad ᶜUmar Qadi applied to the UN, accusing the Ethiopian authorities of connivance with the Eritrean government for the gradual infringement of the Federal Act. In reply, the federal authorities imprisoned Muḥammad ᶜUmar Qadi together with other outstanding Moslem personalities and brutally suppressed the strikes and peaceful mass demonstrations staged throughout Eritrea.

Weakening of Eritrea's autonomy

In 1958, the Chief Executive inflicted a serious blow on Eritrea's autonomy, imposing the Ethiopian Penal Code, the flag and the Ethiopian taxation system, thus depriving Eritrea of its own political symbols (State symbols). Meanwhile, Brigadier General ᶜAbiy Abbäbä was appointed the Emperor's Representative in the country. Opposition also lost ground, as the political repression forced many of its outstanding personalities to flee. Three clandestine political organizations were set up by these exiles in Egypt: the ↗Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM), led by Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam, was active inside Eritrea; Idrīs Muḥammad Adim formed the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) in July 1960, while Ibrāhīm Sulṭān set up the United Party of Eritrea Democratic Front. At first, their efforts were aimed at gaining UN attention. As legal recourse to international order failed, because of the Emperor's skilful Cold War power politics, these movements turned to armed subversion, thanks also to the support of Somalia and of Middle Eastern countries.

In May 1960 Ethiopian rule over Eritrea was officially stressed when the Eritrean Assembly voted to rename the "Eritrean Government" as "Eritrean Administration under Ḫaylä Śəllase, Emperor of Ethiopia". But strikes by the workers and popular protests revealed that Eritreans frustration with economic unrest was acquiring a clear anti-Ethiopian political character which was also mining the confidence in the Assembly. In summer 1961 a small band led by Idrīs ᶜAwate in north-west Eritrea paved the way to the armed struggle inside the country. Following the May 1962 peaceful student demonstrations for Eritrean freedom and the discovery of an anti-Ethiopian plot, Ḫaylä Śəllase went to Eritrea in July to prepare annexation into Ethiopia, mobilizing the troops. On 15 November, the Eritrean Assembly voted the dissolution of the Federation and the incorporation of Eritrea into the Ethiopian Empire. The following day, the Emperor formally repealed the Federal Act and declared Eritrea "wholly integrated" into the Empire, as its 14th province.

Lit.: Andargachew Tiruneh, "Eritrea, Ethiopia and Federation 1941–1952", *NEASt* 3, 1, 1980–81; Araya Tseggai, "Ethiopian Economic Policy on Eritrea: the Federation Era", *ibid.* 6, 1–2, 1984; BZHist 1991; Bereket Habte Selassie, *Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa*, New York 1980; Id., *Eritrea and the United Nations and other Essays*, New Jersey 1989; Giampaolo Calchi Novati, *Il Corno d'Africa nella storia e nella politica: Etiopia, Somalia e Eritrea fra nazionalismi, sottosviluppo e guerra*, Torino 1994; Christopher Clapham, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1988; Lionel Cliffe – Basil Davidson, *The Long Struggle of Eritrea for Independence and Constructive Peace*, Trenton 1988; Basil Davidson – Lionel Cliffe – Bereket Habte Selasse (eds.), *Behind the War in Eritrea*, Nottingham 1980; Eyasu Gayim, *The Eritrean Question: the Conflict between the Right of Self-Determination and the Interests of the States*, Uppsala 1993; Haggai Erlich, "The Eritrean Autonomy, 1952–62 ...", in: Yoran Dinstein (ed.), *Models of Autonomy*, New Brunswick 1981, 171–82; Id., *The Struggle over Eritrea, 1962–1978. War and Revolution in the Horn of Africa*, Stanford 1982; Habtu Ghebre-Ab, *Ethiopia and Eritrea. A Documentary Study*, Trenton, NJ 1983; Jordan Gebre-Medhin, *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 1989; Getahun Dilebo, "Historical Origins and Development of the Eritrean Problem", *Current Bibliography on African Affairs* 7, 3, 1975, 221–44; Robert L. Hess, *Ethiopia: the Modernization of Autocracy*, Ithaca 1970; Ruth Iyob, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence: Domination, Resistance, Nationalism, 1941–1993*, Cambridge 1995; Donald Levine, *Greater Ethiopia: the Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society*, Chicago 1974; Ioan M. Lewis (ed.), *Nationalism and Self-determination in the Horn of Africa*, London 1983; Pier Giacomo Magri, *La politica estera etiopica e le questioni eritrea e somala: 1941–1960*, Milano 1980; Harold Golden Marcus, *Ethiopia, Great Britain and the United States, 1941–1974 ...*, Los Angeles 1983; John Markakis, *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, Cambridge 1987; Tesfatzion Medhanie, *Eritrea: the Dynamic of a National Question*, Amsterdam 1986; Nathan Marein, *The Ethiopian Empire. Federation and Laws*, Rotterdam 1954; Redie Bereketeab, *Eritrea: the Making of a Nation, 1890–1991*, Uppsala 1999; Tekeste Negash, *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1997; Id., "Competing Imaginations of the Nation: the Eritrean Nationalist Movements, 1953–81", in: Tekeste Negash – Lars Rudebeck (eds.), *Dimensions of Development with Emphasis on Africa*, Uppsala 1995; Okbazghi Yohannes, *Eritrea: a Pawn in World Politics*, Trenton 1991; Estelle Sylvia Pankhurst, *Eritrea on the Eve: the Past and the Future of Italy's "First-Born" Colony ...*, Essex 1952; Semere Haile, "The Roots of the Ethiopia-Eritrea Conflict: the Erosion of the Federal Act", *JES* 1, 1, 1986, 1–18; Stefano Poscia, *Eritrea: colonia tradita*, Roma 1989; John H. Spencer, *Ethiopia at Bay: a Personal Ac-*

count of the Haile Sellassie Years, Algonac 1984; TEKIE FESSEHATZION, *Eritrea: from Federation to Annexation, 1952–1962*, Washington, DC 1990; GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS TREVASKIS, *Eritrea: a Colony in Transition 1941–52*, London – New York – Toronto 1960.

Federica Guazzini

Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus

The E.E.C.M.Y. (**ወንጌላዊት፡ መካነ፡ የሱስ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ኢትዮጵያ**, *Wängelawit Mäkanä Yäsus Betä Krəstiyan Ityop̣ya*), the first registered Protestant Church in Ethiopia, has been a member of the Lutheran World Federation since 1959, of the All-Africa Council of Churches since 1973 and of the World Council of Churches since 1979. The E.E.C.M.Y. is a well-established Protestant Church which counted in 2003 over 4,000,000 members, who mainly live in the western, southern and central parts of the country, i.e. in areas which were forcibly incorporated into the Ethiopian empire by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II.

The E.E.C.M.Y. has several roots: on the one hand, it is the result of renewal and Bible-reading movements within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church; on the other hand, the outcome of Lutheran and Presbyterian mission activities.

The earliest Protestant teaching in Ethiopia dates back to the German doctor, lawyer and theologian Peter ↗Heyling, who lived and worked in Gondär as advisor to *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs in 1635–52. His Bible teachings in the Amharic vernacular were well received also by the Orthodox priests and they and later followers formed a brotherhood with the aim of promoting Scriptural knowledge in the vernacular. This movement, at times strongly surpressed, survived and some of the adherents later influenced the formation of the E.E.C.M.Y.

Another Bible-readers movement started at ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga in Ḥamasen in Eritrea. Around 1860 a deacon of St. George church found in a niche of the church an Amharic copy of the Holy Scriptures, which most probably had been distributed by the pioneers of the ↗Church Missionary Society. The priests and deacons diligently studied the Bible, were deeply touched by the contents and passed their knowledge on to others. They also sent pioneers to Ǧimma and Wälläga; and the beginning of the Evangelical congregation at Boǧǧi in Wälläga (1898) is the result of their efforts.

Another root of today's E.E.C.M.Y. goes back to European and American ↗missions. The first mission that could undertake more permanent work in Ethiopia was the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission. Their expatriate missionaries arrived in Eritrea in 1866, in Addis Abäba in 1904 and in Neqemte in 1923, while national missionaries had been sent to Ethiopia earlier. Thomas ↗Lambie from the American Presbyterian Mission had entered Ethiopia from the Sudan in 1919 and started medical work in Dambi Dolloo and Addis Abäba. In 1928 the German ↗Hermannsburger Mission started its activities in Addis Abäba, Wälläga and Illubabor.

Due to the Italian occupation and World War II, most of the missionaries had to leave the country, yet the evangelical work continued and even expanded thanks to the efforts of Ethiopian believers, voluntary evangelists, teachers and national pastors (↗Dafaa Ǧammoo).

On 27 August 1944, *aṣe* ↗Ḥaylä Śəllase I issued Decree no. 3,11, distinguishing between "Ethiopian Church areas" and "open areas", which stated: "In open areas, Missions may teach and preach the Christian Faith of their own denomination without restriction". After the war, the Norwegian Lutheran Mission started work in Ethiopia, as did the American Lutheran Mission, the ↗Danish Ethiopian Mission, the ↗Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission and the Norwegian Missionary Society. This missions usually opened schools and clinics on their stations, in some places also Bible schools. The evangelistic outreach was undertaken mainly by national evangelists and volunteers.

Several congregations that had come into existence in western and southern Ethiopia, comprising more than 20 different ethnic groups, united and in 1959 the E.E.C.M.Y. was constituted. The name **መካነ፡ የሱስ** (*Mäkanä Yäsus*, lit. 'Place of Jesus'), originally given to a new church in Addis Abäba, was then accepted as the name for the nation-wide Evangelical Church. The estimated membership at that time was 25,000, but ten years later already it had grown to 103,578. By 1970 all activities and institutions of the Lutheran missions were integrated into the E.E.C.M.Y. and it became an important factor in society.

During its history the leaders and the believers of the E.E.C.M.Y. had to face strong opposition and harassment from local authorities and Orthodox Church circles at different times and in different places. The General Secretary was killed by the *Därg* in 1979. In spite of all this, the E.E.C.M.Y. survived and grew steadily.

The E.E.C.M.Y. has to be noted also for its holistic approach. Proclamation of the Gospel and human development belong together. The church runs schools, clinics, hospitals, appropriate technology centres, literacy campaigns, literature and radio programmes, as well as theological training centres, Bible-schools, counselling facilities and outreach campaigns. During the famines of the last decades, it performed extensive relief work in close co-operation with the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo and Catholic Churches.

One characteristic of the E.E.C.M.Y. is its emphasis on lay involvement. For 34 years after its being constituted, even the Presidents of the Church were not ordained ministers. By 2003 there existed 5,368 established congregations and 3,253 preaching posts (by 2000 – 4,789 and 2,483 respectively). The number of pastors was 1,150, while that of volunteers amounted to 304,275.

Lit.: ArEvang; GUSTAV ARÉN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia: in the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers 1898–1936*, Stockholm 1999; EMMANUEL ABRAHAM, *Reminiscenses of my Life*, Oslo 1995; JOHNNY BAKKE, *Christian Ministry. Patterns and Functions within the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus*, Oslo 1987; ÖYVIND EIDE, *Revolution & Religion in Ethiopia, 1974–85*, Oxford 2000; FEKADU GURMESSA, **የወንጌል፡ እምነት፡ እንቅስቃሴ፡ በኢትዮጵያ** (*Yäwängel əmnät ənqəsəqqase bäʾityopya*, 'The Evangelical Faith Movement in Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1999; JOHANNES LAUNHARDT, *Evangelicals in Addis Ababa (1919–1991)*, Hamburg 2004; KNUT TAGE ANDERSEN, *A Brief History of the Mekane Yesus Church. The Growth & Persecution of the Mekane Yesus Church, 1974-85*, Christiansfeld 1980; OLAV SÅVERÅS, *On Church-Mission Relations in Ethiopia 1944–1969: with Special Reference to the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus and the Lutheran Missions*, Lund 1974.

Johannes Launhardt

Ethiopian Federation of Sports ↗Sports

The Ethiopian Herald

The E.H. was a government ↗newspaper. It was published weekly in English by the Ethiopian Press Department, in Addis Abäba, and was sold for 25 Ethiopian cents. The first editor was Ian H. Simpson, an Englishman, who remained in office until 12 February 1944 (Yacob Wolde-Maryam 2003:84). The maiden issue of 3 July 1943 announced that it was the first newspaper published in a foreign language in the country and issuing mainly "articles on some aspects of the political and social life of the country". It also indicated that discussing Ethiopia's relations with other member countries of the UN, and pointing out that its welfare is closely related with that of other states is part of its mission.

The E.H. became a daily starting from 29 December 1958 and its price was reduced to 10 cents. The name of the editor was not mentioned but sources indicate it was David A. ↗Talbot, an African-American, who would have been editor-in-chief from 1945 to 1960 (Yacob Wolde-Maryam 2003:72). Its circulation in some of the major provincial cities and towns began improving.

Political activities covered included international news, and prominent local issues. Essays and reports on African unity, African brotherhood and anti-colonial struggle were dominant especially during the 1960s, and more so after the mid-1960s. Writings on domestic issues focused on economic development and reports on social services like hospitals, roads, schools, bridges were plenty. The E.H. also had a cultural scope, with announcement of lectures, publications, exhibitions, dramatic performances and film shows. Essays on African literature appeared as well as on foreign writers, like Shaw, Dante, Shakespeare, Steinbeck, Pushkin, Churchill, Mollière. Critical opinions, commentaries, reviews, art news, and articles on Ethiopian painting, literature, drama, traditional music and dance appeared quite frequently especially starting in the mid 1960s.

Research on Ethiopian literature and art will benefit from the essays written by or on personalities like Bäʿalu Gərma, Mängəśtu Lämma, Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḥən, Gərmaččäw Täklä Hawaryat, Abbe Gubäñña, Stephen Wright, Ḫaylu Gäbrä Yoḥannəs, Ṣäggaye Däbalqe, Täsfaye Gässäsä, Rita Pankhurst, Daññaččäw Wärqu, Ǝskəndər Boghossian, Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa, Ṭəlahun Gässäsä, Awlaččäw Däğäne, Zännäbäčč Taddässä, Täsfaye Gäbre and many others.

Src.: *The Ethiopian Herald*, issues 1943-74.

Lit.: YACOB WOLDE-MARIAM, *Brief Autobiography and Selected Articles*, Addis Abäba 2003.

Fekade Azeze

Ethiopian Language Academy

The first mention of an Ethiopian Academy dates back to *Nägarit gazeṭa* issued in 1942 (Amsalu Aklilu 1982:11). In the order it was spelt that "the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts shall in accordance with the law establish an academy for promotion of research in languages and Fine Arts". Following, the Ministry made several attempts and reached the decision to establish a "Royal Academy". The Academy was to constitute Language and Literature Council, the Fine Arts Council, and the Science and Technology Council.

Later on, by the new government order no. 79, in June 1972, the general reference "languages" in the provision of 1942 *Nägarit gazeṭa* was dropped out and replaced by the National Academy of the Amharic Language with its own council (Academy of Ethiopian languages 1986: 2). The purposes of the Academy were spelt out as: (1) to foster the growth of the Amharic language and (2) to encourage the development of its literature (*Nägarit gazeṭa* 1972, in McNab 1984: 719). The council, which gave guidance to full-time researchers at the Academy, was constituted from scholars of high calibre in different fields of specializations: linguistics, law, art, literature, sociology, natural sciences and engineering.

Later on, although it had not been officially ratified, the council renamed the National Amharic Language Academy as the Academy of Ethiopian Languages at its plenary session of 1979 during the communist regime. The council members served in one of the four sub-committees according to their interest and training: lexicography, linguistics, terminology and literature (oral and Gəᶜəz), which were also linked to the respective departments of research (Amsalu Aklilu 1982:12f.). Thus, the Academy had been responsible for the (socio-)linguistic description and standardization of the Ethiopian languages for two decades and integrated with ↗Addis Ababa University in 1997 with more or less similar purposes (*Zena Ləssan* 1999:1).

Among other achievements of the Academy are: modification of the Ethiopic writing systems (although this has not been put to use officially); publication of three books of proverbs of three Ethiopian languages; collecting, annotating and publication of two volumes of Gəᶜəz poetry; preparation of two professional dictionaries; publication of an extensive English–Amharic dictionary of science and technology terms; publication of various professional articles in series of 14 volumes of *Zena Ləssan* (Gərma Zännäbä 1999 31f.).

Src.: *Nägarit gazeṭa* 1942; 1972; ETHIOPIAN LANGUAGE ACADEMY (ed.), **አማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት** (*Amarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Amharic Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1993 A.M. [2003 A.D.]; ID., **መዝገበ፡ ቃላት፡ ትግርኛ፡ በትግርኛ** (*Mäzgäbä qalat təgrəñña bätəgrəñña*, 'Təgrəñña-Təgrəñña Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1997 A.D.]; *Galmee jechoota afaan Oromoo*, Addis Abäba 1996; GƏRMA ZÄNNÄBÄ, "**ብሄራዊ፡ የአማርኛ፡ መርሃ፡ ልሳን**" (*Bəherawi yä'amarəñña märha ləssan*, 'National Academy of the Amharic Language'), *Zena Ləssan* 1, 1, Addis Abäba 1999, 31–32.

Lit.: AMSALU AKLILU, "The Ethiopian Language Academy: History and Current Development", in: *PICES* 7, 11–15; ASSEFA GABRE-MARIAM TESEMMA, "Technical Terms in Amharic: Problems and Solutions", *ibid.*, 91–101; CHRISTINE MCNAB, "From Traditional Practice to Current Policy: the Changing Pattern of Language Use in Ethiopian Education", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 715–27; THE ACADEMY OF ETHIOPIAN LANGUAGES, *The Academy of Ethiopian Languages: Facts and Figures*, Addis Ababa 1986; "The Ethiopian Languages Research Centre: Background and Responsibilities", *Zena Ləssan* 1, 1, 1999, 1–3.

Kebede Hordofa Janko

Ethiopian Language Area

Background

Earlier specialists working in north east Africa noted that there were some characteristics shared by languages of the area, Charles A. ↗Ferguson was the first to propose Ethiopia as an explicit language area (in BendLang 63–76). Areal classification is one of the three generally recognized internal classification frameworks used for languages, the two others being genetic and typological. As Ferguson (1976:63f.) put it, a language area is such that "[the languages] tend to share a number of features which, taken together, distinguish them from any other geographically defined group of languages in the world". The causative mechanism of language areas is diffusion through "borrowings" and multilingualism. Thus, areal and genetic classifications are historical, while typological classification can be ahistorical (e.g. tonal vs. non-tonal).

The Ferguson Features

Ferguson's original insight regarding Ethiopia was supported by eight phonological and eighteen grammatical features, outlined briefly here (for more details and specific examples, s. Ferguson in BendLang; s. ↗Amharic, ↗Bärta, ↗Gəᶜəz, ↗Oromo, ↗Təgrəñña, ↗Wällamo). The phonological [P] features are: P1: /f/ replaces /p/ as the counterpart of /b/ in the phonemic inventory of the language; P2: there is a class of palatal consonants (typically *č*, *ǧ*, *š*, *č̣*, *ñ*) which occur as phonemes and which also replace dental /alveolars in at least one major word class by a phonological process; P3: there is a distinctive series of ejective consonants, typically *p̣*, *ṭ*, *ṣ*, *č̣*, *q*; P4: there is a post-alveolar, often retroflex consonant, often implosive, represented here by /ɗ/; P5: there are distinctive pharyngeal fricatives /ɦ/ and /ᶜ/; P6: lengthened (geminate) consonants are distinctive lexically and are also produced by at least one grammatical process in a major word class; P7: there are one or more central vowels, typically a lowered backed high front vowel (represented herein by /ɪ/ and a lowered backed mid vowel /ɛ/ ; P8: there is a cluster-breaking vowel, usually one of the central vowels, which prevents the occurrence of clusters of more than two consonants.

The grammatical [G] features are: G1: SOV is the basic word order; G2: subordinate clauses precede main clauses; G3: there are high-frequency subordinate verbs meaning 'doing something' or 'having done something'; two forms may occur; they are called "gerund" by Ferguson, but they are more accurately referred to as "converbs"; G4: postpositions; sometimes these occur with preposed antecedents; G5: "quoting clauses" using the verb 'to say' as an auxiliary; G6: compound verbs with 'to say' as an auxiliary; G7: specially formed negative copula, not in the pattern of usual verbal negatives; G8: singular of modified noun is used with numerals and quantity words; G9: possessive suffixes; G10: masculine/ feminine is marked in 1st pers. sg. and 2nd pers. sg. of pronouns and verbs; G11: there is a prefix conjugation with 2nd pers. masc. sg. and 3rd pers. fem. sg. both being marked by *t*-; G12: many words (especially verbs) are formed as consonantal roots which carry the basic lexical meaning and inserted vowel patterns with grammatical meaning; G13: intensives formed by a process of (re-) duplication; G14: "broken" plurals formed by changes in vocalic pattern; G15: formal distinction between independent and subordinate verbs in the imperfective; G16: sporadic use of fem. sg. forms for plural; G17: suppletive or irregular imperative of the verb 'come'; usually the only or one of a few irregular imperatives in the language; G18: some nouns have plural or collective as basic and a singulative affix is needed to form the singular.

Evaluation

In Bender (1997; 2003) it is shown that the above features are really only partially characteristic and apply mainly to the Afrasian languages of Ethiopia and in fact of a broader Northeast African Area (NEA) of Afrasian languages.

The indigenous languages of Ethiopia and its border zone belong to the ↗Semitic, ↗Cushitic, and ↗Omotic families of Afrasian and to the ↗Nilo-Saharan Phylum. Ferguson's sample included five Ethio-Semitic (E-S) languages (Gəʿəz, ↗Təgre, Təgrəñña, Amharic, ↗Čaha) plus ↗Arabic, seven Cushitic languages (↗Beǧa, ↗Awŋi, ↗ʿAfar, Galla [=↗Oromiffa], ↗Somali, ↗Hadiyya and ↗Sidama), but only three Omotic languages (Wällamo [=↗Wälaytta], Ǧanǧäro [↗Yäm], and ↗Käfa) and one Nilo-Saharan language (Añuak [↗Añwaa]). Both Omotic and Nilo-Saharan need better representation.

Half of the phonological features are not very apposite: P2 (palatal consonants) and P6 (geminates) are typological features, too widespread to be useful. P5 (pharyngeals) is too limited, occurring in northern E-S and missing even in the vernacular Arabic of the area. P8 (cluster-breaking vowel) is often vacuous or untestable because consonant clusters are rare. Only P1, 3, 4, 7 are idiosyncratic enough to be useful.

No language in Ferguson's chart (BendLang 69) is positive on all eight phonological features; best are Təgre and Təgrəñña, scoring positively on all but P4. P1 ("f for p") has extended to Nilo-Saharan languages, including Nubian, ↗Kunama, ↗Nara, ↗Kʷama, and Gule, through E-S and Arabic influence. P3 (existence of ejectives) applies to ↗Bärta, ↗Meʾen, ↗Koman, and ↗Gumuz: it is possible that this is a result of NEA influence in Bärta and Meʾen, but original in Koman and Gumuz. P4 (implosive ɗ) is lacking in Ethio-Semitic languages as well as non-Afrasian languages of the area (except possibly for Bärta).

Most of the grammatical features are not very useful. Several are implicational universals following from the basic Subject-Object-Verb order: G2, 3, 4, 9 (s. Greenberg 1966). Two others (G13 and 18) are too typological. Three (G10, 11 partially and 16) depend on grammatical gender of explicitly Afrasian nature. Three others, G11, 12 and 14, are also Afrasian, especially Semitic, idiosyncracies. Feature G7 seems a good choice but it turns out in practice to be too complicated for precise definition. Several (G5, 6 and 15) are promising as areal features, but require for checking better grammars than are sometimes available for languages of the area. The remaining three features (G1, 8 and 17) are fairly idiosyncratic and easy to check.

No language has all 18 features in Ferguson's chart (BendLang 75); Amharic, Təgrəñña, and Čaha, all E-S languages, score positively on all but one (Amharic lacks G14, Təgrəñña lacks G15, and Čaha lacks G16 and is indicated as unknown on G8). All but G3 and G9 are almost universal in the Afrasian languages of the NEA. The most non-conforming Afrasian language is Gə^{c}əz, which became extinct about 1,200 years ago, suggesting that the source of the features is outside E-S and fairly recent in the area. Bender describes as having five tone levels. However, this is dubious since tonal systems are highly typological and the historical mechanism for formation of such an area across the African Sahel is obscure.

One must be cautious in using "language area" as an explanatory concept. The use of this concept to explain geolinguistics is no less problematical than the genetic model. In the present case, much more work and work of a more sophisticated nature is needed, e.g. delving into syntacto-semantic features and lexical diffusion alongside the diffusion of areal features. A combination of genetic, areal, and typological studies is needed to unravel the complexities of Ethiopian language history.

Lit.: Marvin Lionel Bender, "Upside-Down Afrasian", *AAP* 50, 1997, 19–34; Id., "Northeast Africa: a Case Study in Genetic and Areal Linguistics", *APAL. Annual Publication in African Linguistics* 1, 2003, 21–45; Charles A. Ferguson, "The Ethiopian Language Area", in: *BendLang*, 63–76; Joseph Harold Greenberg, *Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements*, in: Id. (ed.), *Universals of Language*, Cambridge, MA 1966, 73–113; Mauro Tosco, "Is There an 'Ethiopian Language Area'?", *Anthropological Linguistics* 42, 3, 2000, 329–65; Klaus Wedekind, "Thoughts When Drawing a Map of Tone Languages", *AAP* 1, 1985, 105–24.

Marvin Lionel Bender

Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library

The EMML (now renamed Hill Museum and Manuscript Library) was originally a joint project between the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (EOTC) central administration in Addis Abäba, the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library (HMML) in Saint John's University (Collegeville, Minnesota) and the Divinity School in Vanderbilt University (Nashville, Tennessee).

Envisioned initially by *abunä* ↗Tewoflos in 1971, the EMML made its first steps through the engagement of Walter Harrelson from Vanderbilt University and Julian Plante, Director of the HMML. An office was opened in Addis Abäba, with Taddäsä Tamrat appointed as its first Director. He was soon replaced by ↗Sərgəw Hablä Śəllase, who, helped by a Committee composed of native scholars and two Americans, served the project with great dedication until 1978. Proper microfilming started in 1973, with the contract given to University Microfilms International (Ann Arbor, Michigan), that would keep the original microfilms and distribute copies to the EOTC, the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES), the Addis Abäba EMML office and the HMML. The project was fully financed by funds raised by HMML in the United States, the two major sources being the U.S. government's National Endowment for Humanities and the Ford Foundation.

The work progressed smoothly until the ↗Revolution in 1974. Sərgəw Hablä Śəllase was henceforth forced to resign and hand over the EMML office to the newly created Ministry of Sports and Culture. The military socialist government nationalized the project, objecting to its relationship with an "imperialist country". A second wave of upheaval took place in 1991 before the microfilming was extended from Šäwa to the regions with strongest literary tradition, such as Gondär, Goǧǧam, Təgray and Eritrea. There are hopes of resuming the joint project, which was suspended in 1987.

The manuscripts preserved by the EMML came from church libraries, monasteries, private individuals, souvenir shops and bazaars. Besides technical problems to access to some monasteries and the mistrust of some manuscripts' owners (even the collections from the ↗National Library and the IES could only be partially filmed) the project had to determine which manuscripts and which particular collections should be filmed. The decision to microfilm entire collections resulted, for instance, in having a huge collection of service books, such as the Psalter, Missal and Funeral Rituals.

Despite all the difficulties encountered, the EMML has fulfilled its goals. Some old manuscripts can nowadays only be consulted in the microfilm version since the originals have already been lost. Furthermore, the work with the microfilmed collections has produced significant contributions to the study of the history of Christianity and of the Ethiopian Church and State. Many of these texts have been edited and the series of catalogues, prepared jointly or separately by William F. Macomber and Getatchew Haile (EMML I–X), have been reviewed favourably. Of about 8,000 manuscripts on microfilm, close to 5,000 have been catalogued and the descriptions published in ten volumes (1975–91). The 11th volume, with descriptions of an additional 1,000 manuscripts is in preparation for print. A project to put the whole catalogue online is already underway (s. the Library's web site *http://www.hmml.org*).

Src.: EMML I–X (esp. prefaces and introductions).
Lit.: WILLIAM FRANCIS MACOMBER, "Two New Projects for Microfilming Oriental Manuscripts", in: WOLFGANG VOIGT (ed.), *XVIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 1. bis 5. Oktober 1972*, Wiesbaden 1974 (ZDMG, Supplement 2), 82ff.; ID., "The Present State of the Microfilm Collection of the Ethiopian Manuscript Library", in: *PICES* 6, 389–96; MICHAEL ANTHONY KNIBB, *Translating the Bible: the Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1999, 4–11.

Getatchew Haile

Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church

History from ancient times till the second half of the 19th cent.

Origins and early history

Despite some confusion in terminology, the literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence leaves little doubt about how ↗Christianity came to Ethiopia. During the late-Roman era, traders and fortune-hunters from the Middle East must have frequented ↗Adulis, the importance of which as an emporium had been recorded quite soon (↗Historical Geography). Some of the voyagers were certainly Christians; they may have settled in Adulis and Aksum and made the locals acquainted with their faith long before it became Aksum's official religion.

↗Rufinus of Aquileia, the 4th-cent. historian, records the most plausible story about the rise of Christianity in Aksum thanks to the activity of Frumentius (*abba* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan) from Tyros, supported then by ↗Athanasius of Alexandria, by whom he was ordained bishop and returned to "India" (i.e., Ethiopia; s. Eusebios of Caesarea 1844, 478–80).

Historically, the elevation of Christianity to the state religion of Aksum happened during the reign of ↗ʿEzana. As no contemporary internal documents testifying Frumentius's activities in Ethiopia have yet been discovered, the story of Ethiopia's first bishop as transmitted by tradition and summarized in the ↗*Sənkəssar* may be a conflation of what has been preserved in internal traditions of Rufinus's account and of the story of another bishop of a different time called *abba* Sälama (s. also Conti Rossini 1922; cp. Getatchew Haile 1979). If Frumentius met Christians in Aksum, there must have been such communities in Adulis, which had a bishop (↗*Eppisqoppos*) at about this time (SerHist 110), and in other cities as well.

While the origins of Ethiopian Christianity are well documented by Greek and Latin sources, there is no reliable evidence for the subsequent development and organization of the Aksumite Church. It can be assumed that, after an initial period in which Greek might have been the language of the church service, during the next two centuries basic service-books, including the ↗Psalter, must have been translated into ↗Gəʿəz, to be followed by the translation of the entire ↗Bible, some patristic works, hagiographies and books of ecclesiastical ↗law. Church tradition places the activities of ↗Yared, inventor of Ethiopian church ↗music, in the 6th cent. The arrival of the ↗Nine Saints from the ↗Byzantine Empire is traditionally placed in the late 5th–early 6th cent.; it is supposed to be an important event having empowered the Church. The Nine Saints are traditionally credited with the introduction of ↗monasticism (the translation of the *Monastic Rules* of ↗Pachomius in the same period cannot be coincidental). According to hagiography, *abba* Mäṭaʿ (↗Libanos), as he came to Aksum, met there a certain *abba* Adḫani, who was already a monk. Church tradition identifies sites where each of the Nine Saints founded his monastic community; ↗Däbrä Damo of *abunä* ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi, one of the oldest monasteries of Ethiopia, remained one of the most-important sanctuaries of the nation throughout the centuries.

The early-6th-cent. traveller ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes, whether directly or indirectly acquainted with the Red Sea area, reports that in Ethiopia and Aksum, as in Persia and the bordering countries, there were "innumerable churches with bishops, large Christian communities and many martyrs and hermit monks" (Wolska-Conus 1968, vol. 1, 504f.). The strength of Christianity and the Church in Aksum at this time is evidenced by the fact that in the 6th cent. King ↗Kaleb, acting as an ally of the ↗Byzantine Empire, had the resources and will to undertake a large-scale punitive expedition to Ḥimyar against ↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar, the persecutor of ↗Nağrān.

From the available sources it is possible to conclude that in 6th-cent. Ethiopia the Church was flourishing. These conditions contributed to the development of the unique Ethiopian Christian culture, extensive ↗Gəʿəz literature being one of its most remarkable results. The state seems to have supported or directly conducted missionary activities: e.g., traditions relate that the late-Aksumite King ↗Dəgnağan sent out a group of 150 clergymen on a mission to Christianize the Amhara in the south and south-west (Conti Rossini 1904:23).

The Zagʷe era

Aksum's significance as the capital ended in about the 9th-10th cent. at the latest. One of the circumstances which caused its fall was most probably a revolt of a non-Christian ethnic group (cp. ↗Ǝsato), which inflicted enormous damage on the Church, including the destruction of the first church in Aksum (s. ↗Aksum Ṣəyon). But the new rulers did not hold power for long. A Christian dynasty, commonly referred to as ↗Zagʷe, took power in about 1137, making Adäfa or Roḥa (↗Lalibäla) in Lasta its centre. The Zagʷe kings, being devout Christians, constructed ↗rock-hewn churches in their home province of Lasta, which became their lasting monumental legacy. Another important religious centre was still the ancient monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Ham (Šəmäzana). Some other spiritual leaders, however, did not recognize this "usurper dynasty" and built a powerful anti-Zagʷe opposition.

The Solomonic Dynasty (13th–19th cent.)

In 1270 the Zagʷe were overthrown by ↗Yəkunno Amlak from ↗Amhara, who claimed to be a descendant of the Aksumite royal family. He "re-established" the ↗Solomonic dynasty. Tradition maintains that the Church played a significant role in his enthronement; it is known that Yəkunno Amlak gained the support of *abunä* ↗Iyäsus Moʾa, the head of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos in Amhara. Some sources describe him also as a close relative of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, the founder of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa; later traditions argued that Yəkunno Amlak rewarded one or another institution with the revenue from "one third of the land of the country".

The period during which Yəkunno Amlak's dynasty controlled the throne produced the most memorable period in Ethiopian Church history. The Emperor's heirs propagated the idea that Ethiopian Christians were Israelites, people chosen by God because they had accepted Christ as the expected Messiah, whereas the Jews rejected him. The religious self-consciousness of Ethiopians was formed and set apart from that of other Christian peoples by two foundational legends (both contained in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*). The first of these claimed that the royal family descended from ↗Mənilək I, son of the biblical King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda); the second, that Ethiopian Christians were the descendants of the first-born Israelites who accompanied Mənilək from ↗Jerusalem, taking the ↗Ark of the Covenant with them, and settled in Ethiopia.

The Church was one of the beneficiaries of the legends and flourished under the protection of the Christian monarchs, the defenders of the Orthodox faith. The Coptic metropolitans and their entourages, as well as Ethiopians who had visited monasteries in Egypt and the Holy Land, brought Arabic religious books that fostered in turn the development of Gəʿəz literature. The monastery of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos and the clergy of the royal camp took the lead in translating such works into Gəʿəz. The literary production grew during the period from *aṣe* Dawit II (1382-1413) to the first half of the 16th cent., marked by the activities of Metropolitan *abba* ↗Sälama the "Translator", the author of the anonymous ↗Rətuʿa Haymanot, *abba* Giyorgis of Gasəčča, *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, *abba* ↗Baḥrəy and many others.

Controversies

The teaching of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (E.O.C.), later (in the second half of the 19th cent.) to become the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (E.O.T.C., **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን**, *Yäʾityoṗya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstiyan*), cannot be asserted from its outset – in the Aksumite age – on the ground of the extant evidence. However, in Solomonic time the basis of the E.O.C. theological teaching was clearly defined and persisted without great changes (↗Theology). Following the ↗Coptic Church, the E.O.C acknowledged the first three ecumenical councils and their decisions: ↗Nicaea (325), ↗Ephesus (341), and Constantinople (381). It rejected the Council of ↗Chalcedon (451), which recognized and identified two natures in Jesus Christ after the union, and all subsequent councils. For the E.O.C., Jesus Christ is one person, the Word Incarnate; He is perfect man and perfect God (later, the term ↗*täwaḥədo* in the Church's official name emphasized its ancient belief in the existence, in Christ, of humanity and divinity in unity). he is one person out of (not in) two natures. As a result, the E.O.C. considers as heretics both ↗Eutychius and ↗Nestorius. Yet the theological position of the E.O.C. as it appeared in the 20th cent. was the outcome of a long development. The entire medieval period of Ethiopian history is characterized by opposition movements that took as their cause, among others, theological issues. Sometimes a controversy was limited to a small circle of the educated ecclesiastics, but sometimes it was of larger scale and posed a real danger for the unity of the Church. However, the unity was never overrun, being supported by the devotion and energy of the Ethiopian emperors and their subjects, as well as by the shared cultural features, common religious consciousness and self-definition of their subjects.

The earliest controversy about the excessive veneration of the Cross and the icon of St. ↗Mary is reported to have happened in the time of the late 13th cent. *aṣe* ↗Yagbəʾ Ṣəyon (s. Conti Rossini 1904a:12ff.). It is not clear what happened to the dissidents, but nothing was heard about this issue for well over 100 years. From the second half of the 14th cent. onwards the sources abound in information on the controversies and disputes within the Church.

The most serious challenge came from the side of the Ewosṭatean movement (↗Ewosṭateans). In the 14th cent. *abunä* ↗Ewosṭatewos defended the observance of Saturday as a holy day like Sunday (↗Sabbath), referring to the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*senodos*; from his Acts it is unclear whether Ewosṭatewos fought to introduce a hitherto-unknown practice or defended an ancient one. The initiative to reject the observance of Saturday as a "Jewish" practice might have come from the Metropolitan and his entourage. Ewosṭatewos left the country, presumably in search of support; his followers in Ethiopia were persecuted. However, after a period of clemency under *aṣe* Dawit II, they regrouped, severed their relations with the Metropolitan and were close to establishing a separate "Church" run by laymen. ↗Däbrä Bizän and its daughter monasteries in Ḥamasen became centres of the Ewosṭatean monastic congregation. In 1450 *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob summoned a Church council at ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq, which – unusually – solved the problem by giving in to the demands of the dissidents (CRRicBerhan II, 145–53; TadTChurch 230f.). The Emperor himself favoured the observance of the Sabbath rest on Saturday. The Ewosṭateans were granted lands and were asked to evangelize the neighbouring regions (s. Conti Rossini 1923:452ff.); in their turn, they agreed to accept Holy Orders from the metropolitans.

During the reign of *aṣe* Yəsḥaq (1413-30), another issue became divisive when the monk ↗Ǝsṭifanos of Däbrä Qoyyäṣa (Təgray) raised his voice against many features of the monastic life, traditionally established in Ethiopia, as contradicting the original rules laid down by the Fathers of monasticism. Securing permission from Metropolitan ↗Bärtälomewos, Ǝsṭifanos began to oppose practices that he considered lax (e.g., many monks did not completely cut their connection with the world and some monasteries accumulated wealth and land possessions). His teaching was followed by many other monks (s. Taddesse Tamrat 1966; Getatchew Haile 1983). Heads of the established monasteries tried to accuse Ǝsṭifanos of violating the established tradition, but *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq decided in his favour. As Zärʾa Yaʿəqob ascended the throne, he was initially sympathetic to Ǝsṭifanos's cause, but gradually changed his position. Ǝsṭifanos did not accept any compromise; he and his followers refused to bow to the Emperor, maintaining that bowing was worshipping and it was prescribed only for the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Ǝsṭifanos died in prison; the movement was suppressed and later did not go beyond a very limited local scale (s. ↗Gundä Gunde).

There were also other conflicts, which arose mostly in the more-educated circles close to the courts of the emperor and metropolitan. E.g., *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob had to deal with scholars who questioned the canonicity of certain scriptures from which he drew evidence against those who challenged his teachings: the Books of ↗Jubilees, ↗Enoch, the Maccabees, *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*kidan zäʾəgziʾənä Iyäsus Krəstos* and ↗*Didəsqəlya* (s. Wendt, in: PICES 1, 140; Getatchew Haile 1982: 193; cp. the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*senodos*, which was never challenged by any of the dissident scholars).

A group of theologians (Zämikaʾel, Gämalyal, Aṣqa; s. ↗Mikaʾelities), developed theological views that were in conflict with those of the Emperor, who was always the spokesman of the Church. They disapproved of the Emperor's obsession with the undue reverence of St. Mary, opposed the imposition of so many Marian feasts to be observed and objected to teaching that observing these feasts exonerated a sinner who had committed heinous crimes.

Diverse opinions on how to reconcile the concept of God's unity and the Trinity are reported to have existed since at least the late 14th cent. (s. ↗Trinity). When *abunä* Bärtälomewos arrived in Ethiopia in 1398/99, a delegation of the Ethiopian clergy questioned his views on the matter (CRRicBerhan II, 126). The next metropolitans, ↗Gäbrəʾel and Mikaʾel, had to answer the same questions (*ibid.*, 131ff.). Some of the ↗Anaphoras seem to have been composed to emphasize the official position of the Orthodox Church. The imagery finally accepted as canonical was three suns (e.g., the three persons of the Trinity) and one light coming from them, representing the one divinity.

Another controversy surrounded the concept that God has an image and at the same time is unlimited and invisible. The Bible speaks about God's ear, eye, and hand (e.g., Ps. 17:6; 43:15; 10:12), but it also states that he is spirit (e.g., 2 Cor 3:17). Zärʾa Yaʿəqob maintained that God has an image that looks like that of man (Getatchew Haile 1983:150). But Zämikaʾel, Gämalyal and Aṣqa disagreed, maintaining that God has no image. However, the Emperor's statement in favour of the "Father in a perfect image of the man", which probably reflects also the common clergy's understanding of the issue, became the official Church position and prevailed (CRRicBerhan II, 128f.). In murals and manuscript illuminations, three elderly persons represented the Trinity.

These "court-centred" opposition groups did not tend to unite with the regional opposition movements. The concepts of the Mikaʾelites had no common points with the "heresies" of which the Stephanites were accused. However, it is worth considering that the heresies might not have originated without the influence of foreign theological thought. The 13th-cent. renewal of the relationship with the Coptic Church activated the process of revision of Biblical texts and re-consideration of the status of some apocryphal works (cp. ↗*Ascension of Isaiah*). Besides, there are hints that the monastic opposition groups looked to foreign ecclesiastical authorities as an alternative to the Ethiopian Church hierarchy (e.g., some of the followers of Ǝsṭifanos, like ↗Ǝzra, are reported to have sought for holy orders outside Ethiopia).

Practice and Ritual

One can assume that some time in the early 16th cent. the rite of the E.O.C., striking its roots in the Church practice of the Aksumite period, took its final shape. It included ↗Circumcision on the eighth day after birth and ↗Baptism (well structured and presumably followed in every church), if a boy, on his 40th day, and if a girl, on her 80th, the ritual for the confirmation with *meron*-chrism being conjoined with that of Baptism. The other Sacraments are Confession, ↗Ordination, ↗Unction and ↗Matrimony. According to the ↗Canon law of the E.O.C. a church marriage cannot be dissolved, but a second marriage may be permitted (and divorce in case of adultery). The serving priest (unless he is a monk) must be married, but in the case that he marries a second time (e.g., after the death of his spouse), he has to give up his ordination and his church service.

The funeral ritual (↗Burial; ↗Funerals; ↗*Fətḥat*), with special procedures and texts for men, women, boys, girls, bishops, priests etc., was established through the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät*. The ritual of the canonical Day and Night Hours (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*säʿatat*) was established at least in the time of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, but perhaps earlier, already in the 14th cent.

It is not known if the ↗*tabot* was already used in Aksumite times; in the later period, the ritual for the establishment of an individual church was focused on the consecrating of the *tabot*, not the ↗church buildings. In the course of time, the Divine Liturgy (s. ↗*Qəddase*), with large parts chanted, was developed into a lengthy and richly elaborated ritual. The Anaphora of the Apostles, the most frequently used, and the Anaphora of Our Lord seem to be the oldest elements of the Ethiopian liturgy (now there are at least 14 ↗Anaphoras for the celebration of the ↗Eucharist for the different occasions). In most of the churches and monasteries the Liturgy is usually celebrated on Sundays and on days of Church celebrations. A distinctive feature of the Liturgy was the "sacred dancing" (and ↗*qəne*-poetry) performed by the ↗*däbtära*. Apart from the ↗Psalter and scriptural Odes, beautiful ↗hymns were an important structural element of both the Canonical Hours and the Divine Liturgy during the entire liturgical year. The division of the liturgical year into four ecclesiastical periods was set up with the establishment of the ↗Calendar (which completed also the order of ↗Feasts and ↗Fasting periods), in particular during the reign of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob.

The veneration of the ↗saints, commemorated on the anniversary of their death, was usually centred on the respective monasteries. There were apparently no official procedures for canonization (however, they could stand behind the creation or revision of such works as ↗*Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä* and *Sənkəssar*). While most of the saints remained locally commemorated, only a few of them enjoyed nation-wide veneration.

The 16th-cent. Muslim wars

The population of the Ethiopian empire was culturally and religiously diverse. As the Church was identified with, and seen as a beneficiary of, the Christian monarchy, every non-Orthodox Christian revolt against the government was directed against the Church as well. The Church institutions must have been targeted by the Fäläša (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel) revolts during the reigns of ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I, Zärʾa Yaʿəqob and other emperors (Wajnberg 1936:56-59; PerrZarY 97f.); churches and monasteries were raided by Muslims (**ተንበላት** *tänbälat*, **እስላማዊ** *əslamawi* or sometimes **አረሚ** *arämi* in Ethiopic sources) and other non-Christians; besides, they were the usual victims of frequent wars, internal conflicts, feuds and banditry (↗*Šəfta*).

The most devastating conflict took place in 1527–43. The onslaught was led by *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"). He took control of ↗ʿAdal by overthrowing the local ruler under the rationale that he had allowed himself to be held subordinate to a Christian ruler. In the course of his campaign Grañ received the help of Arab soldiers and arms from the Ottoman Turks (↗Ottoman Empire). After his victory at ↗Šəmbəra Kʷəre, on 23 March 1529, Grañ's army overran the country within a few months. *Aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl's forces disintegrated. One of the highest ecclesiastics of the Empire, *ʿaqqabe säʿat* ↗Nägadä Iyäsus, accompanied Ləbnä Dəngəl on his desperate flight, but was captured and killed in 1535. The Emperor himself died in 1540, having taken refuge at Däbrä Damo.

The loss to the Church's cultural heritage during those years was incalculable. Christians were forced to embrace the invaders' faith, being otherwise put to death. Monasteries and churches were looted and burned down, this resulting in the destruction of valuable collections of old manuscripts. The clergy tried to save their *tabots* and books, burying them in the ground or hiding them in caves. The monks of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos saved their monastery church from demolition, for the Muslims agreed to take everything made of gold instead of destroying it, but Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, another major sanctuary of the Empire, was burned down. As the main church of the monastery was set ablaze, many monks decided to share its fate and hurled themselves into the fire.

Notwithstanding his victories, Aḥmad Grañ failed to subdue the Highlands. With the help of the Portuguese, Grañ was killed, the Muslim forces were dispersed and retreated in 1543. The Christian victory was preceded by the symbolical renewal of the state-and-church relationship which took place at the meeting of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos and *əč̣č̣äge* ↗Yoḥannəs in Šəme, in 1541, both having just taken up their offices (Ricci 1969-70:183). Gälawdewos retook the country. The E.O.C. started to regain its footing, the process being accompanied by the swift re-building of the churches (cp. ↗Tädbäbä Maryam) and re-conversion of the population. The death of Gälawdewos in the battle with ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid (*əč̣č̣äge* Yoḥannəs also died there) did not change the situation and the Church's revival continued under *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, until the ↗Oromo profoundly altered both the political situation and the ethnic and religious composition of the Empire.

The Jesuit challenge and the Gondärine kingdom

The contacts with the Portuguese resulted in the demand that the Ethiopian Church submit to the Pope of Rome. The ↗Jesuits claimed that the Ethiopian Church harboured the monophysitism heresy of ↗Eutychius and taught Judaic practices. The Orthodox Church responded with the *Confessio* written by *aṣe* Gälawdewos (Ullendorff 1987:156f.). Some Ethiopian sources suggest that Gälawdewos, probably not willing to alienate the Portuguese or fearing the Islamic pressure, was sympathetic to the Catholic demands (s. DombrChr 47f.); in fact, he merely assigned them a site where they could practice and teach their faith (s. ↗Fəremona).

In the second half of the 16th cent. the State and Church had to face the consequences of the ↗Oromo migrations, which lasted until the 18th cent. The growing Oromo pressure, repeated Islamic raids from the east and, beginning in 1557 when the Ottomans took ↗Massawa, also from the north-east, forced the monarchs to move the political centre of the Empire to the surroundings of the Lake Ṭana region. The clergy of many churches took their *tabot*s and followed the rulers. This created, especially during the reign of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl (1563–97), an assembly of the "doctors of the Church" (*liqawənt*; s. Conti Rossini 1893:805). During this period the ecclesiastics (first of all those affiliated to the royal court) made significant progress in creating original works and translating Arabic literature. Christianity took root in neighbouring regions, spreading along with the Emperor's military expeditions (cp. ↗Goǧǧam).

Śärṣä Dəngəl's successors again sought help from the Catholics. When the Jesuit Pedro ↗Paez promised military assistance, the emperors "were so desperate that they did not even ask whether he could deliver it" (Merid Wolde Aregay 1998: 43). Whether convinced by Catholic evangelism or simply left with no choice by the political situation in the country, *aṣe* Zädəngəl (1604–05) began acquiescing to Catholic demands. *Aṣe* Susənyos (1607–32) officially embraced Catholicism and installed, in 1625, the Portuguese bishop Afonso ↗Mendez as Patriarch of the Ethiopian Church.

The attempt to introduce Catholicism failed. Countless Orthodox Christians, including Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Səmᶜon, were martyred by the Emperor's army. Susənyos's demand that all Christians be rebaptized, that the clergy be reordained, and that the Church follow the Latin rite, thereby abandoning their ancient traditions, resulted in unprecedented popular uprisings and prolonged pro-Orthodox rebellions of the local elites in some regions (e.g., in Lasta). Facing fierce resistance, Susənyos abandoned his plans, distanced himself from the Catholics and abdicated in favour of his son Fasilädäs, who immediately declared the restoration of the Orthodox Alexandrian faith. The foreigners were either executed (together with the local followers of the Catholic faith, s., e.g., *ras* ↗Səᶜəlä Krəstos) or expelled; most of the native converts came back to Orthodoxy. This traumatic experience resulted in the long-time rupture of contacts with the Latin Church. Moreover, *aṣe* Fasilädäs (1632–67), fearing that the Catholics would return with a military force, sought closer a relationship with his Islamic neighbours (DonMurad 4–38). It would, however, be a misunderstanding to see in these strategic schemes an intention to embrace Islam.

The subsequent period of the ↗Gondärine kingdom witnessed further controversies within the Ethiopian Church. The principal issue was the unction of Christ, raised as a Christological issue for the first time during the reign of Susənyos (PerChron 216, 237f.; Getatchew 1990: vii). The question was what unction or anointment meant to Christ (e.g. Acts 10:38; Ps 44 [45]: 7). As the Son of God, did Christ need, as other men do, to be anointed to receive the spiritual authority of priesthood, kingship and prophesy? The problem dominated theological debates and divided the ecclesiastics throughout the country into three groups. The "Unctionists" (↗*Qəbat*), particularly strong in Goǧǧam, believed that Jesus Christ became the natural Son of God by the unction of the Holy Spirit. The followers of the *Ṣägga* or "Grace" doctrine (↗*Yäṣägga ləǧ*) believed in "Three Births" (↗*Sost lədät*) and maintained that Christ became the Son of God by grace (i.e., by adoption) at either conception or baptism, which they called a third birth, when he was declared Son of God by the Holy Spirit (they dominated in Gondär and Šäwa). The "Unionists" – *Täwaḥədo* or ↗*Karra* (dominating in Təgray) – taught that Christ became the natural son of God when his divinity was united with his humanity at conception. The *Täwaḥədo* refused, adamantly, the formula "the Father is the anointer, the Son the anointed and the Holy Spirit the ointment" (↗Christology). The division also split the monastic movement – between the rivalling monastic "houses" of Täklä Haymanot, followers of the *Sost lədät*, with their centre in ↗Azäzo, Gondär, and of Ewosṭatewos (*Qəbat*), with their centre, e.g., in ↗Däbrä Wärq, Goǧǧam.

The Church's formal integrity was preserved through both the emperor's power to solve theological controversies and his refusal to allow any faction to establish an independent Church. Generally, the only way for a group to prevail in religious controversies was to win the emperor over to its side, that entailing the official declaration of the faith according to the doctrine of the victorious party (s. Yacob Beyene 1981; Guidi 1893:597-606). The competing groups of ecclesiastics took an active part in the political struggle, supporting rival regional parties. This struggle resulted in such outrageous events as the killing of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I or the massacre of hundreds of monks of "the house of Täklä Haymanot" in 1720 under *aṣe* ↗Dawit III. At the same time, there were periods of remarkable stability and the time of the Gondärine kingdom witnessed an unprecedented flourishing of Christian culture.

The Era of the Princes

The epoch commonly known as "The Era of the Princes" (1769–1855; ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*) brought no new tendencies. The emperors from *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot (1769–77) to the rise of *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa (the future *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II) in 1855 were little more than symbols of a monarchy. Real political power was divided between the ambitious governors or princes of the provinces. The situation deteriorated to the point that the frustrated *abunä* ↗Yosab excommunicated "all the Christians so that they may not take Communion nor come to church" (Conti Rossini 1917:799); he later lifted his excommunication after concluding it would do more harm than good.

Due to the political situation of the period, the institutions of the Church were left without protection. E.g., *ras* Gugsa from Yäǧǧu, whose adherence to Christianity was only a political convenience, sacked churches in Dämbiya and Gaba. Another prince from the same family destroyed the monasteries of Saga, Zoramba and Goraf and sacked the church of Lədäta, built by *aṣe* ↗Yosṭos (Conti Rossini 1917:789). When the Metropolitan died, they sacked his residence, looting the objects which had been kept there since the time of Fasilädäs.

The decline of the Gondärine kingdom was seen in connection with the incapability of the Church to achieve internal unity and numerous examples of the loose morale and low educational standard of the clergy. However, the elite members of the clergy were deeply frustrated by the involvement of the Church in political struggles at the cost of its primarily religious tasks. Many were worried at the encroachment of "non-Orthodox" cultural elements and customs from the "pagan" Oromo, Muslims and Betä Ǝsraʾel, especially in Gondär (despite the "separation" policy attempted already by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I in 1668). Remarkably, were Orthodox ecclesiastics to hold on the idea of a strong Christian state and hope for its restitution.

In a time of deep crisis of both Church and State, still another challenge to the former came from foreign ↗missions, which were permitted by local rulers to stay and proselytize, thus becoming a part of internal Ethiopian politics. As one Protestant missionary recorded, they "dreamt to destroy the house [i.e., the E.O.C.] and build it anew", that is, to build it according to European "architecture and design" (ArEvang 187). With that intent, the missionaries ridiculed Church traditions. When the missionary Samuel ↗Gobat came to Gondär in 1830, the Orthodox accepted him as a man of God, not knowing that he equated their faith with the teachings of the Islamic prophet (s. Gobat 1834:159). Later, the Catholic missionaries were accused by Orthodox ecclesiastics of attempting to win their converts from among Orthodox Christians rather than from among the non-Christian population. However, it took some time before the E.O.C. was to properly respond to this challenge.

The Era of the Princes came to a close with the rise of *aṣe* Tewodros II. He – the then *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa – began his reign by resolving the divide between the two theological groups (the school of "Two Births", or *Täwaḥədo*, and the school of "Three Births", *Sost lədät* or *Ṣägga*), imposing the formula proposed by the new Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Sälama and dismissing the statements of the respective ecclesiastics, that their interpretations are based on the "faith of their fathers". This solution was not based on a broad consensus and the controversy lasted till the council of ↗Boru Meda in 1878. Tewodros's attempts to "discipline" the clergy and implement the policy of "secularization" initially found some sympathy among the populace, but soon caused a deep alienation between the Church and the monarch, which contributed to the fall of the latter.

Src.: DombrChr; EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, "Historia Ecclesiastica", [tr. by RUFINUS TYRANNUS OF AQUILEIA], in: JACQUES-PAUL MIGNE (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 21, Paris 1844, 478–80; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum I. Acta Yāred et Panṭalewon*, Parisiis 1904 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]), 23 (text) = 21 (tr.); ID., *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum I. Gadla Marqorēwos seu Acta Sancti Mercurii*, Paris 1904a (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]); ID., "Due squarci inediti di Cronaca Etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 4ª, 1, 2, 1893, 804–18; ID., "La cronaca reale Abissina dall'anno 1800 all'anno 1840", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 6, 1917, 779–923; ID., "Aethiopica [1]", *RSO* 9, 1923, 365–468 [no. 15 "Un editto di re Zarʾa Yaʿqob per l'Eritrea"]; CRRicBerhan; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Homily in Honour of St. Frumentius Bishop of Axum (EMML 1763 ff.84v-86r)", *ABoll* 97, 1979, 309–18; ID., "The Homily of Ase Zärʾa Yaʿəqob of Ethiopia in Honour of Saturday", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 13, 1982, 196–205; ID., "The Homily of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob in Honour of St. John the Evangelist, EMML 1480, ff. 48r–45v", *OrChr* 67, 1983, 144–66; ID., የአባ፡ ባሕርይ፡ ድርሰቶች (*Yäʾabba Baḥrəy dərsätočč*, 'Abba Baḥrəy and his Writings'), Collegeville 1995 A.M. [2002 A.D.], passim; ID., (ed., tr.), *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zärʾa Yaʿəqob* (*Ṭomarä Təsbəʾt*), Louvain 1991 (CSCO 522; 523 [SAe 95, 96]); IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Di due frammenti relativi alla storia di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 2ª, 2, 1893, 597–605;

Samuel Gobat, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia*, London 1834 [repr. New York 1969]; PerrZarY; PerChron; Isaak Wajnberg, *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerana 'Egzī'*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106); Wanda Wolska-Conus, *Cosmas Indicopleustès, La topographie chrétienne*, Paris 1968, vol. 1, 504f.

Lit.: "Äthiopien", in: Walter Kasper (ed.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 1, Freiburg im Bresgau 1993, 1146–57; ArEvang; Ignazio Guidi, "Abyssinie (Église d')", in: Alfred Baudrillart (ed.), *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, vol. 1, Paris 1912, 210–27; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Un'epigrafe greca aksumita (*RIÉth* 274)", in: Vincenzo Poggi – Luca Pieralli (eds.), *Εὐκοσμία. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro) 2003, 243–55 (Lit.); Getatchew Haile, "Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *OrChr* 65, 1981, 102–36; Id., "The Cause of the Ǝsṭifanosites: a Fundamentalist Sect in the Church of Ethiopia", *Paideuma* 29, 1983, 93–119; Id., *The Faith of the Unctionists in the Ethiopian Church (Haimanot Mäsiḥawit)*, Lovanii 1990 (CSCO 517 [SAe 91]); Merid Wolde Aregay, "The Legacy of Jesuit Missionary Activities in Ethiopia from 1555 to 1632", in: Getatchew Haile et al. (eds.), *The Missionary Factor in Ethiopia* ..., Frankfurt am Main 1998, 31–56; SerHist; Taddesse Tamrat, "Some Notes on the Fifteenth Century Stephanite 'Heresy' in the Ethiopian Church", *RSE* 22, 1966, 103–15; TadTChurch; Edward Ullendorff, "The *Confessio Fidei* of King Claudius", *JSS* 32, 1987, 159–65; DonMurad; Kurt Wendt, "Die theologischen Auseinandersetzungen in der äthiopischen Kirche zur Zeit der Reformen des XV Jahrhunderts", in: *PICES* 1, 137–46; Yaqob Beyene, *L'unzione di Cristo nella teologia etiopica*, Roma 1981 (OrChrA 215).

Getatchew Haile

History from the second half of the 19th cent. to 1959

After the death of Tewodros II and the short reign of ↗Täklä Giyorgis II, *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV inherited a weak and divided empire. Seeking a remedy in religious nationalism, he adopted the principle of "one faith in one country". Even though his actual religious policy (of which only the repressive aspect is frequently stressed) was rather complex, it is a matter of fact that he considered religious differences and European missionary activities in Ethiopia as a serious threat, both to his own sovereignty, and to the independence of the country. In 1878 the council at ↗Boru Meda was summoned, the last Church council of this kind. It passed a resolution condemning the *Sost lədät* and, as an additional, but very important issue, on the status of the cult of the Virgin Mary in Christian worship (with a change in the liturgical statement "worshipping her with her Son is meet" into "worshipping her Son and bowing before her are meet"). After the death of *abunä* Sälama, there was no metropolitan in the country, but Yoḥannəs acquired a letter from the Coptic Patriarch in which the teaching proclaimed at the council was recognized as official and binding. His aim was to secure harmony within the E.O.C. and also to facilitate the conversion of the entire population of Ethiopia. The latter appeared crucial to the Emperor in view of the growing external and internal Muslim danger from ↗Egypt (the occupation of Bogos and Harär), the lords of Wällo, and later from the ↗Mahdists. His methods ranged from promises to secure a convert's position and elevate him (*ras* ↗Mikael of Wällo), if he was a member of the local elite, to direct pressure; "Christians, Muslims and pagans were given two, three, and five years respectively to confirm" (Marcus 1975:38). An attempt was made to ban such "non-Christian" practices as smoking. This policy was followed by some of Yoḥannəs's subjects – *ras* Adal Täsämma (↗Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam) and Mənilək of Šäwa.

Intending to animate the evangelistical efforts of the E.O.C. – by now formally E.O.T.C. – and strengthen its administration, *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV succeeded in 1881 in obtaining four Coptic bishops from Egypt at once – a unique achievement for Ethiopia, which had usually received only one bishop at a time. One of these four bishops, *abunä* ↗Peṭros, was appointed Metropolitan, *abunä* ↗Matewos was sent to *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa, *abunä* Luqas was sent to Goğğam and *abunä* Yoḥannəs to Bägemdər.

After the death of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs in 1889 at Mätämma, *aṣe* Mənilək, eager to consolidate his authority and to centralize the administrative system of the state, changed the entire religious policy. He was realistic enough not to enforce Christian faith upon all the population of his growing Empire, but cared mostly about the unity of the Church. Mənilək's principle was "one Church under one Metropolitan". The hierarchy of the Coptic bishops brought by Yoḥannəs was altered: bishop Matewos was made Metropolitan instead of Peṭros. The centre of religious life of the country shifted again to the south, to the old monasteries and churches favoured by the rulers of the Šäwan dynasty, the dominant position among them soon being assumed by Däbrä Libanos.

Apart from ecclesiastical matters, Mənilək succeeded in obtaining Matewos's cooperation in Ethiopian internal politics. It was precisely

Matewos who was now responsible for bringing Coptic teachers for the first modern Ethiopian school (which remained under the control of the Church; s. ↗Mənilək II Secondary School), acting as *de facto* minister of education and also taking part in several important diplomatic missions. Formally Matewos was not Mənilək's subject, but he served him loyally and only in rare cases did his loyalty to the Coptic Patriarchate prevail over his loyalty towards the Ethiopian monarch. After Mənilək became paralysed in 1909, Matewos's power grew considerably (in his later years he brought under his control the important office of the ↗*liqä kahənat*), but he acted in favour of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, Mənilək's official heir, safeguarding Mənilək's succession edict and against the interference of Empress ↗Ṭaytu. However, during the ↗Coup d'état of 1916 (s. EAE, vol. 5) Matewos changed his position and withdrew his support, which was decisive for Iyasu's overthrow.

During this period, the E.O.T.C. and its clergy envisaged a number of new challenges, but there were a few qualitative changes. The Metropolitan's office was permanently established in Addis Abäba, where many new churches were built. The spread of Christianity in the conquered southern territories was intense, but it went with no systematic program and followed mostly traditional manner, through the dispersal of the settlers from the north (cp. ↗*čäwa*; ↗*näfṭäñña*). Initially, new churches were built mostly for them (cp. ↗*Kätäma*). Conversion became obligatory for local non-Amhara elites if they intended to be incorporated into the ruling system of the empire, with their leading role recognized (cp. ↗*balabbat*). This was accompanied by an intensive process of cultural assimilation and resulted in the conversion of large numbers of people; at the same time, because it was considered as a part of imperial policy, this evangelization encountered fierce resistance in many places.

The history of the E.O.T.C. from the late 1920s till the revolution of 1974 was shaped by the figure of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. Already in the 1920s he (then *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən) demonstrated his concern about church reforms. The Church Constitution of 16 September 1926 expanded the authority of the *əččäge* and established the Holy Synod. In 1928 Täfäri was elevated to *nəguś* in the absence of the Metropolitan. It was clear to the new Ethiopian political leader that modernizing monarchy needed a loyal Metropolitan chosen among the Emperor's subjects (the idea having been already expressed several years before, along with criticism of *abunä* Matewos) and that the formal hegemony of the Coptic Church should end. In 1926 the Coptic Patriarch was approached with a request that authority should be delegated to the new Metropolitan to consecrate bishops, but it was only in 1929, after careful negotiations, that a new Coptic metropolitan, Cyril (*abunä* ↗Qerəllos), was appointed and five Ethiopian monks were ordained diocesan bishops. Further movement to autochephaly was hindered by the opposition on the part of Ethiopian traditionalists and the Coptic Patriarchate.

The next several years saw cautious attempts at reforms. In 1930, *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən's coronation was a purely traditional religious ceremony. The role of the E.O.T.C. was not defined in the ↗Constitution of 1931, but the *abun* put his signature to it. In January 1931 the regulations concerning the dioceses and the incomes of the bishops were issued. Already before the coronation, the decree of 21 July 1930 obliged local governors to build churches. A land-law of 19 September 1930 made provisions concerning church lands also. It was followed by other decrees concerning both the particular church institutions (e.g., March 1932 on Addis ʿAläm) and the entire country (April 1933 on ↗*täzkar*).

The reforms were interrupted by the ↗Italian war of 1935–36 and the occupation. The clergy (especially the members of the ↗Ethiopian Patriotic Association) rallied the people to resist. But the main Ethiopian forces were quickly defeated and Ḫaylä Śəllase left the country, accompanied by some high-ranking ecclesiastics (it was decided that *abunä* Qerəllos should stay). On 9 May 1936 the establishment of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana (AOI) was proclaimed. Initially, the policy of terror against the E.O.T.C. was promoted by Governor-General ↗Graziani (until his withdrawal in November 1937). Eradicating any resistance from the side of the clergy, Italians welcomed those expressing loyalty. Many ecclesiastics submitted and welcomed the Italians (including the *abun*, who was later accused by the Ethiopians of being too collaborative) and even acted against the ↗Resistance movement. It was clear, however, that in many cases this submission was not sincere and was aimed at saving lifes and privileges and sparing church institutions from destruction. In fact many ecclesiastics joined the Resistance fighters or helped them by acting as "undercover agents" (የውስጥ፡ አርበኞች, *yäwəsṭ arbäññočč*).

Repression against the E.O.T.C. did not stop during the occupation. The best-known case was the extermination of hundreds of monks of Däbrä Libanos on 20 May 1937 for allegedly sheltering those who had made an attempt on ↗Graziani's life (↗Abrəha Däboč̣; ↗Mogäs Asgädom). Less known are the reprisals against ↗Maḫbärä Śəllase, ↗Zəqʷala, ↗Däbrä Mäwiʾ, St. Michael church in Addis Abäba (in 1946, at the Paris Peace Conference, it was even claimed that up to 2,000 churches were destroyed during the occupation). On 1 July 1936 the Italians executed *abunä* Ṗeṭros, and in October, *abunä* Mikaʾel, who refused to collaborate with them.

The AOI administration understood well the monarchic and patriotic nature of the E.O.T.C. In order to counterbalance its influence, the Italians proclaimed "freedom of religion" (the decree of 18 June 1936) and promoted other confessions, particularly Islam, trying to sharpen confessional and ethnic differences. At the same time, the Italians were cautious enough to keep the traditional economic foundation of the E.O.T.C. largely untouched. New churches were built, many others were repaired and received subsidies (Däbrä Libanos was also re-established some time in 1938 or 1939). Some high ecclesiastics got salaries; the celebration of the Christian ↗feasts was respected and attended by the members of the Italian administration.

The Italians wanted to sever the ties between the E.O.T.C. and the Coptic Patriarchate. In spite of heavy pressure, *abunä* Qerəllos refused to collaborate and was sent to Italy to meet the members of the Fasicst government (also ↗Mussolini), from where he retired to Cairo in self-imposed exile. Taking advantage of this, the Italians convened an ecclesiastical assembly which elevated the old Bishop Abrəham to archbishop; on 1 December 1937 the Ethiopian Church was proclaimed independent. In December 1938 the Coptic Synod and Patriarch John XIV excommunicated Abrəham and those consecrated by him.

Abrəham died in July 1939 and *əč̣č̣äge* (previously *nəburä əd*) Yoḥannəs was made patriarch. On 28 June 1940 a new Constitution was issued for the Ethiopian Church, but the time for its implementation was running out. Meanwhile *əč̣č̣äge* Gäbrä Giyorgis (the future Patriarch *abunä* ↗Basəlyos) was living in exile in Jerusalem, dispatching from there priests to minister to the Christians in exile, including the community in Bath (England), where Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I lived. Epistles were sent to Ethiopia to encourage the Resistance fighters, who in the meantime made substantial gains and undermined Italian rule. Goǧǧam appeared to be the most difficult area for the occupiers, where entire districts were under the patriots' control; Goǧǧami clergy had boycotted the appointment of *abunä* Abrəham.

In June 1940 Italy entered ↗World War II. On 20 January 1941, *əč̣č̣äge* Gäbrä Giyorgis joined Ḫaylä Śəllase who, accompanied by a small Ethiopian unit, crossed into Goǧǧam from the Sudan, while British forces engaged the Italians from three directions. The Emperor travelled via ↗Däbrä Marqos and on 5 May entered Addis Ababa.

After the Liberation, Ḫaylä Śəllase granted pardon to the priests-collaborators. They and those ordained under the Italians, with the exception of a few cases, were allowed to minister. *Abunä* Qerəllos was permitted to return and he resumed his duties in 1942. While the Coptic Church sought to re-establish the former dependency of the E.O.T.C., it was clear that the relations between the two Churches should be redefined. It was also obvious that the Emperor and the Ethiopian government would not accept the autochephaly created under the Italians. Consequently, the process had to be reinitiated.

In 1942 the Coptic Synod lifted the previous excommunication. In the ensuing period of difficult negotiations, nationalist sentiments in Ethiopia grew and the pressure on the Coptic Patriarchate increased. In June 1945, the Coptic Synod rejected the Ethiopian requests for autonomy. In response, in November 1945, the newly elected Ethiopian Ecclesiastical Council demanded immediate autocephaly, but Ḫaylä Śəllase and the imperial government appealed to their subjects to exercise patience. A new Ethiopian mission brought to Cairo Ḫaylä Śəllase's personal letter that the Ethiopian demands should be met, in order to maintain in the future good relations between the two Churches. In July 1948 it was agreed that Ethiopian monks might be appointed as bishops during the lifetime of *abunä* Qerəllos and, upon his death, an Ethiopian metropolitan might be consecrated. Immediately thereafter, five monks (among them Basəlyos and *abunä* ↗Tewoflos, also a future patriarch), who had already been elected in January, were consecrated bishops in Cairo.

After the death of *abunä* Qerəllos on 22 October 1950, in January 1951 Basəlyos was elected by the council of ecclesiastics and government officials for further elevation. In Cairo, on 14 January, the Coptic Patriarch Yosab consecrated Basəlyos as the first Ethiopian archbishop. On 28 June 1959, in the presence of Ḫaylä Śəllase and President Ǧamāl ᶜAbd an-Nāṣir, the Coptic Patriarch Cyril VI elevated Basəlyos as the first Ethiopian patriarch. The event marked the beginning of a new autocephalous era in the history of the E.O.C.T.

Lit.: RICHARD CAULK, "Religion and State in Nineteenth Century Ethiopia", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 23–41 (Lit.); CrumMis; HAROLD MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II. Ethiopia 1944–1913*, Oxford 1975, 38; YOLANDE MARA, *The Church of Ethiopia: the National Church in the Making*, Asmara 1972; SERGEW HABLE SELLASIE (ed.), *The Church of Ethiopia. A Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa 1970; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Italienerzeit in Äthiopien 1935–1941*, Heidelberg 2002; CALVIN E. SCHENK, *The Development of the EOTC and Its Relationship with the Ethiopian Government from 1930 to 1970*, Ph.D. thesis, New York University 1972 (Lit.); ID., "The Italian Attempt to Reconcile the Ethiopian Orthodox Church: the Use of Religious Celebrations and Assistance to Churches and Monasteries", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 125–50.

Sevir Chernetsov

History from 1959 to 1974

From the time after the Liberation, especially from the obtaining of complete autocephaly of the Church, which took place in 1959, the reform of the structure of the Church was brought forward, being promoted by the initiatives and will of the Emperor himself (the outline of these reforms had already been prepared before 1935). Different evaluations have been given to this complex process, the main outcome of which was the centralization of the church administration: it is a matter of fact that the structure of the E.O.T.C. changed very much during the first two decades after the end of the Italian occupation. It is believed that the Emperor profited much from the post-war conditions of the country: the absence of a strong opposition to the innovations and consolidation of his personal political power (in particular after the complete withdrawal of the British Military Administration in the 1950s).

The first official document concerning the E.O.T.C., issued soon after the Emperor's return to Ethiopia on 10 March 1942, was the "Regulations for the Administration of the Church" (*Nägarit Gazeṭa*, 30 November, 1942). The document stipulated that church lands should pay tax at the same rate as secular lands; the collected tax (paid in cash) was to be transferred to the central treasury of the E.O.T.C. and be used for the E.O.T.C. needs (these regulations were amended by the 1944 and 1947 Proclamations: e.g., lands were exempted from the taxation). The officials of the Central Treasury were to be appointed by the Ecclesiastical Council and approved by the Emperor. The local churches were obliged to report about their incomes to the Central Treasury. The ordinary matters of Church administration were left to the responsibility of the Ecclesiastical Council; the number of the clergy assigned to the churches was fixed and the jurisdiction of the Church was limited to spiritual matters alone.

The regulations of the 1940s provided the base for a new system of Church government, through the offices of the Patriarchate and Holy Synod, which took its more-or-less final shape in the early 1960s. At that time the number (14) and the borders of the dioceses were brought into correspondence with those of the provinces, so that the church administrative structures were built out in parallel to those of the imperial administration. The extension and the modernization of Church government continued afterwards (e.g., with the creation of the important Administrative Board and the Office of its Director in 1969). Considerable progress was made in the establishment of the Church educational institutions and the launching of the social activities.

Of crucial importance was the end of the long isolation of the E.O.T.C., which was happening along with the growing recognition and respect that the imperial government (and, above all, the Emperor personally) enjoyed on the international scene. In 1948 the Ethiopian delegation, led by *abunä* ↗Tewoflos and *blatta* ↗Märsəᶜe Ḥazän Wäldä Qirqos, participated at the founding-assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Amsterdam (in 1972 the annual assembly was hosted in Addis Abäba); the E.O.T.C. was regularly represented at the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) since its beginning in 1963 at Kampala. The relations with the Eastern Orthodox Churches were given a new impetus as the Ethiopian delegation attended the 1961 Pan-Orthodox Conference at Rhodes. In 1960s there was an exchange of high-ranking delegations with the Greek, Rumanian and Russian Orthodox Churches; the good relations with the Oriental Orthodox Churches were strengthened also by co-operation in other fields (the ties with the Indian Malankara Church were particularly remarkable). Of special importance was the conference of the (five) Oriental Orthodox Churches organized by Ḫaylä Śəllase in 1965 (it was followed by the establishment of the Standing Committee and a secretariat in Addis Abäba). However, since the late 1960s these activities were increasingly hindered by financial difficulties.

As to the non-Orthodox Churches, the Emperor, who never gave the slightest occasion to doubt his Orthodox identity, encouraged the activities of the Catholic and Protestant missionaries in 1941; the decree of 1944 opened also Orthodox areas for the missionary medical and educational services. Attempting to promote the dialogue with the Catholics, Ḫaylä Śəllase visited the Vatican and Pope Paul VI in 1970. Yet, in Ethiopia, the relationship between the Orthodox community and missions or new religious movements, being generally good, occasionally became tense (in particular in the late 1960s); the conflict situations ranged from the Orthodox activists blaming the missions for the undermining of the Orthodox community to the governmental persecutions of religious movements too different from the official Church (such as the 1971 persecution of the Pentecostals).

The modernization of the E.O.T.C., with a clear tendency to centralization, was accompanied by difficulties and problems. Quite the contrary to the top of the E.O.T.C. hierarchy, the organization of the local churches and monasteries, retaining much of their old nature, varied considerably from one region to another. In spite of the Patriarchate's measures, many of them remained semi-autonomous; consequently, the distribution of properties and lands among the local church institutions remained very uneven. The co-operation between the Patriarchate and the dioceses was not always smooth. The implementation of the Patriarchate's decrees encountered considerable local opposition, that additionally fuelled the old tensions and regionalist movements in which the local clergy played against the measures of central Church and secular government. E.g., in the 1940s the Goǧǧami clergy refused to accept the new regulations; the same matter caused a large delegation of Goǧǧami priests to come to the Emperor in 1964, and, finally, contributed to the 1968 popular uprising in Goǧǧam.

Though the top of the E.O.T.C. hierarchy was successfully integrated into Ḫaylä Śəllase's state machinery, the administration of the E.O.T.C. could not work effectively. The modern Church government required an educated personnel that was lacking. Understanding the need to introduce into the E.O.T.C. modern, theological education, Ḫaylä Śəllase personally initiated the establishment of the Theological School of the Holy Trinity in 1944 and this was followed by the opening of some other modern institutions, run with the help of other Oriental Orthodox Churches. Yet after some years of relatively successful work, there appeared problems: on the one side, the graduates of this and other Church theological institutions were not eager to occupy less-prestigious positions in the E.O.T.C.; on the other side, the Church hierarchy was reluctant to accept educated people with modern attitudes. Later, the situation in the field of Church ↗education was reflected in the serious conflict around the Theological School (since 1962 a faculty of the Ḫaylä Śəllase I University; s. ↗Holy Trinity Theological College), which was temporarily closed in 1973.

The complex relations between the Church and State during that period still wait for their evaluation; it is clear that, as in the past, the Church provided the ideological foundation for the monarchy, but it was not the institution through which the Emperor could implement his actual politics. In theperiod 1942–60 the support of the Church for the monarchy and for the Emperor personally was beyond any doubt. The E.O.T.C. backed the imperial politics concerning Eritrea; the Church in Eritrea was committed to union with Ethiopia and co-operated with the Unionist Party (*↗Maḥbär fəqri hagär*); the churchmen played an important role in the abolition of the ↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation (cp. ↗Dəmeṭros Gäbrä Maryam). The loyalty of the E.O.T.C. was proved by the ↗Coup d'état of 1960 (s. EAE, vol. 5), when the clerics and Patriarch Basəlyos excommunicated the rebels (some of whom, e.g., ↗Gärmame Nəway, were known for their radical anti-clerical views).

Instead of the modernizing politics adopted by the Emperor and the gradual spread of modern education, the influence of the E.O.T.C. remained immense. However, on the political scene the influence of the ecclesiastics (though many of them were delegated into the imperial government) did not take the form of organized lobbying of Church interests. As a matter of fact, while being frequently described as a major landowners of the country, the E.O.T.C. as an institution did not accumulate any substantial wealth. Moreover, the centralization of the Church administration resulted in its subordination to the State. The Emperor pursued a deliberate policy of control over the Church, with the purpose of depriving it of any political power. This meant that, first, any attempt of Church reform was limited by the personality of Ḫaylä Śəllase and, second, the crisis of the monarchy, which was obvious in the early 1970s, resulted in a deep crisis of the Church.

In 1968 the Emperor's decree authorized the Ministry of Finance to collect church taxes and transfer then to the Church, but this solution did not work out properly and in the 1970 the E.O.T.C. announced that it had extreme financial difficulties (at the same time, reportedly, up to 20 % of the Church budget was consumed by the Patriarchate). The E.O.T.C. saw itself endangered from the side of the missionary churches, which, being more capable of adapting to the contemporary needs of the people and getting substantial financial support from outside, were making gains in Ethiopia. The E.O.T.C. became object of growing criticism from the side of different opposition groups (joined also by Orthodox activists, s., e.g., ↗Haymanotä Abäw) accused of being a stagnant and passive institution. There was deep division and growing tension between the high ranks of the hierarchy and the Church and its clergy at the "grass-roots" level. The mounting problems and resentments found an outcome in the events of the Revolution of 1974, when – quite the opposite to 1960 – the clergy remained remarkably indifferent to the deposition of Ḫaylä Śəllase. The clergy joined the mass uprising when they went on demonstration against Patriarch Tewoflos. The Revolution led to a dramatic change of the E.O.T.C.'s formal position within the Ethiopian state.

Lit.: CrumMis; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens. Eine Bestandsaufname*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22); GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia: Power and Protests. Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 1991 (African Studies Series 71), 169, 176f., 179f.; LevWax; CALVIN E. SCHENK, *The Development of the EOTC and its Relationship with the Ethiopian Government from 1930 to 1970*, Ph.D. thesis, New York University 1972 (Lit.).

Red.

Church organization in history

For Ethiopia, the Church has been as much a national institution as the monarchy and the two have been intertwined. The state was called መንግሥት፡ መሲሓዊት (*mängəśt mäsiḥawit*, 'Christian [lit. Messianic] Kingdom'). The emperor was de facto the head of the Church and presided over Church councils dealing with religious matters. The clergymen argued in defence of their theological positions, but in case of disagreement the emperor's word usually sealed the official position of the Church.

In the Middle Ages the ecclesiastics, especially monks, were the only educated social group, monasteries and churches being the only centres of education. Consequently, in religious and political matters, where other qualities than military skills were needed, the monarch was frequently assisted by the ecclesiastics: be it sufficient here to recall that the emperor's secretary and chronicler, ↗*ṣäḥafe tə'əzaz*, was usually recruited from amongst the monastic clergy. Of particular importance were the so-called *kahənatä däbtära* (lit. 'clergy of the tent, or tabernacle'), i.e., the priests of the royal-camp church. They were known for their high education and piety (the famous ↗Giyorgis of Gassəč̣č̣a, e.g., was one of them); and it is generally assumed that they resided near the emperor. Pursuing his policy of centralization, *aṣe* ↗Zär'a Yaᶜəqob gathered capable ecclesiastics from churches and monasteries, installing them in the civil administration. Since the 15th cent. heads of at least some monasteries and churches were always at the side of the emperor; others were frequently summoned from their places in the provinces whenever their service was needed.

It is perhaps due to the relative weakness of its organization that the E.O.C. was only partially successful in its campaigns against magical practices, inherited from ancient autochthonous religions. The most furious one took place under *aṣe* Zär'a Yaᶜəqob, who mercilessly persecuted both those suspected of being fortune-tellers, soothsayers and sorcerers, and those accused of consulting them (CRRicBerhan I, 23f., 114f.); he kept condemning magic and its adepts in his writings (cp. Getatchew Haile 1991:66-77; s. ↗*Ṭomarä təsbə'ət*). However, he had little success.

The nominal head of the Church was the Coptic patriarch; he chose an Egyptian monk and ordained him a metropolitan for Ethiopia. In Ethiopia the power and influence of such a metropolitan were usually rather limited and his primary task was to ordain priests and deacons and consecrate *tabots*. The *abun*'s position was undermined by the fact that the substantial sum of money necessary for obtaining a metropolitan from Egypt was provided by the emperors, who also covered the costs of metropolitans' living while in tenure in Ethiopia. Some ecclesiastical offices acquired much influence and used to substitute for the metropolitan in internal church matters: these was, first of all, the *nəburä əd* of Aksum, the *ʿaqqabe säʿat* of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos and, somewhat later, the *əč̣č̣äge* of Däbrä Libanos (who was considered to be the head of all the Ethiopian monasteries).

Generally, churches and monasteries used to have a high degree of independence and relied heavily on their local basis rather than on the head of the E.O.C. In the course of the history, many of them assumed important political and cultural roles; at different times some of them flourished, being favoured by the monarchs or nobility, but then declined and even disappeared. In particular, Ethiopian monasticism is characterized by a high degree of independence from the metropolitan, the head of the Church hierarchy. The formal acceptance of the metropolitan's highest authority was expressed through the receiving of Holy Orders (and consecration of the *tabot*) that required the personal presence of the candidates or representatives of the different monastic institutions. Besides, the usual situation was that the metropolitans normally had few possibilities to intervene in internal matters of monasteries and local churches or impose on them any obligations; at the same time, however, they were not due to provide them with regular support.

It is believed that, historically, the E.O.C. did not have a central administration until it became autocephalous in the 20th cent. The issue, in fact, has not been investigated in detail yet. While this assumption is particularly relevant for the churches (↗Churches and church administration), the monastic communities had a better organization; in this respect, should be recalled the attempts of the 14th-cent. *abunä* ↗Yaʿəqob. He intended to build a monastic administration in the (mostly central and southern) provinces of the empire for their co-ordinated Evangelization. At some periods the monastic congregations of Täklä Haymanot and Ewosṭatewos consisted of a substantial number of communities under the central (both religious and administrative) authority – and they were particularly known for their effective internal administration.

The supervision of the serving clergy was in the hands of the *liqä kahənat.* For the 15th – early 16th cent. there are scattered reports about other *nəburanä əd* or *mämhəran*, who, usually residing in major monasteries, must have represented the highest ecclesiastical authority in different provinces. In urgent cases, these officials obtained support and protection from the monarchs (or from the local authorities, which tended to the alliance with the local – not imposed – church institutions). At the same time, the emperors frequently intervened in Church issues, appointing their candidates to important Church offices and even deposing and appointing heads of the important monasteries.

The emperor or the members of the aristocracy were frequent patrons of new churches and new monasteries, but it was not an uncontrolled process. Any church or monastery, built either by the emperor or by the community, had to provide a grant of land to support its clergy. The clergy, who could come from anywhere in the country, would include, at a minimum, its head (*↗Aläqa*), "administrator" (*↗Gäbäz*), head of the church cantors (*↗Märigeta*) and archdeacon (*liqä diyaqonat*; *↗diyaqon*). Churches within a province would have had a *liqä kahənat.* The land-grant was divided among the clergy according to the position each was supposed to hold. The "founding" group that came from around the country were known as *təkl* (lit. 'planted', 'installed'). When members of this group died, their descendants were entitled to their property. If an inheritor was unable to provide service to the church, because he or she was an absentee, untrained or was female, he or she was entitled to hire another to perform the service.

Src.: CRRicBerhan I, 23f., 114f.

Lit.: DillmZarY 45–53; SerHist; Getatchew Haile (ed., tr.), *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zärʾa-Yaʿəqob* (*Ṭomarä Təsbəʾt*), Louvain 1991 (CSCO 522, 523 [SAe 95, 96]); Taddesse Tamrat, "Some Notes on the Fifteenth-Century Stephanite 'Heresy' in the Ethiopian Church", *RSE* 22, 1966, 103–15; TadTChurch; Kurt Wendt, "Die theologischen Auseinandersetzungen in der äthiopischen Kirche zur Zeit der Reformen des XV. Jahrhunderts", in: *PICES* 1, 137–46.

Getatchew Haile – Denis Nosnitsin

Church organization today

Legal status

Under Ḫaylä Śəllase I, the legal status of the E.O.T.C. within the Ethiopian (Christian) state was clearly fixed and implied in the Revised Constitution of Ethiopia of 1955 (chs. 126-27), the Civil Code, the Penal Code and the Commercial Code. According to these documents, the E.O.T.C. was "the established Church supported by the State". The Church was not separated from the State. The State granted assistance to the Church in many forms. The Church organization and secular administration were to be governed by law. The Emperor was acknowledged as the protector of the Church and the "Defender of the Orthodox Faith".

After the ↗Revolution of 1974, under the *Därg*, notwithstanding the switch of the official ideology to Marxism-Leninism, neither could the influence of the E.O.T.C. be brought down, nor could its role in the society be drastically diminished. Though the E.O.T.C. suffered substantial losses, many churches were built during the *Därg*-period. In fact, the E.O.T.C. had to cooperate with the Revolutionary government. In 1975 and until 1977 the government intervened in the affairs of the E.O.T.C. by appointing a provisional committee of archbishops, senior churchmen and civil servants in order to arbitrate in the dispute between two factions, the former patriarchal administration and the pro-change group. The co-operation between Church and State continues until today, even though according to the 1994 Constitution (art. 27) Church and State were separated.

Internal structure

In the time of the Patriarch *abunä* Basəlyos the governing body of the E.O.T.C. became the Holy Synod under the leadership of the Patriarch for religious affairs, and the Administrative Board for secular affairs. The Holy Synod's decisions were implemented by the archbishops in each diocese through different administrative units such as youth and education, church treasury, and mission work. The Central Secretariat or Church Office (*betä kahənat*) was led by the Chief Executive or Administrator General, appointed by the Emperor.

Another important reform was the creation of parish councils; the Regulations of the Parish Administration Council (or Parish Council) of the E.O.T.C. were issued by the Holy Synod in 1972. This parish council was established as a body under each diocesan administration. Its purpose, powers and duties, composition, financial and property administration and structure (Diocesan Council, General Assembly, etc.) were printed in the first issue of *Qalä ʿAwadi* (October 25, 1972; it became the name of both the Parish Regulation and the E.O.T.C. official gazette). The purpose of the parish council was proclaimed as giving spiritual services, establishing schools, expanding the Christian faith, rendering social services, improving the administration of the parish churches, maintaining and developing Church property and carrying out any other activities related to the Church within its parish (cf. art. 5). It had to co-operate with government and private institutions to achieve its purposes (cf. art. 6). The parish council was supposed to have an administrative council, an administrator, a chief clerk and other necessary staff (art. 7). The *Qalä ʿAwadi* was revised in 1978 and, for the last time, in 1999, with some minor internal changes (e.g., the set or names of the chart), without affecting the main content and objectives: "... to strengthen the unity and organization of the Church".

Through a stratified organization, the parish-council system bound parishes to the Patriarchate. The council of a parish church (↗*Aṭbiya*) became the basic unit, with a general council composed of clergy and a large proportion of laity members (including women). The members were to meet in order to hear reports of the parish activities, to pass new decisions and to approve the parish budget. An executive council was composed of an equal number of elected clergy and laymen and youth representatives. The general and the executive councils were chaired by the administrator of the parish church, who put into effect all the decisions of the executive council, with an elected lay person as vice-chairman. The next council was organized on the sub-district-(*wäräda*)level in a similar way. With the new administrative redivision of the country in 1991 the *wäräda* unit had been abolished.

The district (*awrağğa*) Parish Council became another representative body. It was composed of an equal number of elected clergy and laity from each *wäräda* or then parish council, with its proper executive council (chaired by the *liqä kahənat*). The next was the Diocesan (ሀገረ፡ ስብከት, *hagärä səbkät*) Parish Council organized on the administrative regional basis. The E.O.T.C. Parish Council General Assembly was to be composed of the Patriarch as chairman, all members of the Holy Synod (that is, all diocesan bishops and archbishops), the General Administrator of the E.O.T.C. as general secretary, heads of the Patriarchate departments, the executive Secretary of the Development and

Inter-Church Aid Commission (DICAC), and an equal number of clergy- and laymen – men, women, youth – from each diocese. This assured the widest possible direct participation for the laity in running the affairs of the Church along with the clergy.

In 1974 the Parish Council Department was opened at the Patriarchate. It worked effectively in 1981 (*Tənsaʾe*, May-August 1982, 4) when the Parish Council began to be organized at all levels (cp. *The Gospel of Development* 2, 1980, 43–46).

As for the parish administrative council, it was gradually accepted by the hierarchy and finally, with the consent of the Holy Synod, it was integrated into the (new) E.O.T.C. administrative structure. In June 1983 the long-awaited first National Church Assembly (**አጠቃላይ፡ የሰበካ፡ መንፈሳዊ፡ ጉባኤ**, *aṭṭäqalay yäsäbäka mänfäsawi gubaʾe*), or General Assembly, was established by the joint effort of the Holy Synod and of the new E.O.T.C. administration. In 1984, in the second General Assembly, the diocesan reports show that a large amount of work was completed and considerable progress was achieved in the parish council programmes.

According to the statistics of the E.O.T.C., in 2000, there were 32,537 local parish churches (excluding those of the ↗Diaspora), including "higher churches" (*↗Däbr*), rural churches (*↗Gäṭär*) and monasteries (*↗Gädäm*); about 364,765 clergy (priests, deacons), teachers, cantors (*↗Däbtära*) and lay church workers. In 2001 the Church was divided into 38 dioceses, sub-divided into districts. In 2002 there were 46 archbishops and bishops as members of the Holy Synod. The Holy Synod meets twice a year; under the chairmanship of the Patriarch, it decides on the doctrinal positions of the Church and other subjects. The Permanent Synod (with the Patriarch, the Holy Synod Secretary, the General Secretary and three Bishops by turn every three months) can discuss urgent matters.

Since the late 1970s, the organization of the E.O.T.C. departments has remained more or less the same, with the exception that some units or departments have become "organizations" or "centres". In 2002 there were ten departments in the E.O.T.C.: the Parish Council Department working for the organization of parish councils on local and district level all over Ethiopia; the Evangelical and Missionary Department; the Education Department (for traditional and modern schools, the Clergy training Centres [since 1972], Saint Paul's Theological School and the ↗Holy Trinity Theological College); the Ecclesiastical Affairs Department; the Monastic Affairs Department; the Sunday School Department (since 1973); the Administration, Finance and Budget Departments; the Registration and Preservation of the Ecclesiastical Treasury Department; the Planning and Development Department. There were also Child and Family Affairs Organizations, dealing with orphans and destitute children and a Rental House and Building Management Organization. Besides, an Ecclesiastical Vestment Production and Distribution Centre, a Centre for Ecclesiastical Objects of the Kullubi Gabriel Monastery (↗Qulləbi Gäbrəʾel), dealing with the gifts from the pilgrims, and the Gofa Technical Training Centre were established.

The Scholars' Council (**የሊቃውንት፡ ጉባኤ**, *yäliqawənt gubaʾe*) was established to revise translations of Gəʿəz books and check the doctrine. The Ecclesiastical Court became responsible for theological, sacramental and ecclesiastical affairs; the task of the Legal Service was to represent the E.O.T.C. in the courts.

Financial situation and income

The 1942 Church Regulations included important stipulations about money of the Church, taxes, fiefs and income. In accordance with it, a special fund for the administration of the E.O.T.C., with all the tax on Church land and other sources, was established in the State Treasury. The patriarch, the archbishops and bishops, as well as some priests, received a salary. The nobility and faithful made donations. In 1972 the Regulations of the Parish Council stipulated that all funds of the parish church should be deposited in a bank in the name of the parish church (*Qalä ʿAwadi*, November 25, 1972, no. 11/5). After the Revolution, in 1975 the Church properties, land and buildings were confiscated.

It was thought that through the Parish Council organization the E.O.T.C. would be made as self-sufficient as possible, with the help of the parishioners' fees and the rest paid by the E.O.T.C. central treasury. However, salaries for the bishops and the functionaries were paid by the government until 1991. Through the parish councils (at local and national levels) the income of the E.O.T.C. was allowed to run the parishes, to pay the priests etc. After 1991 some of the Church properties (other than land), were given back, and, consequently, the new Department for Rental Houses and Buildings management was established. This and the contributions of parishes are now the main sources of the Church income. In 2002, most of the clergy salaries were paid by the Church income; in the countryside priests still earn their living by farming.

It is still customary for the faithful to give offerings to the churches or monasteries on festivals; on baptisms, weddings and funerals; on prayers of commemoration of the dead (*täzkar*); and on meetings of ↗*maḫbär* associations.

Social activity

From the mid 1960s, the E.O.T.C. began to be involved in development programmes: among the first departments was the educational one with its sections (for traditional education and establishment of modern schools). Through the Parish Council system, bishops and clergy were to be directly involved in the development work. Besides, every church association (↗*Maḫbär*; ↗*sänbate*) had to conduct social activities helping the poor and needy.

In 1965 the Inter-Church Aid (ICA) was started with the collaboration of the World Council of Churches (WCC). In 1972 it became the Development and Inter-Church Aid Commission (DICAC), established as a Church organization involved in development, training and relief activities. After 1974 the focus was directed to relief work (followed by rehabilitation programmes since 1986), training the clergy and organizing Sunday schools. In 1994 the diocesan and the integrated development programmes were established, with most of the financial help coming from ecumenical Christian partners and some humanitarian organizations. Rehabilitation programmes include focusing on health, education, agriculture, afforestation, water-works, grinding-mills, income-generating/food for work, and orphanages.

Today the E.O.T.C. newspapers, magazines and publications are: *Tənsaʾe* ('Resurrection'), *Maʿədot* ('Passover'), *Zena Betä Krəstiyan* ('The News of the [Ethiopian Orthodox] Church') and *Ləssanä Täwaḥədo* ('The Voice of the Täwaḥədo [Church]'), previously called *Dəmṣä Täwaḥədo* ('The Voice of Täwaḥədo [Church]'). For development, there is *The Gospel of Development*, now *The Voice of Development* and for Sunday schools *Fälägä Ṭəbäb* ('The River of Wisdom'). The E.O.T.C. has its own printing press (↗*Tənsaʾe zägubaʾe*). Before the Revolution of 1974 preaching was done through the Lutheran Radio Voice of the Gospel (opened in 1963; cp. ↗Broadcasting) and the national Radio Ethiopia. Both Church radio programmes were abolished after the Revolution. Today occasional special TV and radio programmes are given on festivals.

Educational and missionary activity

Under the auspices and with the support of the E.O.T.C., traditional Church education remains vital in Ethiopia, maintaining instruction in traditional subjects, from reading, church music (↗*Dəggʷa*; ↗*Zema*) and sacred dances (↗*Aqʷaqʷam*), Liturgy (↗*Qəddase*), poetry (↗*Qəne*), to scriptural studies and commentaries on the sacred texts (↗*Andəmta*, ↗*Exegesis*, ↗*Tərgʷame*).

The Theological School of the Holy Trinity, first opened in 1944, was established as the Holy Trinity Theological College in 1961 and in 1962 it became a Department of Ḫaylä Śəllase I University; some modern schools were also opened. Under the *Därg* the Theological College was closed from 1974, then re-opened in 1994. Then theological education continued to be given in the Theological School of St. Paul in Kolfe (one of the sites of the Clergy Training Centre and a place for higher traditional education). Some modern schools were also opened; a famous and popular school is that of Mädḫane ʿAläm in Səddəst Kilo, Addis Abäba.

Since 1972 the most important educational programmes have been the clergy training-centres. In 1963 the E.O.T.C. founded a mission for fellowship, education and propagation of Orthodox Christianity in Ethiopia. Since 2000 E.O.T.C. Gospel-spreading councils inner mission teams have been established in order the better to respond to foreign proselytism. The E.O.T.C. is also engaged in external missionary activities.

Mission and Diaspora

Since 1952 the E.O.T.C. has received pastoral requests from people from the West Indies, British Guyana, then from the United States (in 1959 a church was established in New York), England and South Africa. Branches of the E.O.T.C. have been established there and in other countries. In 1952 an Ethiopian priest was sent to Trinidad. In 1972 an Archdiocese of the E.O.T.C. was established in Trinidad; the seat was moved to New York in 1979. In 1992 the archdiocese was divided into four dioceses: West Indies and Latin America, North America (USA), Canada and Europe. In 2001, in Europe, there were 14 parishes in eight countries (United Kingdom, with a resident priest since 1974, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Italy, Greece, Austria and Switzerland). In 1990 an Ethiopian bishop was asked to visit the people of Protestant origin in South Africa; in 2001, 33 of their parishes became members of the E.O.T.C. In Africa, other parishes of the E.O.T.C. have been established in the Sudan (Khartoum since 1940), in Kenya and in Djibouti; in the Middle East (Lebanon) and in Australia (in Melbourne since 1991).

Attitudes to other confessions and western missionaries; external relations

The E.O.T.C., which, as is stated in a number of official documents, prefers to be called "non-Chalcedonian", refuses to be designated as "monophysite" and keeps contacts with her sister Oriental Orthodox churches (Coptic, Armenian, Syrian Orthodox and Malankara from India). In 1965 Ḫayle Śəllase organized in Addis Abäba a Conference of the Oriental Orthodox churches for re-empowering their ancestral unity.

The E.O.T.C. has ecumenical contacts with the Eastern Orthodox Churches and with the Catholic and Protestant Churches. Prelates of these Churches pay official visits to the E.O.T.C. and all the Ethiopian patriarchs also make ecumenical visits abroad. The E.O.T.C. is a member of the WCC and, since 1963, of the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC). The WCC has given substantial assistance to E.O.T.C. relief, rehabilitation and development programmes through the Round Table programme of DICAC.

Observers and representatives of the E.O.T.C. were present in the Second Vatican Council (1962–65) and in the Catholic Pro-Oriente Foundation (Vienna) meetings (1971–99). Relations with the Eastern Orthodox Chalcedonian churches are friendly (participation at Rhodes Conference 1961, Unofficial Dialogue since 1964, Official Dialogue since 1985).

From 1944 the activities of foreign missionaries were regulated by a decree to ensure complete co-operation between the government and the missions and to check that missionaries were working with non-Christian populations, and not towards converting the Ethiopian Orthodox. During periods of famine or war, the collaboration between the Orthodox, ecumenical Christian agencies (who provide a big part of the help) and Muslims intensified.

After the Revolution of 1974, the relationship with the WCC and with the AACC has remained positive, as long as it is based on the understanding that the E.O.T.C. position concerning theology, ecclesiology and liturgy would be respected.

When the 1994 Constitution of Ethiopia (art. 27) proclaimed freedom of religion, ecumenical relations worsened whe the missionaries began to pursue open proselytism. As in the past, the E.O.T.C. blames the missionaries for taking the Orthodox faithful away from their Church; it argues that they should not attempt to convert and re-baptize followers of the Orthodox faith.

The HIV/AIDS Campaign Centre was established in 2001, but, in fact, its work had begun a decade before. All religious denominations monitor this programme.

The Foreign Relations Department of the E.O.T.C. is in charge of foreign affairs in general; it is in contact with the ecumenical movement, Ethiopian churches, congregations and missionary activities abroad. Before the *Därg* period the relations between the E.O.T.C. and Muslims were seemingly good. Since 1974, and even more since the new Constitution of 1987, Muslims began to assert their religious rights. For the coming years one of the important tasks of the E.O.T.C. appears tobe to keep a constant dialogue between Christians and Muslims, to avoid problems and tensions between the two communities.

Emergence of the Eritrean Orthodox Church

Following the political independence of Eritrea in 1991, an Eritrean Orthodox Patriarchate was installed in Asmära in 1998 with the consecration of Patriarch Filəppos (d. 2002), replaced by Patriarch Yaᶜəqob (d. 2003). In 2000 there were ten departments (following the E.O.T.C. model), plans for a library, a museum and a theological school. In 2003 the Eritrean Church was accepted as a new member of the WCC. The E.O.T.C. and the Eritrean Orthodox Church keep in contact.

↗Bible; ↗Catholicism; ↗Church Buildings; ↗Church Administration; ↗Christianity; ↗Christology; ↗Education; ↗Gəᶜəz Literature; ↗Land Tenure; Canon ↗Law; ↗Mary; ↗Missions; ↗Monasteries; ↗Monasticism; ↗Pappas; ↗Protestantism; ↗Qəddase; ↗Ritual; ↗Saints; ↗Theology

Src.: interviews with *abba* Abärra Bäqqälä, the E.O.T.C. Parish Council Departement head, Addis Abäba, January 2001; Abäbaw Yəgzaw, General Secretary of the E.O.T.C. (July 1981 – October 1988), London, September 17, 2003; Mälaku Kəfle (WCC Uprooted Program and International Relations Team), Geneva, October 8, 2003; EOTC Development and Inter-Church AID Department, Addis Abäba 1990; *Ecumenism in the EOTC*, July 1997; PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TEWAHEDO CHURCH (ed.), *The Church of Ethiopia: a Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa 1970 [repr. 1997]; ID., *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church: Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.]; *Qalä ʿAwadi: the Voice of the Herald of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Regulation of the Parish Spiritual Council Improved and Published for the Third Time in 1991 A.M.*, Addis Abäba 1991 A.M. [1997/98 A.D.]; *Nägarit Gazeṭa*; *Tənsaʾe* 3, 1, 1982; 6, 3, 1988; *Maʿdot* 1983–90; INTERIM SECRETARIAT, ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CONFERENCE (ed.), *The Oriental Orthodox Churches Addis Ababa Conference, January 1965*, Addis Ababa 1965.

Lit.: AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Abäba 1970; GIULIA BONACCI, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the State 1974–1991: Analysis of an Ambiguous Religious Policy*, London 2000; JACQUES BUREAU, "L'Eglise, la nation et l'Etat éthiopiens", in: JEAN-PIERRE CHRÉTIEN et. al. (eds.), *L'Invention religieuse en Afrique: histoire et religion en Afrique noire*, Paris 1993, 393–407; CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition*, Paris 2002; EAD. – ALEXANDER BELOPOLSKY (eds.), *Towards Unity: the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches*, Geneva 1998; MIKAEL DOULOS, "Christians in Marxist Ethiopia", *Religion in Communist Lands* 14, 2, 1986, 134–47; Archbishop YESEHAQ, *The Ethiopian Tewahedo Church: an Integrally African Church*, New York 1989; FIKRU GEBREKIDAN, "A Study of the EOTC and Its Mission in the West Indies, 1935–74", *JES* 34, 2001, 5–34; FRED V. GÖRICKE – FRIEDRICH HEYER, "The Orthodox Church of Ethiopia as a Social Institution", *International Yearbook for Sociology of Knowledge and Religion* 10, 1976, 198–241; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: eine Bestandsaufname*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22); EPHRAIM ISAAC, "Social Structure of the Ethiopian Church", *EthObs* 14, 4, 1971, 240–88; HAILE MARIAM LAREBO, "The EOTC and Politics in the Twentieth Century: Part II", *NEASt* 10, 1, 1988, 1–23; ID., "The Orthodox Church and the State in the Ethiopian Revolution, 1974–84", *Religion in Communist Lands* 14, 2, 1986, 148–59; KIRSTIN STOFFREGEN-PEDERSEN, *Les Ethiopiens*, Turnhout 1990; SELEMON MEHARENNA, *The Ethiopian Way to Socialism*, Rome 1980 [esp. ch. 9]; CALVIN E. SCHENK, *The Development of the EOTC and its Relationship with the Ethiopian Government from 1930 to 1970*, Ph.D. thesis, New York University 1972; ID., "Church and State in Ethiopia: from Monarchy to Marxism", *Mission Studies* 11, 2 [22], 1994, 203–26; HAILE LEUL SIYOUM, *The Ecclesio-social Role of the Parish Council in the Reorganisation of the EOTC*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, June 1990; ERNST SUTTNER, "Orthodoxy and Catholicism in Ethiopia: the Challenge of Inculturation", *Missionalia* 23, 1, 1995, 108–29.

Christine Chaillot

Ethiopian Patriotic Association ↗Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər

Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party

The E.P.R.P. (የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሕዝባዊ፡ አብዮታዊ፡ ፓርቲ, *Yäʾityopya ḥəzbawi abyotawi parti*) was one of several Marxist-Leninist parties to grow out of the radical Ethiopian Students Movement of the late 1960s. Leadership originally came from a group of nine students who hijacked a plane to Algeria in August 1969. They played a leading role in creating a Provisional Organising Committee for a working-class vanguard party in 1971. The first congress of the party, using the name of the Ethiopian Peoples Liberation Organization (E.P.L.O.), was held in April 1972. ↗Bərhanä Mäsqäl Rädda was elected secretary-general. The party adopted Mao's theory of "New Democracy", supporting a people's war and a united front led by a vanguard party, and backed the "national" struggle in Eritrea. Others in the European and North American student unions supported a more gradual approach, arguing that Ethiopia was not ready for a revolution and condemning "leftist adventurism", such as hijacking.

The February 1974 revolution came as much a surprise to the E.P.L.O. as to all the student proto-parties. With only a few militants in the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions (C.E.L.U.) and the armed forces and only a few members, mostly students, the E.P.L.O. was unable to take even a vanguard leadership role. It was not until July 1974 that the paper *Democracia* – ዲሞክራሲያ began to articulate the future E.P.R.P.'s policies, specifically calling for a provisional popular government and rejecting any alliance with the military council, the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), which had appeared in June. In August, the appearance of *Democracia* was followed by its rival የሰፊው፡ ሕዝብ፡ ድምጽ (*Yäsäffiw ḥəzb dəmṣ*, 'The Voice of the Masses'). This was a publication from the future All-Ethiopia Socialist Movement (better known under its Amharic acronym *mäʾison*, in Latin letters spelt "MEISON"), prepared to give qualified support to the take-over of the revolution by the military.

During 1974, *Democracia* acquired significant support within the labour movement and among students and membership of the party grew sharply. Other intellectual Marxist groups from the University joined, including the authors of the paper አብዮት (*Abyot*, 'Revolution'). Between them, *Democracia* and *Abyot* played a significant role in defining the revolution in 1974–75, though they were less successful in solving their own internal disputes on tactics and strategy. Central to these was a debate over whether to concentrate on a protracted rural armed conflict, which the E.P.R.P. launched in 1975, or on an urban armed struggle to overthrow the military government and set up a popular government led by a vanguard party. This proved a critical element in the party split in 1976. The party finally took the name the E.P.R.P. in August 1975 when it went public with its programme following a party conference in July. Other changes included the appointment of Täsfaye Däbässay as party secretary.

The question of which group would form a vanguard party dominated the intellectual debate in 1975/76; the claims of the E.P.R.P. and MEISON were challenged by other groups which later created the *Därg*'s Workers Party of Ethiopia (*Yäʾityop̣ya śärratäññočč parti*). The E.P.R.P.'s chance of success came in late 1976 shortly after it launched its armed urban struggle. A reorganization limited the power of the *Därg*'s first Vice-chairman, Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam and strengthened the position of the E.P.R.P. supporters in the *Därg*; but they proved insufficiently ruthless and two months later, in February 1977, Mängəśtu carried out his own putsch, executing his opponents. He followed this up by launching the "Red Terror", first using MEISON against the E.P.R.P. and then turning it against MEISON.

The E.P.R.P. was virtually annihilated in urban areas. At the same time it was also forced out of Təgray by the ↗Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (T.P.L.F.). A number of leading figures did manage to escape abroad and, although the EPRP was left with minimal political capacity and suffered from a number of damaging splits, it retained a potent name and reputation both in and out of Ethiopia. Internally, some survivors from the rural armed struggle set up the Ethiopian Peoples Democratic Movement, E.P.D.M. (*Yäʾityop̣ya ḥəzbočč demokrasiyawi nəqənnaqe*), later the Amhara National Democratic Movement, A.N.D.M. (*Yäbəḥerä Amhara demokrasiyawi nəqənnaqe*), to join with the T.P.L.F. in the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front, E.P.R.D.F. (*Yäʾityop̣ya ḥəzbočč abyotawi demokrasiyawi gənbar*). Another organization, Forum 84, appeared in 1991 to participate in the post-1991 political dispensation in Addis Abäba.

Externally, the E.P.R.P. has been involved in a number of attempts to set up a unified oppostion to the E.P.R.D.F., even allying itself with its old rival *mäʾison* in 1991 to create the Coalition of Ethiopian Democratic Forces, C.O.E.D.F. (*Yäʾityop̣ya dämokrasiyawi hayločč qənəǧǧət*). Prominent figures in the E.P.R.P. today include Märša Yosef, the first chairman of C.O.E.D.F., and, in Europe, Iyasu ᶜAlämayyähu. In 2003 the E.P.R.P. participated in the Washington conference which set up the United Ethiopian Democratic Forces, U.E.D.F., a grouping of 15 opposition parties.

Lit.: Randi Rønning Balsvik, *Haile Selassie's Students: the Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution 1952–1974*, East Lansing, MI 1985; Fentahun Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Students: their Struggle to Articulate the Ethiopian Revolution*, Chicago, IL 1990; Kiflu Tadesse, *The Generation: the History of the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party*, 2 vols., Silver Spring, MD – Trenton, NJ 1993, 1998; Legesse Lemma, "The Ethiopian Student Movement 1960–74", *NEASt* 1, 2, 1979, 31–46; John Markakis – Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia*, Nottingham 1978.

Patrick Gilkes

Ethiopian studies

E.s. is a term used to characterize the field of scholarly and academic community involved in specific research on the ↗Orbis Aethiopicus. One can roughly distinguish a "classical" and a "wider" understanding of E.s. "Classical" E.s. comprise the disciplines of philology/linguistics, history and ethnography, as well as (history of) theology and history of arts, represented by scholars who developed in European universities a particular research interest in the Horn of Africa and the Ethiopian highlands in particular. Still today, there exists a certain emphasis on the study of written sources, resulting in a central role of philology (text editions, criticism and interpretation). Vital also are such aid-disciplines as epigraphy, manuscript studies, and diplomatics.

The "wider" concept of E.s. is characterized by a stronger interest in contemporary issues. It developed as a hybrid of early academic efforts of Ethiopian intellectuals with a Western education who strove to understand better their society, and of European scholars who increasingly engaged multidisciplinary approaches in their attempts to study Ethiopian society in more systematic ways.

Since the 1980s, the role of such younger subareas of E.s. as, e.g., the social sciences, including political science, has been increasing. The range of issues presented at international conferences has become very broad: beside the social sciences and the "classical" issues it extended to environmental and development studies as well as to education and medical care.

E.s. is a mainly geographically-defined field of the humanities. Its object of research may be generally understood as being the culture(s), the history (histories) and the languages of Ethiopia, Eritrea and the Horn of Africa in general. Scholarly fields "akin" to E.s., such as, e.g., Somali studies, Islamic studies, and, to a certain degree, Nubian and Sudan studies, contribute to the understanding of that area.

The latest political developments led to the introduction of Eritrean studies, which inherited its sub-areas, objects and methods of research from the E.s. but define their geographical scope with the borders of the Eritrean state and concentrates on the socio-political developments of the latter after its independence (cf. Taddia 2002: 135ff.).

The development of Ethiopian studies in Europe

The cultural region of the Orbis Aethiopicus has long attracted extraordinary interest from Europeans (↗Europe, relations with). Early mentions and reports (e.g., Homer, ↗Herodotus, Philo; ↗Greek literature) date back to classical times and continue during Aksumite and post-Aksumite times (cf. ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*; ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes). The ↗Prester John legend, which finally placed the mysterious king in this area, is yet another evidence of the latter's strong appeal throughout the centuries.

There are, likewise, a few interesting biblical references to the area. The land of Cush (↗Kush) is mentioned over 20 times in the Old Testament. In the Septuagint, the word was translated into Greek as ↗Aithiopía, which was in turn often associated with Ethiopia but also with the whole or parts of Africa (for the different geographical conceptions s. also ↗Cartography, ↗Abyssinia). In the Bible, the Paradise itself is placed in the Nubian-Ethiopian area (s. Gen 2:13; ↗Gihon). Two of the biblical passages (the narration of the Queen of Sheba and Solomon in 1 King 10:1–13 and of the "Ethiopian" eunuch in Acts 8:26–40) became traditionally associated with the Ethio-Eritrean area. All this added a religious motif to the profane interest, thus increasing the force of attraction of this region.

The historic horizon opened wide in the second half of the 15th cent. when Europeans began to perform long sea voyages looking for a maritime way to ↗India – first from ↗Italy (↗Bartoli; ↗Rombulo), later from ↗Portugal. The travellers reported about great richness of the newly discovered lands, as well as of Christians surrounded by Muslims. The documents of the time bear witness to the western powers' aspiration to extend the papal sphere of influence (cp. the letter exchange between Ethiopian rulers and the Pope, e.g., in Uhlig – Bühring 1994:93–106) and to the Christianity vs. Islam controversies, with the blockade of Vienna by the Turks as their peak (s. Ludolf's letter to the Ethiopian nation written on behalf of Emperor Leopold I in 1683, the year of the Turkish blockade, in van Donzel 1974:226–38; Uhlig 1983:284–93).

The first encounters to have lasting effects were those between European and Ethiopian Christians in Jerusalem (↗Dayr as-Sulṭān). Ethiopian clerics were officially present for the first time at the Council of ↗Florence in the 15th cent.; and, soon after, established themselfes at the Roman monastery of ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori. This marked the beginning of a scholarly discussion.

Reports on Ethiopia enjoyed great interest in Europe. Printed travel itineraries and accounts of expeditions during the 16th cent. (s. ↗Almeida; ↗Alvares; da ↗Gama, de ↗Gois) enjoyed widespread diffusion, with several re-editions along with translations into the most important European languages (cp. Uhlig – Bühring 1994:34).

In the 16th–17th cent., mutual intellectual interest between Ethiopians and Europeans found their expression in active letter exchange. The letters sent to Ethiopia bear evidence of Eurocentrism. Ethiopian rulers are in the first place interested in cultural and intellectual exchange, in technological innovations; however, what they get are mostly clerics in search of new bases on their way to India, new missionary domains to ensure the extension of the Roman Catholic control and area of its influence as well as of new colonies.

The 17th cent. witnessed the first large-scale intensive intellectual exchange focused on the history, geography and languages of the area (↗Jesuits). Such a cultural contact ended up in the eviction of the Catholic emissaries and, for the Ethiopians, in their century-long renunciation of Catholic Europe. Nevertheless, it was enough to inspire scholarly discourse which resulted in Hiob ↗Ludolf's research activity.

Ludolf was the first Orientalist to write scholarly on Ethiopia. Basing mostly on the data he could obtain through his informant ↗Gorgoryos he completed works dealing with natural sciences, geographical and anthropological topics, languages, culture and religion. Ludolf thus lay the foundation stone for the "classical" E.s. and with his broad interest he also anticipated the wider range of modern E.s.

The late 18th and early 19th cent. was a time of expansion for Oriental and, especially, Semitic studies. Thus, ↗Gəʿəz and (later) ↗Amharic became important objects of research. Soon thereafter, ↗Oromiffa and, in the 20th cent., other languages of the region came under the spotlight. Along with dictionaries, grammars and language descriptions, manuscript catalogues and text editions formed the base of E.s. Beside other motivations, language studies were supported by missionary interests. Consequently the growing language proficiency allowed ↗Bible translations into many Ethiopian languages.

Starting from the late 18th cent., ↗travellers and explorers played, alongside with scholars, a significant role in the shaping of E.s. The popular travel accounts by James ↗Bruce and Henry ↗Salt as well as the exploratory and scholarly contributions by the d'↗Abbadie brothers and Werner ↗Munzinger deserve a special mention here. The pioneering philological works by such scholars as August ↗Dillmann, Ignazio ↗Guidi, Carlo ↗Conti Rossini and Enrico ↗Cerulli oriented by large the further development of the discipline, and so did the Aksum- and North Ethiopia-related archaeological and historical contributions by Enno ↗Littmann and the ↗Deutsche Aksum Expedition.

From the beginning of the 20th cent. onward, the Ethiopian rulers have been sending considerable numbers of students to European universities. Upon their return, not only did these students initiate research and educational activities in natural sciences or applied technologies, but also founded institutions for research in Ethiopian languages, literatures, culture, history and theology. Diplomatic and scholarly contacts called attention over such youngest fields within E.s. as, e.g., human anthropology, environmental geography, political and social sciences.

Early Ethiopian scholarly attempts were mostly motivated by religious interest in making the Gospel more understandable to a population of farmers, or by rulers who wanted to strengthen their power by propagating their successes in securing social and economic progress, law and justice – or victory and peace in foreign relations. Later, scholarly cooperation often became an extension of existing diplomatic and political contacts with Europe, in the service of the emperors' ambitions to claim a position as peers to European rulers.

Ethiopian studies as established discipline

Already at the Paris international congress of orientalists in 1891 René ↗Basset presented an account on the progresses E.s. had made (Conti Rossini 1946:1); the new long account by Conti Rossini (1897) for the years 1894–97 at a later congress was emblematic of the rapidly increasing progress of the research. At the turn of the century and in the decades before and after the first world war, "classical" E.s. reached one of their highest point, both within the framework of related studies on the Christian Orient as a whole (fostered by the discovery and publication of a huge number of new texts), and in that of comparative and historical linguistics, Semitic and non-Semitic, as well as of history, ethnography and anthropology. Moreover, it is in the first half of the 20th cent. that E.s. emerged *de facto* as a field of its own through the works of some of the most outstanding scholars (Littmann, Conti Rossini, Cerulli). We may argue whether the theoretical premise about the existence of a cultural and historical unity of the field was clear or not in their mind, and whether political circumstances had some influence on that: it remains true, however, that these scholars were determined to study the Orbis Aethiopicus as a whole and therefore, in all possible perspectives. The term E.s. probably became fully established with the first ↗International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in Rome in 1959, a meeting of almost exclusively European scholars of ancient and medieval history, Christian religious texts, and Semitic languages. The Italian initiators understood it as an intellectual peace move, 18 years after the end of the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, a hand stretched out from Europe to Ethiopia. Essentially it was devoted to Ethiopia as seen from a European academic perspective, largely confined to the "classical" disciplines of E.s.

The creation of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies in 1963, the early days of Haile Selassie I

University (↗Addis Ababa University), offered such efforts a meeting point, both physically, in the former palace of the Emperor, and academically, with its publications and lectures and seminars, its library, its museum and its research efforts. With practice in the Institute, the focus gradually shifted towards adding more contemporary and more Ethiopian perspectives to the original emphasis on historical and linguistic studies. Impatience with the slow pace of such shifts may be one of the roots for creating the Institute of Development Research as a competing forum within the University for cross-disciplinary research on contemporary issues in the social sciences, including economics, history and geography. The Conferences of E.s., held since 1978 bi-annually, since 1991 tri-annually (every third in Addis Abäba), bring together scholars from different disciplines engaged in research in a wide range of topics, with a shared interest in life in Ethiopia in the present and past. Increasingly, E.s. moves towards fitting a definition of inter-disciplinary research on topics of relevance for the Horn of Africa in contemporary and historical context.

Research institutions

Institutionally, E.s. appear on the scene only at the turn of the 20th cent. An important impulse came at that time from colonial interests.

In the beginning of the 20th cent., Italian colonial officials had to be prepared to be sent to the Ethio-Eritrean region. Political and scholarly interests met to produce the ↗Istituto Coloniale Italiano. A centre of research on the Orient in general and Ethiopia in particular is the ↗Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples (today Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"). The Institute offer covers regional history and archaeology, languages and literature(s), anthropology and theology. The Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente in Rome (heir of two former institutions: Istituto Italo-Africano and the Istituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente) and several Italian universities offer possibilities of inquiry into E.s. Among the pontificial institutions in Rome, the Pontifical Biblical Institute and the Pontifical Oriental Institute must be mentioned for having hosted in their series (the *Analecta Orientalia* and *Orientalia Christiana Analecta)* and journals (*Orientalia* and *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*) a number of contributions concerned with E.s.

In France, E.s. (*études éthiopiennes*) are in the first place cultivated at the ↗Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO) in Paris, where courses in Ethiopian languages and, occasionally, literature and culture, have been offered since 1898. The University of Paris-I La Sorbonne, the Centre des Recherches Africaines and the research institutes of the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique enhance and complete the offer in E.s. in France.

In the United Kingdom, E.s. resources have been concentrated at the ↗School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) of London University since its formation in 1916. The SOAS staff and students work in the field of Ethiopian linguistics and philology but also history and culture of the Horn of Africa.

The Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg State University has offered courses in E.s. (*Efiopistka*) since late 19th cent. (s. also Boris ↗Turaiev). Its library resources are enhanced by the manuscript and document collections of the Museum of Anthropology and of the Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

The Institute of Oriental Studies at Warsaw University has been offering courses in various aspects of E.s. since the 1950s (s. also ↗Strelcyn).

The resources agglomerated by the Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Abäba include a library, large manuscript and microfilm collections as well as numerous photographs and anthropological items.

In Germany, the ↗Frobenius-Institut in Frankfurt am Main, whose origins go back to 1898, has contributed much to anthropological research into the region. The University of Mainz deals mainly with research into languages (Semitic Studies Department) and anthropology (Department of Anthropology and African Studies). E.s. (*Äthiopistik*) have been institutionalized at Hamburg University since 1968 (Department of African and Ethiopian Studies), with history, philology and religion as the core areas of research.

Established in 1960, the African Studies Center at Michigan State University is one important *Éthiopisant* institution in the USA. The focus of research is formed by early modern and modern history as well as social and political studies. Quest into the languages and ethnography of the Ethio-Eritrean region is carried out at the University of California.

More recently, E.s. have become home in

several universities in Japan, in particular Kyoto University with its Centre for African Area Studies; the main fields of inquiry are linguistics and anthropology.

Research media

Besides standard research tools such as dictionaries, grammars and manuscript-collection catalogues, the following regular publications form the base material of E.s.:

1. Periodicals

The French journals ↗*Aethiopica – Revue Philologique* (1933–36) and ↗*Aethiops* (1922–38) concentrated on topics from Ethiopian literature, manuscript studies and Gəᶜəz grammar.

Since its foundation in 1941, the Italian ↗*Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* (*RSE*) has been covering all classical themes of E.s. including archaeology, history, linguistics, religion and philology. It also features book reviews. The Centro di Studi Etiopici (today's Library of the Pavoni Social Centre), Asmära, was publishing the *Quaderni di Studi Etiopici*, under the direction of Fr. Ezio Tonini (vols. 1–7, 1980–86).

The French ↗*Annales d'Éthiopie* (*AE*) deal with topics from palaeontology and archaeology to philology and history. Book reviews are a typical section. The journal has appeared regularly since 1955 (with a break from 1990 till 2000).

Topics in classical E.s., namely history, language, literature, religion and culture, have been the programme of the Ethiopian ↗*Journal of Ethiopian Studies* (*JES*) since its first issue in 1963. Lately, the periodical has included an increasing number of research papers in the "new" disciplines within E.s., such as social, environmental, political and educational studies. In 2004 the *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, founded in the USA, has started to publish articles on scholarly and modern issues.

Starting from 1978, the American ↗*Northeast African Studies* (*NeASt*) has included inquiries into modern history, the social sciences and linguistics available to the Ethiopisant community.

The German annual journal *Aethiopica. International Journal of Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies* was founded in 1998. The articles deal with linguistics, philology, history, religion(s), traditional art and culture, as well as anthropology. In the 1990s the *Review of Eritrean Studies* (USA) mainly contributed works relevant for modern history; in 2004 the *Journal of Eritrean Studies*, published at Asmära University, was started. Also the irregular periodical *Nubica* (later: *Nubica et Aethiopica*) contributed articles to E.s.

2. Publication series

Few scholarly monographic series specialize in E.s. Since 1903, text-editions (rarely with critical apparatus) with translations have been appearing in the sub-series *Scriptores Aethiopici* of the ↗*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*. The over-100 volumes published so far form a fundamental corpus of Ethiopian hagiography and theology. Several important chronicles have also appeared in the series. Since the same year the series *Patrologia orientalis* (editions of patristic and related texts) has greatly contributed with 36 volumes of text editions with translations (the critical edition of the *Sənkəssar* is published there).

The ↗*Aethiopistische Forschungen* have been published since 1977. The series focuses on investigations in history and philology. It also includes works on linguistics, anthropology, culture and the arts.

In 1992 the monographic series *Studi africanistici. Serie etiopica* was called into existence. Its scholarly focus lies in but is not limited to philological research. Other themes covered include archaeology and linguistics.

Occasionally, works on E.s. appear in the series ↗*Studien zur Kulturkunde* (anthropology and modern history). The series *Mare Erythraeum* (Germany), *Nubica et Aethiopica* (Poland, Germany) and *Meroitica. Schriften zur altsudanesischen Geschichte und Archäologie* (Germany) all have published works relevant for E.s.

3. Proceedings of the Conferences

The Proceedings of the triennial International Conferences of E.s. are an important documentation for recent activities in E.s. Apart from offering a large number of individual research results, they also indicate new trends within the discipline and document developments in methodology. Additionally, the Proceedings of the International Conferences on the History of Ethiopian Art have established themselves in the field since the first conference in 1999.

↗Research

Lit.: JON GERRIT ABBINK, *Ethiopian Society and History: a Bibliography of Ethiopian Studies*, 1957–1990, Leiden 1991; BAHRU ZEWDE et al., "From Lund to Addis Ababa: a Decade of Ethiopian Studies", *JES* 27, 1, 1994, 1–28; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "Der Beitrag der deutschen Ethnologie zur Äthiopien-Forschung", in: Scholz 2001 (s. below), 159–70; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Rapport sur les progrès des études éthiopiennes depuis le dernier Congrès (1894–1897)", in: *Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes. Paris-1897. Quatrième section. Hébreu – phénicien – araméen – éthiopien – assyrien*, Paris 1898, 27-66; ID., "Pubblicazioni etiopistiche dal 1936 al 1945", *RSE* 4, 1946, 1–132; EMERI VAN DONZEL, "Two Ethiopian Letters of Job Ludolf", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 31, 1974, 226–38; EIKE HABERLAND, "Hiob Ludolf, Father of Ethiopian Studies in Europe", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 131–36; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopistik an deutschen Universitäten*, Wiesbaden 1968, 16–21, 70ff.; MARIA RAIT — VLADIMIR VIGAND, "Genesis of the Ethiopian Studies and its Future Trends", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 1997, 242-46; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Ethiopian Studies: What To-day?", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 189–94; IRMA TADDIA, "Modern Ethiopia and Colonial Eritrea", *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 125–38; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *The Ethiopians*, Oxford ^{3}1973 [repr. Stuttgart 1990]; SIEGBERT UHLIG, *Hiob Ludolfs "Theologia Aethiopica"*, Stuttgart 1983 (AeF14), 284–93; SIEGBERT UHLIG – GERNOT BÜHRING, *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glaube und Sitten der Äthiopier*, Wiesbaden 1999 (AeF 39), 93–106 (text) = 195–207 (tr.); ENNO LITTMANN, "Stand und Aufgaben der deutschen Erforschung Abessiniens", in: *Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft*, Leipzig 1944, 67–84; EIKE HABERLAND – LANFRANCO RICCI – PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Studi di Etiopistica", in: *Atti del Convegno. Gli studi africanistici in Italia dagli anni '60 ad oggi. Roma, 25–27 giugno 1985*, Roma 1986, 147–73; HARTMUT BOBZIN, "Miszellen zur Geschichte der Äthiopistik", in: WOLFGANG HEINRICHS – GREGOR SCHOELER (eds.), *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag. Semitische Studien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Südsemitistik*, 2 vols., Beirut 1994 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 54), vol. 1, 82–101; MANFRED KROPP, "From Manuscripts to the Computer: Ethiopic Studies in the Last 150 Years", in: K.J. CATHCART (ed.), *The Edward Hincks Bicentenary Lectures*, Dublin 1994, 117–35; PIOTR O. SCHOLZ (ed.), *Von Hiob Ludolf bis Enrico Cerulli. Halle an der Saale 3.-5. Oktober 1996. Akten der 2. Tagung der Orbis-Aethiopicus-Gesellschaft zur Erhaltung und Förderung der äthiopischen Kultur*, Warszawa – Wiesbaden 2001 (Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica) [Lit.], passim; RAINER VOIGT (ed.), *Die äthiopischen Studien im 20. Jahrhundert/Ethiopian Studies in the 20th Century: Akten der internationalen äthiopischen Tagung Berlin 22. bis 24. Juli 2000*, Aachen 2003 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 2).

Siegbert Uhlig

Ethiopianism

The term "E." refers to Ethiopia as a symbol of early African Christianity and civilization, as well as to Africa's political and cultural independence from colonial hegemony. It implies a mixture of religious, political and cultural objectives and ideals claimed by Africans and Afro-Americans. However, none of the movements connected to E., either in Africa or America, had much connection to Ethiopia. Instead the country was often referred to as representing all of Africa.

1. In America, especially in the USA and Jamaica, Ethiopian movements were founded by descendants of the victims of the transatlantic slave trade (↗Slavery). These movements were a response to the oppression and racial segregation they suffered in white-dominated societies, giving expression to the appreciation of Ethiopia's ancient civilization, the longing of the "Black Diaspora" for their "ancestral home" and an appeal to "black brotherhood". E. was a continuation of earlier repatriation movements such as the Back-to-Africa emigration of Afro-Americans to Sierra Leone (1787) or Liberia (1821). Politically, E. gained fresh impetus after Ethiopia defeated the Italian colonizers in 1896 at ↗ᶜAdwa: the Christian African kingship under the "Lion of Judah", "King of Kings" became a symbol of Africa's emancipation. These dimensions were stressed by Marcus Garvey (Garveyism) and ↗Rastafarianism in the 20th cent. after ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I was crowned in 1930. E. in America, with its emphasis on political and cultural aspects, had much in common with Pan-Africanism and Afro-centrism.

2. In (South) Africa the term "E." was coined by religious groups from about 1880 onwards, although the phenomenon it describes may be older; some claim precursors in the Congo-region as early as the 17th cent. It refers to African Christians who split from European and American mission societies or churches. The separations rejected European theological paternalism, as well as political discrimination.

The Old Testament contains prophecies about the faithfulness of ↗Kush, the ancient name for the Nile Valley south of Egypt, identified in Greek translations with Ethiopia (↗Aithiopia; cp. Ps 68:32: "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God ..."). In the New Testament, Ethiopia is mentioned in Acts 8:27, where the story of the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch is meant to explain the founding of the Church in Africa. Most African Churches which incorporated the term "Ethiopian" in their name, explicitly claimed to be successors to this early African evangelization.

The first "Ethiopian Churches" in southern Africa were local initiatives restricted by their ethnic and linguistic background. They spread, however, as labourers migrated. The refusal of European missionaries to ordain African evangelists was a main reason for secession. Africans remained second-class pastors under the paternalistic auspices of the missionaries. Despite their declared aim of creating autonomous indigenous churches, the missionaries considered it to be too soon and presumed their black colleagues would "fall back into heathenism" if they were given independence. The Ethiopian movements also had political aims, such as equal access to land and education or the right to vote. After 1912 these political concerns were assimilated into the African National Congress (ANC; Krüger 1989:13).

The first South African Ethiopian Church was founded in the Transkei by Nehemia Tile. His Thembu Church seceded from the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1883. At the same time Mbiyana Ngidi broke away from the American Zulu Mission; Martin Sebushane and others left the Berlin Mission Society, setting up the Bapedi Lutheran Church in 1890. The first who explicitly used the name "Ethiopian Church of South Africa" was Mangena Mokone, who founded a church with that name in 1892 later to be led by James Mata Dwane. Many of the new leaders had been educated in the elite schools of mission societies and churches in South Africa and/or abroad: Pambani Jeremiah Mzimba, for instance, studied at the Free Church of Scotland Institute in Lovedale, was ordained in 1875, studied in Glasgow, broke away from the church in 1898 and founded the Presbyterian Church of Africa.

The Ethiopian churches in South Africa came in contact with Afro-American churches at an early stage. For many years, Mokone and Dwane were close to the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, which had broken away from the Methodist church in 1816 in protest at the worsening situation of slaves in the USA. The AME had a strong missionary impetus, sending missionaries to Liberia as early as 1821. In 1896 the link between the two churches led to the Ethiopian Church of South Africa uniting with the AME. Renamed the "AME Church in Africa", their pastors were ordained by the American bishop Turner, who travelled through South Africa in 1898. This close co-operation gave more than 1,000 South Africans the opportunity to study in the USA. Dwane later seceded again from the AME and founded the *Ibandla Lase Tiyopia* ('Order of Ethiopia'), which united with the Anglican Church in 1900. Despite the name, with its symbolic reference to Ethiopia, the only connection Dwane's initiative had to the country Ethiopia was his plans to visit ↗Mənilək II and to expand his church via Rhodesia as far as ↗"Abyssinia". None of these plans came to fruition, however.

DELEGATES ENTRANCE
ERITREA SOMALILAND ETHIOPIA
WE DEMAND! PUNISHMENT ITALIAN WAR CRIMINALS

Political Ethiopianism in the USA: Afro-Americans demonstrating for union between Eritrea, Somalia and Ethiopia, identifying it with self-determination; United Nations' Headquarter at Lake Success; from Pankhurst – Pankhurst 1953:232, pl. XXV

Ethiopian-style Churches emerged elsewhere in Africa, such as the United Native African Church in Nigeria, founded in 1891 by African Christians who had separated from the Anglican Church.

3. The phenomenon of the Ethiopian Churches was succeeded by the emergence of African Independent Churches (AIC), which separated from the mission churches for similar reasons at the beginning of the 20th cent. It is impossible to distinguish clearly between the two types of African Churches. Sundkler in 1948 made the first attempt to differentiate between Ethiopian and Zionist types of Independent Churches; in 1961 he added a third type of Messianic/Charismatic churches. Turner followed with his approach in 1967. Differences are defined politically or in terms of the role of the founder. All classifications are to some extent controversial, however, because in reality the phenotypes blend into one another. At any rate, Ethiopian Churches are – apart from the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church – the oldest type of churches founded by African Christians. Nowadays E. is therefore rather used as a historical term, whereas AIC is the general term used to refer to the current most dynamic phenomena in African Christianity.

The term "African Independent Churches" is contentious. It stresses the secession of African Christians from missionaries and tends to reduce AICs to a reaction against European mission work instead of respecting them as expressions of genuine autonomous African spirituality (Irving – Poewe 1997:53). Today the terms "African Instituted Churches" or "African Initiated Churches" are preferred. The AICs comprise a wide range of religious movements and organizations with similar characteristics, such as emancipation from white discrimination, colonialism and paternalism, as well as theological indigenization or "inculturation" (liturgy, dress, the use of African names etc.). They differ in the importance of their founders, visions, dreams, healing and purification rites, missionary zeal, tongues, various taboos and pilgrimage. They overlap, too, with different types of Pentecostal churches, most of the latter having similar characteristics, but being imported from North America at a later stage.

The AICs are growing rapidly in Africa today. Women play a crucial role in most of their activities. Among the biggest AICs are the South African churches *Isonto lama Nazaretha*, founded by Isaiah Shembe in 1911, the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) by Edward Lekganyane, as well as the Nigerian Church of the Lord/Aladura or l'Église de Jesus Christ sur la terre, founded in Congo in 1921 by the prophet Simon Kimbangu. The latter is one of a probably growing number of AICs to become members of the World Council of Churches and thus be recognised by and integrated into the ecumenical community. AICs have increasingly become active in Europe, too, building congregations among African immigrants. In 1978 the AICs formed an association of their own, the "Organization of African Independent Churches". It should also be mentioned that fast-growing independent churches are not unique to Africa: they are also characteristic of Christianity in Latin America and Asia.

↗ Rastafarianism

Lit.: HANS-JÜRGEN BECKEN, *Wo der Glaube noch jung ist. Afrikanische unabhängige Kirchen in Südafrika*, Erlangen 1985; MUTERO CHIRENJE, *Ethiopianism and Afro-Americans in Southern Africa, 1883–1916*, Baton Rouge – London 1987; IRVING HEXHAM – KARLA POEWE, *New Religions as Global Cultures: Making the Human Sacred*, Oxford 1997; ERHARD KAMPHAUSEN, *Die Anfänge der kirchlichen Unabhängigkeitsbewegung in Südafrika. Geschichte und Theologie der Äthiopischen Bewegung 1872–1912*, Bern 1976; ID., "Äthiopien als Symbol kirchlicher und politischer Unabhängigkeit", in: KLAUS KOSCHORKE (ed.), *Transkontinentale Beziehungen in der Geschichte des außereuropäischen Christentums*, Wiesbaden 2002 (Studien zur Außereuropäischen Christentumsgeschichte 6); FRIEDER LUDWIG, *Kirche im kolonialen Kontext: Anglikanische Missionare und afrikanische Propheten im südöstlichen Nigeria 1879–1914*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern 1992; GESINE KRÜGER, *Zwischen Gott und Staat: die unabhängigen Kirchen in Südafrika*, Hamburg 1989; BENGT SUNDKLER, *Bantu Prophets in Southern Africa*, Oxford 1948; BENGT SUNDKLER – CHRISTOPHER STEED, *A History of the Church in Africa*, Cambridge 2000; BINGHAM TEMBE, *Integrationismus und Afrikanismus: zur Rolle der kirchlichen Unabhängigkeitsbewegung in der Auseinandersetzung um die Landfrage und die Bildung der Afrikaner in Südafrika, 1880–1960*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern – New York 1985 (Studien zur Interkulturellen Geschichte des Christentums 36); HAROLD TURNER, *African Independent Church*, 2 vols., Oxford 1967; WERNER USTORF, *Afrikanische Initiative: das aktive Leiden des Propheten Simon Kimbangu*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern – New York 1975; RAS MAKONNEN [former name: GEORGE THOMAS NATHANIEL GRIFFITH], *Pan-Africanism from within*, recorded, ed. by KENNETH KING, Oxford – Nairobi 1973; ESTELLE SYLVIA PANKHURST – RICHARD KEIR PETHICK PANKHURST, *Ethiopia and Eritrea: the Last Phase of the Reunion Struggle, 1941–1952*, Woodford Green 1953, 232, pl. XXV.

Andrea Schultze

Ethio-Semitic

Introduction

E.-S. (or Ethiosemitic, also Ethiopian Semitic) is a group of around 20 languages or dialects spoken in Ethiopia and Eritrea which go back to the language(s) of immigrants from South ↗ Arabia who settled first in northern Ethiopia (partly now Eritrea) in the 1st millennium B.C.

These settlers brought with them their own South Arabian dialects and a knowledge of Sabaic, one of the closely related ↗ Epigraphic South Arabian literary languages. The centre of immigration was the harbour of ↗ Adulis with easy access to the highlands. This route from Adulis via ↗ Coloë to ↗ Aksum was described in the anonymous ↗ *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (1st cent. A.D.).

The immigrants' knowledge of Sabaic manifests itself in numerous inscriptions that closely follow the pattern found in the Sabaic inscriptions from South Arabia. But the dialects spoken there were different from this literary language. The most important linguistic feature that separates both groups is the verbal present form (of the Akkadian type *iparrVs* in the basic stem), which does not appear to exist in Epigraphic South Arabian, but is found in all E.-S. languages as well as in Modern South Arabian (cp. Mehri). Thus, the classification of E.-S., together with Modern South Arabians constitutes the South Semitic branch with the exclusion of Epigraphic South Arabian, which is to be connected with the more northern (Central) Semitic languages (Voigt 1987:15). However, other scholars continue to group E.-S. together with Epigraphic as well as Modern South Arabian. Relying on lexicostatistics, Rodgers (1991) maintains the sub-grouping of South Semitic into an Eastern group (Modern South Arabian) and a Western group (Ancient South Arabian and E.-S.). For a discussion of the genetic inter-relatedness between these groups of languages see Voigt (1994) and Appleyard (1996).

The dialects spoken by the immigrants, spread mainly along the northern plain of East Africa, must have been in close contact with the indigenous Cushitic languages, such as Beḍauye (↗Beğa) and ↗Agäw. Among the closely related E.-S. dialects that developed approximately a thousand years before the use of a script, the Aksum dialect was chosen as the basis for the creation of Classical Ethiopic or ↗Gəᶜəz (traditionally pronounced [*gəʾəz*]) in the 4th cent., preserved in initially unvocalized inscriptions. With the invention of a vocalization system that was inspired by the Indian script, and the translation of the Bible and other Christian texts, this language became a literary language and a unifying factor for the Aksumite (and later on the Ethiopian) empire.

The languages nowadays spoken in the highlands (and adjacent lower areas, then occupied by the Aksumites) are ↗Təgre and ↗Təgrəñña. Both languages are roughly speaking descendants of Gəᶜəz. More strictly speaking they are the descendants of closely related daughter languages (or dialects) of Gəᶜəz, since there are some modern linguistic features that cannot be traced back to Gəᶜəz. Thus Tgr. *hətu* 'he' cannot go back to Gəᶜəz *wəʾətu* (cf. Tgn. *ʾətu* masc. sg. demonstrative), but to a proto-form **huʾV-tu*. Another example is the negative particle *ʾal-*, that did not exist in this form in Gəᶜəz (instead *ʾi-*, *ʾay-*), but does in modern E.-S. languages.

With the expansion of the Aksumite empire to the south and the resulting cultural dominance, Gəᶜəz (and later on Təgrəñña) dialects spread to the south of the plateau and emerged as new E.-S. languages. In contrast to the so-called North E.-S. languages (Gəᶜəz, Təgre and Təgrəñña), these are called South E.-S. languages. One can assume that great parts of ↗Šäwa and contiguous areas in the west, south (up to Gurageland) and east (up to ↗Harär) have been Semiticized. Some of these E.-S. languages became extinct during the conquering raids of the ↗Oromo in the 16th cent. into the then Semitic-speaking areas now inhabited by the Oromo and other Cushitic peoples.

Characteristics of Ethio-Semitic

The characteristics of E.-S. as derived from innovations first encountered in Gəᶜəz are centralization of the short Proto-Semitic vowels **a*, **u* / **i* into *ä* (after laryngeals realized as *a*) and *ə*; retention of the long vowels **ā*, **ī*, **ū* as *a* (transcribed also as *ā*), *i*, *u*; monophthongization of Proto-Semitic **aw*, **ay* as *ō*, *ē* (or *o*, *e*); merger of the interdentals (**ṯ*, **ṯ̣*, **ḏ*) with the corresponding sibilants (Gəᶜəz *s*, *ṣ*, *z*); use of *yqtVl* (e.g., Amh. *yəsbär*) as a jussive form; *as*-causatives (not yet fully developed in Gəᶜəz); compound verbs with the verb 'to say' (e.g., Gəᶜəz *baḥ*(*a*) *bəhəlä*, 'greet', Amh. *qʷəč̣č̣* / *quč̣č̣ alä*, 'sit down', ↗Ǝnnämor *koo barä*, 'he shouted'); the verb of existence (Gəᶜəz *halläwä*/*hallo*, Tgn. *allo*/*allä*, Amh. *allä*, (related?) Ǝnnämor *anä*); use of this verb in periphrastic constructions; introduction of a palatal element in the B-stem (*intensive stem) formation of the present form (Gəᶜəz 0_2 *yəsebbər* < **i̯usai̯abbir*); and development of a gerund (converb) from an infinitive in the acc. (Gəᶜəz **sämiᶜ-a-hu* '(with) his hearing (acc.)' > *sämiᶜ-o* 'when / after he heard', Tgn. *sämiᶜ-u*, Amh. *säm-t-o*, ↗Argobba *säm-d-o*, to the gerund in West ↗Gurage s. below).

Classification of the Ethio-Semitic languages

The standard classification is that expressed by Leslau (e.g., PICES 3, vol. 2):

- (1) North Ethiopic:
  Gəᶜəz (extinct), Təgre, Təgrəñña
- (2) South Ethiopic:
  - a) Amharic, Argobba,
  - b) ↗Harari, East Gurage (↗Səlṭi, ↗Wälläne, ↗Zay),
  - c) ↗Gafat (extinct), ↗Soddo (North Gurage),
  - d) West Gurage.

This classification was revised by Hetzron (1972) by strictly using the method of shared morphological innovations as the classificatory criterion. He divided South Ethiopic into a "Transversal" and an "Outer" group of languages. Transversal South Ethiopic consists of Amharic, the most important living E.-S. language, Argobba, and ↗Harari – East Gurage. Outer South Ethiopic comprises the rest, i.e. Gafat and Gunnän-Gurage (= North and West Gurage):

- (1) North Ethiopic: Gəᶜəz (extinct), Təgre – Təgrəñña,
- (2) South Ethiopic:
  - (a) Transversal South Ethiopic:
    - (I) [Central:] Amharic – Argobba,
    - (II) [Eastern:] Harari – East Gurage (Z[ʷ]ay, Səlṭi – Wälläne – Ǝnnäqor),
  - (b) Outer South Ethiopic:
    - (I) n-group:
      - (1) Gafat (extinct),
      - (2) Soddo, Gogot (Northern Gurage),
    - (II) tt-group:
      - (1) Muḫər (Northern Gurage),
      - (2) Western Gurage:

- (a) [2-tense group:] Mäsqan,
- (b) [3-tense group:] Central/Peripheral Western Gurage:
  - (I) Central Western Gurage,
    Əža, Čaha – Gumär – Gura,
  - (II) Peripheral Western Gurage:
    Geto, Ənnämor – Əndägäñ – Enär.

Hetzron offered a terminologically slightly modified second version of his classification in 1977. His term "3-tense group" refers to the fact that these languages have developed future tenses. The definite future is composed of the imperfect form and *-k*$^{(w)}$*V/-tV/-dV* suffixes, with *k* directly after a consonant which is part of the verbal root, *t* after a long vowel or a diphthong and *d* after a short vowel or a consonant which is part of a suffix, e.g. Ənnämor *yəsäßər-kʷe* 'he will break', *yəsäwrua-te* 'they (masc.) will break', *yəsäßər-ku-de* 'he will break it'. Some of Hetzron's arguments and results were criticised by Goldenberg (1977; s. also Hudson 2000).

Gəʿəz versus the rest of Ethio-Semitic

Whereas Gəʿəz had preserved the old Semitic syntax (i.e. verbal forms come sentence-initial, genitive and relative clause follow their determinants), the modern languages have reversed this order of elements. The verb stands sentence-final and qualifiers (like adjective, genitive and relative clause) now precede the qualified element. Təgrəñña, however, is an exception to this rule, letting article, adjective and relative clause precede the noun, but the genitival attribute must follow (e.g. *əti z-əʿəddäl wärḥawi mäqʷənnän sərnay* 'the monthly rations of wheat [*sərnay*] that are distributed').

Typical of all living E.-S. languages (but less so in Təgre) is the "breaking up" of the sentence in a theme (topic) part and a rheme (comment) part, whereby the theme is manifested in a relative verbal form. Both sentence parts are combined through the copula. In these constructions the theme can precede or follow in both languages cited here: Tgn. with the theme following *səlä-zi ḵäʾa əyyä ... zə-bälkuḵum*, 'therefore I said unto you ... (< therefore [*səlä-zi*, rheme] it is [*əyyä*] that I said unto you [theme] ...)', but Amh. with the theme preceding *y(ä)-alhʷaččäw səlä-zzih näw* '(< that I said unto you [theme], therefore [*səlä-zzih*, rheme] it is [*näw*])' (Joh 8, 24). The use of relative verbal forms in focus constructions is one of the more prominent (areal) features of the Ethiopian "Sprachbund", i.e. linguistic area (s. Appleyard 1989; s. ↗Ethiopian Language Area).

Phonologically, palatalizations occur not only in the south but are also frequent in the north, e.g. Tgn. *šåwʿattä* 'seven', cf. Gəʿəz *säbʿattu*, Amh. *säbat*.

North versus South Ethio-Semitic

The most significant difference between both major groups of E.-S. is the loss of most laryngeals in the south. In Amharic and nearly all other South Ethiopic languages, the Gəʿəz sounds *ḫ*, *ḥ* [*ħ*], ʿ, *h*, ʾ have been given up, but the morphological structure of the verbal forms was maintained, e.g., Gəʿəz *halläwä* (*hallo*) *yəśəḥəq* > Amh. *yəsəq-all*, Səlṭi *isiïq-aan*, 'he laughs', Gəʿəz *sämaʿ-ku* > Amh. *sämma-ʷx*, Čaha *säma-xʷ-əm*, 'I heard'. In Harari *ḥ* is retained, it corresponds to Gəʿəz *ḥ*, *ḫ* and *h*. Amharic has developed a new *h* (from *k*).

More relevant for a classification are morphological features:

– the length of the penultimate consonant of type B (< *intensive) verbs has been generalized to all other types, e.g., Gəʿəz type A *säbärä* > Amh. *säbbärä*, 'he broke'; Gəʿəz type B *ḥaddäsä* > Amh. *addäsä*, 'he renewed'; Gəʿəz type C *baräkä* > Amh. *barräkä*, 'he blessed';

– the perfect form of type B was morphologically strengthened by inserting a palatal element, Gəʿəz *fäṣṣämä*, 'he accomplished, finished' > _*fäi̯äṣṣämä_ > Argobba *feṭṭämä*, Gafat, Soddo *fiṭṭämä*. In some Gurage idioms and in Amharic the long vowel was centralized to *ä* (*fäṭṭämä*). The first radical became palatalized, if possible, as in (Gəʿəz *zäwwärä* > ?) _*zäi̯äbbärä_ > Soddo *zibbärä*, Əža, Muḫər, Mäsqan, Goggot *žäbbärä*, Čaha, Əndägäñ, Geto *žäpärä* 'he returned (tr.), answered'.

An isogloss dividing north and south is the numeral "nine". The north maintained the Semitic root _*ts_^{1c} (cp. Tgr. *səʿ*, Tgn. *təšʿattä*), while the south has adopted the root _*zḫṭñ_ of unknown origin: Harari *ziḫṭäñ*, Amharic *zäṭäññ*, Čaha *žäṭä*, Əndägäñ *žiʾä*. Besides there is a large number of Cushitic words that are either already attested in Gəʿəz (like: *śəga*, 'flesh, meat', cf. ↗Bilin *sixa*, and *dorho*, 'chicken, hen', cf. Bilin *dirwa*) or entered the E.-S. languages in question at a later date (like: Səlṭi *dähano*, Əndägäñ *žähonä*, Amh. *zähon*, 'elephant', cf. ↗Kambaata *zanō*, ↗Saho *dakāno*). For a discussion of Cushitic loans in the Amharic lexicon see Appleyard 1979.

Transversal versus Outer South Ethiopic

Outer South Ethiopic as opposed to Transversal South Ethiopic is characterized by elements added to verbal forms to mark them as main verbs as opposed to subordinate (sub.) forms, e.g., ↗Soddo 3rd pers. sg. masc. *yibädr-u*, sub. *yibädər*; fem. *təbädr-i*, sub. *təbädər*; 3rd pers. pl. masc. *yibädrəmu-n*, sub. *yibädrəm*. Instead of *-i* and *-n* Muxər has *-t*: 3rd pers. sg. fem. *təbädr-ət*, 3rd pers. pl. masc. *yibädrəmu-t*. The main verb markers are totally dropped in Western Gurage. Leslau (1967) and Hetzron (1968) compared the *-u/-n* elements directly with the Arabic personal affixes of the imperfect 3rd pers. sg. masc. *yaktub-u*, 3rd pers. pl. masc. *yaktubū-na* 'he, they write' and maintained the proto-Semitic origin of these elements. But this was criticised by Goldenberg (1977:479), having already been discussed and rejected by Rundgren (1959:242).

In Transversal South Ethiopic the perfect form of the auxiliary verb *hlw is used instead of main-verb markers, e.g. Amharic *əsäbr-allä*^{w}*x*, Harari *isäbr-aax*, Səlṭi *əsäbr-aaw/-aahu* 'I am breaking'.

Outer South Ethiopic

The elements Hetzron (1972) has used as criteria for classifying Outer South Ethiopic are those that function as the main-verb marker. He distinguishes between an *n*-group (Gafat, Soddo, Gogot) and a *tt*-group (comprising the rest, i.e. Muḫər and Western Gurage) according to the form of the main verb marker. Both are derived from a Proto-Outer South Ethiopic form *nt. Doubts can be raised against this argumentation since such changes as *nt > *n* resp. *tt* are phonetic processes probably too general to be used for genetic classification.

In Western Gurage, apart from a *m*-converb, a gerund is found that seems to consist of a jussive base + *-yt-ä* which is inflected like a perfect. Hetzron (1972:101) has tied this formation directly with the gerund of Gə^{c}əz, Təgrəñña, Amharic, Argobba (s. above), but cf. Goldenberg's critical remarks 1977:466f.

Origin of Ethio-Semitic

There are some doubts (according to Hudson 1977) about the generally accepted theory that the E.-S. languages go back to one single wave of immigration in one (northern) area in the 1st millenium B.C. Presumably even during the 1st millennium A.D. groups of people from South Arabia will have found their way (refuge) into north Ethiopia (cf. the etymology of the term Gə^{c}əz, which is derived from a root *g*ʿ*z* 'become free'). But there are no indications that other South Semitic groups ever entered East Africa at a more southern location or at an earlier date. Although it cannot be dismissed a priori, there is no concrete evidence for assuming that the main division of E.-S. into a northern and a southern branch already occurred in South Arabia. It seems to follow that the generally accepted division between North and South Ethiopic languages is given too much emphasis, since it was mainly the result of a migration to the south of peoples whose original home was in the north. The relatedness between all E.-S. languages is indeed so close that only inner-Ethiopian developments can reasonably be assumed. In connection with the view sometimes expressed of an alleged inexplicably high diversity or great heterogeneity within the E.-S. languages, some scholars (s. Hudson 1977) make Ethiopia the original home of the Semitic- (or even the Semito-Hamitic-) speaking peoples. Only with this assumption, it is maintained, can the (alleged) Proto-Semitic features in Gurage (like the *-u/-n* endings of the imperfect) be explained. However, this strange idea of a migration by the early Semites from East Africa to South Arabia and from there on to the Fertile Crescent is not supported by the historical facts of the development of the Semitic peoples.

Lit.: DAVID APPLEYARD, "A Statistical Survey of the Amharic Lexicon", *JSS* 24, 1979, 71–97; ID., "The Relative Verb in Focus Constructions – an Areal Feature", *JSS* 34, 1989, 291–305; ID., "Ethiopian Semitic and South Arabian: towards a Re-Examination of a Relationsship", *Israel Oriental Studies* 16, 1996, 203–28; GIDEON GOLDENBERG, "The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia and their Classification", *BSOAS* 40, 1977, 461–507; ROBERT HETZRON, "Main Verb Markers in Northern Gurage", *Africa* 28, 1968, 156–72; ID., *Ethiopian Semitic – Studies in Classification*, Manchester 1972; ID., *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977; GROVER HUDSON, "Language Classification and the Semitic Prehistory of Ethiopia", *Folia Orientalia* 18, 1977, 119–66; ID., "Ethiopian Semitic Overview", *JES* 33, 2, 2000, 75–86; WOLF LESLAU, "Classification of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia", in: *PICES 3*, vol. 2, 5–22; ID., "Hypothesis on a Proto-Semitic Marker of the Imperfect in Gurage", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26, 1967, 121–25; JONATHAN RODGERS, "The Subgrouping of the South Semitic Languages", in: ALAN S. KAYE (ed.), *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his 85th Birthday*, Wiesbaden 1991, 1323–36; FRITHIOF RUNDGREN, *Intensiv und Aspektkorrelation*, Uppsala – Wiesbaden 1959; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia: a Comparative Phonology*, London 1955; RAINER VOIGT, "The Classification of Central Semitic", *JSS* 32, 1987, 1–21; ID., "Neusüdarabisch und Äthiopisch", in: NORBERT NEBES (ed.), *Arabia felix: Beiträge zur Sprache und Kultur des vorislamischen Arabien. Festschrift Walter W. Müller*, Wiesbaden 1994, 291–307.

Rainer Voigt

Ethnicity

E. refers to aspects of social behaviour that relate to the historical origins and cultural repertoire or style of a group. Emerging in scholarly discourse in the late 1960s, the term was used as both an analytical and also explanatory concept about the role of complex, multidimensional notions of cultural difference that were made socially relevant. The concept, thus going back to a sense of an "original" popular culture and a shared historical idea of group descent and belonging, has in recent years moved from being an analytical concept (s., e.g., Cohen 1978) to a political one, appropriated and used by elites of groups often defined as ethnic for strategic or ideological ends (Eriksen 1991). Due to its connection to politics, E., as a cultural repertoire of group belonging or identification, has become one of the most popular subjects studied in social science (cf. Banks 1996; Jenkins 1999 for overviews).

When looking at empirical realities, also in Ethiopia, there is no denying the existence of important cultural differences between human groups. Historically, and especially in the precolonial period, these had a social and cognitive basis and were explicitly used in self-definition vis-à-vis other groups. Often language was taken as a key criterion, but also shared rituals, key customs and a sense of historical identity. However, the context of the colonial and postcolonial states has brought out explicitly political concerns focused on "ethnic identity", usually as a response to challenges of material inequality, political marginalization or differential social ranking of groups within an authoritarian state hierarchy. Indeed, state action in itself – by its bureaucratic and homogenizing procedures of administration and surveillance of its subjects – "produces" group identities.

In Africa, including Ethiopia, this process of state construction and response singled out the ethnic, or rather ethno-regional, elements because of their salience as "markers" of apparent difference and of inequality in prestige and power. The process was enhanced by the often imposed and conflict-generating nature of colonial territorial borders since the late 19th cent.

E. in Ethiopia and Eritrea has its own historical complexity, due to the countries' long indigenous traditions of state formation and inter-group relations. There is a great and, indeed, fascinating ethno-cultural diversity, rooted in the emergence of specific local adaptations of human populations and a corresponding subjective identification in contacts with others. This relative autonomy of ethno-cultural formations in the historical sense did not preclude multiple, but often limited and unequal relations between them, emerging from an early age onwards. Furthermore, as Ethiopia was (apart from its coastal areas, later to become Eritrea) never pervasively colonized, the local political culture produced an, in several ways, unique pattern of power and prestige relations between ethno-regional groups. The imperial state model, based on notions of personalized power and tributary loyalty and not on territorial conceptions of control and borders, gave rise to an hierarchical structure of power based on a Christian tradition of authority that had appeal among different ethnic groups, some of them formed in the process of state expansion itself (e.g., the "Amhara" since the 11th cent., incorporating Təgrəñña-speaking, Gəʿəz and Agäw-speaking highland groups, and in the late 18th cent. also Oromo-speakers). Processes of assimilation went on along with those of differentiation and dissociation, the key being access to power and cultural tolerance. While ethnic identity as we now know it cannot be assumed to have existed in ancient or "medieval" Ethiopia, there are indications that feelings or consciousness of cultural group difference and opposition nevertheless existed, as is evident in the mention of the "Beǧa" in an inscription of the Aksumite king ʿEzana and in the religious polemics in post-1270 Christian texts on the "usurping" Zagʷe kings, who were of Agäw origin.

In the coastal areas of Ethiopia, Islamic states and sultanates emerged from the 10th cent. onwards, leading to a particular blend of the Islamic faith and indigenous or "ethnic" beliefs that continued to (co-)exist. This is evident among the ʿAfar, the eastern Oromo groups, the Somali (ʿIssa, Gadabuursi, Isaaq, Ogaden) and the Argobba, where indigenous, "pre-Islamic", notions of ritual, supernatural forces and customary law were often maintained. The "ethnic identity" of such states (e.g., ʿAdal) is hard to pin down. Ethiopia was also marked by quite unique processes of conversion, from traditional religion to Islam or Christianity, from Christianity to Islam and vice versa (↗Conversions). Indigenous state formation on an ethnic basis also occurred in western Oromo areas (↗Gibe states) and in smaller regions like Käfa and Wälaytta, but in such cases conquered groups usually assimilated to the culture of the victors.

Nowadays dozens of ethnic groups are distinguished in Ethiopia. The criterion to distinguish a group is often language or dialect and some "spectacular" cultural features in dance and song, ritual combat, bodily decorations and clothing styles and material culture. In this respect Ethiopia has a still relatively rich heritage compared to many other African countries; i.e. there is a broad range of cultural "authenticity" expressed both in ideational and material cultures and its bearers often show pride in them. The common view is that Ethiopia has around 80 ethnic groups or "nationalities" and Eritrea nine. While in some academic publications, lists of these people were given (see, for instance, the Appendix of ethnic groups in Levine 2001), the criteria to distinguish them differ. Since 1991 the Ethiopian government has listed about 80 groups officially as a "people", "nation" or "nationality", with the Oromo, the Amhara, the Tǝgrǝñña and the Somali as the largest. In the last Ethiopian census of 1994, some interesting new, previously not distinguished, group names appeared, such as "Melon" and "Libido". The nine officially recognized Eritrean groups are: Tǝgrǝñña-speakers, Sāho, Hadaareb, Rašāyida, Tǝgre, Bilin, Nara, Kunama and ʿAfar. All these groups in both countries are assumed to have their own territories, recognizable customs etc. In reality, the borders and customs are flexible and show intermingling, so that maintaining or "policing" them is hardly feasible.

In the imperial era in Ethiopia, open references to E. and to language diversity was strongly discouraged in the context of a forced project of nation-building. The *Därg* regime after 1974 recognized E. (cf. the literacy programmes, the founding of the Institute for the Study of Ethiopian Nationalities), but severely restricted its expression and followed a Soviet-style formula of politically containing it. Anti-state insurgent movements in Ethiopia were largely mobilized along ethnic lines, with the exception of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

Since the 1960s, anthropological studies of Ethiopia have contributed to the growing interest in E., as monographs and papers were often focused on a holistic study of one particular group and its cultural traditions. Work on the smaller groups in the south and west predominated. This trend continued among the new generation of Ethiopian anthropologists, who also mostly took one people as the focus of their study (s. M.A. theses and monographs produced by students in anthropology since 1992 at Addis Ababa University; cf. Pankhurst 2002). Theoretically these studies insisted, especially since the mid-1980s, on the dynamic nature of "ethnic groups", to be seen as a particular formation in time and space and conditioned by wider politico-economic processes, and not only by (shifting) self-ascription. In line with wider disciplinary developments in social science, E. in Ethiopia is now rarely seen as the defining framework of study, but only as one important aspect of social life to be studied in conjunction with other themes. A more recent trend among Ethiopian scholars is the renewed attention to folklore and oral traditions of ethnic groups (e.g., Sahlu Kidane 2002). An interesting and related phenomenon in Ethiopia, common also elsewhere, is the presence of a non-official, everyday discourse on presumed characteristics of the various ethnic groups in the cultural, social and economic sense, condensed in "prototypes" about "the Gurage", "the Somali", "the Kambaata", or "the Amhara". One encounters these characteristics often in the form of stories and jokes, but there is a tendency towards stereotyping (cf. Habtamu Wondimu et al. 2001).

In post-1991 Ethiopia, where the new government instituted a novel political structure and discourse of E. in the public sphere, there is a significant upsurge in things ethnic. Not only was the country's administration controversially restructured along ethnic lines, but also the emerging elites of the country's ethnic populations – both the larger ones like Oromo, Amhara, Somali and Tǝgrǝñña-speakers, and the smaller ones, from Benç to Ḍiraašša and from Wälaytta to Sidama – show a new interest in "their own" history and traditions and are recording them. However, this tends to happen in a quite descriptive, uncritical manner. In the political sense, E. also became a vehicle for claims on resources and funds.

There is now also a voluminous literature on E. and politics in Ethiopia, mostly concerned with "ethnic federalism" and the new local politics after 1991. Quite a number of studies, including Ph.D. theses, both by foreigners and Ethiopians, were and still are being produced (examples s. Abbink 1997; Assefaw Bariagaber 1998; Merera Gudina 2002; Jacquin-Berdal 2002; Vaughan – Tronvoll 2003). It is difficult to say whether the Western academic discourse on E. has captured the local realities and representations. In Ethiopia and Africa in general there was no a-priori thinking in terms of "ethnic" group traditions, as political formations were more important in shaping local differences and cultural divergences. Although people often have great attachment to cultural/ethnic tradition, it is quite situational, and they show great pragmatism in local identifications and allegiances (as Markakis [1998] shows in the case of the Gurage). There is an epistemological problem here. It would indeed deserve separate study to inquire how Western frames of mind and educational-intellectual traditions have influenced, if not shaped, local perceptions of regional/cultural/religious differences into "ethnic" categories (cf. Campbell 1997; Lema 1993). Interestingly, but not unexpectedly, aspects of "ethnic thinking" have now permeated local academic discourse and, of course, politics in Ethiopia and (less so) in Eritrea, thus pre-empting a natural development towards new forms of identity relating to the wider concerns of local people.

However, E. in Ethiopia and Eritrea is a reality of life and is best recognized as such. There is demonstrable diversity in customs, dress-codes, ritual, values, kinship systems and worldview. In the new political dispensations, ethnic consciousness or identity often serves as a source of pride in people's own group tradition and a valuable "cultural resource", even though social life is not entirely structured by it and people pursue their own choices and allegiances. A globalizing world with multiple contacts, migrations and exchanges favouring hybridity makes the presumed purity or boundedness of any ethnic identity an unlikely fiction, but despite this, the study of E. and ethnic group (re)formation in Ethiopia and Eritrea remains a task of scholarly importance and practical relevance.

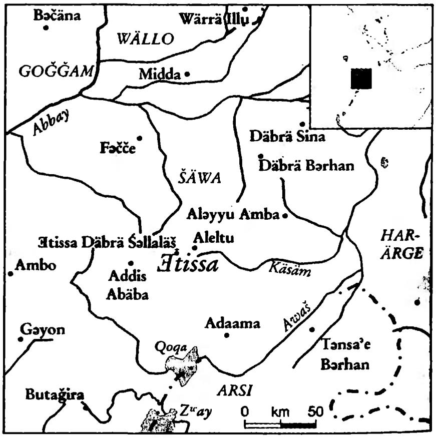
Lit.: JON ABBINK, "Ethnicity and Constitutionalism in Contemporary Ethiopia", *Journal of African Law* 41, 1997, 159–74; ASSEFAW BARIAGABER, "The Politics of Cultural Pluralism in Ethiopia and Eritrea: Trajectories of Ethnicity and Constitutional Experiments", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, 1998, 1056–73; MARCUS BANKS, *Ethnicity: Anthropological Constructions*, London – New York 1996; AIDAN CAMPBELL, *Western Primitivism: African Ethnicity*, London – Washington, DC 1997; RONALD W. COHEN, "Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7, 1978, 379–403; THOMAS HYLLAND ERIKSEN, "The Cultural Contexts of Ethnic Differences", *Man* 26, 1991, 127–44; HABTAMU WONDIMU (ed.) – BENJAMIN BEIT-HALLAHMI – JON ABBINK, *Psychological Modernity and Attitudes to Social Change in Ethiopian Young Adults: the Role of Ethnic Identity and Change*, Amsterdam 2001; DOMINIQUE JACQUIN-BERDAL, *Nationalism and Ethnicity in the Horn of Africa: a Critique of the Ethnic Interpretation*, Lewiston, NY, 2002; RICHARD JENKINS, *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations*, London 1997; SAHLU KIDANE, *Borana Folktales: a Contextual Study*, London 2002; ANTOINE LEMA, *Africa Divided. The Creation of "Ethnic Groups"*, Lund – Bromley UK 1993; DONALD W. LEVINE, *Greater Ethiopia. The Evolution of a Multiethnic Society*, Chicago – London ²2001; JOHN MARKAKIS, "The Politics of Identity: the Case of the Gurage", in: MOHAMMED SALIH – JOHN MARKAKIS (eds.), *Ethnicity and the State in Eastern Africa*, Uppsala 1998, 127–46; MERERA GUDINA, *Ethiopia: Competing Ethnic Nationalisms and the Quest for Democracy, 1960–2000*, Maastricht 2002; ALULA PANKHURST, "Research on Ethiopian Societies and Cultures during the Second Half of the Twentieth Century", *JES* 35, 2002, 1–60; SARAH VAUGHAN – KJETIL TRONVOLL, *The Culture of Power in Contemporary Ethiopia*, Stockholm 2003.

Jon Abbink

Ǝtissa

Ǝ. (**እቲሳ**, also Itissa) is an area situated in ↗Bulga, Šäwa, which is known due to the monastery Ǝtissa Däbrä Ṣəllaləš. It is located 13 km south of Aleltu, on the road to Däbrä Bərhan and encompasses also the sister monastery of Qay Däbrä Maryam 2 km to the south.

Local tradition points to Ǝ. as the place where (in 1215) Ǝgzi᾽ Haräya gave birth to Fəśśəḥa



Ṣəyon, who grew up to become the great saint *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, thus identifying with Ǝ. the locality of Zorare in Ṣəlaləš, Šäwa, mentioned in the Vita of Täklä Haymanot as the birthplace of the Saint. Correlating with the Vita, oral tradition recounts that in the last days of the Aksumite empire, a group of monks under *abba* Yədla (a contemporary of ↗Dəgnažan) founded a monastery here, which became Šäwa's first centre of Evangelization. Also it states that during the 10th cent. the ↗Ark of the Covenant from the church Aksum Ṣəyon was hidden at Ṣəlaləš for twelve years.

The early history of the monastery is not known, yet the existence of the old sanctuary of Täklä Haymanot at Ǝ. cannot be excluded. It is said that the local church of St. Michael at Zorare was reconsecrated in the name of Täklä Haymanot under *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, but destroyed by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī in the 16th cent. In the 19th cent., *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa paid homage to Täklä Haymanot by rebuilding the monastery at the Saint's birthplace. Little known, yet well cared for, the church of Täklä Haymanot was reconstructed by *ətege* Ṭaytu between 1899 and 1907 as a large refined, well built edifice. A number of dignitaries patronized the monastery and Empress Zäwditu reroofed and repainted the church and donated gifts to the treasury.

In 1937, during the Italian occupation, Ǝ. was a scene of force fighting between the patriots of *ras* ↗abbäbä Arägay and the Italians. A rich and relatively well-preserved array of buildings and artefacts are of artistic, historical and cultural interest, though dating from the 19th cent. rather than to its early origins.

Src.: SerHist 282; GueCopMen 360f.; ENRICO CERULLI, "Inni della chiesa Abissina", *RSO* 12, 1929–30, 361–407, here 376f.; ID., "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo la 'lista rimata' (sec. XIV–XVIII)", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 12, 1943, 226–53, here 231f.

Joachim Persoon

Eucalyptus

The E., a fast-growing tree of the *Myrtaceae* family, which originated in Australia, was introduced into Ethiopia, as to many other parts of Africa as well as the Mediterranean area, Asia and North America, toward the end of the 19th cent. (Noad — Birnie 1989:193; Fichtl — Admasu Adi 1994:364). Of the 140 existing varieties of E. in the world, the most widely diffused type in Ethiopia was the *Eucalyptus globulis*, or Tasmanian Blue Gum, known in Amharic as the **ነጭ፡ ባሕር፡ ዛፍ** (*näčč̣ baḥər zaf*, lit. 'white tree [from] overseas'). Several other varieties were, however, at one time or another also imported. These included the *Eucalyptus grandis*, or Rose Gum, the *Eucalyptus camaldulensis*, or Red River Gum, and the *Eucalyptus virminalis*, or Ribbon Gum, all three known in Amharic as the **ቀይ፡ ባሕር፡ ዛፍ** (*qäyy baḥər zaf*, or 'red tree [from] overseas'); the *Eucalyptus saligna*, or Sydney Blue Gum, also called the **ሳሊኛ፡ ባሕር፡ ዛፍ** (*saliñña baḥər zaf*), and the *Eucalyptus citriodoro*, or Lemon Gum, called the **ሽቶ፡ ባሕር፡ ዛፍ** (*šətto baḥər zaf*, or 'smelly tree [from] overseas'; Azene Bekele-Tesemma 1993:222–33). In documents of the introductory period of E. the terms *əkalibtos*, *kaliptus*, *kaleptus* and *kaleptos* were used (cp. Tubiana 1990:331f.).

Eucalyptus trees in Addis Abäba, 1950/52; photo by Eike Haberland, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23–Ha016–01 M–ON)

The E. was first imported into ↗Addis Abäba in the mid-1890s, during the reign of *aṣe* Mənilək II. Opinion differs as to who actually introduced the tree. The Georgian pharmacist Mérab, who took an informed interest in the city's history, believed that "four or five varieties" were "imported from Australia and Europe in 1895", and that the first trees were planted by two Frenchmen: the trader Léon ↗Chefneux and Mənilək's adviser Casimir ↗Mondon-Vidailhet (Mérab 1921, vol. 2, 178). This latter statement was endorsed by the subsequent French geographer Berlan (1951:572). Chojnacki (1963:36f.) on the other hand quotes evidence to suggest that the tree may have been introduced by Captain O'Brien, an Englishman connected with the construction of the Addis Abäba–Djibouti railway. The first trees, according to other evidence cited by Chojnacki, were planted around St. George's cathedral and the surrounding area. Many seedings were "either distributed by Mənilək, or in some cases sold" – at a price of 40 young plants for one Maria Theresia thaler.

The E. proved easy to cultivate. Harvested every ten years or so it grew again from its roots, without any need of replanting. Its slender trunks yielded valuable timber for traditional house and fence building, whilst its leaves when burnt provided a rapid heat ideal for baking *ənǧära*-bread.

Planting in the early 20th cent. was rapidly expanded. The British envoy Hohler (1942:124) reported in 1906: "Of late years [...] many gum trees have been planted in the town, especially near the [British] Legation, and I sent for seeds to India, Ceylon, England etc. and planted several thousand more". Ethiopians owning several hectares, according to Mérab (1921, vol. 2, 178), were at around this time covering the whole of their land with E. trees in the hope of selling their wood for hundreds of thousands of thalers, while several Europeans of his acquaintance had planted as many as two, three or four thousand seedlings.

The coming of the E. thus entirely transformed the physical appearance of the capital. The British traveller Wylde (1901:416) had described its environs in 1901 as "nearly treeless", but Mérab (1921, vol. 2, 178) only a generation later described Addis Abäba as an "Eucalyptopolis". The trees were so numerous, and fast-growing, that the country's hitherto severe shortage of timber and fire-wood was rapidly overcome. Fears widespread around the turn of the century that Addis Abäba would have to be abandoned, in favour of ↗Addis ᶜAläm or some such-like town, proved unfounded, and the capital survived. E. trees were soon also planted in most of the principal Ethiopian towns, among them ᶜAdwa, Däbrä Tabor, Däbrä Marqos, and Leqemt (Neqemte), with the result that the presence of E. trees served to mark major settlements (PankHist 243, 329f., 347).

Though a much needed source of timber and fire-wood, as well as highly profitable to their owners, the E. tree is not an unmixed blessing. Its rapid growth, its deep roots and its high demand of water significantly dries up the soil in which it grows, while its acidity hampers the growth of grass, and hence leads to enhanced soil-erosion (↗Environment).

Some people are said to have objected to the tree's strong and unaccustomed smell. Opposition to the tree was at one point so great that the Ethiopian Ministry of Agriculture issued an edict in March 1913 ordering owners of E. plantations to dig up 2/3 of their trees – and replace them with mulberry trees, which, it was apparently thought, might be used for silk-worm production (Eadie 1924:177–80). The E. was, however, by then so well-established that it became, as to this time, a permanent feature of virtually all Ethiopian urban settlements.

E. is not only the most important fuel for Ethiopia but its wood is frequently used in building construction of any kind. The essential oil of the plant is used in herbal medicine, e.g., for the treatment of cough and cold it is released by heat and then inhaled.

↗Forests

Lit.: AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYLDE, *Modern Abyssinia*, London 1901; PAUL MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Ethiopie: L'Abyssinie sous Ménélik*, Paris 1921, 19, 29, vol. 2, 178; THOMAS HOHLER, *Diplomatic Petrel*, London 1942, 124; JOHN INGLIS EADIE, *An Amharic Reader*, Cambridge 1924, 177–80; EDOUARD BERLAN, "L'eucalyptus à Addis Abeba et au Choa", *Revue de Géographie Alpine* 39, 3, 1951, 570–77; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Forests and Forestry Problems as Seen by Some Travellers in Ethiopia", *JES* 1, 1, 1963, 32–39; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Wild Life and Forests in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 7, 1964, 241–55; PankHist II, 243, 329f., 347; TIM NOAD – ANNE BIRNIE, *Trees of Kenya*, Nairobi 1989, 193, 222–33; AZENE BEKELE-TESEMMA, *Useful Trees and Shrubs for Ethiopia*, Nairobi 1993, 222–33; REINHARD FICHTL — ADMASU ADI, *Honeybee Flora of Ethiopia*, Weikersheim 1994, 364; JOSEPH TUBIANA, "*Bar zaf*: l'eucalyptus en Ethiopie", *Paideuma* 36, 1990, 220–33 (Lit.).

Richard Pankhurst

Eucharist

The Greek word εὐχαριστία is usually rendered by Gəᶜəz **አኰቴት** (*akkʷätet* lit. 'thanksgiving, gift'). Other words referring to the E. are **ጵርስፎራ** (*p̣ərəsfora*, Gr.: προσφορά, 'offering, oblation'), **ቍርባን** (*qʷərban*, Syr.: *qurbānā* 'gift', i.e. 'sacrifice' and 'benefit received from the sacrifice') and **ቅዳሴ** (*qəddase*, 'sanctification, hallowing'). *Akkʷätetä qʷərban* stands for the eucharistic prayers usually designated as ↗Anaphoras.

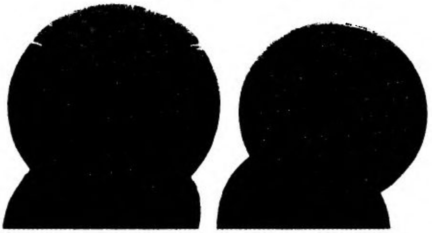
According to the *Mäṣḥafä ↗senodos*, which is also quoted in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗qəddase* and the present rite, essential elements for the celebration of the E. are only bread from wheat-flour (four Presfora [loaf] for Sundays and three Presfora for other days are offered) and 'new ↗wine'

(**ወይን፡ ሐዲስ**, *wäyn ḥaddis*, i.e. not fermented wine) from dried grapes (s. *Andəmta mäṣḥafä qəddase* 1994/95:39f.; cp. Guidi 1899:149). They are prepared by a deacon, immediately before the divine liturgy. 'Old wine' (**ወይን፡ ብሉይ**, *wäyn bəluy*, or **ወይን፡ ከራሚ**, *wäyn kärami*, 'fermented wine') cannot be used because Christ said that he would not drink from it (Mt 26:29). During the verification rite (at the offertory), there is an admonition to the deacon who pours the wine in the chalice to exercise extreme care and make sure that the wine is newly made and add the exact amount of water requested (s. *Andəmta mäṣḥafä qəddase* 39f.). During the Middle Ages there was a debate with the metropolitans sent from Egypt on the type of "wine" used at liturgy, but the Ethiopian clergy justified their practice with the excuse that the fermented wine would become sour because of the climate (Cerulli 1950:440, 452). Only a few monasteries, in accordance with the Egyptian use, celebrate with fermented wine.

During the liturgy (↗*Qəddase*), after the *epiklesis*, the eucharistic elements become the real Body and Blood of Christ (*Haymanotä abäw* 28:22, p. 96). In the time of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (1434–68) there was a controversy over the doctrine of Millenniarism. The views of those "heretics" who denied it are sometimes interpreted as a refusal of the transubstantiation (s. ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, ed. CerMaria 112f.), although it was most probably only a millennarian eschatological question (Beylot 1974:34ff.) that created debates. The dogma of transubstantiation seems to have never been questioned.

According to the order of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, the Eucharistic bread may not be preserved, because, as the Church scholars explain, the Israelites were not allowed to collect manna for the following day (Ex 16: 19–20) and the body of Christ did not stay on the cross the whole day (Jn 19:31–42, cp. Mäbrahtu Mobaʿ 1999/2000:56). Besides, the E. was instituted to be eaten and not to be preserved.

The unique Ethiopian devotion to the ↗*tabot* comes from the fact that the E. is celebrated on it (Agostino da Hebo 1994:131–57). The E. is considered a sacrifice (**መሥዋዕት**, *mäśwaʿət*) because it is the sacrament of Jesus's sacrifice on the cross and the sign of his permanent presence among those who renew what he did at the Last Supper, who repeat his command (Lk 22:19) and believe that the flesh and the blood are offered on the altar by the same sacrifice that was given up on the cross. Their reward is the same as that of the "good thief" (from Lk 23; s. Cerulli 1960:225f.). The E. is an *akkʷätet* offered only to God.


Wooden stamps for eucharistic bread; treasury of the Gundä Gunde monastery; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

It is difficult to speak of daily E. everywhere, although the liturgical books provide readings and ↗anaphoras throughout the liturgical year. Frequent eucharistic liturgy, though, is encouraged by some monasteries and ↗*däbr*-churches (e.g., in Aksum). Daily mass is celebrated in lent. Normally celebration of the eucharistic liturgy requires two priests and three deacons. In some larger churches with some three *mäqdäs* and the relative altars, masses can be synchronized from the three places. Those who intend to receive the E. must be free from sin, have to take a bath, be on a fast for the duration of time that allows the stomach to be empty and feel bitter in the mouth. The mystery of the E. is sung with the ↗*Zəmmare* at the mass and with *Mälkəʾa qʷərban* ('Eucharist effigy') at communion by the ↗*däbtäras*.

Src.: **እንድምታ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ** (*Andəmta mäṣḥafä qəddase*, '*Andəmta* [commentary] to the Book of the Liturgy'), Addis Abäba 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.]; ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH (ed.), **ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው** (*Haymanotä abäw*, 'The Faith of the Fathers'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.]; *liqä mäzämməran* MOGÄS ʿƎQUBÄ GIYORGIS (ed.), **መርሐ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ባህለ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Märḥa ṣədəq bahlä haymanot*, 'A Guide to the Right Statement of the Faith'), Aśmära 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.]; CerMaria 112f.

Lit.: AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU (eds.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970; ENRICO CERULLI, "La festa del Battesimo e l'Eucarestia in Ethiopia nel secolo XV", *ABoll* 68, 1950, 436–52; ID., *Scritti teologici etiopici del secoli XVI–XVII*, vol. 2: *La Storia dei Quattro Concili ed altri opuscoli monofisiti*, Città del Vaticano 1960 (Studi e Testi 204), 225f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), "Il libro di re Zarʾa Yaʿqob sulla custodia del Mistero", *RSE* 3, 2, 1943, 148–66; ETHEL STEFANA DROWER, *Water into Wine: a Study of Ritual Idiom in the Middle East*, London 1956, 149–95; IGNAZIO GUIDI, *Il "Fetha nagast" o "legislazione dei re"*, Napoli 1897–99,

141–49 (text); ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Studies in the Ethiopian Anaphoras*, Wiesbaden ²1987 (AeF 25); BERNARD VÉLAT, "Hymnes eucharistiques éthiopiennes", *Rythmes du Monde* 1, 1953, 26–36; ROBERT BEYLOT, "Le Millénarisme, article de foi dans l'Église Éthiopienne au XVᵉ siécle", *RSE* 25, 1974, 31–43, here 34ff.; *mäggabe məstir* MÄBRAHTU MOBAᶜ, **መጽሐፈ፡ እምነት፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Mäṣḥafä əmnät ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstiyan*, 'The Book of Faith of the [Ethiopian] Orthodox *Täwaḥədo* Church'), Aśmära 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.], 56; AGOSTINO [TADLA] DA HEBO, "Il Tabot: la sua importanza religiosa e giuridico-culturale nella Chiesa etiopica", *OrChrP* 60, 1994, 131–57.

Habtemichael Kidane

Euphorbia

The E. grows in the highlands of Ethiopia, Eritrea and the Sudan; its most-widespread species, the E. *candelabra* (also called E. *abyssinica* [or *acrurensis* after ↗ Ak̲rur]), is characterized by the branches developed like candelabra. Baeteman also calls it "figue de barbarie" (probably using this as a general term for several cactus plants, like ↗ *bäläs*). E. has small red fruits, its liquid is milky and poisonous. It is generally said to cause blindness, but is also used to cure skin diseases (Andree 1869:56). Etymologically the Tgn. term (**ቆልቋል**, *qolqʷal*) is said to derive from the Amh./Tgn. word **ቍልቍለት** (*qʷəlqʷəlät*, 'slope'), as the E. is mainly found on the slopes of the highlands. It mainly grows at heights from ca. 1,400 m to 1,500 m A.S.L., but even up to 3,300 A.S.L.

E. wood is traditionally used for building purposes, supporting the roof, but also for firewood. All over Eritrea and Ethiopia the E. is present in proverbs (cp. AWTarik 112). The presence of E. groves often indicates a sacred place (as observed in Təgray and Eritrea); it may be an ancient burial place or the site of a (former) church (DAE I:5). E. are often used to indicate a grave (e.g., among the Arsi). E. may also be used as fences around an *ənsät* grove (e.g., Sidaama), gardens, houses or roads (e.g., Benč). Among the Konso the E. liquid is used as a basis for mixing colours for their statues (Photographic Archive, Frobenius-Institut, vol. 16, Konso II, 171). The poisonous juice of E. is also used for fishing, e.g., in Təgray. River-water is accumulated with small dams where fish are then rendered unconsciousby a liquid extracted from E. leaves (Portal 1892:121). In Təgrəñña tradition the E. is symbolically used to celebrate the New Year: a E. branch is carried by children as a torch in the evenings before New Year or before *Mäsqäl*, going from house to house. Adults then raise it three times, expressing the wish 'May we live from year to year'. On this occasion the E. branch is called **ሽግ** (*šəg*), which inspired the independence song *šəgäy habənni*, 'give me [back] my *šəg* [here meaning Eritrea]'.

When the first black powder was produced in Ethiopia, E. coal was used for it (Andree 1869: 56). During the Egyptian period in the coastal territories, a Frenchman founded an E. factory in Sämhar, using the liquid to produce rubber (Simon 1885:26). Later under Italian rule, E.-wood was used to make matches (Doma 1966).

Formerly the Təgrayan–Eritrean mountains especially were widely covered by E., which have, however, during the last decades often been replaced by *bäläs*.

Src.: interview with elders in Däbrä Maᶜar, Təgray, July 2004; Photographic Archive, Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main, vol. 16, Konso II, 171; RICHARD ANDREE, *Abessinien, das Alpenland unter den Tropen und seine Grenzländer, Schilderungen von Land und Volk vornehmlich unter König Theodoros (1855–1868)*, Leipzig 1869 (Malerische Feierstunden. Das Buch der Reisen und Entdeckungen, Neue Illustrirte Bibliothek der Länder- und Völkerkunde zur Erweiterung der Kenntniß der Fremde, Afrika), 56; GABRIEL SIMON, *Voyage en*

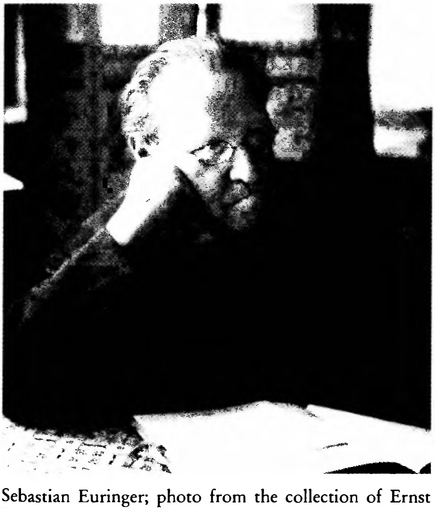
Euphorbia growing at the edge of the Eritrean highlands, northern Hamasen; photo taken by the Frobenius-Expedition 1915; courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (07–8160)

Abyssinie et chez les Gallas-Raias. L'Ethiopie, ses moeurs, ses traditions, le négouss Iohannès, les églises monolithes de Lalibela, Paris 1885, 25ff.; TÄKKƏʾÄ TÄSFAY, ዘመናዊ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት፡ ትግርኛ (*Zämänawi mäzgäbä qalat Təgrəñña*, 'Contemporary Dictionary of Təgrəñña'), Asmära 1999; AWTarik 112.
Lit.: DAE I, 5; GERALD H. PORTAL, *My Mission to Abyssinia*, London 1892, 121f.; DOMA, "Un quarto di secolo al servizio del paese. La fabbrica di fiammiferi di Asmara compie venticinque anni", *Etiopia Illustrata, Rassegna Politica Culturale Economica* 5, Dicembre 1966, 107–14.

Meaza Haile Revol-Tissot – Wolbert Smidt

Euringer, Sebastian

E. (b. 1865, Augsburg, d. 1943, Dillingen) was a German Catholic theologian and Orientalist. E. studied Theology and several Oriental languages. In the beginning, his main focus of interest was biblical studies. He visited the lands of the Bible in 1893 and held a professorship for Old Testament Studies at the College for Theology in Dillingen from 1900 on. But his most significant publications were in the field of Christian Oriental studies, where he specialized in ↗Ethiopian studies. He treated the liturgy of the Ethiopian Church, biblical exegesis in Ethiopia and Ethiopian history and folklore, but also worked on related topics of the other Christian communities of the East. E.'s lasting fame rests on his annotated editions and translations of a number of the Ethiopian anaphoras (Lockot I, nos. 6379 ff.).



Sebastian Euringer; photo from the collection of Ernst Hammerschmidt

Src.: Lockot I (index).
Lit.: GEORG GRAF, "Prälat Dr. Sebastian Euringer", in: *Dillingen und Schwaben. Festschrift zur Vierhundertjahrfeier der Universität Dillingen*, Dillingen 1950 (Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen an der Donau 52), 66–77 (Lit.).

Stefan Weninger

Europe, relations with

The first European country, or area, to establish contacts with Ethiopia was ↗Greece. The relations, that might already date back to the first millennium B.C., became prominent during the Aksumite period. In the 1st cent. A.D., King Zoskales of ↗Aksum, is said, in the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, to have been "skilled in Greek letters" (Huntingford 1980). A score of Aksumite kings, beginning with ↗Endubis in the 4th cent., made use of Greek on their coins (↗Coinage). This language, together with Sabaean and Gəʿəz, was also employed on several Aksumite ↗inscriptions.

Within a few decades of Aksum's conversion to Christianity, around 330 A.D., Ethiopians began to make their way to ↗Jerusalem, where they met European pilgrims from many lands. European awareness of the existence of a Christian country in the distant mountains of Africa gave rise to the hope that Ethiopia might be a valuable ally in the European Crusades against Islam. One of the first to propose this was the French ↗Dominican monk Guillaume Adam, who urged the King of France in 1317 to set contacts with Ethiopians. The idea of a Christian alliance against the Saracenes was reinforced by the legend of the ↗Prester John, in circulation at least since the 13th cent, and holding that "the Prester" was a powerful Eastern monarch whose great ambition was to help European Christendom overcome Islam. At first thought to reign somewhere in India, the fabulous monarch was later identified with the Christian ruler of Ethiopia.

Contacts between Ethiopia and E. grew closer in the late 14th and early 15th cent. A Florentine trader, Antonio ↗Bartoli, entered Ethiopia in the 1390's, and a Sicilian, Pietro ↗Rombulo, in 1407. He subsequently returned to Europe with an Ethiopian embassy despatched by *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob. In 1400, King Henry IV of England had meanwhile addressed a letter to the "King of Abyssinia, Prester John". European interests in the country were subsequently heightened when, in 1441, two Ethiopian monks from Jerusalem attended the ecclesiastical Council held at ↗Florence and told people about their country. Considerable European geographical knowledge of it is apparent in the map of 1454 ↗*Egyptus Novelo* by the Florentine painter Pietro del Massajo and in ↗Fra Mauro's *Mappamondo* of 1460.

European knowledge of Ethiopia and of its customs expanded greatly as a result of the first Portuguese diplomatic embassy of 1520–26 (↗Portugal). Its journey is described with remarkable detail by the chaplain of the embassy Francisco ↗Alvares. His account *Verdadera Infomaçam* was published in Lisbon, in 1540 (BeckHuntAlvar). The report of the Ethiopian emissary ↗Ṣägga Zäʾab published the same year by Damião de ↗Góis underlines the interest towards Ethiopia in Europe (Uhlig – Bühring 1994). In the following year, Portuguese troops intervened in support of the Ethiopian Christian state in its struggle with ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, the Muslim ruler of ʿAdal (who was killed, most probably by a Portuguese musketeer, in 1543).

Ethiopian conceptions of E. meanwhile were changing. Once regarded by the Ethiopian Christians as a region inhabited by fellow members of their faith, it was increasingly viewed as a potentially important source of ↗firearms and warriors.

Awareness of Ethiopia on the part of Ignatius of ↗Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus, led him to conceive the idea of travelling to the far-off Orthodox country to convert its inhabitants to Roman ↗Catholicism. Though he failed to go, several successive groups of ↗Jesuits made their way to Ethiopia in the late 16th and early 17th cent., and succeeded in converting two Ethiopian emperors, *aṣe* ↗Zädǝngǝl and *aṣe* ↗Susǝnyos. Both foresaw the advantages of a military alliance with well-armed Roman Catholic Europe. Jesuit activity in Ethiopia was, however, short-lived. In the 1630s, the missionaries (whose writings contributed immensely to E.'s knowledge of the country) were expelled by *aṣe* Susǝnyos' Orthodox son, *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs. Ethiopia then entered a period of isolation from the Roman Catholic West – but not from either the Protestant or Eastern worlds. Though Catholic priests were rigidly denied entry, the German Protestant missionary Peter ↗Heyling was welcomed at Fasilädäs's court, and an envoy was sent from Gondär to Batavia in the Dutch East Indies. King Louis XIV of France, at the end of the century, however, tried in vain to re-open Western relations with the Gondarine realm. This period nevertheless witnessed important scholarly interest in Ethiopia, on the part of the illustrious German linguist and historian Hiob ↗Ludolf, aptly termed the founder of ↗Ethiopian studies in Europe. His works included a *Grammatica Aethiopica* (1986), *Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum* (1661), and his *Historia Aethiopica* (1681).

18th cent. European consciousness of Ethiopia was reinforced by Samuel ↗Johnson's imaginary novel *Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* (1810), later better known as *The History of Rasselas*. First published in 1759, it was extensively reprinted, and translated into many languages. Foreign knowledge of the country also owed much to James ↗Bruce, the Scottish "explorer". His five-volumes *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (BruNile) was published in 1790.

The early 19th cent. witnessed the arrival in Ethiopia of numerous travellers from Western E., who contributed immensely to ever expanding European information on the country. Visitors from Britain included Henry ↗Salt, Nathaniel ↗Pearce, Mansfield ↗Parkyns, Charles Tilstone ↗Beke, Charles Johnston, William Cornwallis ↗Harris, and Richard ↗Burton; those from France, Edmond ↗Combes and Maurice ↗Tamisier, the brothers Antoine and Arnauld ↗d'Abbadie, Pierre ↗Ferret and Joseph Germain ↗Galinier, Rochet d'Héricourt, and Théophile Lefebvre and his associates; from Germany, Edouard ↗Rüppell, Wilhelm ↗Schimper, Johannes Martin ↗Flad and C. Eichinger; from Switzerland, Samuel ↗Gobat, Theophil ↗Waldmeier, and later Werner ↗Munzinger; and from Italy, Giuseppe ↗Sapeto, and, later, Guglielmo ↗Massaja. Several of the above Europeans, and others, entered the service of Ethiopian rulers as craftsmen or envoys. They included the Englishmen William ↗Coffin, John ↗Bell, and subsequently, after the re-establishment of a more unified Ethiopian state, *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II's missionary artisans, among them Johannes Martin Flad and Theophil Waldmeier; and *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannǝs IV's British military aide and envoy, John ↗Kirkham, and Greek physician Nicholas Parisis.

Individual European travellers were meanwhile followed by larger expeditions. After Lefebvre's French scientific mission in the 1840s, in 1876 was sent a mission from the Italian Geographical Society, whose work at ↗Lǝṭ Marāfiya, in Šäwa and in other regions was described *inter alia* by Antonio ↗Cecchi. No less important was the German ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition, whose report by Enno ↗Littmann and others was published in Berlin in 1912. Several other scientific missions, mainly French (↗France, relations with), took place in the late 19th and early 20th cent. The 19th cent. also saw the signing of a series of ↗treaties with a number of European countries. Moreover, relations got on a more solid base when European powers started to open consulates and legations in Ethiopia: France opened a consulate in Massawa in 1840 (Malécot 1972:44), Great Britain chose Däbrä Tabor for their representation in 1847; ↗Plowden was appointed as first consul (RubInd 121).

Considerable research on Ethiopia, during this period, and after, was also conducted within E. itself, largely by scholars versed in the Semitic languages, or, in the Italian case, interested in expansion in Africa. Prominent among such European scholars were the Germans, August ↗Dillmann, Franz ↗Praetorius, Theodor ↗Nöldeke, Enno Littmann, and Eugen ↗Mittwoch; the Italians, Ignazio ↗Guidi, Carlo ↗Conti Rossini, and later Martino Mario ↗Moreno; the Frenchmen, Joseph ↗Halévy, Henri ↗Zotenberg, René ↗Basset, Jules ↗Perruchon, and later Marcel ↗Griaule and Marcel ↗Cohen; the Britons, William ↗Wright, Ernest Wallis ↗Budge, and later Charles ↗Armbruster; the Russian, Boris ↗Turaiev; the Austrian, Leo ↗Reinisch; and the Portuguese, Francisco Maria ↗Esteves Pereira.

The latter part of the 19th cent. also witnessed extensive European military operations in the Ethiopian region. The British expedition to ↗Mäqdäla was followed by the Italian seizure of ↗Massawa, in 1885; the victory of *ras* Alula Ǝngəda over the Italians, at ↗Dogᶜali; the establishment of the Italian colony of Eritrea, in 1890; and *aṣe* Menilek II's resounding victory over Italy at the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa. The coming of the Italians spread European influence, including clothing, into Eritrea and to some extent northern Ethiopia, south of the Märäb river. The Ethiopian victory at ᶜAdwa, however, prevented the envisaged large-scale European settlement in the colony. Ethiopia was nonetheless by then entirely surrounded by territories under European control: those of the Italians, British and French at the coast, and of the British in the West and South: Sudan and British East Africa, later Kenya.

The founding of ↗Addis Abäba in 1886, the rise of the modernising *aṣe* Mənilək II, and the establishment of the first modern roads, schools, hospitals, railway, bank, printing press, etc., was followed by the coming of many Europeans, businessmen, artisans, diplomats and missionaries, as well as experts, advisers, teachers, and other specialists. Advisers in *aṣe* Mənilək's service included his Swiss technician-cum-diplomatic aide, Alfred ↗Ilg; his subsequent French counsellor, Casimir ↗Mondon-Vidailhet; and his Russian military assistant Nikolaj ↗Leontiev. Europeans in the Ethiopian capital in 1910 were estimated at over 500, including some 330 Greeks, 60 French, 40 Italians, 20 Germans, and a few English and others. The principal European legations in Addis Abäba, established at the turn of the 20th cent. were those of Italy, France, Britain, Russia, Germany and Belgium. *Aṣe* Mənilək's policy was as far as possible to diversify dependence on the European powers and to play off one against another.

Ethiopia's entry into the League of Nations in 1923 and the ensuing modernising period of Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḥaylä Śəllase I), led to increasing European contacts and influences. The monarch's foreign advisers included a Swede, Eric Virgin, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; a Swiss, Jacques Auberson, in the Ministry of Justice; and an Englishman, Frank de Halpert, on anti-slavery matters. The return of students from Europe, mainly France, contributed towards making French a limited *lingua franca*. Ethiopia, immediately prior to the Italian invasion, had an estimated European population of well over 4,000, three-quarters of whom were Greek; the French and Italians each numbered about 350 – as against 4,000 Arabs, 3,000 Indians, and well over 2,000 ↗Armenians.

The subsequent Italian invasion (↗Italian war 1935–36), and occupation, led to a considerable decline in the number of non-Italian Europeans, coupled with a vast increase in that of Italians, who consisted mainly of administrators, soldiers and workers. No less than 60,000 Italian labourers were working on the roads in 1936–37, but this figure later fell substantially. Plans for large-scale Italian settlement failed to materialise. Many Ethiopians, however, learnt Italian. The Liberation, in 1941, witnessed a significant diversification of the European population, as well as the rapidly increasing Ethiopian adoption of European dress and habits; also the growing use of English, and the publication in the capital of English language periodicals.

↗Expeditions; ↗Ethiopian studies

Src.: GueCopMen; RubActa I–III; George Wynn Brereton Huntingford, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London 1980 (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., 151); Hiob Ludolf, *Grammatica linguæ Amharicæ*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1698 [repr. Halle – Wittenberg 1986]; Id., *Lexicon Æthiopico-Latinum, ex omnibus libris impressis, nonnullisque manuscriptis collectum; et cum docto quodam Æthiope relectum*, Londoni 1661; LudHist; BeckHuntAlvar; BruNile; Samuel Johnson, *Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia*, London 1810.
Lit.: MHAksum; CerPal; TadTChurch; PancEcon; RubInd; BZHist; ZewYohan; Bairu Tafla, *Ethiopia and Germany: Cultural, Political and Economic Relations*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5); Id., *Ethiopia and Austria: a History of their Relations*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 35); Id. (ed., tr.), *Ethiopian Records of the Menilek Era: Selected Amharic Documents from the Nachlaß of Alfred Ilg, 1884–1900*, Wiesbaden 200 (AeF 54); Georges Malécot, *Les voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie: de 1835 à 1870*, Paris 1972; Percy Arnold, *Prelude to Magdala: Emperor Theodore of Ethiopia and British Diplomacy*, London 1992; Carlo Zaghi, *I Russi in Etiopia*, Napoli 1972; Enid Starkie, *Arthur Rimbaud in Abyssinie*, Oxford 1937; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*, Oxford 1975; Carlo Rossetti, *Storia diplomatica durante il regno di Menelik II*, Torino 1910; Willi Loepfe, *Alfred Ilg und die äthiopische Eisenbahn*, Zürich 1974; Ernest Work, *Ethiopia, a Pawn in European Diplomacy*, New York 1936; Alberto Sbacchi, *Legacy of Bitterness: Ethiopia and Fascist Italy, 1935–1941*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1997; Edward Ullendorff, *The Ethiopians: an Introduction to Country and People*, London 1973; Siegbert Uhlig – Gernot Bühring, *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glaube und Sitten der Äthiopier*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 39).

Richard Pankhurst

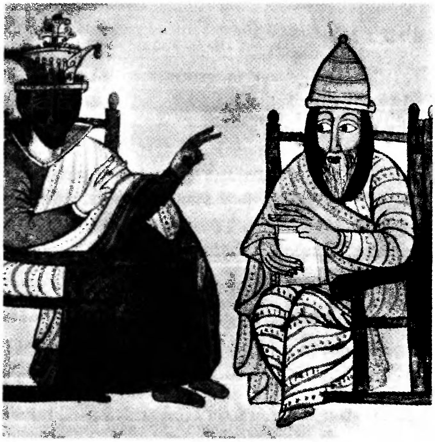
Eusebios of Caesarea

E. (Εὐσέβιος, Gəʿəz አውሳብዮስ, *Awsabyos*, also *Awsebes*, *Awsəbyos*; b. before 264/65, Palestine, d. 30 May 339 or 340) was from 313 until his death the Bishop of Caesarea, Palestine. Here he had been a student of Pamphilus, the most learned disciple of ↗Origen, in the dark ages of the anti-Christian persecutions, to which the "Milan" edict of toleration issued in 311 put a final end. A great favourite and the official historiographer of Emperor Constantine I, E. owed to Pamphilus, whom he held in high esteem (hence his surname "of Pamphilus"), both an excellent scholarly education and the respect for Origen's tradition that prompted him to play an important role in the contemporary theological discussions. As a champion of Arianism (↗Arius), though not an extremist (he viewed the *homooúsios*, i.e. the consubstantiality, of the Father and the Son as a dangerous form of Sabellianism or Monarchianism), he was anathematized at the Synod of Antioch in 325 but immediately rehabilitated at the Council of ↗Nicaea, where he subscribed to the condemnation of Arius. Yet, he was then active in helping to bring about the depositions of the Orthodox Eustathius of Antioch in 330, ↗Athanasius of Alexandria in 335 and Marcellus of Ancyra in 336 – following a synod held in Constantinople that witnessed E.'s participation. Here he successfully rebuked, with counteraccusations of Sabellianism, Marcellus's previous attack on the Arian Asterios the Sophist, which implied severe accusations against E. himself. As a theologian, however, the latter was never to recover from a faithful pro-Arian stance, which accounts for his posthumous reputation, i.e. for the negative attitude of generations of Byzantine readers (also disturbed by his rejections of the cult of icons) toward him and his writings, apart from the historical ones.

E.'s remarkable literary production in Gr. is the achievement of an intensive systematizer who assembled an enormous amount of data and information. In spite of several shortcomings, it sheds a fundamental light on the early centuries of Christianity, ranging from apologetics (I) and church history (II) to biblical exegesis and philology (III), dogmatics and theology (IV). Among his most famous works in these fields are: (I) the voluminous treatise(s) *Preparation* and *Demonstration of the Gospels*, dedicated to the Arian bishop Theodotus of Laodicea and dealing respectively with the position of Judaism vs. Graeco-Roman paganism and Christianity (and soon to be a textbook for antipagan and anti-Jewish polemics); (II) the teleologically-oriented *Chronicle*, *Ecclesiastical History* and *Life of Constantine*, all primarily responsible for his fame (the *Chronicle* was also translated into Armenian); (III) the *Onomasticon* (a book on the place-names mentioned in the Bible) and the *Canons of the Gospels*, dedicated to a certain Carpianus, that offers in ten tables a synoptic view of the canonical ↗Gospels; (IV) the book *Against Marcellus* (of Ancyra), the *Ecclesiastical Theology* (in form of a letter to his diocese) and the *Epistle to Carpianus*, i.e. an introductory explanation to the *Canons of the Gospels*.

The Gəʿəz legend *bz msql mwʾ* ('By this cross you [shall be] conquerer') found with variants on the coins of King ↗MḤDYS (Types 67–70 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995:160–65), far from translating the Latin words 'hoc signo vinces' or 'hoc (signo) victor eris', which shows on coins from the reign of Vetranio, 350 A.D. (Pedroni

1997:49), might rather indicate that the passage of the Greek *Life of Constantine* on the latter's vision prior to the battle at the Milvian Bridge, 312 A.D. (I, 28f.: τούτῳ νίκα, 'by this you shall conquer') was indirectly known in ↗Aksum since at least the second quarter of the 5th cent. (s. also Travaini 2002:112 and n. 6, 114f. and n. 23). In any case, the Ethiopian tradition seems to mirror, or to agree with, the Byzantine criticism of E., who was always more or less openly considered a staunch supporter of Arianism, a denomination which found almost no audience in the kingdom of Aksum, despite the mission of the Arian bishop ↗Theophilus the Indian, sent there on purpose by Emperor Constantius II (possibly between 341 and 346). In Ethiopia, significant traces of cursing and exorcizing the name and doctrines of Arius and his later (Anomoian) followers like Aetius and Eunomius – the bishop of Cyzicus condemned at the council of Constantinople in 381 – can indeed be detected since the Aksumite age (Fiaccadori 1992:9f., n. 19, and 2003:251f., 255 and n. 44). This may well explain E.'s absence from ↗Gəᶜəz literature, where only the system of concordance of the Gospels devised by him is known, both the *Canons* and the *Epistle to Carpianus* having been translated into Gəᶜəz from Greek (CPG 3465) along with the Gospels. In this system, numbered sections of the text are accompanied by a red figure referring to one of the ten tables (at the beginning of the volume) where similar passages in other Gospels are listed. A large series of medieval and early-modern Ethiopic Gospel books, headed by those kept in the Təgrayan monastery of ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima (mss. I, II and III), includes E.'s *Canons*, traditionally framed in elaborated "arches" (Gəᶜəz: **ቀመር**, *qämär*, pl. *aqmar*(*at*), from Gr. καμάρα) and preceded by the *Epistle to Carpianus* (↗Canon tables). Such books actually preserve E.'s original design, distributing the ten tables over seven pages (with a few seeming exceptions), not ten as in the extended sequence by the middle-Byzantine illuminators (since the 10th cent.). Like the illustrated Ethiopic Octateuchs or the so-called short cycle of miniatures in the Gospel books themselves, they are the results of subsequent copies harking back to Aksumite originals and, ultimately, to pre-iconoclastic Byzantine prototypes belonging in turn to a Palestinian milieu that is all the more congenial to E. and his works (↗Byzantine Empire).



Eusebios and Emperor Constantine the Great at the Council of Nicaea (detail); miniature from a 17th-cent. ms. of the *Haymanotä abäw* ms., Çäläqot, Ǝnda Śəllase church; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Src.: CPG vol. 2, 262-75 [s. also *Supplementum*, 1998, 186-90, nos. 3465–507]; EDUARD NESTLE et al. (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Stuttgart ^{27}1981, 73-78; TÄSFA ṢƎYON et al. (eds.), *Testamentum Novum, cum Epistola Pauli*, Roma 1548, **[A]r*b*-v*b* [= V], **Br*a*-[**Z]v*b* [= VI-X]; **ወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ** (*Wängel Qəddus*, 'The Holy Gospel'), Addis Abäba 1924 [repr. 1967], 41ff.; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Un tableau de lectures monacales", *ROC* [2e sér., 8], 18, 1913, 308–17, here 314–17; ID., "Les manuscrits éthiopiens de M. E. Delorme", *ibid.* [2e sér., 9], 19, 1914, 17–25, here 22f.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Some Short Remarks on the Canon Tables in Ethiopic Manuscripts", in: BIRHANOU TEFERRA - RICHARD PANKHURST (eds.), *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art. Addis Ababa 5–8 November 2002*, Addis Ababa 2003, 120–39 [= expanded version in: CARMELA BAFFIONI (ed.), *Scritti in onore di Clelia Sarnelli Cerqua*, Napoli 2004 (*Studi magrebini* 26, 1998–2002), 45–67]; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992, XXXVIII (Lit.); ID., "Un'epigrafe greca aksumita (*RIÉth* 274)", in: VINCENZO RUGGIERI – LUCA PIERALLI (eds.), *Εὐκοσμία. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro) 2003, 243–55, here 251f., 255; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Eine axumitische Typenkopie als Dokument zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte", mit einem philologischen Exkurs zu den biblischen Namen axumitischer Könige von MANFRED KROPP, *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, 46, 1996, 85–99, here 88 and nn. 10f. [M.Kropp]; JULES LEROY, "Recherches sur la tradition iconographique des Canons d'Eusèbe en Éthiopie», *Cahiers Archéologiques* 12, 1961, 173–204; STUART MUNRO-HAY – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 160–65; CARL NORDENFALK, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln*, Göteborg 1938; ID., "Canon Tables on Papyrus", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36, 1982, 29–38, here 35 and fig. 6; ID., "The Eusebian Canon Tables: some Textual Problems", *Journal of Theological Studies* 35, 1984, 96–104; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica* ser. 1ª, 15, I-II [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 49; MANLIO SIMONETTI, *La crisi ariana nel IV secolo*, Roma 1975, 3–34, 39f., 60–66, 81–85, 94, 121, 563f.; RÜDIGER SCHMITT, "The *Chronicle* of Eusebius: a Text Neglected by Armenologist", in: GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI (ed.), *Autori classici in lingue del Vicino e Medio Oriente*, Roma 2001, 273–81; LUCIA TRAVAINI, "La croce gemmata sulle monete dal V al XII secolo", in: GEMMA SENA CHIESA et al. (eds.), *Gemme: dalla corte imperiale alla corte celeste*, Milano 2002, 111–225, here 112 and n. 6, 114f. and n. 23; J. ULRICH, "Eusebios von Caesarea", in: SIEGMAR DÖPP – WILHELM GEERLINGS (eds.), *Lexicon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, Freiburg – Basel – Wien 1998, 209–14, here 213f. (Lit.); KURT WEITZMANN, *Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der makedonischen Renaissance*, Köln – Opladen 1963 (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen. Geisteswissenschaften 107), 25f., Abb. 21 [= *The Character and Intellectual Origins of the Macedonian Renaissance*, in: ID., *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, Chicago – London 1971, 176–223, here 196, fig. 179]; ROCHUS ZUURMOND (ed.), *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: the Synoptic Gospels*, part 1: *General Introduction*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 29), 19ff.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Eusebios, Canons of ↗Canon tables

Eusebios of Herakleia

E. (Gr. Εὐσέβιος, Gəʿəz **ኤውሴብዮስ**, *Ewsebyos*) is known from both the Acts of the first Council of ↗Ephesus, 431 A.D., where he is mentioned twice as bishop "of Herakleia in the (ecclesiastical) Province of Honorias", corresponding to ancient Bithynia (*Gesta Ephesena*, §§ 33 and 73, no. 107), and a short "[Homily] of Eusebius, bishop of Herakleia in Pontus", which survives in an Ethiopic translation from Greek that entered the much-diffused anti-Nestorian collection bearing the name of ↗*Qerəllos* (CPG 6143). The homily belongs to a series of discourses delivered by partisans of ↗Cyril of Alexandria "in the church dedicated to Mary in Ephesus, on Sunday, the 11th day of *Ḥamle* [= 5 July]" in 431 – i.e., thirteen days after the condemnation and deposition of ↗Nestorius. As confirmed by its flattering allusion to Cyril's leading theological role (§ 1), the text was therefore written at the beginning of the Council of Ephesus (opened by Cyril on 22 June), possibly between 28 June and 5 July of the same year (Weischer 1979:39f.). This provides no better clues for the tenure of Bishop E. in the prestigious see of Pontic Herakleia (modern Ereğli) on the Black Sea coast of Anatolia, but lends some evidence to this otherwise elusive historical figure.

Src.: EDUARD SCHWARTZ (ed.), *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, I/I.7, Berolini – Lipsiae 1929, 6, 87; CHRISTIAN AUGUST FRIEDRICH DILLMANN, *Chrestomatia Aethiopica*, Berlin ^{2}1950 [Nachdruck Darmstadt 1974], 102f. (text); SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Traduction de la version éthiopienne d'une homélie d'Eusèbe, évêque d'Héraclée", *ROC* 2e ser., 6 [16], 1911, 424–25 (tr.); BERND MANUEL WEISCHER, *Qērellos IV 1: Homilien und Briefe zum Konzil von Ephesos*, Wiesbaden 1979 (AeF 4), 118–21; VatLib, cod. VatCerAeth 149, fol. 12v [18th cent.].

Lit.: GIORGIO FEDALTO, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis* (*Series episcoporum Ecclesiarum Christianarum Orientalium*), Padova 1988, vol. 1, 91 [12.3.3: "Provincia Honoriadis, Heraclea Ponti: Eusebius"]; OTTO BARDENHEWER, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, vol. 4, Freiburg i.B. 1924, 200; JEAN SIMON, "Notes bibliographiques sur les textes de la «Chrestomathia Aethiopica» de A. Dillmann", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 10, 1941, 285–311, here 304ff.; ENRICO CERULLI, *Inventario dei manoscritti Cerulli etiopici*, introduzione, integrazioni e indici a cura di OSVALDO RAINERI, Città del Vaticano (Studi e testi 420), 319, no. 167 [with erroneous attribution to the 16th cent.].

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Eutychius

E. (in Gəʿəz **አውጣኪዮስ** Awṭakiyos, or Awṭake/Awṭaki) was the first proponent of ↗Monophysitism, whose theological claims were endorsed at the Council of ↗Ephesus (449) by Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria. E. as a person seems to have not been influential at all after the Council of ↗Chalcedon (451) and the group of his followers disappeared not later than in the 6th cent. Among the anti-Chalcedonians, E. was condemned by the first anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria, Timothy Aeluros (457-77), and by the *Henotikon* (a document which provided the common ground to all the anti-Nestorian fractions, issued as an alternative to both Councils of Ephesos and Chalcedon) of Emperor Zeno (482) for having rejected the principle of "consubstantiality to us according to the flesh", fundamental for both Chalcedonian and all the (non-Eutychianist) anti-Chalcedonian parties.

The Chalcedonians equated any teaching of their opponents with Eutychianism. Anti-Chalcedonians' usage of the same name was much more sophisticated. The radical Monophysite factions (especially the adherents of Julianism) were usually labelled "Eutychianist" by the moderate ones, forcing the former to explain their attitude towards Eutychianism.

In Ethiopia the most detailed account on E. is available from a source with a Julianist tendency, the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məsṭir* by Giyorgis of Sägla, homilies no. 14 (against Awṭaki "who denies that the flesh of Christ was experiencing, like our flesh, the weakness and the passion") and no. 17 (against Aftikis, who teaches that the body of Christ was descended from heaven). Both heresiarchs' names are different renderings of E. and the doctrines ascribed to them represent two usual charges against E. made by the anti-Chalcedonian theologians.

In the 19th cent. the representatives of the ↗*Karra* movement were labelled "children of E." So, in an Amharic document issued by the ↗*Yäṣägga ləǧ* school (written by *mämhər* ↗Kəflä Giyorgis), there is a "historical" account of the events of the middle of the 5th cent. aiming to demonstrate that the *Karra* (and even the ↗*Qəbat*) have their roots in Eutychianism (Yaqob Beyene 1977:13f.).

Src.: YaqMist 247–66, 288–317 (text) = 150–64, 180–99 (tr.); YAQOB BEYENE, *Controversie christologiche in Etiopia. Contributo alla storia degli correnti e della terminologia nel secolo XIX*, Napoli 1977 (Supplemento n. 11 agli *Annali IUO*, vol. 37, 2), 13f. (text) = 20–23 (tr.). **Lit.**: ALOYS GRILLMEIER, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 1, *From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon* (451), tr. by J.S. BOWDEN, New York 1965, 456-74; ID., *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, vol. 2/2, *Die Kirche von Konstantinopel im 6. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg – Basel – Wien 1989 [English tr.: New York 1996], s. index.

Basil Lourié

Evagrius

E. (Evagrius Ponticus; **አግዋሪስ** *Agwaris*, also **አውጋርዮስ** *Awgaryos*, **ወግሪስ** *Wägris* or **ወቅሪስ** *Wäqris*, Greek Εὐάγριος Ποντικός, b. ca. 325, Ibora, Pontus, d. ca. 399, Egypt) was an important early monastic theologian and ascetic writer. According to his disciple Palladius (*Historia Lausiaca* 38; Palladio 1974:192ff.), he was ordained lector (*anagnostēs*) by ↗Basil the Great and deacon by his master ↗Gregory of Nazianzus, who attached him to bishop Nectarius, on the occasion of the Council of 380 in Constantinople. Here he earned great fame for his antiheretical speeches. Involved in a love-affair with a married upper-class woman, he left for Jerusalem, where Melania of Rome (the Elder) received him. In 383 he gave himself over to monastic life; after two years in the desert of Nitria, he spent the rest of his life in the Kellia, associating with anchorites and monks of the region and working as a sought-after copyist.

E. wrote most of his numerous works during his stay in the Egyptian desert. A follower of the doctrines of ↗Origen, he is one of the most outstanding personalities in the development of theoretical thought on ascetic life. Combining the psychological doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul with the need of the ascetic anchoritic practice for the salvation of man, he exerted a lasting influence on most of the subsequent monastic writers. Probably due to the condemnation of Origen's doctrines, definitely confirmed by the Council of Constantinople in 553, not many of his original Greek writings have survived: sometimes, mostly the ascetical works, under the name of Nilus of Ankyra (cf. Sinkewicz 2004); several other works by E. are only known from Latin and Oriental versions – esp. Syriac and Armenian (full list of E.'s works in CPG II, nos. 2430–82). However, the traditional view of E.'s condemnation has been recently questioned by Dysinger (2003).

E.'s biography is summarized in the reading of the *Sənkəssar* for 11 *Ṭərr* (cf. BudSaint 481ff.; ColSyn IX, 82–85), where also his fabulous meeting with *abba* Bula is recorded. He is also mentioned in the readings for 19 *Ṭərr* of some manuscripts of the ↗*Dərsanä Gäbrəʾel* (e.g., ms. VatLib, Aeth. 149, fols. 19v–20v).

Works of E. have been translated into Gəʿəz, where at least two of the names under which he is known, *Agwaris* and *Wägris*, have eventually given birth to the tradition of the existence of distinct personalities, listed, e.g., under different entries (nos. 198–99) in the inventory of Ethiopic works in ms. EMML 1601, fols. 1v–16r, a compilation of a 20th-cent. *däbtära* (probably *liqä ṭäbbäbt* Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos). Unlike what happened for other traditions, esp. the Syriac and the Armenian (cf. Guillaumont 1985), but also the Arabic and Coptic ones (cf. GrafLit vol. 1, 397ff.; Samir 1992), no systematic study of the Gəʿəz manuscript tradition has been undertaken. Apart from the identifications listed below, it is more than likely that E. left other writings or passages that have not yet been identified.

The treatise *On the Eight Thoughts* (or: *Spirits*, Greek λογισμοί) *of Evilness* (CPG II, no. 2451) – i.e. the eight sinful desires (gluttony, fornication, avarice, grief, wrath, torpor, vainglory and arrogance), a topic E. thoroughly developed – was first published by Bachmann (1893:26–33 from mss. Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Aeth. 3, fols. 14vff., and Aeth. 20, fols. 82r ff.), later independently and partially edited and translated by Grébaut (1913–14, from ms. Delorme 3), and finally collated, translated and commented upon (but not re-edited) by Spies (1932), with perusal of other mss. (BritLib Orient. 754, fols. 178r–80v, and Orient. 757, fols. 140r–142v; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Aeth. 16, fols. 7rb–10rb; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orient. oct. 1307, fols. 3ra–15ra). This recension is characterized by a colophon giving the date of the translation from Arabic as 1553, in the 13th year of the reign of *aṣe* Gälawdewos (r. 1540–59). As observed by Spies (1932:204), ms. BN d'Abbadie 75, fols. 172ff. could preserve, among other writings of E., the same treatise in turn, as well as others, but we lack a careful description of this manuscript. Further mss. of the same recension are Uppsala, University Library, O Etiop. 50, fol. 156v (incomplete); Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, Ms. or. 7, fols. 338r–45r; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orient. 2283, fols. 129vb–32rb; EMML 1387, fols. 81r–84v; 1648, fols. 56r–60v and 67r–69v; 3641, fols. 159v–64r; and 4550, fols. 45r–49v.

Four of the eight sections of the treatise (on the desires of gluttony, avarice, torpor and vainglory), certainly originating from an independent translation (the *Vorlage* of which and its relationship with the other recension have not yet been ascertained), are also found in the so-called *Monastic Collection*, edited and translated from mss. BritLib Orient. 764 and VatLib, Cerulli et. 220 (to which Ṭānāsee 28 = Kebrān 28 and EMML 4447 are now to be added), by Arras (1963:51ff., 168f., 170f., 239f. [text] = 37ff., 123f., 124f., 175f. [tr.]). In the same *Monastic Collection* the *Sentences to Monks* (CPG II, no. 2435) are found (cf. Arras 1963:145–52 [text] = 106–12 [tr.]). Moreover, some of the anonymous sayings are certainly to be attributed to E. (e.g., *ibid.*: 132, ll. 18–22 [text] = 97, ll. 22–27 [tr.], to be compared with E.'s saying in *Historia Lausiaca* 38:13 [Palladio 1974:202f.] and in the *Sənkəssar*, cf. BudSaint 483; ColSyn IX, 84f.).

Other *Sentences*, probably spurious (CPG II, no. 2481), are attributed to E.: first edited and translated by Grébaut (1915–17 and 1919–20, from ms. Delorme 3), they often follow the *Treatise on the Eight Thoughts* (e.g., mss. BritLib Orient. 754, fols. 180vff., and Orient. 757, fols. 142vff.; Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, ms. or. 7, fols. 280va–281va; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, ms. orient. oct. 1307, fols. 15ra–21va, and Or. 2283, fols. 132rb–33va; EMML 1387, fols. 84v–86v; 1442, fols. 70v–71r; and 2084, fols. 164r–66v). In ms. BritLib Orient. 754, fols. 182rf., the *Sentences* are further followed by three letters from the correspondence between Lucius (*Lukyos*) and E., whose second letter is divided into 21 sections; the identification of Lucius with the addressee of E.'s *Treatise to Eulogius* (CPG II, no. 2447) is, however, doubtful (cf. Hausherr 1940).

Besides short references in other collections (e.g., in the *Patericon*, cf. the tr. by Arras 1967: 180 [under "E."]; cf. also ms. EMML 19), passages of the *Geronticon* have also been identified as belonging to E.'s works: from the treatise *On Prayer* (CPG II, no. 2452, §5, cf. Arras 1986:166f. [text] = 112f. [tr.], and §§1–16, 17–49, 50–59, 62, 66–128; cf. *ibid.*, 346–52 [text] = 235–39 [tr.], from mss. BritLib Orient. 763 and BN d'Abbadie 85; but also in ms. EMML 7469); from the *Practicus* (CPG II, no. 2430, §4, cf. Arras 1986:104 and 307 [text] = 69f., 209 [tr.], and §§6–14; cf. *ibid.*, 342–46 [text] = 233ff. [tr.]); and again from the *Sentences to Monks* (cf. Arras 1986: 197 and 259 [text] = 134 and 176 [tr.]). The attribution to E. of other Ethiopic writings (e.g., the "Exhortations aux anachorètes" and the "Sentences ascétiques" ed. and tr. by Grébaut 1913ff. from ms. Delorme 3, as in GuiSLett 82, n. 1) is not supported by their clear identification. An obscure short text, found in at least three mss. (Ṭānāsee 39 = Kebrān 39, fols. 165va–68va; Ṭānāsee 94 = Rēmā 5, fol. 175r-v; EMML 2218, fols. 165v–66r), seems to witness to the existence of Gəᶜəz commentaries on the ascetic writings of E.

Src.: PALLADIO, *La storia lausiaca*, ed. by GERARD J. M. BARTELINK, Milano 1974; AbbCat 88; ChAbb 49; CRAbb 153f.; EMML vol. 1, 22; EMML vol. 4, 450, 539; EMML vol. 5, 81ff., 138; EMML vol. 6, 154, 226; EMML vol. 9, 84; EMML vol. 10, 159, 213; HEINRICH VON EWALD, "Ueber die Aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen", *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5, 1844, 164–201, here 191f.; ID., "Ueber eine zweite Sammlung Aethiopischer Handschriften in Tübingen", *ZDMG* 1, 1847, 1–43, here 38; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Les manuscrits éthiopiens de M. E. Delorme", *ROC* 19, 1914, 174–82; GreTisVat 576; HamSixBerl 164f., 310f.; HamTana I, 142f., 178; HamTana II, 126; LöfUpp 26; NIKOLAUS RHODOKANAKIS, *Die äthiopischen Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, Wien 1906 (Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse 151, 4), 7; SixDeu 221f.; WrBriMus 171, 221ff.; BudSaint 481ff.; ColSyn IX, 82–85.

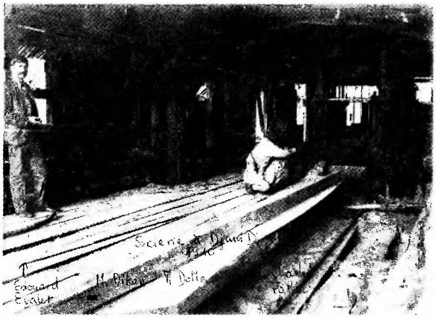
Lit.: CPG II; GrafLit; VICTOR ARRAS, *Collectio Monastica*, Louvain 1963 (CSCO 238, 239 [SAe 45, 46]); ID., *Patericon Aethiopice*, Louvain 1967 (CSCO 277, 278 [SAe 53, 54]); ID., *Geronticon*, Lovanii 1986 (CSCO 476, 477

[SAe 79, 80]); LUKE DYSINGER, "The Condemnation of Evagrius Reconsidered", paper presented at the *Fourteenth International Patristic Conference*, Oxford 2003; JOHANNES BACHMANN, *Aethiopische Lesestücke: Inedita Aethiopica für den Gebrauch in Universitäts-Vorlesungen*, Leipzig 1893, 26–33 [repr.: ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT (ed.), *Anthologia Aethiopica*, Hildesheim 1988]; ANTOINE GUILLAUMONT, "Le rôle des versions orientales dans la récupération de l'œuvre d'Évagre le Pontique", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 1985, 64–74; GuiSLett 81f.; IRÉNÉE HAUSHERR, "Eulogios – Loukios", *OrChrP* 6, 1940, 216–20; KHALIL SAMIR, "Évagre le Pontique dans la tradition arabo-copte", in: *Actes du IVe Congrès copte*, vol. 2: *De la linguistique au gnosticisme*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1992 (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 41), 125–53; ROBERT E. SINKEWICZ, *Evagrius of Pontus. The Greek Ascetic Corpus*, Oxford – New York 2004; OTTO SPIES, "Die äthiopische Überlieferung der Abhandlung des Evagrius περὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ λογισμῶν", *OrChr* 3, 7, 1932, 203–28; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "La mauvaise passion de la colère selon Évagrius", *ROC* 18, 1913, 213–15; ID., "Exhortations aux anachorètes", *ibid.*, 317–25; ID., "Sentences ascétiques", *ibid.*, 423–27; *ibid.* 20, 1915–17, 207–09 and 22, 1920–21, 443–47; ID., "La mauvaise passion de l'avarice selon Évagrius", *ibid.* 18, 1913, 427–29; ID., "Sentences d'Évagrius", *ibid.* 20, 1915–17, 211–14, 435–39 and 22, 1920–21, 206–11.

Alessandro Bausi

Evalet, Edouard

E. (b. 2 December 1876, La Heutte, Jura, Switzerland, d. 21 October 1942, Addis Abäba) was the first industrialist in Ethiopia. Invited to Ethiopia by his compatriot Alfred ↗Ilg, in 1898 he first became *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's imperial clockmaker at the court and then a merchant importing clocks. In 1907, as a reward for his services, he received a concession for a saw-mill, together with the Swiss architect Carl Faller. The "Scierie Evalet-Faller", employing foreigners and locals, was opened in 1908 next the Ǧam Ǧam river (Oromo territory near ↗Addis ʿAläm), amidst rich forests, and remained without competitors until 1936/37. It followed E.'s ideas of respect for the environment and enjoyed good relations with the region's Oromo chief, Abbaa Doyo (d. ca. 1940). The saw-mill delivered wood specially for internal use, but also for export (British Palestine). Until the 1930s, Addis Abäba was, to a large extent, built with its products (*Le Courrier d'Ethiopie* 1929, 1; Evalet 1999:64). After Faller's death in 1927 it was renamed Scierie Edouard Evalet, with the administration in Addis Abäba. Starting from 1936, E.'s son, André (1908–2002), was associated with the company (cp. ErDizBio 120). Later, called Maison J. Evalet-Roth in 1942, it was continued by his widow and his son until the de-facto expropriation of the family business in 1952 by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, who, however, in 1961 honoured Jeanne Evalet-Roth (1887–1973) with the Order of the Queen of Sheba.


Sawmill of Edouard Evalet in Ǧamǧam; photo from the collection of André Evalet

E. was in good terms with Mənilək's notables. When asked by the French general Famin to act as a go-between with the Ethiopian government in order to help the continuation of the work on the Chemin de fer Franco-Éthiopien – stopped in Awaš following Ethiopian doubts – his contact with the Minister of War ↗Habtä Giyorgis was of crucial help (Evalet 1999:37). E.'s wife later was a confidant of Empress Zäwditu, for whom she was a source of information on Europe, especially during World War I. On a journey to Jerusalem, Constantinople and Paris in 1921, E. acted as an unofficial envoy of Zäwditu to enforce – though unsuccessfully – Ethiopian claims on the territories of the Ethiopian monastery ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān. Two of E.'s three children and a number of his grandchildren were born and raised in Ethiopia.

Src.: interview with André Evalet, 93 years old, Geneva, 14 July 2002; *Nachlass* Evalet, Musée d'Ethnographie, Geneva, and Janine Evalet-Giovannini, Geneva.

Lit.: ErDizBio 120; "Voyage à l'exploitation forestière de Djam-Djam", *Le Courrier d'Éthiopie, Journal d'Informations Hebdomadaire* 14, 47, 22 novembre 1929, 1–2; HANS MORF, "Schweizerische Sägerei im afrikanischen Gebirgs-Urwald", *Schweizer Illustrierte Zeitung*, ca. 1929, 8, 230; ANDRÉ EVALET, *De Ménélik à Mengistu: un Suisse en Éthiopie*, Genève 1999 (Collection Sources et témoignages, Musée d'Ethnographie, Genève 4), 8–11, 20, 24ff., 37f., 43ff., 64.

Wolbert Smidt

Evangelical Church(es) ↗Protestantism

Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen

The first Protestant missionary organizations to work in Ethiopia were the ↗Church Missionary

Society of London since 1839 and the ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission from Basle since 1856. Both waited for an opportunity to enter ↗Oromo territory but failed to do so. It was for two Lutheran missionary societies, the German ↗Hermannsburger Mission (founded in 1849) and the E.F.S. (founded in 1856) to bring the Gospel to the non-Christian Oromo.

The E.F.S., known in Ethiopia as the Swedish Evangelical Mission (SEM), had sprung from the spiritual awakening movements in Sweden of the early 19th cent. It was working first of all among the Christian population of Sweden, but soon it also began missionary work abroad.

On 15 March 1866 the first three Swedish missionaries, Carl Johan Carlsson (1836–67), Per Erik Kjellberg and Lars Johan Lange, landed at Massawa. The governor of ↗Adyabo, *ato* Wäldä Ṣadəq Märač, allowed them to set up a mission station at Tandere in ↗Kunama territory, where they arrived on 4 June 1866. In July, Carlsson went to Uzama, where he learned the Kunama language, while Lange fell seriously ill and had to return to Sweden and Kjellberg struggled on in Tandere. In May 1867 reinforcements arrived from Sweden in the form of three more missionaries.

In the bloody fighting among the various villages and factions the Swedes soon became trusted peacemakers. In January 1869 they received nine more colleagues from Sweden, seven men and two women. Among the newcomers were Bengt Peter Lundahl (1840–85) and his fiancée Gustava von Platen, whom he married in Ethiopia. However, fighting among the local population and illness obliged them to return to Massawa. It was there that the mission managed finally to establish roots and henceforth was able to carry out its work of evangelizing the Oromo and of rendering various services, such as medical care and education. In the latter field the work of missionary women became of particular importance, because they took upon themselves the schooling of Ethiopian women. The first Oromo baptized by the Swedes was a young former slave, Näsib, to whom the Swedes gave the name ↗Onesimos.

The distribution of Bibles in Amharic and Gəʿəz by earlier Protestant missionaries in the ↗Ḥamasen had led to eager scriptural studies among the Orthodox Christians. The Swedish missionaries soon began to work in two different fields: Lundahl saw as his primary task the need to train indigenous missionaries from among the Oromo freedmen, while P.E. Lager (1837–76, arrived in Ethiopia in 1867) took more interest in reform work within the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. After the killing of Lager by Gubsa (var. of Gugsa) Wäldä Gäbrəʾel in the battle of Wäkki Dubba, near the St. Michael Church of ʿAddi Qʷänṣi, the method of Lundahl became the prevailing one.

The Protestant activity in Ethiopia led to the formation of an indigenous Evangelical Church in 1944. However, theological differences pushed the Lutherans to form a Lutheran Church of their own, a project which succeeded in 1959 with the foundation of the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Iyesus. Since 1974 the E.F.S., as well as the other Lutheran missions present in Ethiopia have been part of this last Church.

↗Missions; ↗Protestantism

Lit.: ArEvang; OLAV SAEVERAAS, *On Church-Mission Relations in Ethiopia 1944–1969, with Special Reference to the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus and the Lutheran Missions*, Lund 1974.

Kirsten Stoffregen Pedersen

Evangelists in art

A set of full-page portraits of the four E. is the most common form of illumination in the decorated Gospel books. The four E. (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John) are rarely depicted in other contexts. E. portraits in the formats of a standing figure holding his codex and an author seated before a desk or lectern engaged in composing his book were well established elements of the decorated Gospel book as early as the 6th cent.; the earliest extant 6th-cent. examples survive in Latin and Syriac Gospels.

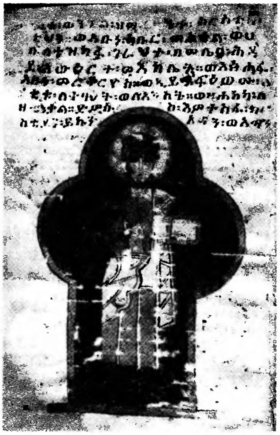


Fig. 1: St. Matthew; miniature from a Gospel Book of Däbrä Mäʿar; fol. 14v; 1340; photo 1993, courtesy of the author

No Ethiopian ↗manuscripts from the Aksumite period survived, but the introduction of E. portraits into Ethiopic (Gəᶜəz) Gospel books most likely goes back to this early period. Separate parchment leaves with E. portraits and decorated Canon tables, presently inserted into two later Ethiopic manuscripts of the Four Gospels at ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima, have been dated by the carbon-14 process to the period between 430 and 650 A.D. (Mercier 2000b:40), but stylistic comparisons indicate that the illuminations were painted in the late 6th or early 7th cent. Their original provenance is unknown (AfrZion 129f.; the miniatures were first published in Leroy 1960, 1968).

The earliest presently known set of E. portraits integral to an Ethiopic Gospel book is found in the so-called Gospels of Iyäsus Moᵓa of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, dated 1280/81 (ms. EMML 1832). Each full-page portrait is painted upon a verso page, facing the Gospel text on the recto page. Ethiopian scribes customarily copied the first page of a Gospel text on the first recto folio of a quire, a custom that goes back to the earliest centuries of production of manuscripts of the Four Gospels (cp. McGurk 1961) and is confined to Gospel books alone (Nelson 1981: 222, n. 57). Each E. thus introduces his respective Gospel. All sets of E. portraits in Ethiopic Gospel books follow this pattern of placement. Luke (Heldman 1994, fig. 50) and John in the Gospels of ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa are depicted as a frontal standing figure wearing a tunic and mantle as in some Greek E. portraits (Weitzmann 1935, pl. 79), the Gospel codex held in the draped left hand. Matthew and Mark of the Gospels of Iyäsus Moᵓa are seated figures. Mark wears a red monastic hooded cape (Heldman 1983, fig. 2), an apparent reference to the fact that successors of Mark at the patriarchal See of Alexandria were chosen from the Egyptian monastic community. The detail of the distinctive red monastic hooded cape is repeated in the portrait of St. Mark in the Gospels of *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Krəstos Täsfanä of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos (Addis Abäba, National Library, ms. 28; s. AfrZion no. 65).

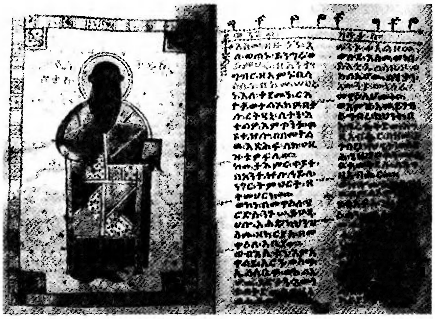


Fig. 2: St. Luke, miniature from a Gospel Book of Gʷənagʷəna; fol. 90v; period of the reign of *aṣe* Dawit (1382–1413), as per note on fol. 181r; photo 1974, courtesy of the author

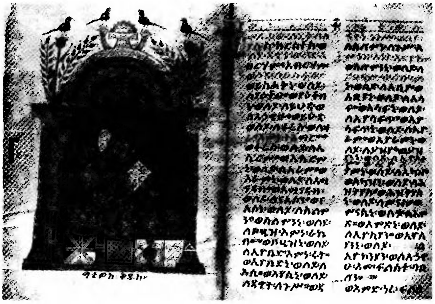


Fig. 3: St. Matthew, miniature from a Gospel Book of Kəbran, Lake Ṭana; fol. 24v; before 1412; photo 1986, courtesy of the author

E. portraits found in a number of illuminated Ethiopic Gospels books produced during the 14th, 15th and early 16th cent. repeat the essential formats of standing figure with codex, seated author, or a combination of the two. The portrait of Matthew in the Gospels of ↗Däbrä Mäᶜar, dated 1339/40 A.D. (s. Lepage 1987; AfrZion 130) shows a standing figure holding his codex (Fig. 1). Although his garments are treated rather decoratively, the simple tunic and the draped mantle of the Late Antique prototype of this portrait type remain recognizable. In contrast, the figure of Luke in a manuscript of the Four Gospels from a monastery at ↗Gʷənagʷəna in Akkälä Guzay, produced during the reign of *aṣe* Dawit II (r. 1382–1413), wears garments transformed by the painter into ornamental patterns (Fig. 2). This is typical of many sets of E. portraits created during the late 14th and 15th cent. (Heldman 1994, figs. 55–56). On the other hand, the painter of the evangelist portraits of the Gospels from ↗Kəbran Ǝsṭifanos followed middle-Byzantine models of the seated evangelist portrait type (Wright et al. 1961, pl. 8). The manuscript was produced before 1412 (Fig. 3; s. HamTana I, 84–91, ms. Ṭānāsee 1; AfrZion 178f., no. 69). More decorative interpretations of the

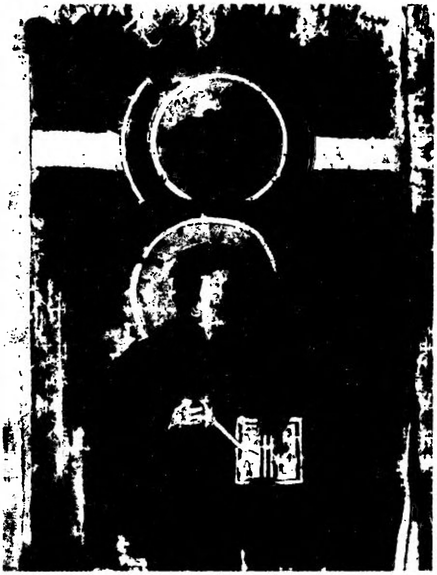


Fig. 4: St. Luke, miniature from a Gospel Book, Ǝnda Abba Pänṭälewon; fol. 85v, mid-15th cent.; photo 1974, courtesy of the author

seated E. are found in the Gospels of ↗Däbrä Maryam Qʷäḥayn, Eritrea, dated 1360/61 (s. Buxton 1970, fig. 75; Bausi 1994:24–44) and other illuminated Ethiopic Gospel books of the 15th and early 16th cent. (s., e.g., Wright et al. 1961, pl. 6; Hammerschmidt 1977, pl. 132–35; Jäger 1957, pl. 1–2; Spencer 1972:67; Mercier 2000:86f.; Horrowitz 2001:101).

Portraits of three E. in a mid-15th-cent. manuscript of the Four Gospels from Ǝnda Abba Pänṭälewon from the environs of Aksum depart from the simple E. portrait described above. Each E. is accompanied by his symbol – Mark is accompanied by a lion, Luke by an ox (Fig. 4) and John by an eagle. A single miniature with a portrait of John, presently in a private collection (Mercier 2000:60), is by the painter of the Ǝnda Abba Panṭalewon E. portraits. The symbols derive from the interpretations of Ezekiel's vision of God (Ezek 1:5–10) and the vision of John in the Apocalypse (Rev 4:6-8); the symbolic scheme devised by Jerome was adopted as a standard addition to the portraits of the evangelists in the arts of the Roman Church (s., e.g., Nelson 1980: 15–53). In the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, the "Four Living Beings" that support the throne of God are understood to be intercessors there for all creation, and they are celebrated as such on 8 *Ḫədar* (BudSaint 221f.; ColSyn VIII, 168–73). The appearance of these animals as symbols in the portraits of the E. in this 15th-cent. Gospel book reflects the impact of European art, introduced to Ethiopia during the course of the 15th cent.

A set of strikingly different E. portraits decorates a 17th-cent. Ethiopian manuscript of the Four Gospels (London, BritLib, ms. Orient. 516), the distinctive style of which indicates that it was produced in the environs of ↗Lalibäla in Lasta (AfrZion no. 108; Mercier 2000:142f.). The iconography of these E. portraits, a standing saint with his hands raised in an orant pose and accompanied by his disciples (*ardəʾət*, 'helpers'), is unique to miniatures painted in this style. Matthew is accompanied by four disciples, Mark has two disciples who hold books, and those accompanying Luke hold large knives (AfrZion no. 108; Leroy 1967, pl. 55).

Portuguese ↗Jesuit missionaries to Ethiopia in the early 17th cent. brought one or more copies of the Arabic Four Gospels (*Evangelium Arabicum*), printed in Rome in 1591. Decorated with woodcuts designed by Antonio Tempesta, the book has a set of illuminations showing E. with the animal symbols. It furnished new models for E. portraits of later Ethiopic Gospel books. The portraits in the 17th-cent. Gospels from the Gana Yoḥannəs church at Säqält (Jäger 1957, pl. 5) follow the Arabic Gospel's composition rather closely. The impact of these models upon E. portraits in Ethiopian manuscripts is often less direct, yet present when the E. is depicted while writing, sitting upon the ground or a low stool with his symbolic animal beside him (Hammerschmidt 1977, pl. 129ff.). E.g., E. portraits of a 17th-cent. Gospel book (BritLib., ms. Orient. 515) show each E. seated on the ground writing, while before him his symbolic animal holds an ink horn into which the author will dip his pen. Because these portraits are painted in the 18th-cent. second Gondärine style, we must conclude that they were added some time after the manuscript was produced.

Src.: BudSaint 221f.; DAVID BUXTON, *The Abyssinians*, London 1970, fig. 75; ColSyn VIII, 168–73; HamTana I, 84–91, ms. Ṭānāsee 1 = Kebrān 1; EMML V, 293–301, ms. no. 1832; DEBORAH E. HORROWITZ (ed.), *Ethiopian Art. The Walters Art Museum*, Baltimore 2001, 101; OTTO A. JÄGER, *Aethiopische Miniaturen*, Berlin 1957, pl. 1, 2, 5; MARILYN E. HELDMAN, *The Marian Icons of the Painter*

Frē Ṣeyon: a Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage, and Spirituality, Wiesbaden 1994, fig. 50, 55f.; AfrZion 129f., 178f., nos. 65, 69, 108; JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *L'arche éthiopienne: Art chrétien d'Éthiopie*, Paris 2000, 60, 86f.; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Illuminierte Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz und Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee*, Graz 1977, pl. 129–35; DIANA SPENCER, "In Search of St. Luke Ikons in Ethiopia", *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 201–31, here 67; STEPHEN WRIGHT – OTTO JÄGER – JULES LEROY (eds.), *Ethiopia: Illuminated Manuscripts*, New York 1961, pl. 6; WrBriMus 25f., no. 36 [Orient. 515]; 27f., no. 41 [Orient. 516].

Lit.: MARILYN E. HELDMAN, "An Ethiopian Miniature of the Head of St. Mark: Egyptian Influence at the Monastery of St. Stephen, Hayq", in: STANISLAS SEGERT – ANDRZEJ J. E. BODROGLIGETI (eds.), *Ethiopian Studies, Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday*, Wiesbaden 1983, 554–68, here fig. 2; EAD., "An Early Gospel Frontispiece in Ethiopia", *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 48, 1979, 107–21; JULES LEROY, "L'Évangéliaire éthiopien du couvent d'Abbā Garimā et ses attaches avec l'ancien art chrétien de Syrie", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 11, 1960, 131–43; ID., *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and during the Gondar Dynasty*, New York 1967, pl. 55; ID., "Un nouvel évangéliare éthiopien illustré du monastère d'Abbā Garimā", *Synthronon*, Paris 1968 (Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques 2), 75–87; JACQUES MERCIER, "La peinture éthiopienne à l'époque axoumite et au XVIIIe siècle", *Comptes rendus des séances, Academie des inscriptions and belles-lettres*, Paris 2000b, 35–71; KURT WEITZMANN, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1935, pl. 79; PATRICK MCGURK, *Latin Gospel Books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800*, Paris 1961, 7ff.; ROBERT S. NELSON, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book*, New York 1980, 15–53; ID., "A Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Miniature in the Vatican Library", *Gesta* 20, 1981, 213–22, here 222, n. 57; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Reconstitution d'un cycle protobyzantin à partir des miniatures de deux manuscrits éthiopiens du XIVe siècle", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 35, 1987, 159–96; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea", *RSE* 38, 1994 [1997], 24–44 (Lit.).

Marilyn E. Heldman

Evliyā Çelebi

E.Ç. (b. 25 March 1611, Istanbul, d. 1684?) was the author of a huge ten-volume work known as the *Seyāḥatnāme* ('Book of Travels'), in which he describes the journeys he had undertaken – some of them probably spurious – throughout the Ottoman Empire and adjacent lands. The *Seyāḥatnāme* is the only source that provides us with biographical data on E.Ç. It recounts his birth as the son of *Derwīš* Meḥmed Ẓillī, the chief court jeweller (E.Ç. is only his pen name, which he probably adopted in veneration of his teacher, the court-*imām* Evliya Meḥmed *Efendi*). After attending a *medrese* for seven years and a Qurʾānic school for other eleven, he excelled as a *Qurʾān* reciter and found favour with *sulṭān* Murād IV, who took him to the palace school for further education.

Before starting his extended travels in 1640, E.Ç. explored Istanbul and its environs, which he described in the first volume of his work. His further journeys took him through Anatolia and the Balkans, from Vienna to Baghdad and from Crimea to Eritrea.

In volume ten he gives an account of his journey to the Kingdom of ↗Funǧ and to the Ottoman province of ↗Ḥabeš on the Red Sea. Travelling from Cairo along the Nile, he reached Sinnār, the capital of Funǧ, on the 20 *Šaʿbān* 1083 H. [11 December 1672]. From there he went, together with the King of Funǧ, ↗Bādī II – E.Ç. only calls him by his title, *qaqān* – into the deep south of the latter's realm, up to the mountain of "Ševām", which was situated, according to E.Ç., 180 days' journey south of Cairo.

Then he turned to Sinnār (18 February 1673) and went on his way back to Egypt, but decided to grasp the opportunity for a visit to "Ḥabeš". He seems to have made this journey via Qūṣ (Raǧab) to the north through Ethiopian territory, which he calls "Dümbīye", probably identical with Ethiopian Dämbəya. He reached "Ḥabeš" near Dinqilāb (Dungunab) and then turned south to "Sevākin" (↗Sawākin), where he embarked for the archipelago of ↗Dahlak and the harbour of "Musova" (Massawa). Zaylaᶜ was the last town he visited in "Ḥabeš" before he eventually returned to Cairo. During his journey in the Sudan and "Ḥabeš", it seems, he not only travelled as an emissary of Ottoman statesmen, as he usually did, but he also engaged in some trade.

In his account of Funǧ, as well as in that of "Ḥabeš", E.Ç. gives some examples of the local languages, which he calls Hebrew in Funǧ and Ḥabeši or Süryānī in "Ḥabeš", Hebrew and Süryānī being *topoi* for languages unknown to himself. Examples of the languages of the ↗Banyan, Hindu and Jain merchants, are also provided.

Due to his vivid imagination, E.Ç. occasionally mixes facts and fantasy. Nevertheless, the *Seyāḥatnāme* offers a wealth of information about the lands and peoples he describes.

Src.: EVLIYA ÇELEBI, *Seyahatnamesi. Mısır, Sudan, Habeş (1672–1680)*, vol. 10, Istanbul 1938.

Lit.: J.H. MORDTMANN – H.W. DUDA, "Ewliyâ Çelebi", in: *EI²*, II, 717–20 (Lit.); CAVIT BAYSUN, "Ewliya Çelebi", in: *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4, Istanbul 1964, 400–12; ALESSIO BOMBACI, "Il viaggio in Abissinia di Evliyā Čelebi (1673)", *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 2, 1943, 259–75; ERICH PROKOSCH (ed.), *Ins Land der geheim-*

nisvollen Func: des türkischen Weltenbummlers Evliyā Çelebi Reise durch Oberägypten und den Sudan nebst der osmanischen Provinz Habeş in den Jahren 1672/73, Graz – Wien – Köln 1994 (Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber, Neue Folge 3).

Korkut Buğday

Ewald, Heinrich von

E. (b. 16 November 1803, Göttingen, d. 4 May 1875, Göttingen) was a prominent 19th-cent. German Protestant theologian and Orientalist/Semitist. A prolific author, E. contributed to many branches of theology and Semitic/Oriental Studies (e.g., the New Testament, Arabic grammar and metrics, South Arabian, comparative linguistics); the Old Testament and the history of Ancient Israel were at the centre of his scholarly endeavours. Unsurprisingly, therefore, his contributions to ↗Ethiopian Studies were limited in number. E.'s impact on the development of this discpline was rather due to his activity as a teacher than to his research. During the decade of 1838–48 which he spent at Tübingen University (he otherwise taught in his home town of Göttingen) E. initiated August ↗Dillmann into Ethiopian Studies and inspired him to work in this field. Dillmann's dedication of his famous 1857 Gəʿəz grammar to E., "his dear and venerated teacher and friend, master of Semitics", indicates his lasting gratitude. Theodor ↗Nöldeke, another leading German Semitist of the late 19th/early 20th cent., was also a student of E.

Src.: Heinrich von Ewald, "Ueber die Saho-Sprache in Aethiopien", *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5, 1844, 410–24; Id., "Ueber die aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen", *ibid.*, 164–201; Id., "Ueber eine zweite Sammlung aethiopischer Handschriften in Tübingen", *ZDMG* 1, 1847, 1–43; Id., *Abhandlung über des aethiopischen Buches Henoch Entstehung, Sinn und Zusammensetzung*, Göttingen 1854; cf. also Lockot I, index.

Lit.: August Dillmann, "Heinrich Ewald", *Neues Reich* 5, 1875, 78–86; Julius Wellhausen, "Heinrich Ewald", in: *Festschrift zur Feier des 150-jährigen Bestehens der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Göttingen 1901, 61–88; Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, "Ewald, Heinrich Georg August", in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 1, Herzberg – Nordhausen 1990, cols. 1577–78.

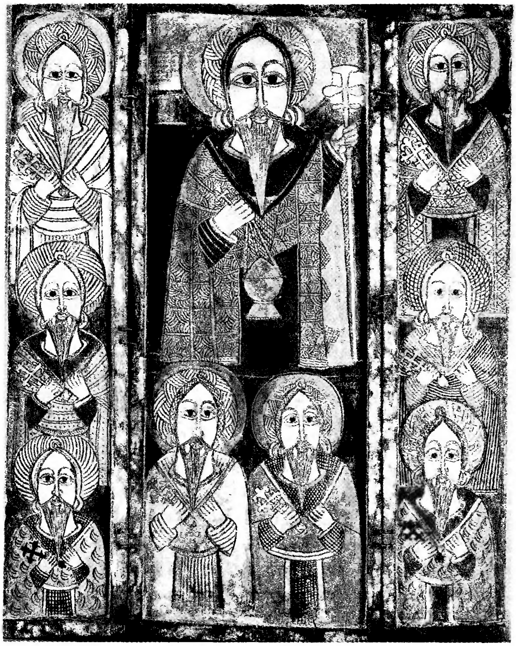
Michael Kleiner

Ewosṭateans

Members of the religious movement originating in the strenuous preaching of ↗Ewosṭatewos of Däbrä Ṣärabi (ca. 1273–1352), who was born and educated in eastern ↗Təgray, the E. (ደቂቀ፡ ኤዎስጣቴዎስ, *däqiqä Ewosṭatewos*, 'Sons of Ewosṭatewos') proved to be especially momentous for the history of what are now the Eritrean or Ethio-Eritrean regions of ↗Säraye, ↗Ḥamasen, ↗Šire and ↗Bur (including ↗Akkälä Guzay, ↗Šəmäzana and part of ↗ʿAgäme). Thanks to their missionary activity, those areas were intensively Christianized in the 14th and 15th cent. and witnessed both a wide diffusion of monastic settlements and a considerable elaboration of a much older theological and literary heritage (Lusini 1993:28ff.).

In the "long" genealogies of northern (Təgrayan) stock, ranging from the 14th to the 17th cent. and centred on Ewosṭatewos, he is given twelve pupils (to become later, according to various traditions, spiritual mentors of celebrated monastic leaders in the same line): 1. ↗Absadi of Däbrä Maryam, "spiritual father" of his own successors Zäkaryas and Romanos, as well as of Muse of Mayä Gʷärzo ("father" of ↗Dəmyanos of Qʷäḥayn who begat ↗Yonas of Bur); 2. ↗Märqorewos of Däbrä Dəmaḥ, "brother" of Absadi; 3. Matewos of Bärbäre or Dabra Bäkʷər (↗Amba Sänayti); 4. Bäkimos of ↗Däbrä Ṣärabi (Ṣəraʿ), first successor of Ewosṭatewos (before Ṗawlos, Ananya and Iyosayas) and "father" of the better-known ↗Filəppos of Däbrä Bizän, whose rank was inherited by ↗Yoḥannes of Däbrä Bizän, in turn "father" of Yəbarəkannä Krəstos; 5. Gäbrä Mäsqäl of May Qorqor (Säḥart); 6. Ṣawa Dəngel or Wängel of Bur or Mänbärta; 7. ↗Matyas of ʿAd(də)qe or Šəmagele (Ḥamasen); 8. ↗Gäbrä Iyasus of Däbrä San or Däbsan (Ǝnfraz), from among whose disciples Matewos, his successor, Fiqṭor and ↗Ǝndrəyas are remembered; 9. Matewos "the Egyptian"; 10. Bärtälomewos; 11. Fiq(i)ṭor; 12. Qozmos of ↗Däbrä Bäggəʿ (in Šäwa). As apparent from other sources, the puzzling references to (9.) "Matewos the Egyptian" and (10.) "Bärtolomewos" are to the homonymous Alexandrian patriarch (1378–1408) and Ethiopian metropolitan (ca. 1398/99–1438; s. *abunä* ↗Bärtälomewos) respectively: since Ewosṭatewos died long before their tenures, the list may well reflect a posthumous arrangement, aimed at both conforming to the "perfect" number of the Apostles and obliterating the bitter struggle between Filəppos of Däbrä Bizan and Metropolitan Bärtälomewos, who had been sent to Ethiopia by the Egyptian Patriarch Matthew II (s. also LusStud 122).

Oral traditions only know, instead, of seven E. (ሸውዓተ፡ ደቂቀ፡ ኤዎስጣቴዎስ, *Šäwʿattä däqiqä*



‘Saint Ewosṭatewos, master of faith for Ethiopia and Armenia’ (mid top) with eight disciples: ‘Absadi of Däbrä Maryam Särawe’, ‘Sinoda of Zälgʷan’ and ‘Zäʾamanuʾel, master of Wälläqa’ (left from top); ‘Ḥawa[r]ya Dəngəl’ and ‘Ləbsä Krəstos’ (mid low); ‘Märqorewos of Däbrä Dəmaḥ, Särawe’, ‘Gäbrä Iyä[sus] of Däbrä Sa[n]’ and ‘Bäkimos of Däbrä Śärabi’ (right from top); wooden triptych; private collection; late 17th cent.; courtesy of the author

Ewosṭatewos). Besides Märqorewos, Bäkimos, Gäbrä Iyäsus and Matewos of Bärbäre, they include ↗Gäbrä Amlak and ↗Buruk Amlak, eponymous founders of Ǝndä Abba Gäramlak at Qʷäyaṣa (Šəre) and Ǝndä Abba Buruk in Märagʷəz (Säraye), as well as the elusive Aron, whose name is associated to the monastery of Dammo Gälila (south of the valley of ↗ʿAdwa). Apart from even later traditions (Conti Rossini 1942:201), or the scanty commemorations almost concealed in different layers of the ↗*Sənkəssar* (LusStud 10), a further list of Ewosṭatewos's disciples – rather minor historical figures, still playing a significant role in the ecclesiastical life of the northern provinces of Ethiopia from the end of the 14th to the mid of the 15th cent. – is transmitted in the 15th/16th-cent. ms. Vat. Aeth. 46 (with the first recension of Ewosṭatewos's Vita), fol. 131r–33v: it was drawn by an *abba* Arkälädəs or Arkä Śəllus, head of Däbrä Maya Aʿəraf (a priory of Däbrä Bizän) around 1450, and possibly one and the same person as the owner of the book (Conti Rossini 1927:512ff.).

A colophon by *abunä* ↗Yosṭinos in an Octateuch manuscript of Däbrä Maryam, dated to 1408/9, recounts the life of this community during the tenure of abbot Täwäldä Mädḫen, third successor of Absadi and immediate predecessor of Fiqṭor (Lusini 1996:79-92). Useful details for the chronology of the events concerning the E., with special attention to Absadi and Filəp̣pos of Däbrä Bizan, as well as to the latter's successors (Yoḥannəs, Śäräqä Bərhan and Peṭros), are found in the 17th-cent. “Annals of ʿAddi Näʿammən” by the priest Maḥṣanta Maryam, with a list of twelve E. (including Filəp̣pos) who “went to the land of Amḥara” in 1389/90, following the arrival of Metropolitan Bärtälomewos, and returned to their own country only five years later (KolTrad III, A23). Written from the point of view of Däbrä Bizän, the “Annals” may well mirror documents originally issued within this monastery (*ibid.*, A13f.; cp. LusStud 12). Its founder Filəp̣pos also gave his community an organic series of precepts – concerned with both spiritual and material aspects of monastic life – that are embedded in his Vita (Conti Rossini 1900: 94a-98b). It is the only such written instrument known for the E. (Conti Rossini 1916:381–87).

Except for Gäbrä Iyäsus, who proceeded on to ↗Bägemdər attempting to convert there the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel of Ǝnfraz, the E. were asserting themselves chiefly in the northern parts of the empire. Here they soon dimmed the long-standing prestige and influence of such older monastic foundations as the 6th-cent. ↗Däbrä Damo, ↗Däbrä Sina and ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana, the decline of which was eventually triggered by the presence and activity of the communities for both monks and nuns established by Ewosṭatewos and his offspring in remote places of Təgray and Eritrea (CRDLib 179). In their search for suitable places, the E. were often met with hostile receptions that forced them to withdraw into frontier areas – this being also the case for Gäbrä Iyäsus – where they rapidly increased and created a careful organization on their own "in complete defiance of the rest of the Ethiopian Church" (TadTChurch 211).

While originating from eastern Təgray, the E. had soon to relinquish their original dwelling and cross the ↗Märäb in order to flee the fierce reaction that broke out under *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I. By the end of the 14th cent., they were firmly established along the western edge of the Eritrean plateau. The earliest monastic settlement of the *Däqiqä Ewosṭatewos* beyond the Märäb was ↗Däbrä Maryam in Qʷäḥayn, founded by Absadi in approximately 1374. In the early decades of the 15th cent., its scriptorium saw the production and canonization of the most ancient and authoritative hagiographic traditions concerning the E. As suggested by the illumination found in a local manuscript of the *Acts of Saints and Martyrs* (cp. ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat*) dated to 1466/67, Däbrä Maryam is also likely to have been the site of the painters' workshop responsible for the Psalter of ↗Bəlen Sägädä – the famous ↗*aqa(n)ṣen* of Säraye who was close to Yonas of Bur (BN, ms. d'Abbadie 105) – and other miniatures in its peculiar style that are scattered through the adjoining regions of Säraye, Ḥamasen and Šəre and can be associated with the "house" of Ewosṭatewos as well (Heldman 1989:6ff.).

On leaving for Egypt and the Holy Places around 1338, Ewosṭatewos entrusted Absadi with the guidance of the community, then perhaps gathered at Däbrä Šəmana of Ḥənṭalo (↗Anṭalo). The expansion of the movement, having since come to a standstill, must have been revived by the return to Ethiopia, especially after Ewosṭatewos's death, of some of the disciples who had followed him as far as to Armenia for some 14 years (most of them perishing on the difficult journey): Bäkimos, Märqorewos, Filəppos, Gäbrä Iyäsus and Qozmos of Däbrä Bäggəᶜ. Actually, the greatest achievements of the E. – also part of the Ethiopian community of ↗Jerusalem since the late 14th cent. (e.g., CerPal vol. 2, 363, 367f., 397f.) – coincided with a long vacancy of the metropolitan seat. Bärtälomewos held office only 13 years after the death of *abunä* ↗Sälama "the Translator" (Fiaccadori 1989:151).

The regional or peripheral character of the movement is however liable for the limits and fortunes of the "house" of Ewosṭatewos, doomed to a greater homogeneity, but also to dissension with the local clergy and ruling class, and to conflicts with the emperor and the metropolitan or other monastic families supported by them. Most of these families derived from the Šäwan monk ↗Täklä Haymanot, albeit displaying no compact regional front. As to the controversial matter and the interlinking persecutions, the celebration of the Saturday/↗Sabbath, indeed a serious point at issue, was but an aspect, even if extremely apparent, of a more substantial opposition between vast portions of the Ethiopian regular clergy, above all the Təgrayan, and the emperors who tried to impose on the great monastic units, traditionally jealous of their autonomy, by absolutely enforcing the central authority of the monarchy in keeping with the claims of the Coptic patriarchate, i.e. of the metropolitans sent to Ethiopia from Egypt. When the E. finally refused to comply with Bärtälomewos's provisions, Filəppos of Bizän was detained at ↗Däbrä Ḥayq by the powerful *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* ↗Säräqä Bərhan, an intimate friend of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II and the most faithful supporter of the Egyptian bishop among the Ethiopian hierarchy. Nor was Filəppos released until after the death of his jailer in ca. 1403 (CerMaria 85f.; Cerulli 1958:271f.).

An interesting contemporary picture of the organization and administration of the E., under the strict authority of their leadership, and a brief statistical survey of the relevant structures are provided in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*bərhan* (inspired) by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾä Yaᶜəqob (VI [3-5]). There were three major centres: Däbrä Maryam, Däbrä Bizan and (Däbrä) Däqqi Ita in Märagʷəz (the southernmost district of Säraye), all with a great number of inmates and dependencies (*mənetat*). Taking literally the advice of their teachers, the members of the "house" declined to receive, and even denounced, Holy Orders as conferred by the Egyptian bishop, a declared opponent of the

Saturday/Sabbath (TadTChurch 211, n. 5–7); for his own part, the metropolitan refused priesthood to the E., debarring them from the sacrament of ordination (LusStud 121, 127). A few sympathizing, duly ordained priests celebrated the liturgy for each community, headed by a lay brother in full charge of the religious life of its members. This figure, called *danya* ('judge, overseer', modern form ↗*daññа*, s. BeckHuntAlvar 89 and n. 2, 556), bestowed the monastic habit and fixed the penance to be assigned by the priests on hearing confessions. So did the E. manage to keep their independence, avoiding narrow control by the Emperor and the clergy loyal to him and preventing outside interference in monastic affairs. Also, E. were eventually able to find a fit with local rulers and military leaders (e.g., Bəlen Sägädä) that was to pave the way to the religious acknowledgement of their "house" in the last ten years of *aṣe* Dawit's reign.

Zärʾa Yaʿəqob exactly informs about the dreadful clash between the Egyptian bishop and the E. (who had grown to an alarming rate) under the reign of his father *aṣe* Dawit, by whom they were banned in ca. 1400, suffering defections and problems that created lasting feuds within the "order", as reported in hagiographic sources (TadTChurch 215, n. 2–3). Yet, four years later, impressed by the strengthening of their religious and political influence even on his principal courtiers, Dawit changed his mind in favour of the E., making it possible for them to receive Holy Orders from the metropolitan – which they kept declining by that time – and giving extended land grants to some of their communities, as in the case of Däbrä Dəmaḥ (Conti Rossini 1904:44). The E., whose status had been suddenly transformed "from one of an actively persecuted minority into that of a respectable school", acquired thereby complete freedom of movement throughout the empire. This accounts for both their missionary advance to the south (from Däbrä San) and their inner development in the north: a chain of small communities was started by abuna Filəp̣p̣os on his way back from detention along the main road from Amhara to Bizän, and soon after extended to the eastern edge of the Eritrean plateau – on the western side of which the E. had long been established. The whole region became, once and for all, an almost exclusive domain of the "house" of E. (TadTChurch 217f.).

On ascending the throne, Zärʾa Yaʿəqob found no theological reason for abolishing the first Sabbath; nor did he see any harm in allowing a practice that could contribute to the unification of his empire or to "the fabric of religious nationalism of Medieval Ethiopia of which he was the principal author" (TadTChurch 219). All the more so, as since his youth he had been entertaining close relationships with the pro-Sabbath clergy. On these grounds, he took the sensible political decision of bringing a final end to the controversy. In 1449 he had the new Metropolitans ↗Mikaʾel and Gäbrəʾel, in Ethiopia since 1438, reverse the opinion of their predecessors Sälama and Bärtälomewos (then blamed for their "ignorance of the Scriptures"), and relinquish the traditional doctrinal position of the Coptic Church. In 1450, at the council summoned and presided over by the Emperor at ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq (the E. being there headed by ↗Gäbrä Krəstos, abbot of Däbrä Maryam), the observance of the Saturday/Sabbath was declared mandatory to all Christians, in accordance with the Holy Scriptures accepted by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Giving thereby full legitimacy to the E., Zärʾa Yaʿəqob marked this event by generous land grants to Däbrä Maryam and Däbrä Bizän, so that they might "preach and teach the Orthodox faith". Still in 1626, the Jesuit Manoel ↗Barradas, while noticing a severe decrease in the number of monks (from 500 to 50), was deeply struck by the extension of the landed properties of Däbrä Bizän, then the leading settlement of the order (*Tractatus* II, 42, in BecRASO IV, 267f.; tr. Filleul 1996:148f.). Such restored or increased wealth, favouring closer contacts with the court, may also have contributed to the creation of a distinctive E. style of illumination in the last third of the 15th cent., with a limited but demonstrable impact of icons from the royal precincts, too (Heldman 1989:8). At the same time, Zärʾa Yaʿəqob lavishly endowed the rival followers of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot (TadTChurch 206-19, 229f.). By smoothing inequalities through fair-minded donations, he was trying to settle the internal conflicts among the Ethiopian clergy and achieve perfect union within the Church.

As a matter of fact, the "house" of Ewosṭatewos came next to that of Täklä Haymanot, with no substantial difference of rules (Conti Rossini 1916:380f.) except for the subdivision into small groups of monasteries forming independent congregations and the lack of a central figure like that of the abbot of Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa

(↗*ʾƎččäge*). As for the practice of monastic life, the E. were – and still are – much more austere in several respects: from strict enclosure and fasting to common life and relationships between monks and nuns. The two orders had since shared a common attitude against the matrimonial habits of the emperor (LusStud 5), if not against the traditional practices of the Ethiopian Church or the Alexandrian opinion on Sabbath. In due time, however, they experienced serious theological and political quarrels, grafted onto the long-standing background of ethno-geographic discrepancies despite ambiguous institutional boundaries and mutual influences. Over the past few centuries, the engagement between the "house" of Ewosṭatewos and the Šäwan ↗monasticism, as typified in the respective genealogies, was resented in ↗Dämbəya, Bägemdər and Goǧǧam (CrumLand 85), more than in the northern regions, where the E. had always prevailed and owned most of their landed property (Conti Rossini 1916:396-412, with a detailed list of monasteries and "fiefs"). It acquired further authority from the support of the already mentioned Aksumite foundations (Mario da Abiy-Addì 1970:338, n. 4). As regards the relationships with ↗Ǝsṭifanos and his "house", the 16th-cent. Vita of ↗ʿƎzra of Gundä Gunde has it that during the reign of *aṣe* Bäʾəda Maryam I (1468-78) a few disciples of Yonas of Bur, for fear of the Emperor, denounced the ↗Stephanites journeying with them to Jerusalem; and a disputation over the celebration of the Saturday/Sabbath – curiously enough, disregarded here by the E. – broke out between the two groups (Caquot 1961:74ff.).

During the controversy on the anointing of Christ (↗Christology), which culminated under *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs (r. 1632–67), the *qəbatočč* or "unctionists" (↗*Qəbʾat*) of ↗Goǧǧam based in the monasteries of ↗Däbrä Wärq and ↗Märṭulä Maryam (Derat 2003:264-67) were tracing their origins to the "perfect" teaching of Ewosṭatewos as opposed to that of Täklä Haymanot, patron of the *karročč* or "unionists" (↗*Karra haymanot*). A disparity already evident in the religious history of the country since the 14th–15th cent. was highly enhanced thereby. It also entailed a conscious revival of the E. that led to the rewriting of their genealogical and hagiographical sources: first and foremost the Vita of the founder ("redazione β" in LusStud, 35, 42f., 51ff.), credited then with a symptomatic prophecy on the danger represented by the heretic *Niqolawəyan* (Turaev 1905:76; 1906:39). This denomination refers probably to the followers of that *abba* ↗Niqolawos who attended the synod convened by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I in 1681, siding there with the Šäwan *qəbatočč* of Däbrä Libanos (TurIz 156). The translation of a relic "of the doctor of the world, *abunä* Ewosṭatewos" from Armenia to ↗Gondär three years before may be also understood within this competitive framework, which was to shape the position held to by the order in the subsequent centuries.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1900 [1903], 61–170, here 94–98; ID. (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Gadla Marqorewos, seu Acta sancti Mercurii*, Paris 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 44 (text) = 57 (tr.); ID., "Di alcuni scritti etiopici inediti", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 3, 1927, 497–528, here 512–16; ID., "Note di agiografia etiopica (ʿAbiya-Egziʾ, ʿArkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus)", *RSO* 17, 1938, 409–52, here 443; ID., *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbania 1942, 133; CRRICBerhan, part II, 145–57 (text) = 82–87 (tr.); KolTrad III, A23 (text) = A30 (tr.); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI (ed., tr.), *Il «Gadla Absadi» (Dabra Māryām, Sarāʾē)*, Lovanii 1996 (CSCO 557, 558 [SAe 103, 104]), 79–92 (text) = 56–67 (tr.); ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Les Actes d'Ezrā de Gunda-Gundē", *AE* 4, 1961, 69–121, here 74ff. (text) = 96–99 (tr.); BeckHuntAlvar 89 and n. 2, 556 ["David"]; BecRASO IV, 267f.; MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634). A Seventeenth-Century Historical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABETH FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 148f.; BORIS TURAIEV (ed.), *Monumenta Aethiopiae hagiologica*, vol. 3. *Vita et Miracula Eustathii, ad fidem codd. Or. 704 et Or. 705 Musei Britannici edita*, Petropoli 1905, 1–132 [Gädl], here 76; ID. (tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta s. Eustathii*, Parisiis 1906 (CSCO 32 [SAe 15]), 39.

Lit.: CRDLib 179; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Gli atti di abba Yonas", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 12, 1903, 177–201, 239–62, here 179ff.; ID., "Studî su popolazioni dell'Etiopia, II. La seconda migrazione agaw dell'Eritrea (Zaguà e Adchemè Melgà)", *RSO* 4, 1911–12, 599–651, here 640ff.; ID., *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916, 381–87, 396–412; TurIz 154–76; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "La Chiesa Abissina", *Oriente moderno* 2, 1922, 123–28, 186–90, 252–56, here 127f., 256; CerMaria 85f.; CerPal vol. 2, 363, 367f., 397f.; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il monachismo in Etiopia", in: *Il monachesimo orientale*, Atti del Convegno di Studi orientali … (9–12 aprile 1958), Roma 1958 (OrChrA 153), 259–78, here 264ff.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–64, here 151f., 163; MARIO DA ABIY-ADDÌ, "Inizi, vicende e situazione attuale del monachesimo nella Chiesa Etiopica", *Studi francescani* 67, 1970, 331–51, here 336–40; ID. [AYALA TAKLA-HĀYMĀNOT], *The Ethiopian Church and its Christological Doctrine*, Addis Ababa 1982, 98f. and n. 23; TadTChurch 209-19, 226-31, 236f., 247f.; KapMon 38f., 41f., 104f., 127f.; MARILYN HELDMAN, "An Ēwosṭāthian Style and the Gunda Gundē Style in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Manuscript Illumination", in: *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art* …, London 1989, 5–14, 135–39, figs. 1–29; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Cristianesimo ed esperienza monastica in Etiopia: il caso degli Eustaziani", *Cristianesimo nella storia* 14, 1993, 13–31; ID., "Problèmes du mouvement eustathéen", in: *PICES* 10, 343–47; ID., "Per una storia delle tradizioni monastiche eritree: le genealogie spirituali dell'ordine di Ēwosṭātēwos di Dabra Ṣarābi", in: UGO ZANETTI – ENZO LUCCHESI (eds.), *Aegyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du Père Paul Devos, Bollandiste*, Genève 2005 (Cahiers d'orientalisme 25), 249–72 (Lit.); BerTarik 50, 52–68, 71–79, 82ff. [ch. III/3, 4ff., 8f., 11] and passim; JACQUES MERCIER, "Ewost'atéwos et huit de ses disciples", in: *L'Arche éthiopienne, art chrétien d'Éthiopie, 27 septembre 2000–7 janvier 2001 …*, Paris 2000, 136–37; CrumLand 31 and n. 62, 43 and n. 139, 77, 274; DerDom 259ff., 264–67.

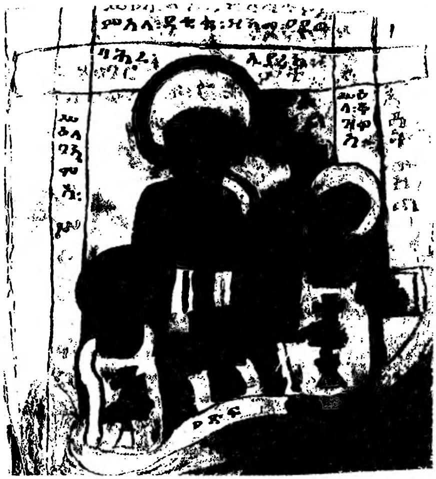
Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Ewosṭatewos

The monk E. (**ኤዎስጣቴዎስ**, also **ዮስጣቴዎስ** Yosṭatewos; b. 21 *Ḥamle* [15 July] 1273 ca., d. 18 *Mäskäräm* [15 September], 1352 ca.), one of the most famous Ethiopian saints, was born as Maᶜəqabä Əgziʾ (lit. 'Trust of the Lord') to Krəstos Moʾa and Śənä Ḥəywät. According to the 16th-cent. Vita (↗*Gädl*) of E.'s pupil ↗Ananya of Däbrä Ṣärabi (Lusini 1990:165; Raineri 1990: 69), E.'s birth place was not far from this later monastery, in the Ṣəraᶜ district of eastern Təgray (*awrağğa* of ↗Kələttä Awləᶜalo). While still a youth, he was sent around 1280 to his maternal uncle ↗Danʾel or Zäkaryas (baptismal and monastic name, respectively; Lusini 1990: 346f., 350f.), abbot of Däbrä Maryam on Mount ↗Qorqor in Gärᶜalta, under whom he studied and was initiated into monastic life, uttering his profession at the age of 15 and then being renamed E.

The major source of information about him is undoubtedly his own *Gädl*, written in the "flourished" 15th-cent. style on the initiative of his pupil ↗Absadi of Däbrä Maryam – upon whose *Gädl* E.'s own is partially dependent. Three different recensions of the latter are known, distinguished from one another by the use and extension of biblical quotations, alteration or shifting of episodes, inclusion or exclusion of some of the appended ↗*Taʾammər* – up to 14 in the "long cycle", the 12th one betraying perhaps a date not earlier than 1453. A useful, though ritual, chronology for the life of the saint is provided by a few 17th-cent. monastic genealogies, like that transmitted in the early 20th-cent. list of *käntiba* Däbbas, relying upon monastic traditions of the church of Çəᶜaräši, a village in ↗Dämbäsan: E. spent 12 years with his uncle, 7 at Ṣärabi, 7 back at May Qʷerqʷər in ↗Säḥart, 7 in ↗Bur, 10 at ↗Däbrä Bärbäre of (Amba) Sänayt(i), 7 at Abra Näddäd in Säraye, 14 in Armenia, i.e. "Lesser Armenia" or Cilicia (↗Armenians); "and the sum of the days of his life (was) 79 years" (Conti Rossini 1900:156). The years given for "Armenia", 14 also in the 16th-cent. *Gädl* of his pupil ↗Gäbrä Iyäsus of Däbrä San (Conti Rossini 1938:443), should be rather understood as "the duration of his stay abroad" (TadTChurch 207, n. 1). Further travels of the saint are reported in the *Gädl* of another pupil of his, ↗Märqorewos of ↗Däbrä Dəmaḥ: from Däbrä Šəmana of Həntalo (↗Anṭalo), where both Märqorewos and his "brother" Absadi entered the monastic life, E. reached Däbrä Säqʷərt in Säḥart, then Gädamä Bäraqit in Qʷäḥayn (Gädamä Qaḥen), where he stayed more than 7 years, before dwelling for 7 other years at Gädamä Bärqʷaḥ (Conti Rossini 1904:21, 31).

Soon around 1300 he established his own community at Ṣärabi. He gathered a great number of followers and students there, the most illustrious of whom amount to twelve – according to a somewhat later "canon", different from the oral tradition of the "Seven [spiritual] sons of E." (*Šäwᶜattä däqiqä Ewosṭatewos*; ↗Ewosṭateans). Beside a strenuous plea for the independence of regular clergy from civil and (secular) ecclesiastical authorities, a major point in E.'s theology was the celebration of the ↗Sabbath, i.e. the observance of the rest of both Saturday and Sunday (styled as *Sänbätä Ayhud* 'Sabbath of the Jews' and, respectively, *Sänbätä Krəstiyan* 'Sabbath of the Christians'), which was in keeping with the "old teaching of the Apostles", but against the Alexandrian position shared by the Ethiopian Church. He also recommended his followers not to long for holy orders, namely priesthood, as they were conferred by the anti-Sabbath metropolitan – a recommendation with far-reaching consequences for E.'s community. An autonomous tradition surviving in the unpublished 16th/17th-cent. *Gädl* of ↗Zena Marqos of Däbrä Bəśrat (Cerulli 1962:198) has it that at the royal court E. held a tough confrontation about the Sabbath(s) with the Šäwan monk ↗Anorewos "the Elder", appointed ↗*nəburä əd* (i.e., '[religious] prefect') of Waräb by the Egyptian Metropolitan ↗Yaᶜəqob, who had arrived in ca. 1337, when he also met E. on his way to the court. Anorewos was then summoned to the presence of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, who had him flogged as dividing the empire by such "religious



Abba Ewosṭatewos with his disciples: Bäkimos of Däbrä Ṣärabi (left) and Qozmos of Däbrä Bäggəᶜ (right), 'how they crossed the Mediterranean Sea' (*baḥrä Iyariko*); 15th/16th-cent. illumination, ms. Vat. Aeth. 46, fol. 1r; courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome

disputes" (TadTChurch 208f., n. 12). It is worth noting here that the monastic father of Danʾel of Däbrä Maryam was a certain ᶜƎbnä Sänbät ("[Corner-]Stone of the Sabbath"; Lusini 1990: 348f., 351f.); and, as to its origins, the controversy over the Sabbath(s) in the Ethiopian Church points to ↗Palestine, not to ↗Egypt, and is much older than the 14th cent. Whether it was a part of the "Old Testament customs" (cp. ↗Ayhud) complained about by Metropolitan ↗Säwiros between 1077 and 1092 (SawHist vol. 2, part 3, 330) is hard to say, but it goes certainly back to the period of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty and the 12th cent. at least, for it is alluded to in an inscription carved on a wooden "throne" (*mänbär*) of the ↗*tabot* by *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla, whose relationships with Jerusalem are well known (Fiaccadori 1992: XXXIII and n. 59; cp. LusStud 27f.). However, it is only from the 14th cent. onward – when the predication of pugnacious monks seemed to undermine the concord of the missionary program launched by the Emperor and the Metropolitan, and aimed at smoothing the way to the expansion of the empire – that one finds explicit mentions of it in the texts.

Next to E.'s theological doctrines, amongst wanderings and surprise moves, the envy and jealousy aroused by the saint – going as far as to force him to leave the country – are strongly emphasized in the sources. In his *Gädl*, for instance, there is a report of an attempt made on his life by rival members of the clergy of ↗Säraye, who tried to stone him to death while he was in his cell, possibly at Gädamä Bärqʷaḥ. Following this and other similar episodes, around 1338 he put his community under the care of Absadi and headed to Jerusalem and the Holy Places. In the first recension of his *Gädl* these events are recounted in the more reliable terms of an exile enforced "at the time of Nägädä Krəstos, governor of Säraye", because of the saint's support to the protest movement led by the main monastic centres against ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, whom they blamed for his non-Christian matrimonial habits (ms. Vat. Aeth. 46, fol. 40v–41r). In the short work by *abunä* ↗Yosṭinos, actually a colophon in a manuscript of Däbrä Maryam (dated to 1408/9), it is also clear that, since E. was banished by ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, he got polemically engaged by fostering the ambitions of a local squire, Wärasinä Ǝgziʾ, the later governor of Säraye (after Nägädä Krəstos) with whom, though, he always entertained ambiguous relationships, probably owing to Wärasinä Ǝgziʾ's involvement in the contemporary slave-trade between the Eritrean highlands and the Red Sea ports (Lusini 1996:89f.; cp. LusStud 58–61). According to the standard edition of his *Gädl*, E. was thus prompted to cross the lands of the Bogos (↗Bilin) and the "two Marya" (i.e. the Red and Black ↗Marya), in northern Eritrea, and to get into the country of the ↗Noba, ruled by a Christian prince called Säbʾa Nol in the local language, Wəludä Ityopya in Ethiopic. From there, asked by ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon to settle the question of the Sabbath(s) with his opponents before the Coptic Patriarch Benjamin II (1327–39), E. went to Egypt – some time toward the end of the pontificate of this Patriarch – but was accused of heterodoxy by his fellow travellers (not necessarily his disciples). Although sympathetic to his cause, Benjamin is reported to have said that, as a teaching of the Apostles, the observance of the Saturday as a Christian Sabbath had long been abandoned. E. lived for a few years in Egypt, spending some time in strict asceticism at Scetis (the monastery of St. Elija was among those visited by him). There he also met the "patriarch of Armenia" who had been "banished for the sake of the name of Christ, and had come to the city of Alexandria": certainly *katᶜolikos* Yakob II Tarsonacᶜi, deposed in 1341 and exiled to Egypt from ca. 1343 to 1354 (before being restored to his chair in 1355).

As a result of a predictably unfavourable reception in Egypt, some time after 1343 E. proceeded on to the Holy Land: he was accompanied by Bäkimos of Däbrä Ṣärabi, Gäbrä Iyäsus, Märqorewos and a few other faithful joined by Zəkərya, a monk of Scetis. He visited ↗Jerusalem, then the seat of a flourishing Ethiopian community, and Golgotha, Bethlehem, Nazareth and the Jordan river. Inclined to a rigorous monastic vision, and paternally solicitous for the spiritual good of his sons, he wanted to go "to Armenia, to that patriarch persecuted because of the apostolic law" (similar statement in the *Gädl* of Gäbrä Iyäsus; Conti Rossini 1938:443): i.e. because of his unfailing opposition to the "perjure" King Lewon V, released by Pope Clement VI from the oath engaging him not to call upon the help of the papacy (then resident at Avignon) against the Mamluks (1338). Such a defence of the canons, to the bitter end, by Yakob II is not so different from that held by E. against ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon. It may well explain the keen interest of the saint in seeing "that patriarch", indeed a "companion" of righteous leadership and moral propriety. All the more so, as the Armenian milieu Yakob II belonged in – the Latin-ruled Cilicia – was in fact leaning heavily away from its traditional Monophysitism, toward Catholicism and dependency upon the pope.

E.'s. *Gädl* openly suggests that he crossed the "Mediterranean sea" (*baḥrä Iyariko*: from Gr. *Illyrikón*) on his own "tunic" (*ᶜaṣf*); and the scene is depicted and labelled in a rough illumination on fol. 1 of the 15th/16th-cent. ms. Vat. Aeth. 46, where he is flanked by his disciples Bäkimos and Qozmos, i.e. Qozmos of ↗Däbrä Bäggəᶜ (GreTisVat 198). The tunic becomes a regular boat or ↗*tänqʷa* in later representations of the same subject: e.g., in a rare icon dated to ca. 1740-55 (Addis Abäba, IES, Mus. 3792, Chojnacki 2000:117, 312f., no. 77).

After nine days of adventurous sailing, E. landed at ↗Cyprus, where a church of Ǝgziʾətənä Maryam ('Our Lady Mary') is mentioned that can be identified with the Latin chapel of Sancta Maria de Cava in the village of Spigliótissa, on the east coast of the island, not far from Famagosta (Ammóchostos). He paid homage to an anonymous bishop of Cyprus, possibly the Armenian one, and was hosted by a wealthy lady, ᶜAziza (Ar. ᶜAzīza), "with whom girls were (staying) who learned weaving precious garments": a probable hint at the famous manufactory of the *opus Cyprium* or *Cyprense* ("Cyprus work"), a sort of gold embroidery. After resuming his sea voyage, during which the news miraculously came of the death of *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon (1344), he landed in Armenia, at a place – possibly Lajazzo (Lāyās) the great port of Cilicia – that already had a settlement of Ethiopians, as suggested in the fifth miracle (*täʾammər*) of the Saint. Preceded by the fame of his holiness, E. raised a young boy from the dead and then introduced himself to the local bishop. Yet, despising "the iniquitous glory of the world", or rather escaping the inner political and religious struggles of Cilicia (between pro- and anti-Latin parties, i.e. in favour or against the ecclesiastical union with Rome), he preferred to retire inward, to a town with walls "80 cubits high and 40 cubits thick", from which "he wandered and moved throughout the land of Armenia", being revered by the latter's patriarch. He died on 18 *Mäskäräm* [15 September] 1352 ca., in that far-inland fortress-town which can be identified with ancient Colonia Pontica (Kolōneia on the Lykos, Ar.: Qalūnīyat al-ᶜAwfī), today Şebinkarahisar, in the mid of north-eastern Anatolia: a place then in the realm of the learned and tolerant *sulṭān* Ġiyāṯaddīn Eretna (1326–52, until 1343 under the suzerainty of Ḥasan, lord of Azerbaijan). There the Armenian patriarch – coming from Sis (Sīs), were his seat was – presided over the funeral rites for the saint, whose body was deposed "next to the tomb of the holy martyr Behnam, in a church of Armenia" (likely to be the so-called Bozuk Kilise, the "Ruined Church", of Şebinkarahisar). This important detail is repeated in both the *Sənkəssar* (18 *Mäskäräm*: ColSyn VI, [118] 436f.; BudSaint 65) and the Acts of Gäbrä Iyäsus (Conti Rossini 1938:444).

At the beginning of the 16th cent., the wonderworking "sepulchre of the saint *abuna* E." at Colonia (Qʷälonəya) was visited by the *näggadi* ('pilgrim', i.e., a temporary member of the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem) Täklä Maryam, ↗*dañña* (or *danya* 'judge, overseer', a special title in the monastic hierarchy of the Ewosṭateans) of Däbrä Ṣärabi, who drew a note about that in the ms. Vat. Aeth. 24, fol. 189 (GreTisVat 127). As late as in 1679, according to the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I, the Armenian Yovhannēs Tᶜiwtᶜiwnči – archbishop of Šemiramakert (Van) and maybe *katᶜołikos* of Ałtᶜamar (1663–83) – still brought "from Armenia" to ↗Gondär "a bone of the hand of the doctor of the world, *abuna* E. with beautiful name" (GuiIohan 38f.). Apart from the authenticity of the relic itself, soon to be kept in the Gondärine church of Mädḫane ᶜAläm, this episode provides a valuable terminus for the neglect or abandoning of the Ewosṭatean sanctuary of Colonia/Şebinkarahisar.

Src.: BORIS TURAIEV (ed.), *Monumenta Aethiopiae hagiologica*, vol. 3. *Vita et Miracula Eustathii, ad fidem codd. Or. 704 et Or. 705 Musei Britannici edita*, Petropoli 1905, 1–132 [Vita], 134–77 [Miracles]; ID. (tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta s. Eustathii*, Parisiis 1906 (CSCO 32 [SAe 15]); TurIz 293–373 (cp. 154–76); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il *Gadla Filpos* e il *Gadla Yoḥannes* di Dabra Bizan", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1900 [1903], 61–170, here 154ff.; ID., *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta Marqorēwos, seu Acta s. Mercurii*, Parisiis 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 20f., 21, 25f., 27, 31 (text) = 23ff., 26f., 35, 37, 42 (tr.); ID., "Note di agiografia etiopica (ᶜAbiya-Egziᵓ, ᶜArkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus)", *RSO* 17, 1938, 409–52, here 439–52 [§III].; EMML IV, 130ff., no. 1636, fol. 61r-62v, 79v [12 years at Däbrä Bärbäre]; GreTisVat 116–27, 194–99 [Vat. Aeth. 24, 46]; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI (ed., tr.), "Il *Gadla Anānyā*", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 13, 1990, 149–91, here 165 (text) = 150 (tr.); ID. (ed., tr.), *Il "Gadla Absadi" (Dabra Māryām, Sarāᵓē)*, Lovanii 1996 (CSCO 557, 558 [SAe 103, 104]), 79–92 (text) = 56–67 (tr.), esp. 89f. (text) = 64f. (tr.); OSVALDO RAINERI (tr.), "Atti di Anania, santo monaco etiopico del XVI secolo", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 104, 1990, 65–91, here 69 (tr.); ColSyn VI, [118] 436f.; GuiSyn II, [359] 375f.; GréSyn IV, [247] 789, [256] 798; BudSaint 63–73, 1138ff.; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli Atti di Zēnā Mārqos, Monaco Etiope del sec. XIV", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, Città del Vaticano 1962, vol. 1 (Studi e testi 219), 191-212, here 198, 206f.; GuiIohan 38f. (text) = 39 (tr.); SawHist vol. 2, part 3, 212 (text) = 330 (tr.); STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons. Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, 117, 312f. [no. 77], 514, s. index.

Lit.: BHO 69, nos. 295–97; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studî su popolazioni dell'Etiopia, II. La seconda migrazione agaw dell'Eritrea (Zaguà e Adchemè Melgà)", *RSO* 4, 1911–12, 599–651, here 633f., 637, 640ff.; ID., "Un santo eritreo: Buruk Amlak", *ibid.* ser. 6ª, 14, 1938, 3–50, here 3f., 7, 11; H. TURŠYAN, "Habeš kronakan gorcičᶜ (S.) Eustatᶜeosə ew Hay Ekełecᶜin" ('The Ethiopian Monk [St.] Eustathius and the Armenian Church'), *Ējmiacin* 1956, fasc. IV–V, 97–103, and VI, 53–57; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Stellung und Bedeutung des Sabbats in Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1963, 19–35; TadTChurch, 197–219; KinBibl 70, no. 49; KapMon 38ff., 47f.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Etiopia, Cipro e Armenia: la «Vita» di ᵓÊwostᵓâtêwos, santo abissino del secolo XIV" (I), *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 32, 1985, 73–78, and (II), *Felix Ravenna* 127–28, 1984–85, 217–39 [Colonia P., with Lit.]; ID., "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–64, here 147–50, 157–61; ID., *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992, XXXIII and n. 59; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "A New Source for the History of Garᶜāltā (Ethiopia): The 'Life' of Dān'ēl of Dabra Māryām on Mount Qorqor (KRZ 36)", *Quaderni utinensi* 8 [15–16], 1990 [1996], 345–52; ID., "Sulla tradizione manoscritta degli 'Atti' di ᵓĒwosṭātēwos (*BHO* 295 = KRZ 49)", *ibid.* 353–65; LusStud 35–67, 42f., 45 (Lit.); GETATCHEW HAILE, "Ethiopian Saints", in: *CE* 4, 1044–56, here 1050f.; BerTarik 43–50 [ch. III/1-3]; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "O puteŝestviyah sv. Evstafiya, efiopskogo monaha XIV v., v Armeniu i arhiepiskopa Ovanesa v Efiopiyu v 1679 g. v svete efiopsko-armyanskih tserkovnyh otnošenij" ('On the Travels of the 14th-cent. Ethiopian Monk St. Eusthatius to Armenia and of Archbishop Hovhannes to Ethiopia in 1679 in the Light of Ethio-Armenian Church Relations'), *Patma-Banasirakan Handes* 158, 2001, 49–57.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Exegesis

The Ethiopian tradition has it that the *tərgʷəm* (**ትርጓም**) or *ars interpretandi* started with the biblical Enoch, mentioned in Gen 5:18–19. He is seen as the visionary *par excellence* who commented in all languages on the heavenly experiences he was allowed to have. This is obviously an elaboration of Gen 5:24. His visions, along with their interpretation, are collected in the book which goes under his name. Local scholars are inclined to deem that the Book of ↗Enoch was written in 4014 B.C. and they regard it as the first book of the Bible. However, the mostly held traditional position is that biblical E. made its way into Ethiopia when the Sacred Books were first introduced into the country by the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda), in the 10th cent. B.C. According to tradition, when ↗Mənilək I, the son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, reached adulthood and paid visit to his father, the latter gave him copies of the Sacred Books, together with 318 Levites to translate and interpret them; and the first books translated and interpreted were 1–2 Kgs. As far as the E. of the N.T. is concerned, the commonly accepted view is that it was a gift of the Risen Christ, who, on the day of Pentecost, bestowed on his disciples the knowledge of 70 languages beside their own – that means the ability to announce the Gospel in the languages of the listeners.

When it comes to verifying traditional data, it must be recognised that there are internal (in the commentaries) and external evidences confirming that the interpretation of the texts has been going on for a long time in Ethiopia. This work throughout the centuries is witnessed by several lengthy genealogies of students (**መምህራን**, *mämhəran*). For the O.T. the list of interpreters starts with Mənilək (10th cent. B.C.) and reaches Frumentius (4th cent.; *abba* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan). The Vita of *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot lists all the interpreters up to the 13th-cent. ↗Yared, the

6th cent. introducer of the Ethiopian sacred chant is one the authorities mentioned therein. The series of names goes on from Täklä Haymanot to *əččage* ↗Qalä ᶜAwadi who lived in 17th-cent. Gondär and embraces a total of 57 names.

Scholars agree that the work of interpretation, while deeply promoted by the exceptional activity and learning of *əččage* ↗ᶜƎnbaqom, who died in ca. 1560, received a major impulse and a definitive shape during the epoch of the ↗Gondärine kingdom, which was inaugurated with the transfer of the capital to ↗Gondär in the fourth year of the reign of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs (1636), the epoch which saw the flourishing and systematization of the ↗*andəmta* commentaries. The explicit references to teachers are rare and scattered, yet also indicative of the high esteem in which they were held. Among the numerous masters, the already mentioned Qalä ᶜAwadi is said to have contributed towards the ordering of the exegetical procedure and the rules of interpretation.

Qalä ᶜAwadi taught *mämhər* Esdros, one of the most-prominent scholars who left a mark in the interpretation of sacred texts. He lived in 18th-cent. Gondär and is credited with working hard to reorganize the various commentaries on the N.T. He was blind, but **አራት፡ ዓይና** (*arat ᶜayna*, lit. 'four eyed'), i.e. master of the four branches of E. (O.T., N.T., patristic works and monastic canons and writings). It is said that after Esdros had taught for some years, he withdrew to near lake Ṭana, where he examined 300 books. Once he completed his researches, he summoned his disciples and they formed a school known as the **ታች፡ ቤት** (*tačč bet*, 'the lower house'). Those of his former pupils who refused to return to him and update their knowledge, came to be known as the **ላይ፡ ቤት** (*lay bet*, 'the upper house'). In fact, *mämhər* Esdros is seen as a reformer; in his quest for constructing his E. on a sound basis, his main effort was to seek and choose the best Gəᶜəz text available. Another of his merits was the development of a method for providing concise explanations. One of his most renowned disciples was Śənä Krəstos (late 18th–early 19th cent.), who in his turn instructed *aläqa* Wäldä Ab, a native of Šäwa. Because of his unmatched gift of understanding and explaining the sacred texts, Wäldä Ab earned the fame of being "the father of the *andəmta*". It is likely that he knew Arabic and Arabic Christian literature. Another celebrity is *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Käbte, who died in Gondär ca. 1780. One finds abundant praises of him in the chronicles of his time: "... when this man expounded the Old and the New (Testaments) and the masters and the statutes of the Church, every man was astonished" (BlunChr 296).

There are foreign (*afrənǧ*) interpreters who are remembered alongside local teachers: Mäᶜəlim (from Ar. *muᶜallim*, 'teacher'?) Peṭros is one of them, some scholars are thinking that he could be the German Peter ↗Heyling. Pawlos Zəkrin is another name, and supposedly an Arab. There are mentions of a Sädi (Sədi) Pawlos, about whose identity scholars are divided, some are claiming that he is Paulus Johannes ↗Bachmann, while others are pointing to an Arab individual, Sayyid Būlus. Whatever it may be, this indicates to what an extent Ethiopian traditional E. was open to foreign opinions.

The general feeling towards the *mämhəran* and their *tərgʷəm* is ambivalent. While some revere them as being devout and learned, others lower them to idle *viveurs* twisting the Scriptures in order to suit their own purposes. The following sayings are suggestive of the prejudices against the interpreters: "The tobacco plant never lacks verdure, nor a heretic his interpretation"; "Who can compete in tree-climbing with the brood of a monkey and in speaking with the brood of a heretic?" (Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh 1969:218).

Traditional E. is at present taught at the ↗Holy Trinity Theological College, St. Paul's Seminary and St. Frumentius Käśate Bərhan College in Addis Abäba. In Šäwa there are teachers at Däbrä Libanos, Däbrä Ṣəge, Zəqʷala, Zʷay, Ankobär, Addis ᶜAläm; in Wällo: Däse, Lalibäla, Tädbabä Maryam; in Təgray: Aksum, Däbrä Damo, Mäqälä, Č̣iḥ; in Gondär city: Mänbarä Mängəst Mädḫane ᶜAläm, Gəmğa Bet Maryam; in Bägemdər/Gondär region: Däbrä Tabor, Mäkanä Iyäsus, Däräsge, Zuramba; in Goğğam: Däbrä Marqos, Moṭa, Dima Giyorgis, Märṭulä Maryam, Däbrä Gännät Elyas; in Gamo Gofa: Č̣ənč̣a; in Harärge, Harär. In the state of Eritrea, there is one N.T. teacher in Asmära and another one, master of the interpretation of the monastic canons and books (*Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat*), in Ḥəmberti. There are teachers in other monasteries, too.

↗Bible; ↗Education

Src.: AKLILÄ BƎRHAN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **መርሐ፡ ልቡና** (*Märḥa ləbbunä*, 'The Guide of the Consciousness'), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1953/54 A.D.]; ID., **መጽሔተ፡ አሚን** (*Mäṣḥetä amin*, 'Mirror of the Faith'), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1953/54]; **ገድለ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Gädlä Täklä Haymanot*, 'The Vita of Täklä Haymanot'), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1953/54 A.D.]; *liqä səlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, **ጥንታዊ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ትምህርት**

(*Ṭəntawi yäʾityopya śərʿatä təmhərt*, 'The Old Order of Ethiopian Learning'), Addis Abäba 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.]; *blatten geta* HƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ (*Mäṣḥafä qəne*, 'The Book of *Qəne*'), Addis Abäba 1918 A.M. [1925/26 A.D.]; KIDANÄ MARYAM GETAHUN, ጥንታዊው፡ የቆሎ፡ ተማሪ (*Ṭəntawiw yäqolo tämari*, 'The Wandering Student of Older Days'), Addis Abäba 1954 A.M. [1961/62 A.D.]; MÄRSƎʿE HAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, የመጀመሪያው፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ፡ ፓትሪያርክ (*Yämäǧämmäriyaw ityopyawi patriyark*, 'The First Ethiopian Patriarch'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64A.D.]. **Lit.**: BlunChr 296; ROGER WENMAN COWLEY, "Old Testament Introduction in the Andemta Commentary Tradition" *JES* 12, 1974, 133–75; ID., "New Testament Introduction in the Andemta Commentary Tradition", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 26, 1977, 144–92; ID., *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Cambridge 1983; ID., "Mämher Esdros and his Interpretations", in: *PICES* 6, 41-69: ID., "Zəkre and Ṗawli: Ethiopic Translators or Interpreters?", *JSS* 34, 2, 1989, 387-98; OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Chronography in Ethiopic Sources*, Wien 1989 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 512); RICHARD PANKHURST, *The Ethiopians. A History*, Oxford 2001.

Tedros Abraha

Expeditions

E. to Ethiopia were one of the instruments of European expansion, whether in the sphere of knowledge or influence. Often combined, directly or indirectly, with the initiators' political aims, E. were carried out during a limited period under the leadership of one or several Europeans with some scholarly background. Ethiopia's ancient Christianity, and later its geographical and natural diversity and its research potential in linguistics and ethnology, attracted European researchers since early times.

The first E. in this sense was that of the orientalist ↗Wansleben in the 17th cent. ↗Ludolf's student, he was sent by his sovereign, the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, to collect Ethiopian manuscripts and to inquire into the interest of Ethiopians for Protestant ideas. Wansleben never reached Ethiopia (he collected some mss. in ↗Egypt). This E. was rather isolated in history, followed only by the famous 18th-cent. journey of ↗Bruce, which was rather an individual undertaking. The time of E. dawned only 100 years later.

The early 19th cent. was marked by the rapid rise of E. of a natural-scientific character. The German ↗Rüppell collected meteorological data in ↗Massawa and northern Ethiopia and did ↗research in botany and zoology – a few stuffed animals, sent by him from Massawa, are still exhibited at the Senckenberg-Museum in Frankfurt. In the 1830s, ↗Schimper, sent on the account of a natural-scientific society in Mannheim, changed from a travelling scholar into a local settler. However, he continued to report on natural-scientific discoveries, which was often his only source of income. Other famous E. from this period were also focused on natural sciences. Especially important for the rapid rise of cartographic and geographical knowledge was the E. of Antoine d'↗Abbadie (↗Cartography), which, albeit private, was organized in order to serve the furthering of science.

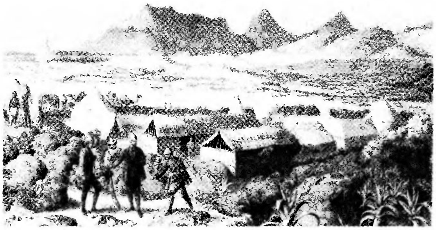
A central factor in the motivation of E. lay in the "discovery" of main African rivers and their sources, which was almost a mythically-connotated aim, as the most ancient culture of Africa depended on the ↗Nile originating somewhere in inner Africa. This was the underlying factor which had already motivated ↗Bruce, who managed to visit the source of the Blue Nile (↗Abbay; BruNile)), and which inspired the great "run" of the mid-19th cent. for the discovery of the sources of the White Nile. ↗Beke described his exploration of the Blue Nile; d'Abbadie published his observations on connections between rivers; the missionary ↗Krapf in his travel account of 1858 on East Africa focuses on the course of rivers. Krapf was among the first to link clearly his discoveries with ideological aims, hoping to initiate evangelical movements in "Ormania" (↗Oromo) and then in all Africa; he developed the project of an E. to ↗Käfa, following the Sobat and the White Nile (this E. was only realized by ↗Bieber about half-a-century later), expecting that evangelization would start from rivers serving as communication routes (Krapf 1858:86, 88).

The Deutsche Afrika-Expedition of 1862, funded by a geographical committee of the State of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and led by von ↗Heuglin, later by ↗Munzinger, shows a different focus – close to what d'Abbadie had already started in the 1840s: ethnography and the understanding of the local political order became crucial. In addition to natural-scientific (e.g., meteorological) observations, the minute description of local peoples, their socio-political organization, languages and history is found in these reports. The enhancement of geographical knowledge of the world aroused so much enthusiasm that newspapers now report regularly and in great detail on the achievements of this E. To a certain extent similar, even if different in his (missionary) aims, the 1850s' reports of P. Léon des ↗Avanchers also contain thorough observations on peoples and local kingdoms south of the Abyssinian empire (today's south-west Ethiopia). His E., funded by the ↗Capuchin order, however, were primarily mission journeys, his reports serving the better understanding of the peoples in order to facilitate missionary work.

Other geographical E. were those of ↗Antinori and ↗Cecchi. Sent by the Società Geografica Italiana in the 1870s, Cecchi's book (CecZeila) remains an important source for Ethiopian ethnohistory, especially of the south. The linguist ↗Reinisch made two E. to Massawa in 1875 and 1879/80, which laid the basis for decades of linguistic publications on local languages, much facilitated by his good contacts with local personalities. In 1884/85 ↗Paulitschke undertook the "Austrian" ethnographic E. to ↗Harär and surrounding countries.

International politics in the late 1860s added a new type of E. In 1867 the first E. with explicit political-military aims started from Massawa, the Reconnoitring Party, led by Colonel William Lockyer Merewether, the British agent at Aden, and the acting British Consul Munzinger, moving along the coast and into the nearby highlands. The aim of this E., whose reports have not been published, was preparation for the huge-scale invasion of British-Indian troops at the end of 1867. The arrival of military forces, around 50,000 men strong, needed thorough technical preparation, practical reports on the political situation, and on the routes and the establishment of contacts with local leaders. Also during this intervention, which was intended to free ↗Tewodros II's European captives in ↗Mäqdäla, a number of such small-size E. were necessary, led by Munzinger and ↗Speedy under the intelligence department. Shortly before, Egypt had taken over the Ottoman coastal province, which led to Egyptian expansion and finally to the ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war of 1875/76. This again was prepared by E., carried out with scholarly methods, but with military and political aims.

In 1874 an E. was led by the Austrian Armenian ↗Arakel *bey* Dabroyan to the Ṭəlṭal salt-plains (↗ᶜAfar Depression). This source of the regional ↗salt-trade, on which he reports, was thereafter claimed by Egypt. Even more ambiguous was the E. of the Egyptian intelligence officer ↗Haggenmacher to the Somali regions; officially, he led a (very small) geographical E. in order to enhance knowledge of the virtually "unexplored" (i.e. by Europeans) Somali lands, but unofficially he had to investigate the possibilities for Egyptian expansion. The geographical E. of the Egyptian officer Lockett into Ḥamasen in 1875 served to collect data, possibly to prepare for Egyptian domination over that region. An E. of two Italian warships, *Esploratore* and *Ischia*, at the end of 1879 to ᶜAsäb laid the basis for the formation of the ↗Colonia di Assab. Italian colonial expansion was largely prepared by E., the most important being the unsuccessful E. of Count ↗Porro in 1886, on the account of the Società d'Esplorazione Commerciale in Africa (Milano), aiming at the annexation of Harär (cp. Wagner 2003:135–42). Two other Italian E., of ↗Giulietti in 1880/81 and ↗Bianchi in 1883/84, ended with the death of their leaders, which was used by Italy as an excuse to occupy Massawa in February 1885. The special Italian relationship to the ᶜAfar led to such E. as that (failed) by Augusto Franzoj and Ugo ↗Ferrandi in 1886 to the southern ᶜAfar.


Expedition of Duke Ernst II of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha in Mänsaᶜ in 1862; drawing by Robert Kretschmer; from Ernst II von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha et al. 1864

In contrast to that, the establishment of political relations (and the furthering of economic aims) motivated E. during the same period. The diplomatic mission of the Egyptian governor of the Sudan, ↗Gordon, to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs, however, was a great failure, as he was acting as envoy of Muslim Egypt. The earliest political E. was the one of ↗Salt in 1809/10, who had to investigate the possibilities of diplomatic relations with the Ethiopian rulers. The 1840s' diplomatic mission of ↗Harris to Šäwa was a great success.

The time of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV is marked by a rising number of diplomatic E. from many European countries. The Greek consul of Suez, Mitzakis, made an E., on which he later reported in detail in Greek newspapers; he was said by other diplomats to have planned to bring the Ethiopian Church close to the Greek Orthodox. The Italian traveller Pellegrino Mateucci visited the court, as did Juan Víctor Abargues de Sostén, sent by the Madrid Geographic Society in 1883, but also bearing a letter of the Spanish king. In the same year the German diplomatic envoy ↗Rohlfs arrived at the court.

All these E. resulted into publications both in newspapers and in geographical organs. Moreover, the British and French consuls permanently established at Massawa in Ottoman territory since the 1840s undertook journeys to the Ethiopian rulers, following which most of them published books on their experiences. Diplomatic E. preceded the establishment of permanent diplomatic relations in ↗Mənilək II's period, such as the one by the German minister Friedrich Rosen in 1905. In the same year, Austria sent the diplomatic-commercial E. of ↗Höhnel, accompanied by Bieber. All these E. had a mixed diplomatic and scholarly-geographical character.

Additionally, private commercial interests led to a rising number of E. in the 1880s. The first descriptions of the ↗Ogaden are partially due to such E. (e.g., Rimbaud 1884). The Italian company Bienenfeld, involved in colonial projects, also sent E. (e.g., ↗Sacconi, Ogaden 1885). The documentation of itineraries of 19th-cent. E. is important for today's historiography.

A new aspect motivating E. was ↗tourism. The first E. of this kind was certainly the hunting-E. of Duke Ernst II of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha of 1863, who had already been the great promotor of the above-mentioned Deutsche Afrika-Expedition. He still very much identified himself with the tradition of scholarly E.; the leader of his E. was therefore a zoologist, ↗Brehm, while other members were his wife and his nephew von Hohenlohe-Langenburg (later one of the founders of the colonialist movement in Germany), a belletristic writer, Gerstäcker, the E.'s chronicler, and a painter, Robert Kretschmer, who documented the E. in drawings, the E.'s doctor being the famous Bilharz. He was the forerunner of a great number of tourists, some of them somehow imitating scholarly E., most of them coming as hunters, later as "adventurers" or as treasure-hunters (e.g., Leichner 1935). The British tourist Powell and his wife, exploring Ethio-Egyptian borderlands, were killed by Kunama in the 1870s. Other tourists of the 1880s left valuable and detailed travel accounts. Max Grühl in the 1920s made a touristic E. to Käfa, together with his son Waldemar; their adventureous reports motivated many tourists to follow their steps. Wilfred Thesiger (1910–2003), the son of the British minister in Addis Abäba, became known for his 1930s' E. through the ʿAfar deserts, continuing the romantic traditions of many adventurers before him.

After the mid-19th cent., a second rise in the number of E. can be observed under *aṣe* Mənilək II, when modern Ethiopia was consolidated. The rapid expansion of colonialist projects in Africa also motivated a number of E. Splendidly imitating the great inner-African E. of Stanley and Livingstone, but quite unknown, is the E. of the German-American journalist Heinrich Nebel (pseudonym Ruppert Recking) in 1898, who, together with ʿAlī Zober of Zanzibar and Hausa-Senegalese troops, travelled from the Congo to the recently occupied Käfa on the account of the Belgian King Leopold II. The aim was possibly to establish a joint Ethiopian-Belgian society for the exploitation of Käfa. In parallel Marchand undertook his unsuccessful French military E. to ↗Fashoda.

But this period also saw again a rising number of purely scholarly E., like the zoological E. of ↗Erlanger, the 1901–03 E. of ↗Duchesne-Fournet, or, in the same period, that of the viscount du ↗Bourg de Bozas. The 1905/06 ↗Princeton Expedition, under the leadership of ↗Littmann, resulted in a vast collection of Təgre oral traditions. Following the establishment of diplomatic relations with Mənilək II, the German Emperor sent the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition, also led by Littmann, in 1906, with the main task of archaeological exploitation of the Aksumite sites.

During ↗World War I the aim of E. changed; in 1915 the anthropologist ↗Frobenius officially led a scholarly E. to neutral Eritrea, but in reality carried out a secret mission of the German empire, which resulted into a year-long captivity in Eritrea of his collaborator Friedrich Salomon Hall (s. Scholler in PICES 5). Ethnological E. in the 20th cent. widened considerably knowledge of Ethiopian population movements, the ethnic groups of Ethiopia and interethnic relations. South Ethiopian monumental stelae were the focus of the 1920s' E. of ↗Azaïs and ↗Chambard. The ancient Oromo socio-political order (*gadaa*) was scrutinized by a German E. in the 1930s led by Frobenius and carried out by, among others, Adolf ↗Jensen. The "Frobenius-E." to southern and south-western Ethiopia was launched in the early 1950s by the social anthropologists Jensen, ↗Haberland and ↗Straube (VSAe I – II) and set the framework for future ethnological research in these regions (cp. Braukämper 2001).

The term "E." today is still in use by natural scientists and by tourist companies, but in the context of the humanities has rather been replaced by terms like "fieldwork", which is also methodologically different. The extremely large production of literature due to E. cannot be underestimated in its importance for the spread of knowledge of (and, partially, distorted images on) Ethiopia and its peoples and constitutes an extremely rich source for historical research.

Src.: BruNile; SalTrav; Johann Ludwig Krapf, *Reisen in Ostafrika*, Stuttgart 1858; Martin Theodor von Heuglin, *Reise nach Abessinien, den Gala-Ländern, Ost-Sudan und Chartúm in den Jahren 1861 und 1862*, Jena 1874; Georg Leichner, *Gefahrvolles Abessinien: Wie ich es erlebte*, Leipzig 1936; Werner Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen 1864; Ernst II von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha et al., *Reise des Herzogs ErnstII von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha nach Ägypten und den Ländern der Habab, Mensa und Bogos*, Leipzig 1864; Trevenen J. Holland – Henry Hozier, *The Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, 2 vols., London 1870; Juan Víctor Abargues de Sostén, *Notas del Viaje del Señor D.J.V. Abargues de Sostén por Etiopia, X̱oa, Ẕebul, Uolo, Galas, etc.*, Madrid 1883 (Asociacion Española para la Exploración del Africa); Arthur Rimbaud, "Rapport sur l'Ogadine", *Comptes-rendus des Séances de la Société de Géographie de Paris* 1884, 99–103; CecZeila; Philipp Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, die materielle Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl*, Berlin 1893; Id., *Die geistige Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl*, Berlin 1896; Ruppert Recking, *Ein Kaiserreich auf Aktien*, Stuttgart 1936; Enno Littmann, *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, vol. 1–4B, Leyden 1910–15; DAE I–IV; François Bernardin Azaïs – Roger Chambard, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Éthiopie: Province du Harar et Ethiopie Meridionale*, Paris 1931; Wilfred Thesiger, *The Danakil Diary, Journeys through Abyssinia, 1930–34*, London 1996; Adolf Ellegard Jensen (ed.), *Im Lande des Gada, Wanderungen zwischen Volkstrümmern Südabessiniens*, Stuttgart 1938 (Verlauf und Ergebnisse der XII. Deutschen Inner-Afrikanischen Forschungsexpedition [DIAFE], 1); VSAe I–III.

Lit.: Rita Pankhurst – Richard Pankhurst, "A Select Bibliography of Travel Books on Ethiopia", *Africana Journal* 9, 2, 1978, 113–33; *ibid.* 3, 101–33; Bairu Tafla, *Ethiopia and Germany: Cultural, Political and Economic Relations, 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5); Id., *Ethiopia and Austria: a History of their Relations*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 35); Lockot I–II (Lit.); Ulrich Braukämper, "Der Beitrag der deutschen Ethnologie zur Äthiopien-Forschung", in: Piotr O. Scholz (ed.), *Von Hiob Ludolf bis Enrico Cerulli*, Warszawa – Wiesbaden 2001 (Bibliotheca Nubica et Aethiopica 8), 159–70; Ewald Wagner, *Harar: Annotierte Bibliographie zum Schrifttum über die Stadt und den Islam in Südostäthiopien*, Wiesbaden 2003 (AeF 61), 110–80 (Lit.).

Wolbert Smidt

Ǝža

Ǝža language

Ǝ. (እዣ) is the name under which the language spoken by one of the seven members of the so-called *Säbat bet* ↗Gurage ('Seven Houses of Gurage', s. map for Gurage) is known in linguistic literature, whereas its speakers, as well as the other *Säbat bet* Gurage, call it *Äžža* or *Äžina*, with the suffix *-ina* marking the language.

Ǝ. is classified as part of the Central Western Gurage branch of the South Ethiopian ↗Semitic languages (Hetzron 1977:21). Ǝ. is known for having palatalization and labialization of velar consonants. What distinguishes Ǝ. from most of the other Western Gurage languages is the fact that it maintains morpheme-internal gemination, e.g. *säbbär-o-bb-a-m* 'they broke to her detriment'. The elementary ten-word list in Ǝ. includes: *att*, 'one', *ḫʷett*, 'two', *sost*, 'three', *əsat*, 'fire', *əḫa*, 'water', *eyat*, 'sun', *bännä*, 'moon', *däm*, 'blood', *annäbät*, 'tongue', *sənn*, 'tooth'. The independent pronouns of Ǝ. are: *əyya*, 'I', *yəna*, 'we', *aḫä*, 'you (m. sg.)', *aḫᵓ*, 'you (f. sg.)', *axu*, 'you (m. pl.)', *aḫma* 'you (f. pl.)', *ḫʷut* 'he', *ḫʸit* 'she', *ḫəno* 'they (m.)' and *ḫənäma* 'they (f.)'. Demonstrative pronouns are *zə(ḫ)* 'this, these' and *za(ḫ)* 'that, those'. The copula in the present tense is suffixed to its complement: *gʷad-u* 'it is white', *dengʸa-ro* 'they are boys'. In the past and future tenses, the copula is an independent word: *gʷad bannä* 'it was white', *dengʸa yiḫrošä/yiḫärote* 'they may/will be boys'. Yes or no questions are formed by simply changing the intonation of the affirmatives. The 'wh'-words are: *mʷan* 'who', *mər* 'what', *mäčä* 'when-future', *mäčra* 'when-past', *ete* 'where' and *ənde* 'which'. The causative prefixes are *a-* and *at-*. Possessive markers are suffixed to the noun, e.g., *bet-əna* 'my house' vs. *bet-ənda* 'our house'.

Although Ǝ. has no written literature, it is rich in oral literature. Different types of songs are sung for a variety of occasions; *wəyäg* for praising the deeds of heroes and their tribes; *bädra* for praising the deeds of the war god ↗Waq; *wärkʷä* for praising the deceased when an important figure dies. Different types of songs are also sung while farming and harvesting *ənsät*.

Lit.: Robert Hetzron, *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977 (Istituto Orientale di Napoli. Ricerche 12);

WOLF LESLAU, "The Jussive in Eža", *JSS* 12, 1967, 66–79; ID., *Gurage Folklore: Proverbs, Beliefs and Riddles*, Wiesbaden 1982, 130–93; ID., "Eža riddles", *RSE* 32, 43-78; ID., *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*, 3 vols., Wiesbaden 1979, vol. 1, 391–529.

Degif Petros Banksira

Ǝža ethnography

Ǝ. (also Äža) designates a *gän* ('ethnic/territorial unit') of the *Säbat Bet* ↗Gurage confederation and its population. The Ǝ. before were members of the *Ammǝst Bet* Gurage ('Five Houses of Gurage') confederation. Ǝ. country is situated at the eastern edge of the Gurage highlands south of ↗Muḫǝr. Their eastern neighbours are the ↗Mäsqan. To the east and south the Magʸača river forms the border to the ↗Čaha. In the south-east the ↗Gumär are settled. Ǝ. is part of "Ǝža and Wälläne *wäräda*" of Gurage zone (↗Wälläne), formerly a component of ↗Čabo-Gurage *awrağğa*. Important centres are Agana and Božžäbär. The Ǝ. intensively cultivate ↗*ǝnsät*. A traditional specialization in trade is bamboo and palm leaves. Today seasonal or constant labour migration to Addis Abäba and other cities is an important means of cash income.

The Ǝ. are composed of subgroups of different origins. While the others claim to have migrated from the north, the Negera, Šarara and Yaliyyaṭǝb sub-units say that they are descendants of *ḥāğğī* Aliyye, who is known as apical ancestor of the ↗Sǝlṭi. Pockets of Negera are also to be found outside of Ǝ. in Aymälläl, ↗Wǝlbaräg and in Wänči, were they commissioned the *gäbäz* ('administrator') of Qǝrqos Church on the Lake ↗Wänči island (Akalu Woldemariam 1983:14; cp. Haberland 1960:10ff.).

When the Negera reached Ǝ. country after a long migration from the Muslim east via Arsi, Gädäb and Aymällä they had to confront the Qončača clan, which was till then the dominant group in Ǝ. country. Since a battle in ca. 1550, the Ǝ. *gondär*-ring, the emblem of chieftainship in Gurage, remained in the hands of the Negera and inter-marriage was established with the Qončača. The political unity of Ǝ. country continued to be unstable till the middle of the 18th cent. due to conflicts within the Negera clans (Akalu Woldemariam 1983:40). The Ǝ. had frequent territorial conflicts with the Čaha and their allies Aklil and Gumär. Another long lasting conflict was that with the Oromo of Amaya which reached its apex in the early 19th cent. The Ǝ. were conquered by Mǝnilǝk II's troops in 1875. The Negera clan could remain in a dominant position.

Religiously heterogenous, the majority of the Ǝ. are Orthodox Christians, followed in number by Muslim and Catholics. For the old Gurage folk-religion the Lake of Božžäbär had some significance as a place of sacrifice. The ↗*Waq* spirit of the Ǝ. is known under the name of *Ǝnggʸeber*.

Lit.: AKALU WOLDEMARIAM, *A History of the Negieras of Ezha (Gurage)*, Addis Ababa University 1983, passim; WILLIAM A. SHACK – HABTE MARIAM MARCOS, *Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1974, 142–47; DƎNBÄRU ALÄMU et al., ጎጎት፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብሔረ ሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ, *Gogot. Yägurage bǝḫeräsäb tarik, bahǝlǝnna qʷanqʷa* ('Gogot, the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.], 94ff.; ShGurage 40f., 73; JEAN-FRANÇOIS PRUNET – BERHANU CHAMORA, "A Sky-god Cult of Gurage", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 559–64, here 560; EIKE HABERLAND, "Bemerkungen zur Kultur und Sprache der 'Galila' im Wonči-See", *RSE* 16, 1960, 5–22.

Dirk Bustorf

ᶜEzana

ᶜE. (ዔዛና, b. 325[?], r. ca. 330–65/70[?]) was an Aksumite ruler famous for his conversion to ↗Christianity. He is attested by ancient sources of three categories: a) literary; b) epigraphic; c) numismatic.

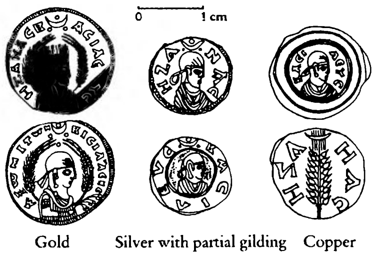
a) A letter of the Roman Emperor Constantius II (r. 337–61), dated 356/57 and addressed to the "*tyrannoi* Aizana(s) and Sazana(s)", dealing with the activities of Bishop Frumentius (↗Säläma Käśate Bǝrhan), has survived in an apologetic writing of ↗Athanasius of Alexandria. The story of Frumentius's fate at the royal court and the spread of Christianity to ↗"India" is preserved in Latin by the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Rufinus of Aquileia (written in 403), and was reproduced in Greek by later Church historians. Purportedly going back to Gelasius of Caesarea's lost work (ca. 390), it rather refers to Frumentius's companion Aedesius as informant, but does not mention the name(s) of the king(s) of the time.

b) ᶜE. continued the already established habit of erecting monumental ↗inscriptions announcing the subjection of enemies with divine assistance. Eleven more or less damaged and fragmentary epigraphic documents bearing his name (or just attributable to him) can be reduced to four victory celebrations only. They were intended to offer triple versions of the text (Greek, pseudo-Sabaean and Gǝᶜǝz, unvocalized or vocalized, with some deviations) and to be set up in more than one location. Three of these campaigns fall into ʿE.'s non-Christian time: against the Bega (↗Beğa; six versions: RIE nos. 185 [I and II], 185bis [I and II], 270, 270bis; perhaps during the King's younger years because not led by him in person), against the ↗Agʷəzat (one version: RIE no. 187) and Afan (one version: RIE no. 188). The fourth campaign (three versions: RIE nos. 189, 190, 271) against ↗Noba and ↗Kasu bore witness to a Christian king. The transition of the religious formulas from the old, pre-Christian pantheon to a monotheistic, Christian creed (the terminology of which was difficult to render in Gəʿəz, s. ↗Əgziʾabəḥer) has aroused some speculation, but a Jewish interval is out of the question. Three more inscriptions which have been claimed for ʿE. by some scholars definitely do not belong to him (RIE no. 186 of his brother, nos. 277 and 286).

c) ʿE. is possibly the fifth in the sequence of coin-striking kings (↗Coinage). His coins are well known by a relatively large number of specimens in all three metals and their iconography displays the change of religious symbols announcing the new religion in about the middle of his reign. Further chronological clues may be derived from numismatic evidence (metrology and statistics).

The Greek rendering of ʿE.'s personal name is either *A(e)izanas* (Constantius's letter, inscriptions) or *Ēzanas* (coins) with final sigma, according to Greek morphology (however absent on his late gold issues). Some inscriptions (RIE nos. 188, 189) contain the patronymic *wäldä* ↗*Əllä ʿAmida* and the clan name *bəʾəse Ḥalen* ('man of Ḥalen'), also present on gold coins in the Gr. form *bisi Alene*. His throne name is unknown; in traditional ↗chronography the elevation of the Christianity to official religion falls within the reign of the half-legendary kings ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa.

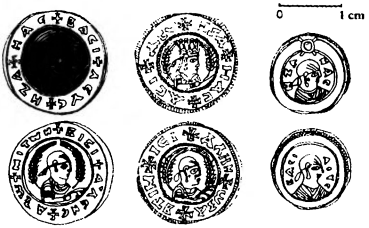
On the conversion of ʿE. there are several conflicting opinions, owing to different appreciations of both the details in Frumentius's story (told by his companion Aedesius) and the question as to whether Athanasius of Alexandria really ordained him and had him sent back to Aksum as bishop early or later in his long (and three times interrupted) pontificate. In theory, dating to 328/30, 339, 346/50 or 362/65 would be possible. The traditional chronology maintained by the Ethiopians is 333 A.M. [340 A.D.] and – although resulting from artificial reckoning of mediaeval chronographers – could incidentally be right, but was often misunderstood as 333 A.D., in favour of the early dating widely accepted in modern (even scholarly) Western literature.



Pre-Christian coins of ʿEzana; drawing courtesy of the author

A Christianization of the coins would statistically fit well into the later 340s and could match a date of the "Trinity inscription" (RIE no. 271) to 349 (355 or 360 being the alternative). As a result, a "middle chronology" may be preferred: ʿE. began his reign as a child (according to the story of Frumentius) ca. 330 and, if he dismissed his tutor Frumentius in ca. 339, when he became of age, his year of birth might have been 325. Such a chronology is compatible with a date of Frumentius's first arrival in ca. 328. The existence of a juvenile reign is indeed somewhat surprising, but not entirely impossible. The length of ʿE.'s reign can only be guessed: the 30 years (plus 7 for the younger years) given to him (that is, to Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa) in the Ethiopian "king lists" (s. CRList, "list C"; Dombrowski – Dombrowski 1984:162) recall the biography of such famous rulers as Constantine the Great, and reappear for ↗Kaleb, too. Any date after the letter of Constantius (356/57) is possible. Considering the relative frequency of coins with Christian symbols versus pre-Christian coins has its problems, because we may have to reckon with a posthumous continuation of the gold coinage and with a copper coinage assuming an anonymous character.

The monumental inscriptions give us some information about ʿE.'s territorial claims and his military campaigns. The protocol of his titles includes a fixed sequence of peoples and localities which he declares to be under his rule on both sides of the Red Sea: the Aksumites, of course, listed first, followed only in the Bega-campaign (↗Beğa) inscriptions by the Ethiopians (↗Ḥabašat, inhabitants of the highlands), then the Arabian regions (Ḥimyarite/Sabaean, plus the Tihāma or coastal strip; ↗Ḥimyar), finally



Gold Gold Silver with partial gilding

Christian coins of ʿEzana; drawing courtesy of the author

the remote African areas of Bega and Kasu (i.e. ↗Kuš, here ↗Meroe).

A crucial question is that of a (continued or renewed) Aksumite presence in South ↗Arabia. The titles boasted by ʿE. in this connection – possibly a mark of inertial conservation – are in fact contradicted by the silence of South Arabian epigraphic sources. The numismatic evidence is not decisive about that.

The evaluation of ʿE.'s religious policy is characterized by much speculation in a certain Christological (Monophysite) direction. In general, this policy is to be seen as an *imitatio imperii Romani*, which could have been transmitted by such a counsellor versed in theology as Frumentius. On the other hand, Aksum became involved in the ecclesiatical tensions when Emperor Constantius II attempted to regiment the Church. That his emissary ↗Theophilos the Indian, who was sent to South Arabia and seems to have reached Aksum in the 340s, was unsuccessful may also be attributed to Frumentius's influence on the King. Constantius's letter of 356/57 indicates yet another fruitless effort to control the situation. Although we do not know how this letter was received by ʿE., it is hardly imaginable that he would not have protected Frumentius – especially since it is almost certain that the King had already converted. His famous trinitarian inscription (RIE no. 271) is theologically much elaborated; the same is true of the interlinked coin typology, which served a clear concept. Supposedly, the then ↗Aksum Ṣəyon was turned into a Christian sanctuary as early as the reign of ʿE. If there were royal tombs (as maintained by tradition), this would likewise be an imitation of Constantine I and Constantius II.

In his late years ʿE. had a co-ruler, Sazanas, who is mentioned as such in Constantius's letter; at the time of the Bega campaign, Sazanas had only served as one of the army leaders and is called the King's brother in the relevant inscriptions. An elevation in rank would also have followed the example of the Roman empire.

↗Ǝllä Amida; ↗Ǝllä Azgʷagʷa

Src.: RIE nos. 185, 185bis, 270, 270bis, 271, 187–90, 271.

Lit.: BrakKirche 67–77 (Lit.); CRStor 131–39; 145–54; Bruno W.W. Dombrowski – Franz Amadeus Dombrowski, "'Frumentius/Abba Salāmā'. Zu den Nachrichten über die Anfänge des Christentums in Äthiopien", *OrChr* 68, 1984, 114–69; Arthur K. Irvine – Sergew Hable-Selassie, "ʾÉzana", in: *DicEthBio*, 61f.; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 109f., 121, 125ff.; Wolfgang Hahn, "Symbols of Pagan and Christian worship on Aksumite coins", *Nubica* 4–5, 1999, 431–54; Id., "Ezanas and Caleb, the Pair of Saintly Kings", in: *PICES* 15, in preparation; MHAksum, s. index; MHAlex, s. index; Stuart C. Munro-Hay – Bent Juel-Jensen, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 119–46; François Thelamon, *Païens et chrétiens au IV^{e} siècle. L'apport de l'"Histoire ecclésiastique' de Rufin d'Aquilée*, Paris 1981, 37f., 50 n. 34, 68ff., 73-83; Siegbert Uhlig, "Eine trilinguale ʿEzana-Inschrift", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 7–31.

Wolfgang Hahn

ʿƎzəl

ʿƎ. (**ዕዝል**) is one of the three categories of melody (↗*Zema*) or mode (*səlt*) that constitute the Ethiopian Christian musical system, the creation of which is traditionally ascribed to Saint ↗Yared. ʿƎ. is closely associated with annual holidays and is exclusively used to chant the hymnary during Holy Week. The term ʿƎ. is of uncertain derivation, but is said to mean 'to separate, isolate, set aside', or 'to retire, withdraw from'. In terms of its metaphorical significance, ʿƎ. is linked to the sun, an association derived from traditional accounts of the life of Saint Yared.

ʿƎ. provides a repertory of short melodic patterns that constitute the smallest of the three divisions of the indigenous Ethiopian notational system. Each ʿƎ. melody is represented by a sign (↗*mələkkət*) derived from the Gəʿəz syllabary.

The musical content of ʿE. is somewhat difficult to describe because of the problems encountered in translating Ethiopian intonation into Western notation. Like the ↗*araray* mode, ʿƎ. uses a pitch set that may be expressed in Western staff notation as a pentachord with a variable third degree, C–D–E/F–G–A.

↗Däbtärä; ↗Qəne

Lit.: Kay Kaufman-Shelemay – Peter Jeffery (eds.), *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: an Anthology*, Madison 1993, 1994, 1997, vol. 1, 7f.; vol. 2, 36–42, 44–52, 54f., 90f., 93ff., 96f.; vol. 3, 43–49, 57–73, 75ff., 140, 144f.; TITO LEPISO, "The Three Modes and the Signs of the Songs in the Ethiopian Liturgy", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 162–87; VelMe II, 75–98.

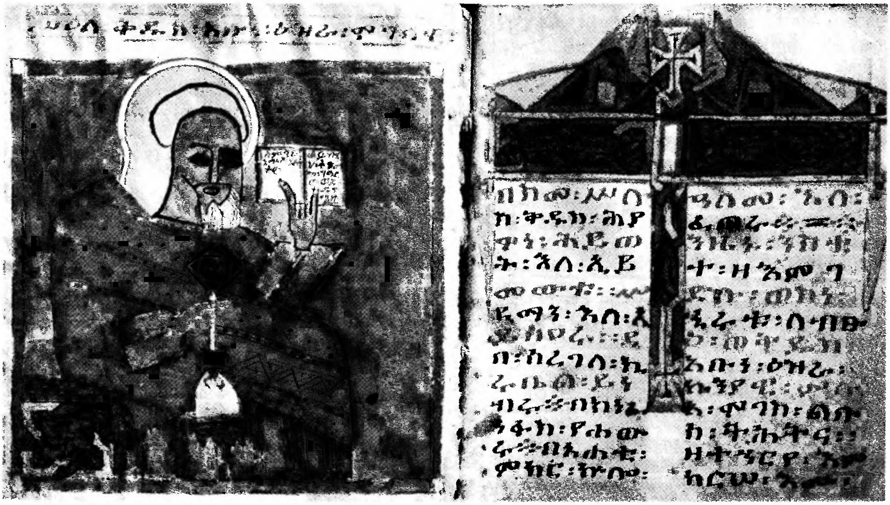
Kay Kaufman Shelemay

ʿƎzra

ʿƎ. (**ዕዝራ**) was a saint and prominent 15th–early 16th-cent. follower of ↗Ǝsṭifanos. According to his Acts, possibly dating to the 16th cent. and only known from one manuscript (Mordini 1952:50, no. 1 [= no. 40 in Schneider's unpublished checklist], reproduced for Conti Rossini from a mid 19th-cent. intermediary copy, s. StrANL 29ff., no. 9), he was born in Kəsad Ǝnba, district of Ḥəzbä Səbuḥa (↗ʿAgamä), from Yəsḥaq and his wife Ləʿul Śämra, whom he married after the death of her first husband (Caquot 1961:72). ʿƎ. started his religious life at the age of twelve, when his father died, and his elderly brother, Ǝsṭifanos, brought him to Käswa (↗Gundä Gunde), at the school of *abunä* Yəsḥaq, then head of the monastery (↗Stephanites). Here he was soon to receive the monastic habit and name of ʿƎ. (ibid. 73).

As there was a shortage of priests, due to the persecutions of the Stephanites, *abba* ↗Abäkäräzun chose twelve monks, including ʿƎ., to go to ↗Jerusalem to receive holy orders. They departed in 1476, after Abäkäräzun died and was succeeded by ↗Gäbrä Mäśiḥ. During the journey, the Stephanites were accused of heresy by their fellow pilgrims. However, in Jerusalem they were all ordained deacons (the story is reflected in another document written under *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II, in which they are instead said to have suffered divine punishment; s. Cerulli in PICES 3); ʿƎ. received priestly ordination from the Syrian Patriarch and returned to Ethiopia, having witnessed, among other things, the ceremony of the "descent of the light" on to the Holy Sepulcher (Fiaccadori in StAeth 38, 40 and n. 14). When he arrived to Käswa, he used the technical abilities he had acquired abroad to build a water mill at the request of *aṣe* ↗Naʿod.

Naʿod's favourable attitude towards ʿƎ. may be partially connected to his ride to Təgray, during which a passage of the Acts of Ǝsṭifanos was read to him on the apparition of the Virgin ↗Mary to Ǝsṭifanos himself. ʿƎ. stayed at Naʿod's court between 1499 and 1508, thus being able to achieve reconciliation between the Emperor and the Stephanite movement – no longer considered in terms of religious dissidence or haeretical trends. In fact, he played an important role in convincing the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yəsḥaq to revoke the excommunication of the Stephanites; he was interrogated by ecclesiastics and his faith was found to be sound (on this complicated dossier, often misunderstood as referring to Beta Ǝsrael, s. Fiaccadori 2004a:687f.). Yəsḥaq's successors, *abunä* ↗Yaʿəqob and above all *abunä* ↗Marqos



Miniature with the front page from the ms. with the Acts of Gäbrä Maśiḥ, ʿƎzra and Habtä Śəllase, fol. 66v–67r; Gundä Gunde (= Mordini 1952:50, no. 1); photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers (always in good terms with ᶜƎ., who helped him to sit on Yəsḥaq's "chair": ibid. 686), continued his favourable policy towards the Stephanites: Marqos gave holy orders to several of them and consecrated for them 80 ↗*tabots*.

After the death of Naᶜod, ᶜƎ. had to flee persecution. He took refuge for a year in Läkma and then moved to Käswa, but soon had to flee again; when he returned to Käswa, he found the church burnt and rebuilt it. Aged and sick, he was invited to Dusᵓa by Gäbrä Mäśiḥ, head of the Stephanite congregation monastery; there he died and was buried (ca. 1520). Gäbrä Mäśiḥ's successor ordered ᶜƎ.'s remains to be translated to Käswa.

To ᶜƎ. himself the curios legend about Däqqä Ǝsṭifa (lit. 'children of Ǝsṭifa[nos]', i.e. the Stephanites) should be also traced that is preserved in two obscure five-verse ↗*qəne*-strophes (s. Cerulli 1933:99-103) and elucidated in the narrative attached to them in the ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase version of the "short chronicle" (Foti 1941:92ff., 119f.). Däqqä Ǝsṭifa went to the "country of the Greeks" (*hagärä Ṣərᶜ*), i.e. Egypt (s. Fiaccadori 2004:142f., 157), where he learnt "the interpretation of the ↗*säwasəw* and the mystery of religious hymns" that he later tought to *ase* ↗Ǝskəndər, soon becoming his favourite. Yet, he commited adultery with the Emperor's wife. Upon surprising the couple in the palace, Ǝskəndər exchanged with the adulterer those *qəne*; then the two lovers managed to flee.

Src.: ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Les actes d'ᶜEzrā de Gunda-Gundē", *AE* 4, 1961, 69–121; StrANL 29ff., no. 9; KinBibl no. 50; ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici", *Africa Italiana* 5, 1933, 57–112, here 99–103; ID., "L'imperatore Nāᶜod e gli Stefaniti a Gerusalemme in un documento inedito (Vaticano Etiopico 298)", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 243–53 (= *RANLmor* ser. 8^{a}, 26, 1971, 562–71); CONCETTA FOTI, "La cronaca abbreviata dei Re d'Abissinia in un manoscritto di Dabra Berhān di Gondar", *RSE* 1, 1941, 87–123, here 92ff.

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, "Sur quelques hétérodoxes éthiopiens: Estifanos, Abakerazun, Gabra Masih, Ezra", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 201, 1, 1984, 25–36, here 29f.; ID., "Les actes de Gabra Masiḥ I (ca. 1419–1522), troisième chef du mouvement stéphanite", *RSE* 35, 1991 [1993, but 1994], 5–11; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sulla formula etiopica per la cerimonia del Fuoco sacro a Gerusalemme", in: *StudAeth* 37–40, here 38, 40 and n. 14; ID., "Sul ms. Parigi, B.n.F., d'Abb. 78 (C.R. 38) e i metropoliti Yesḥaq, Yāᶜqob e Mārqos d'Etiopia", *RANLmor* ser. 9^{a}, 15, 2004a [2005], 679–90, here 686ff.; ID., "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (DAE IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004b [2005], 105–57, here 152f., 157; KapMon, s. index; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *RSE* 11, 1952 [1953], 29–63, here 50, no. 1, and n. 7, fig. 21; MHAlex vol. 2, 25ff.

Robert Beylot – Red.

Ezra, Apocalypse of

The Apocalypse of E. (also known as 4 Ezra) is a book of visions composed by a Jewish author ca. 100 A.D. and ascribed to the Biblical figure of E. the Scribe. Additional material was apparently added near the middle or second half of the 3rd cent. by one or more Christian authors. E. was almost certainly composed in Hebrew, however, all the surviving versions including the Latin, Syriac, Georgian, Coptic and the Gəᶜəz are dependent on the Greek.

The book is composed of seven visions. The first three are in the form of dialogues between E. and the Archangel Uriel and deal primarily with the destruction of the Temple and Jerusalem. The fourth reveals a mourning woman who is transformed into the heavenly Jerusalem. In the fifth E. sees an eagle which represents the Roman Empire. The sixth vision concerns a man, who rises from the sea, who defeats his enemies and is acclaimed by the joyous multitude. In the seventh vision, E. receives the 24 books of the Bible and the 70 books.

There are numerous parallels between Apocalypse of E. and 2 Baruch (also known as the Syriac Apocalypse of ↗Baruch) and the Book of ↗Enoch. Cf. 4 Ezra 6:49–52 and 1 Enoch 60: 7–9; 4 Ezra 7:32f and 1 Enoch 51:1, 3; 4 Ezra 7: 37 and 1 Enoch 62:1. The authors also seem to have been familiar with the Psalms of Solomon. The best edition of the Ethiopic version is still Dillmann (1894). The Apocalypse of E. is usually included in Ethiopian ↗Canon tables, and has also been the subject of ↗*Andəmta* commentary literature.

Src.: RICHARD LAURENCE, *Primi Ezrae Libri, qui apud Vulgatam appelatur quartus, versio Aethiopica* ..., Oxford 1820 [and later editions]; AUGUSTUS DILLMANN, *Biblia Veteris Testamenti Aethiopici* ..., vol. 5: *Libri apocryphi: Baruch, Epistola Jeremiae, Tobith, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Sapientia, Esdrae Apocalypsis, Esdrae Graecus*, Berlin 1894, 152–93; RENÉ MARIE JOSEPH BASSET, *Les apocryphes éthiopiens*, Paris 1899, vol. 9, 1–111; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, "Mazhafa Tomar. Das äthiopisch Briefbuch", in: ADOLF HILGENFELD, *Messias Judaeorum*, Lipsiae 1869, 262–322.

Lit.: MICHAEL EDWARD STONE, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*, Minneapolis 1990 (Lit.).

Steven Kaplan

F

Faɖakoobe

F. (Faɽakōbe, Fālakōbé, Sāho sp. Farhakoobe), known also as Đasamó or as Muḥammad Farakobe Abū Bakr b. Ḥasan b. Ḫalīfa from the clan of Ḥassan Geyša (the Gaʾaso subgroup of the ↗Mīnifire), was a famous traditional singer and poet of the ↗Sāho. According to oral traditions he lived in the 19th cent. The German scholar Leo ↗Reinisch recorded and translated a few of his poems and songs (Reinisch 1889:290f.). As Reinisch reports, F. may have died either in 1867 or 1868 during the Napier expedition against *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. He was buried in Irʾafale (Irafayle, Iɽaafalo), a Red-Sea coastal village.

The name *Farhakoobe* is probably best analyzed as Sāho *fárhak* 'wanting' (also 'while he [same subject or different subject from the main verb] wanted', a *k*-participle of *farhe* 'want') plus *oobe* 'he came down'. Morin (1999) explains it as 'he came when he (God) wanted', i.e. 'he came by God's will', and corrects the name to *Faɖé-k ɔ̄bé* with a form *faɖé-k* that means 'if he wanted' in ᶜAfar.

Many of F.'s poems are about love and marriage, others praise courage, describe historical incidents and the Sāho nomadic life, the social and physical environment, tame and wild animals and the conflicts and disputes between the Sāho clans as well as between Sāho and neighbouring groups (such disputes were usually caused by the competition for new pastures and wells).

F. is reported to have been always travelling to participate in different Sāho ceremonies and holidays and he was eager to receive gifts and support from clan leaders. Sometimes he exploited the tensions and conflicts between the different Sāho groups, especially the competitions between the Minifire, ↗Asaorta and ↗Ḥazo. It is said that F.'s behaviour was unpredictable and flexible; he could adjust himself to whatever situation he faced. Most clan leaders were afraid of F. and they gave him gifts in order to avoid his poetic attacks. In his turn, he tried to win the support of different clan leaders and *šayḫs*: in his poems he could describe the clan's generosity, hospitality and co-operation, since these values occupy a special position in the life of Sāho people. But if an unpleasant incident from the side of clan leaders or *šayḫs* occurred, the rumours were reported to F. and he would quickly compose a poem. The person involved, however, could try to prevent F. from doing so by giving him a present. F. could also regain the favour of the individuum concerned and rehabilitate him by composing a new piece.

Like most of the traditional poets, F., though famous, was treated by Sāho society with suspicion and disdain. It is said that he was not happy about his profession, he felt guilty and prayed to God to free him from being a poet. He even composed a poem about himself describing the tragedy and hopelessness of his situation.

↗ᶜAfar Literature

Lit.: DIDIER MORIN, *Le texte légitime. Pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Paris 1999 (Langues et cultures africaines 25), 95f.; LEO REINISCH, *Die Saho-Sprache*, I: *Texte der Saho-Sprache*; II: *Wörterbuch der Saho-Sprache*, Wien 1889-90, vol. 1, 291.

Abdulkader Saleh

Faitlovitch, Jacques

F. (also Ya'akov Faïtlovitch, b. 1881, Łódž, Poland, d. 1955, Tel Aviv) was a scholar and activist on behalf of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. He studied oriental languages in Paris under Joseph ↗Halévy, who stimulated his interest in the Betä Ǝsraʾel. After receiving a Master's degree in oriental languages in Paris and a doctorate from the University of Lausanne in Switzerland, in 1904, F. traveled to Ethiopia under the sponsorship of Baron Edmond de Rothschild. On his return-trip, he brought two "Fälaša" boys with him, ↗Täʾammərat Amanuʾel and Gette Erməyas. He also organized "pro-Fälaša" committees in Italy and Germany. In 1908–09 he traveled to Ethiopia yet again and met with *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. Following his third visit in 1913–14, he began to establish schools, including a boarding school in Addis Abäba (1923). He also sent several youths to study in Palestine and Europe, most notably ↗Yona Boggalä. As his activities were curtailed during the Fascist conquest and World War II, he settled in Palestine and continued to lobby on behalf of the "Fälaša" until his death in 1955. His library including over two dozen manuscripts is housed in the library of Tel Aviv University.

F.'s publications can be classified into four main categories: (1) accounts of his travels (1905; 1910); (2) popular pieces designed to encourage interest in the situation and activities on their behalf (1907; 1920); (3) letters to the Betä Ǝsraʾel (1913); (4) academic studies (1906; *Proverbs Abyssins*, Paris 1907).

Despite the publication of numerous articles dealing with F.'s life and his influence on the Betä Ǝsraʾel, no comprehensive biography has been written. Although much of the literature on F. has an almost hagiographic tone, in recent years more critical perspectives have been adopted by scholars.

Src.: JACQUES FAITLOVITCH, *Notes d'un voyage chez les Falachas (Juifs d'Abyssinie)*, Paris 1905; ID., *Quer durch Abessinien: Meine zweite Reise zu den Falaschas*, Berlin 1910; ID., "The Falashas", *American Jewish Year Book* 22, 1920, 80–100; ID., "Les Falachas d'après les explorateurs: notes apologétiques", *Rivista Israelita* 4, 3, 1907; ID., *Falascha-Briefe*, Berlin 1913; ID., *Mota Muse*, Paris 1906; ID., *Proverbes Abyssins*, Paris 1907b.
Lit.: DANIEL P. SUMMERFIELD, *From Falashas to Ethiopian Jews: the External Influences for Change*, London 2000; EMANUELA TREVISAN SEMI, "Universalisme juif et proselytisme: l'action de Jacques Faitlovitch, 'pere' des Beta Israel (Falashas)", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 216, 2, 1999, 193–211; EAD., *L'epistolario di Taamrat Emmanuel: un intellettuale ebreo d'Etiopia nella prima metà del XX secolo*, Torino 2000.

Steven Kaplan

Fala

F. (ፋላ) is a mountain rising ca. 365 m above the plain of Aroge, where one of the battles between the troops of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros and those of the ↗Napier expedition took place.

The plain of Aroge lies to the north-west of ↗Mäqdäla and it was there that the British and the Ethiopians had their first decisive clash on Good Friday, 3 *Miyazya* 1862 A.M. [10 April 1868].

The British were nearly equal in numbers to the Ethiopians, but they were much better armed and knew how to use their advantage. The movement started at 6 o'clock in the morning when the First Brigade commanded by Colonel Phayre and the Third Cavalry under Colonel Loch started moving towards the plain across the ↗Bäšəlo river. At 9:30 a.m. the Commander-in-Chief of the British army, Robert Napier, moved in with the Second Brigade. Later, they were joined by the Naval Brigade and several infantry companies.

Aṣe Tewodros superintended the main gun and the artillery unit at F., whereas his general, *fitawrari* ↗Gäbrä Ḥəywät Goššu, led the infantry and the cavalry in the Aroge plain. It was Tewodros who started the military action by firing the canon from F. at half past four in the afternoon.

The British could use their technical and tactical advantage. As Ethiopians could not employ their usual tactic of a massive attack for lack of space, they had to resort to a frontal attack. The British then pretended to retreat, but then surrounded the Ethiopians and opened fire from three sides, immediately inflicting heavy losses. Gäbrä Ḥəywät Goššu was killed together with at least 700 or 800 of the ca. 4,000 soldiers who fought on the Ethiopian side. 1,500 more were wounded. The Ethiopian army had to retreat; many fled without returning to Mäqdäla. Tewodros, however, stayed on in his headquarters at Sälamge and even attempted some peace negotiations. Despite an offer by Napier to accept his surrender, he vehemently refused (and eventually committed suicide).

Src.: FusTeod 26, 42f., 46 (text) = 94f., 111ff., 115 (tr.); MonVidTheo 55f. = 68f.; CLEMENTS ROBERT MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 315–45; THEOPHILUS WALDMEIER, *The Autobiography of Theophilus Waldmeier, Missionary, being an Account of Ten Years' Life in Abyssinia and Sixteen Years in Syria*, London 1886, 107–14; *Guida* 394.
Lit.: RubTew 88; CHARLES BUSSIDON, *Abyssinie et Angleterre (Théodros)*, Paris 1888, 285–30.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Fälaša ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel

Fälaša Bet

F.B. (ፈላሻ፡ ቤት, 'Fälaša House') was the name given to the area, or areas, inhabited by the Fälaša (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel) craftsmen outside ↗Gondär. The principal Betä Ǝsraʾel area, situated west of the city, beyond the Qäha river, was also known as ↗Kayla Meda, since Kayla was another name for the Fälaša and, because of its dryness, Abʷara ('dust'). The Betä Ǝsraʾel, though mainly blacksmiths, weavers and potters, also cultivated in the F.B. area, whence some travelled to the city to engage in building operations. The separation of the Fälaša, as well as of the Muslims of Gondär, was based partly on custom, but also on the decision of a church council, held in the city in 1668, during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I. It decreed that both minority communities should not remain with the Christians, but should live apart, forming a village of their own. Early in the 19th cent. William Coffin (Pearce 1831:240f.) estimated that the population of F.B. numbered "scarcely four hundred", while Eduard Rüppell thought that F.B. comprised some 60 houses, which likewise would suggest a population of 300 or 400 inhabitants.

Src.: NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce*, London 1831, vol. 1, 240f.; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1838–40, vol. 2, 81f.

Lit.: PankHist I, 252, 258; JOSEPH TUBIANA, "Note sur la distribution géographique des dialectes agaw", *Les Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie* 5, *Mer Rouge – Afrique Orientale*, 1959, 297–306.

Richard Pankhurst

Fälasfa ṭäbiban: Mäṣḥafä fälasfa ṭäbiban

The M.f.ṭ. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ፈላስፋ፡ ጠቢባን**, 'The Book of the Wise Philosophers') is a collection of sayings, apophthegms and anecdotes of Greek philosophers, early Church Fathers, biblical figures and so-called wise men, but also proverbs and banal wisdom. The sayings are not ordered according to authors or themes; the most important or popular philosophers, such as Aristotle, Plato, Socrates or Diogenes, are mentioned, but in most cases the sayings remain anonymous.

The M.f.ṭ. belongs to a period of ↗Gəʿəz literature that witnessed an increased translation activity from Arabic into Gəʿəz. Besides the *Life and Maxims of Secundus the Philosopher* (↗Secundos), translated from Arabic, the M.f.ṭ. is the only Ethiopic literary product that can be considered properly philosophical. It is in fact a translation of the Arabic gnomologium entitled *Kitāb al-bustān wa-qāʿidat al-ḥukamāʾ wa-šams al-ādāb* ('Book of the Garden and Basis of Wise Men and Sun of [Ethical] Rules'). In one manuscript of the latter, the compiler (or simply the copyist) Naṣrallāh b. Yuḥannā is mentioned; his literary activities are otherwise unknown. This manuscript was the *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic version, made between 1510 and 1522 by *abba* Mikaʾel "the Translator", a writer of Egyptian origin. At present two recensions – a long and a short – of the M.f.ṭ. are known.

Such a collection of sayings was very popular in Ethiopia, as is indicated by the great number of its manuscripts. The oldest manuscripts of the collection, from the 16th cent., preserve the most part of the content of the Arabic text; later manuscripts, especially from the 19th/20th cent., convey texts enlarged by sayings of Church Fathers or other stories, e.g., of the wise Ḥikar (↗Aḥiqar [EAE vol. 5]), that are unknown in the Arabic original and represent Ethiopic scribal modifications.

The *Kitāb al-bustān* is, in its turn, a Christian collection generally based on two books of sayings: the *Nawādir al-falāsifa* ('Apophthegms of the Philosophers'), written by the Syrian scholar Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (809–73 or 877), one of the most important translators and mediators of Greek science to the Islamic world; and the gnomologium called *Muḫtār l-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim* ('Choice of Wise Sayings and Fine Statements'), composed in 1048/49 by the Egyptian savant Mubaššir b. Fātik, which also contains much Christian material, e.g., sayings of such early Church Fathers as ↗Gregory of Nyssa and ↗Basil the Great or legendary sages from the Egyptian Hermetic tradition. Besides the two aforementioned collections, the Christian compiler of the *Kitāb al-bustān* used other material from Christian sources and doxographic extracts, mostly from Galenic writings.

The evaluation of Arabic gnomic literature has just begun; but the traditional view concerning the central position of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq's *Nawādir al-falāsifa* in the history of the transmission of the M.f.ṭ. should definitively be revised, for it is but a distant echo of the Greek gnomological and doxographic tradition, within which the exact position of the M.f.ṭ. is still to be established.

Src.: CARL HEINRICH CORNILL (ed., tr.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ፈላስፋ፡ ጠቢባን፡** *Das Buch der weisen Philosophen nach dem Aethiopischen untersucht*, Leipzig 1875; AUGUST DILLMANN, *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, Leipzig 1899, 40-45 [abstracts] [repr.: ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT (ed.), *Anthologia Aethiopica*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1988]; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Übersetzung der philosophischen Lehrsprüche in Dillmanns 'Chrestomathia Aethiopica'", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 10, 1941, 361-71; CLAUDE SUMNER, *Ethiopian Philosophy* I: *the Book of the Wise Philosophers*, Addis Ababa 1974.

Lit.: GuiSLett 82; CLAUDE SUMNER, *Classical Ethiopian Philosophy*, Addis Ababa 1985, 55–296; UTE PIETRUSCHKA, "Das *Mäṣḥafä fälasfa ṭäbiban* und sein Verhältnis zu griechischen und arabischen Gnomensammlungen", *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 139–55 (Lit.); EAD., "The Relationship of Arabic with Ethiopic Gnomologia: Remarks on a Projected Edition", *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 6, 1992, 88–95; EAD., *Griechische Philosophensprüche in äthiopischer Überlieferung*, Ph.D. thesis, Halle 1986; JEAN SIMON, "Notes bibliographiques sur les textes de la «Chrestomathia Aethiopica» de A. Dillmann", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 10, 1941, 285-311, here 297f. (Lit.) [repr.: ERNST

HAMMERSCHMIDT (ed.), *Anthologia Aethiopica*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1988].

Ute Pietruschka – Red.

Famines

Ethiopia has had a long and tragic history with F. Most of them were caused by drought and/or crop failure, but others were due to ↗locusts, rinderpest or wars. The devastation caused by F. usually intensifies because they are frequently followed by ↗epidemics such as smallpox, cholera, typhus, diarrhea or influenza (↗Diseases).

History

The earliest records of F. are preserved in the *Sənkəssar* and date from the 9th and 12th cent. References to F. in the 12th to the 13th cent. also appear in the Acts of *abba* Täklä Haymanot of Šäwa and, in the 16th cent., the Acts of Täklä Alfa of Däbrä Dima. References to early F. are also recorded in Haräri historical writings for 657 H. [1259 A.D.] and 673 H [1275 A.D.].

Detailed descriptions of F. caused by locusts are preserved in the writings of Alvares and in the Chronicle of *aṣe* Gälawdewos (r. 1540-59). Regarding the severity of a F. he experienced, the latter claims that "its like had not been seen since the time of the kings of Samaria and at the time of the destruction of the second Temple". Later outbreaks were reported in 1616 and 1628. Serious F. due to locusts are also known to have occurred in 1626/27 and in 1633, as described by the Jesuits. F. likewise featured in chronicles from the Gondärine kingdom. Outbreaks without reported causes were recorded in 1668, 1752 and 1772/73, and one account caused by locusts in 1647/48 (Pankhurst 1972, 1973).

The first recorded 19th-cent.-F., in Təgray 1811–12, was caused by locusts; Pearce said that it "committed great ravages", a description the local ruler *ras* Wäldä Śəllase also confirmed. A later F. in Šäwa (1827/28) was apparently caused by a combination of drought and some form of cattle disease (Pankhurst 1985:53ff).

One of the most serious and best documented F. in Ethiopia's history was that of 1888–92 (↗*Kəfu qän*). This outbreak stemmed from a combination of natural disasters: 1. a major epidemic of rinderpest, 2. unprecedented drought and harvest failure, 3. extensive plagues of locusts and caterpillars. The rinderpest was unintentionally introduced by the import of new strains of cattle by the Italians and reportedly led to the death of just under 90 % of the country's livestock. This, in turns, caused an acute shortage of meat for consumption, as well as of oxen for ploughing. Consequently, cultivation was greatly reduced. The drought and heat meanwhile caused the crops in the fields to wither and die; the remaining produce was further ravished by swarms of locusts and caterpillars induced by the excessive heat. These developments combined to produce an acute shortage of both livestock and cereals, a sharp rise in farm prices, a major outbreak of F., which was followed by epidemics of smallpox, typhus and cholera. It is estimated that the combined effects of F. and the epidemics may have killed a third of the entire population (Pankhurst 1966).

Causes and significance

Droughts are known to occur at more or less regular intervals in Ethiopia. The minimum factor for plough ↗agriculture being the rain, not the soil fertility, Ethiopia has a long history of local harvest failures due to insufficient, too short, interrupted or even too heavy rains. If these occur over large areas and/or repeat themselves over several years, F. are hardly avoidable.

Larger F. occurred in more recent years with a certain regularity; a pattern of an eleven years' cycle is sometimes suggested. F. have in recent years also become more devastating and affected increasing numbers of people because of the population growth.

Theoretically, F. could be prevented through foresight and planning. The Bible gives probably the earliest account and lesson of a successful political intervention to prevent a major drought from becoming a F. (Gen 41–44). There is normally food available in at least some parts of the country, so that prevention might appear to be a problem of distribution, transport capacities and pre-emptive action.

Traditionally Ethiopian peasants knew that against the uncertainty of weather there is no protection or cure except keeping reserves for surviving a bad year. Cattle are valued also as a safety stock to be sold in drought periods. By exchanging goods with less affected regions, peasants could always escape the worst F., as long as not the whole region was affected. The problem grew to disaster dimensions when the peasantry was too impoverished to keep the necessary reserves and political authorities neglected the need for tax relief and local emergency stock keeping.

The more affluent parts of the urban population made sure to collect sufficient food for their own needs right after harvest, particularly when predicting a shortage, leaving the rural areas with correspondingly lower stocks. This had the additional fatal effect that food aid had to be distributed to the most remote villages at enormous costs, while the towns in most F. hardly felt grain shortages (Pausewang 1991:23).

F. is usually understood to be caused by recurrent droughts. An increase in frequency and severity can naturally be explained through population growth and deteriorating soil fertility, as well as variations in weather conditions. Recent debates on F. relief question whether F. is caused by natural as opposed to man-made factors such as climatic changes and, in particular, political interventions, instability and conflict. Political factors are basically three: 1. increasing tax and levies on peasant production lead to impoverishment and growing pressure on productive resources; 2. the failure to install preventive mechanisms such as food security stores and more efficient local productive capacities; and 3. the priority given to food for the army and the urban population deprives rural populations of their necessary food security reserves. In the wake of this debate, food assistance also comes increasingly under critical scrutiny, suspected of discouraging local production and making rural populations dependent on food aid instead of local production. At the same time, an increasing population growth rate of almost 3 % annually (2.7 % in 2003, CSA 2004) causes a duplication of the rural population for every generation. As long as alternative employment in industrial production or other non-agricultural sectors is not available, even measures to improve the productivity of agriculture will not be sufficient to cope with an ever-diminishing ratio of man to land and hence a vulnerability of food production (Eshetu Chole 1988).

Famine as a factor in politics

During the reigns of *aṣe* Mənilək II and *aṣe* Ḥaylä Śəllase I, increasing burdens were laid on peasants, since their productive capacity was the major source of the means to finance the centralization of the empire, the growing army and administration, and the modernization of the country. The conquest of the South, as well as subsequent changes in rural policies, brought a palatable impoverishment of farmers, accompanied by changes in ↗land tenure which disowned a sizeable number of peasants, making them tenants or land labourers, or evicting them. Increasing taxes, levies and other contributions forced the peasants to produce more to be able to survive on their land, but to consume less themselves (Pausewang 1983).

Under Ḥaylä Śəllase, the problem reached a politically serious dimension. When F. hit evergrowing numbers of people, the reasons were sought in different ways. Population growth obviously contributed, as the land had to feed ever-more mouths. Ecological deterioration also in the 20th cent. and before started to narrow the margins and increase the variations in rains. But the more important reasons were sought in the socio-economic conditions of agricultural production. Demands on peasants were rising. Landlords increased their "share" in the peasants' crops to cover growing urban costs of living. Prices for inputs were rising, as were the margins of traders. And the terms of trade for agricultural produce generally deteriorated. Investors were ready to compete for land, causing the eviction of many peasants by their landlords. Taxes and levies, as well as corruption added to the burdens of peasants. In addition, even the most self-supplied peasant needs some money to pay taxes, to buy clothes and tools, to pay for school fees for a child or health services for a sick family member. With generally declining rural terms of trade, peasants had to sell more food to get hold of the needed cash. With increasing sales, they became more dependent on traders and on taking out loans. Interest rates and loan services added to their need to sell. This combined burden narrowed their ability to keep stocks for surviving a bad year or two (Stahl 1974; Cohen – Weintraub 1975; Pausewang 1983).

The demand to improve the living conditions for peasants became, therefore, a political issue of primary order. Since 1965, the growing radical student movement adopted the slogan መሬት፡ ለአራሹ (*märet lä'arašu*, 'land to the tiller') and launched demonstrations for their demand (Balsvik 1985). It turned against Ḥaylä Śəllase personally when it became known that he attempted to hide the F. of 1973 in order not to disturb his coronation anniversary celebrations. There had been some concern for prediction of recurrent droughts and prevention of F., but it had not reached beyond a planning stage when Ḥaylä Śəllase's government fell in the face of growing popular protests sparked by the damaging F. in 1973 in Wällo and Təgray.

After the ↗Revolution, the new *Därg* regime promised F. should never occur again. But in 1984–85 it delayed reacting to a new F. until after its 10th-anniversary celebrations. In the following years it used food aid politically, denying rebel-controlled areas (Eritrea and the north of Təgray) relief food which was redirected to feed the army instead. This led European aid agencies to open the Cross-border operations from Sudan to feed the famine victims in the north. In 1995 drought demanded a new relief operation, and since then a growing number of people have become dependent on relief supplies to avert acute F.

↗Agriculture; ↗Food

Lit.: CSA 2004; DANIEL GAMADU, *Aspects of Climate and Water Budget in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1977; JEAN GALLAIS, "Sechezesse, famine, Etat: le cas de l'Éthiopie", *Herodote* 39, octobre–decembre, 1985; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Earliest History of Famine and Pestilence in Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Medical Journal* 11, 1973, 233–36; ID., "The History of Famine and Pestilence in Ethiopia Prior to the Founding of Gondär", *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 37–64; ID., "The Great Ethiopian Famine of 1888–1892: a New Assessment", *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 21, 1966, 95–124, 271–94; ID., *The History of Famines and Epidemics Prior to the Twentieth Century*, Addis Ababa 1985; MESFIN WOLDE-MARIAM, *Vulnerability to Famine in Ethiopia: 1938-1977*, New Delhi - Addis Ababa 1988; ID., *Suffering under God's Environment. A Vertical Study of the Predicament of Peasants in North-Central Ethiopia*, Bern 1991; RANDI BALSVIK, *Haile Selassie's Students: Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution*, Michigan 1985; JOHN COHEN – DOV WEINTRAUB, *Land and Peasants in Imperial Ethiopia. The Social Background to a Revolution*, Assen 1975; ESHETU CHOLE, "The Ethiopian Economy. An Overview", in: *Beyond the Famine. An Examination of the Issues behind Famine in Ethiopia*, Geneva 1988, 27-54; SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG, *Peasants, Land and Society. A Social History of Land Reform in Ethiopia*; München 1983; ID., "Drought, Hunger, and Prevention", *Development and Change* 1, 1991, 23–25; MICHAEL STAHL, *Ethiopia: Political Contradictions in Agricultural Development*, Uppsala – Stockholm 1973.

Richard Pankhurst — Siegfried Pausewang

Fandaanano

The Hadiyya term F. (collective from *fandaano*, pl., sg. *fandaančo*) in general refers to the traditional way of life of the ↗Hadiyya in southern Ethiopia and in a narrower sense to their autochthonous Cushitic folk religion (↗Religions, traditional). The origin and the etymological derivation of the term F. remains doubtful. Before it finally collapsed in the 1970s because of the conversion of the Hadiyya to one of the Christian congregations or to ↗Islam, F. basically determined their social norms and their moral concepts. All customs of their life-cycle, their juridical laws and political actions were to a large extent influenced by F. as a comprehensive cultural system embracing the religious as well as the relevant secular spheres alike. From the 13th cent. until the ↗Oromo expansion in the 16th cent. the Hadiyya were part of a Muslim-dominated state in the area between the Rift Valley and the Harär plateau. Islam gradually declined afterwards in favour of a syncretic folk religion, which became known as F., but a considerable number of its elements persisted in more or less clearly visible patterns. Until the present many Hadiyya even tended to equate F. with Islam, although the knowledge of the ↗Qurʾān had neither been actively preserved nor substituted by another holy script. However, its followers made a clear difference between F. in the sense of "true religion", on the one hand, and "pagans" (*ibǧe*, sg. *ibǧekiččo*), on the other. In this quality F. also became a kind of missionary religion

Mourning woman with ostrich feathers in Hadiyya following *fandaanano* traditions; photo 1999, courtesy of the author which spread among neighbouring groups such as the ↗Kambaata, ↗Ṭimbaaro and ↗Allaaba.

Its characteristic elements can be described as follows. The F. believe in a High God *Waaʾa*, who is considered as a manifestation of the black (blue) sky. Similar to the supreme beings of other folk religions of southern Ethiopia (e.g., ↗*Waaqa* of the Oromo, ↗*Waq* of the ↗Gurage, *Maganno* of the ↗Sidaama and Kambaata, etc.), he is conceived as a kind of *deus otiosus*, who, after the creation of the world, retreated from its active governing. The fate of humans is therefore mainly dependent on subordinate spirits and demons, with whom, consequently, most of the worship is associated. There are special categories of patron spirits for individuals: *ǧaara* predominantly for men, *idoota* for women and *woriiqa* with a focus relating to important ancestors. They are regarded as responsible for the fertility of men, animals and plants and for good luck in any respect and will regularly be offered small gifts of barley, butter and honey-water. The main adversaries of the benevolent spiritual beings are devils categorized as *šeṭaana* and *habusa.* Other categories of spirits reveal by their names that they originated either in Islam or in Christianity. *Ǧiina* and *ibliisa* are derived from the the Muslim *ǧinn* and Iblīs, respectively (cf. Qurʾān 15: 14). Spirits reflecting the Christian background are, for example, *Kitoosa* (Christ), *Maaraame* (St. Mary), and *Gergiisa* (St. George), which partly serve as objects in possession cults.

F. people performed a ritual prayer at sunrise and sundown by bowing down to the north (-east), i.e. roughly corresponding to the direction of Mecca (*qibla*). They buried the dead and turned animals to be slaughtered towards the same direction. They observed a time of fasting (*soomaano* or *soomu*) which clearly revealed the model of ↗Ramaḍān and originally followed the Muslim calendar, but became more and more different from it in the course of time. If F. people violated any important prescription of their faith, they had to undergo a special rite of purification (*manisimma*), which was also demanded from new converts as a kind of baptism. Ceremonies of this type were presided over by high priests (*anǧaamma*, sg. *anǧaanččo*), spiritual leaders of the Hadiyya subgroups and lower categories of priests who acted as diviners (*kiiraano* and *hiraagaano*), sacrificers at ceremonial occasions and media in possession cults (*morotta*), employing various spirits for their séances (cf. above). In their ↗eschatology, concepts of the hereafter, heaven, hell etc., the Islamic model is reflected in many details.

In the year 1999 less than 200 people (out of a population of more than a million Hadiyya) were still active followers of the F. way of life. Its legacy, however, was still visible in numerous concepts and practices, particularly among the Orthodox Christians and Muslims.

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "A Vanishing Socio-Religious System: Fandano of the Hadiya", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 314–26.

Ulrich Braukämper

Fanfa

F. is a type of pan-pipe which consists of six or eleven graduated end-blown bamboo flutes of varying lengths, bound together with several ranks of string. Hence, several flutes, each having a different pitch, are combined to form a single instrument. To help keep the canes in place, the body is often covered with a mixture of rendered sheep fat and cow's manure.

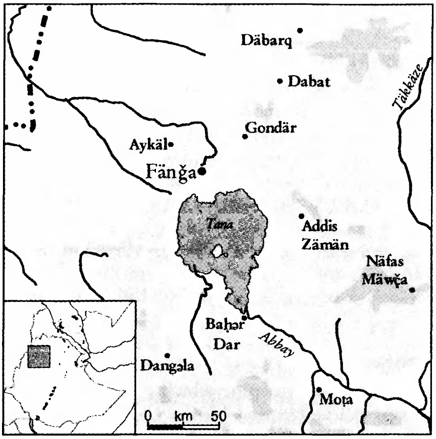
The flutes, having no mouthpieces, a single player blows across the top of the tubes to produce the desired sounds. Relative tuning is determined by the length and circumference of the tubes and the manner in which they are blown. Over-blowing produces overtones or harmonics and is one of the playing techniques used to alter the pitch as well as the sound texture. The instrument is played by the ↗Konso.

Lit.: CHRISTOPHER ROBERT HALLPIKE, *The Konso of Ethiopia: a Study of the Values of a Cushitic People*, Oxford 1972; TESFAYE LEMMA, *Ethiopian Musical Instruments*, Addis Ababa 1975, 37.

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Fänǧa

F. (ፈንጃ) served as a regional capital in ↗Dämbəya. It is closely associated with *däǧǧazmač* ↗Maru who, from about 1800 to 1827, ruled Dämbəya and a large area to its west as far as the Sudan borderlands. *Däǧǧazmač* Maru built a residence there and founded the church of Fänǧa Maryam. The residence is now in ruins, but the church is still in service. Fänǧa Maryam was one of the most important churches during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* and its foundation-document has survived. After *däǧǧazmač* Maru's death, F. continued to serve as the capital of Maru's political heir, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kənfu.



F. is also associated with the *abuns* of Gondär who had their *gʷəlt* there.

Lit.: AbPrince 32; RubTew 20, 31; CrumLand (Lit.).

Donald Crummey

Fanno

F. (ፋኖ) is the term derived from the Amh. ፈነነ (*fännänä*, 'he fled', or 'voluntarily took part in a warlike expedition for the sake of booty'), which was used for irregular soldiers (one as well as a group of them), or "free-booters", as opposed to the regular soldiers of the ↗army, usually designated as ወታደር (*wättadär*). F. often accompanied royal campaigns, but were not remunerated by the state, were not issued with uniforms and generally fought of their own volition, without an order or a military leader. A ↗*šəfta* rebel could also be referred to as F.

Raids and expeditions carried out by F., like those undertaken by regular troops, constituted a serious burden on the peasantry. The ceaseless exactions of the soldiers are described in the Ethiopian chronicles, notably that of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl, as well as by such foreign writers as Manoel de Almeida, Hiob Ludolf, Nathaniel Pearce, Walter Plowden and Augustus Blandy Wylde. The latter, e.g., observed that bands of warriors "little by little [...] increased till they [...] got out of all proportion to the wants of a peaceful country" (Wylde 1901:165).

Src.: BeckHuntAlm; CRHist; GuiVoc 886; AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYLDE, *Modern Abyssinia*, London 1901, 165; GueCopMen vol. 1, 374; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce*, London 1837; WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country, with an Account of a Mission to Ras Ali in 1848*, London 1868.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, *An Introduction to the History of the Ethiopian Army*, Addis Ababa 1967; BTafA s. index.

Richard Pankhurst

Fänta

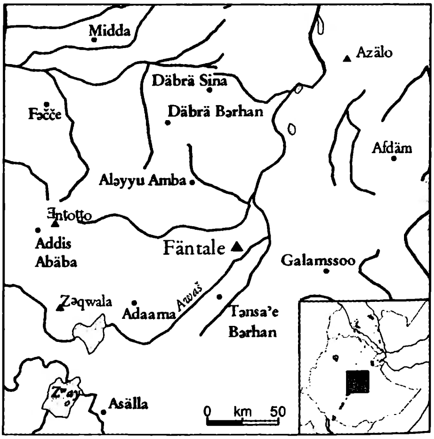
Däbtära F. (ፈንታ) was known to the missionary ↗Gobat and the travellers ↗Ferret and ↗Galinier, and particularly as a correspondent of the French traveller and scholar Antoine d'↗Abbadie. As a secretary at the court of *aṣe* ↗Śahlä Dəngəl in 1848 he wrote several letters to Gobat, then Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, seeking his intervention on behalf of the Ethiopian monks in the Holy City. Between 1853 and 1854 he wrote five letters to d'Abbadie containing valuable news about contemporary Ethiopian politics.

Src.: RubActa 1, ns. 92, 109, 111, 115, 169–70, 172, 176, 186; SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia in Furtherance of the Objects of the Church Missionary Society*, London 1834, 96; ADOLPHE FERRET – JOSEPH GERMAIN GALINIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie dans les provinces du Tigré, du Samen et de l'Amhara*, 3 vols., Paris 1847–48, here vol. 2, 449.

Donald Crummey

Fäntale

F. (ፈንታሌ, also Fanta Ale) is a broad volcanic cone, which culminates at 2,006 m A.S.L., overlooking, more than 1,000 m above, the depression of the middle-Awaš. Long black scoriaceous lava flows (trachytes, basalts) spread between the courses of the Käsäm, to the north, and the Awaš, to the south. Smoke fumes rise from time to time from the crater of a caldera volcano 3.5 km in di-



ameter. The hot springs of Fəlwəha in the northern part reveal the persistence of tectonic activity.

There are historical records of eruptions of the F. On the slopes of the volcano, the Karrayyuu (↗Baarentuu) and ↗Ittuu Oromo practised stockbreeding and seasonal agriculture, in competition, sometimes violent, with the ᶜAfar. In 1966, following the example of the national parks launched by the British government in Eastern Africa, the imperial government created by decree the Awaš National Park (↗National Parks) which covered 827 km^2. This created conflict with the local populations and the government sent armed forces to drive out of the park the Oromo and ᶜAfar dwellers. These groups, nonetheless, still continue to visit the area in search of pasturages. Provided of camping sites and located on the railway and road towards Dərre Dawa, this faunistic reserve is today an attraction for tourists, who climb the volcano and bathe in the Fəlwəha springs.

Lit.: EMAtlas; GasEth; *Guida* 431; MesfGeogr; AYALEW GEBRU, *Pastoralism under Pressure. Land Alienation and Pastoral Transformations among the Karayu of Eastern Ethiopia, 1941 to the Present*, Maastricht 2001.

Alain Gascon

Fanu'el

F. (ፋኑኤል, d. 18 June 1549) was, according to a ↗*Sənkəssar* story referred to by ↗Täklä Ṣadiq Mäkʷəriya (TSTarik III, 64), but absent in any of the published editions, an Ethiopian aristocrat of royal blood, who traced his descent to *aṣe* Säyfä Arᶜad (r. 1344–71). The name of his mother was Mägdälawit.

During the unhappy reign of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl (r. 1508–40), F. held the office of ↗*wagšum* and was among the few prominent warlords who were lucky enough to survive during the onslaught led by *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. When, in 1540, *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos became emperor, he had at his disposal only two such warlords: ↗Dägälhan and F. (Kropp 1988:25). Gälawdewos charged F. to fight against ↗ᶜAdal and in March 1548 appointed him "over all lands of the East, such as ↗Däwaro and its dependencies" (ConzGal 38). F. coped well with the fading Muslim threat, until, during his next campaign in ᶜAdal, "came the One Who comes to vanquish every mortal one and took him away to the country of those like him".

Src.: ConzGal 37ff., 41; MANFRED KROPP (ed., tr.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minas*, Lovani 1988 (CSCO 503, [SA 83]), 25, 36.

Lit.: TSTarik III, 64.

Sevir Chernetsov

Fäqadä Amlak ↗Saints

Fäqi Däbbis

The mosque of F.D. in Yəfat was excavated in 2000. Three radiocarbon datings were obtained. The existing ruined mosque had been destroyed by fire in the first half of the 15th cent. The wooden roof covered with earth collapsed and was never rebuilt. Surprisingly, the excavation discovered an unknown earlier building, destroyed during the 14th cent., beneath the present ruins. This is very probably the oldest mosque securely dated in Ethiopia.

Src.: author's own data.

Bertrand Poissonnier

Farā'iḍ, Kitāb al-

K.f. (كتاب الفرائض, *Kitāb al-farā'iḍ*, lit. 'Book of Obligations or Law'), published, transliterated and translated by Enrico Cerulli, was a text that he had acquired in the city of ↗Harär (CerStud 284–343). It was the first, extensive text in Old ↗Harari, written in Arabic characters, to become known to western scholars. Its importance is primarily linguistic, and Cerulli used it as the basis for his grammar and glossary of Old Harari (ibid. 344–442).

The text, however, is also interesting beyond its linguistic value. The Arabic word *farīḍa* means 'religious duty' and the plural *farā'iḍ* refers to the 'obligatory portions' fixed by Muslim law in favour of heirs to property. Consequently, in the Arabic-speaking world *ᶜilm al-farā'iḍ* became the normal term for "law of inheritance" and K.f. would be the usual title for a treatise on hereditary law. In Harär, however, the title K.f. seems to have a quite different meaning. The first part of Cerulli's text contains numerical sayings like "Four things do not last forever: the friendship of a liar, the wedding dinner of a miser, the wealth of this world and the shadow of a cloud" (CerStud I, 285 [text] = 321 [tr.]). Some of the sayings have religious content or pertain to ritual obligations, such as the enumeration of the prerequisites for fasting (ibid. 284 [text] = 320 [tr.]). The second part (ibid. 291–303 [text] = 329–43 [tr.]) starts with a catechism-like commentary on a creed. The articles of faith are first given in Arabic and then explained in Harari. Later, religious formulae also are interpreted and religious duties enumerated such as the five prescriptions for ablution (ibid. 298 [text] = 337 [tr.]). Though this may be a point of contact between the two parts, the first one falls into the genre of wisdom literature and the second one into that of religious teaching.

With the discovery of more manuscripts (there are many in private ownership in Harär, several in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Abäba and two in the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz zu Berlin), it became obvious that this difference in content corresponds to two different works which normally were copied together. A lacuna in Cerulli's manuscript at the passage of the first to the second work obscured this fact. Now, we also know the authors of both parts. The first one was written by *āw* ʿAbdarraḥmān al-ʿArāšī and the second by *faqīh* Ṭayyib al-Wanāgī aṣ-Ṣadrī (both otherwise unknown). The Institute of Ethiopian Studies (mss. IES 257 and 268) owns a third K.f. written by a certain ʿAbdallāh ʿUmar b. Ǧibrīl al-Aswām as-Sāḫitī. In all three works the name of the author is preceded by the formula: (*Hāḏā*) *kitāb al-farāʾiḍ bi-kalām al-Ḥabaš aḫrağahū* ... ('[This is] the book of obligations in the language of the Abyyinians [i.e. Harari] which N.N. extracted ...). The term *aḫrağa* ('to extract'), which in Arabic is normally used for the compilation of collections of prophetic traditions (*ḥadīṯ*) on special themes, could be the clue to the meaning of K.f. Perhaps it is the usual title for a compilation of sayings and maxims in the Harari language, which people are obliged to read or memorize, not so much for legal or ritual reasons, but to preserve the cultural heritage of the town.

Src.: CerStud I.

Lit.: TH. W. JUYNBOLL, "Farāʿiḍ", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 2, 283; EWALD WAGNER, "Bemerkungen zu zwei Handschriften des Kitāb al-Farāʾiḍ", MARIA MACUCH – CHRISTA MÜLLER-KESSLER – BERT G. FRAGNER, *Ḥokmot bāntā bētāh*: *Studia Semitica necnon Iranica Rudolpho Macuch septuagenario ab amicis et discipulis dedicata*, Wiesbaden 1989, 389–95; ID., *Islamische Handschriften aus Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1997 (Afrikanische Handschriften 2 = VOHD 24, 2), 6f., 118ff.; REX SEAN O'FAHEY, *The Writings of the Muslim Peoples of Northeastern Africa*, Leiden – Boston, MA 2003 (Arabic Literature of Africa, vol. 3, fasc. A. = Handbuch der Orientalistik, Sect. 1, 13), 23; 33f.

Ewald Wagner

Färänǧ

F. (**ፈረንጅ**, earlier **አፍረንጅ** *afränǧ*, Tgn. **ፈረንጂ** *färänǧi*), the Ethiopic designation for a foreigner, was originally the name for a Frank, borrowed into Ethiopic from Arabic during the medieval times, which underwent major changes in Ethiopia during the 19th and 20th cent.

The term, when first introduced into the country, became the accepted Gəʿəz name for a Roman Catholic (cp. Littmann 1916:239) and gradually, by extension, for any foreigner. This was noted in ↗Ludolf's *Lexicon* (1661:383), which translates the word as "a Frank or man of the Latin or Roman religion" but notes that the term was also popularly used for "all Europeans (except Greeks)". Foreigners of the Orthodox Christian faith were by contrast generally referred to as *gəbṣ(awi)*, a term which was originally associated with ↗Egypt, but had acquired a wider meaning. The word *gəbṣ* was thus used for ↗Greeks and ↗Armenians, both of whom, Ludolf explicitly notes, were not considered as F. Declining preoccupation with religion in the 19th cent., and the coming of European Protestants, indistinguishable from Catholics in physical appearance, caused the word F. to become more loosely applied. The result was that the early 19th-cent. German lexicographer ↗Isenberg (1841, vol. 1, 137) accepted Ludolf's old definition of F., but inserted into it the word "European". This change of meaning is further evident from the statement by ↗Massaja (1867:352), that the word F. meant European, without any religious inference. Antoine d'↗Abbadie's dictionary (1881:590) later stated that the word was by then used for a European "without distinction of religious belief" but added, significantly, that the word was "always used in an injurious sense".

The term F. was widely used for the Italians at the time of the battle of ↗ʿAdwa in 1896. A famous poem of the time, for example, noted that the Italians had given *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II the firearms with which he later defeated them, and put it this way: "What kind of fools are these men of the country of the F. [...] they themselves made the instruments of their own destruction, and gave them to us" (Cerulli 1916:569). The term F. had by that time lost its religious connotation. This is evident from 20th cent. Amharic dictionaries, which agree that the word by then implied a European, without any religious qualification. Some limitation nevertheless remained, in that Greeks were by then usually referred to as *grek*, as well as by the earlier name *ṣərəʿ* (and Russians were known as *moskob*).

The advent in Addis Abäba, in the late Mənilək period, of numerous Greek road-builders, masons, petty traders, and restaurateurs introduced a new element into the story, for, irrespectively of their actual nationality, they tended to be referred to collectively as *grek*. This development coincided with the expansion of the European diplomatic community, and the coming of a number of prominent French and other European merchants, all of whom came to be called F. The two terms *grek* and F., as the French linguist ↗Cohen (1924:30) noted, thus designated "classes rather than nationalities". This was confirmed by another contemporary, ↗Faitlovich (1910:122), who observed that if a European was seen on foot he was looked down upon, and called a *grek*, a name which Europeans did not like. The result was that Greeks, who had once been differentiated from F. by reason of their Orthodox faith came instead to be regarded as different from them on account of their socio-economic class. This is well illustrated by the story of a Greek who had improved his status in life. It was said of him that he had been a *grek*, but had become a F. (Cohen 1924:30f.). With the subsequent decline of the Greek community the term *grek* came to be used only for Greeks proper, with the result that the term F. became at last applicable to virtually all (white) Westerners. Evidence of this may be seen in the fact that ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, immigrants to Israel, oblivious of the term's original Christian connotation now often apply the term F. to ordinary Israelis: a case, one could say, of Jews who became F.!

Src.: HIOB LUDOLF, *Lexicon Æthiopico-Latinum, ex omnibus libris impressis, nonnullisque manuscriptis collectum* ..., Londoni 1661, 383; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña*, Paris 1881; CHARLES WILLIAM ISENBERG, *Dictionary of the Amharic Language*, London 1841, vol. 1, 137, 187, vol. 2, 89; GUGLIELMO MASSAJA, *Lectiones grammaticales qui addiscere volunt Linguam Amaricam*, Paris 1867, 352.

Lit.: MARCEL COHEN, "Couplets amhariques du Choa", *JA* 1924, 1–100; ENRICO CERULLI, "Canti popolari amarici", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916, 563–658; JACQUES FAITLOVITCH, *Quer durch Abessinien*, Berlin 1910, 122; ENNO LITTMANN, "Fränkisch", in: *Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte vornehmlich des Orients, Ernst Kuhn zum 70. Geburtstage*, Breslau 1916, 236–65; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Some Names for Foreigners in Menilek's Ethiopia: Färänj, Ṭaleyan and ʿAlī – and the Grek who became a Färänj", in: STANISLAV SEGERT – ANDRÁS I.E. BODROGLIGETI (eds.), *Ethiopian Studies Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on occasion of his 75th Birthday*, Wiesbaden 1983, 481–94.

Richard Pankhurst

Faraqa

F. is a gift of food made to the traditional Qurʾān teacher in Harär, ↗*kabīr*, two days after the *qalam masbar* examination. *Qalam masbar*, lit. 'breaking the writing-pen', is a ceremony of testing the knowledg of Qurʾān. For boys, the ceremony takes place on graduation from the Qurʾān school. For girls, the ceremony takes place before the wedding: the bride, in the presence of her Qurʾān teacher, of her parents and their ↗*afōča*, has to prove that she can read the Holy Qurʾān. The ceremony takes place on a Sunday. In the event that the bride cannot read the Qurʾān, her brother does this in her stead.

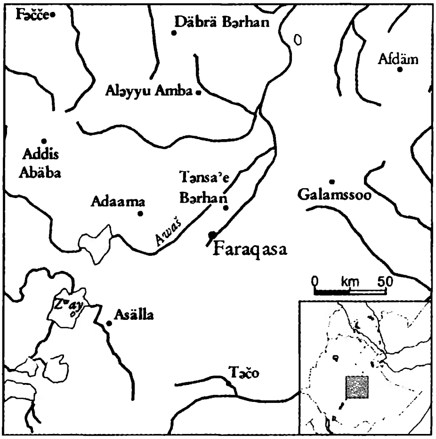
Two days later, the bride's parents send to the *kabīr* two containers filled with 20 balls of sweetmeats, *muṭabbaq*, and two small jars of tea. This gift of food is called F. In addition, the *kabīr* is given a present of raw meat.

Lit.: ELISABETH-DOROTHEA HECHT, *Die traditionellen Frauenvereine (Afōča) der Harari in Harar und in Addis Abeba, Äthiopien*, Berlin 1993 (Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde, Serie A, Afrika, Band 30).

Elisabeth-Dorothea Hecht

Faraqasa

F. (ፋሬቃሳ) is an inter-religious and inter-ethnic pilgrimage-site in eastern ↗Arsi. The location is associated with *ayo* Momina – also known in Oromiffa as *Gifti Arussi*, and in Amharic as *Yäʾarusiwa Ǝmmäbet*. Momina, who was reportedly born a Christian, came from the Yäǧǧu area of Wällo. Towards the end of the 19th cent., she settled in Arsi and converted to Islam. A woman of great charisma, Momina could reputedly prophesy and influence the future; she was also venerated for her piety and abilities as a clairvoy-



ant. She attracted large numbers of adherents, both Muslim Oromo and Christian Amhara. Her popularity is said to have displeased many northern settlers as well as the Orthodox priesthood. She was accordingly imprisoned in 1923 and her wealth and lands confiscated. Three years later, however, she was reinstated and died in 1929.

Momina's mission was continued by her great-grandson *qäññazmač* Tayye, who had previously served in *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I's ↗Imperial bodyguard. He converted from Christianity to Islam as well and adopted the name *sayyid* Nūr Aḥmad. Under his leadership, which began in 1952, F.'s importance increased and he was visited by numerous Oromo, Amhara and other pilgrims, including a handful of Europeans. This continued until pilgrimage was discontinued under the *Därg* in 1974. The settlement of F. is currently the site of Momina's mausoleum, *ləǧ* Tayye's former residence and a mosque.

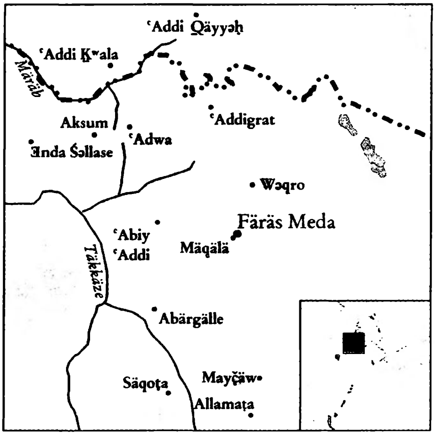
Lit.: SHIMELS HABTE, *The Faraqasā Pilgrimage Centre*, B.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 1989; ABBAS HAJI, *The History of Arsi: 1880–1935*, B.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 1982; HERMANN NORDEN, *Africa's Last Empire*, London 1930, 74.

Richard Pankhurst

Färäs Meda

F.M. (**ፈረስ፡ ሜዳ**) is a location near Mäqälä (Təgray) and the site of an important battle on 3 March 1914 between the forces of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša.

The death of *aṣe* Mənilək II and the downfall of Empress ↗Ṭaytu's power in early 1914 put an end to political stability in Ethiopia. *Däǧǧazmač* Gäbrä Śəllase of ʿAdwa was one of the many feudal lords who became anxious about their future. His rivals in the region, *ras* Səbḥat, *däǧǧazmač* Śəyyum Mängäša and *däǧǧazmač* Abärra, accused him of treason against *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu and did their best to prevent his coming to Addis Abäba to explain his reasons, which made the armed conflict inevitable.



On 25 February 1914 *ras* Səbḥat surprised *däǧǧazmač* Gäbrä Śəllase with an attack on Akora (district of ʿAgamä), but the latter's troops, armed with Wetterly rifles newly acquired from the Italians, defeated the attackers and *ras* Səbḥat, his three sons, *däǧǧazmač* Asgädom and *däǧǧazmač* Arʾaya were killed in battle. The government in Addis Abäba was furious and sent reinforcements to *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyyä, who was already advancing on Aksum. However, *däǧǧazmač* Śəyyum Mängäša decided not to wait for reinforcements and on 3 March attacked Gäbrä Śəllase at F.M. near Mäqälä. A pitched battle lasted for six hours, but the large army of Wäldä Giyorgis was coming, so Gäbrä Śəllase fled into the Danakil desert in Eritrea. After the downfall of *ləǧ* Iyasu he returned to a position of honour in the government of Təgray and married a daughter of his old foe Śəyyum Mängäša, Wälättä Ǝsraʾel. Their son Zäwde Gäbrä Śəllase is a prominent Ethiopian historian.

Lit.: HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 262ff.; CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II: Ethiopia 1883–1910*, London 1986, 341; TSTarik IV, 111f.

Sevir Chernetsov

Färäsulla

F. (**ፈረሱላ**), a word derived from Arabic (KaneDic 2280) and used in most Ethiopian languages, as well as in Swahili, denoted (and still denotes) one of the most important Ethiopian units of weight. Already mentioned by James Bruce in the late 18th cent., it served throughout much of the country for weighing a wide range of local articles, including coffee, ivory, hides, wax and gum, as well as copper, cotton and other imported goods. The F., like other Ethiopian ↗measurements, varied considerably on the basis of local traditions, and the type of commodity weighed. It was, however, generally considered as being made up of 20 *räṭəl* (**ረጥል**, or **ነጥል**, *näṭəl*), each weighing the equivalent of 18 ↗Maria Theresia thalers. The F. may thus be roughly equated with about 17 or 18 kg.

Src.: BruNile; KaneDic 2280.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "A Preliminary History of Ethiopian Measures, Weights and Values (part 3)", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 45–85 (Lit.).

Richard Pankhurst

Fares

F. (ፋሬስ; b. Säläwa, d. 26 July 1716) was an astute military leader and a leading political figure in Təgray and at the Ethiopian court at the turn of the 18th cent.

F. is first mentioned in 1672 when he was arrested for what was undoubtedly rebellion against *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I. In the late 1670s, he was at the head of a renewed uprising, together with a *däǧǧazmač* ↗Zämaryam. Inspired in part by Təgrayan clerics of ↗*Täwaḥədo* (Unionist) conviction who opposed the court and its ↗*Qəbat* (Unctionist) allies, the rebellion was centered in Säläwa and Ǝndärta. Abandoned by Zämaryam after the first year, F. was at length defeated, and he submitted in 1681.

F. was among the senior nobles in the *Täwaḥədo*-sanctioned coalition who enthroned ↗Iyasu I in 1682, and he was given Ǝbnat and Maya to govern. With the death of *ras* ↗Anəstasyos in 1688, he assumed command of the coalition and received the titles of *bitwäddäd* and *ras*. The following year he was appointed *azmač* of Bägemdər, and in 1693, *Təgre mäkʷännən*. Throughout the 1690s, F. was the power behind Iyasu's throne. He was not only commander-in-chief of the royal army, but also first minister and chief counsellor at court. When he was not accompanying Iyasu on military campaigns, he remained behind in Gondär or Aringo in charge of defence and matters at court.

In 1690 a new ranking of the empire's officials was drawn up that recognized the primacy of the military charge of *ras*, now combined with the court appointment of *bitwäddäd*. The fact that the reordered ranking, more than a century in the making, received formal sanction shortly after F.'s ascendance at court, was certainly due to F.'s ambition and prominence. In the ecclesiastical realm, Iyasu's reign was an era of unrivalled *Täwaḥədo* supremacy, a cause that F. championed.

After about 1700, F. and the coalition he led fell from Iyasu's favour. In 1702 Iyasu reaffirmed F.'s appointment as *Təgre mäkʷännən*, but two years later he ordered F. to administer Təgray in person, in effect banishing him from the court, and stripped him of his duties as commander-in-chief. In response, F. resorted to a series of desperate gambles to reassert his hold over the empire. In March 1706, he led the nobles who proclaimed Iyasu's deposition, an act almost without precedent in the kingdom, and who then enthroned Iyasu's compliant son, ↗Täklä Haymanot I. During the next two years, F. struggled to contain a mounting tide of opposition, in the process almost certainly acquiescing in if not authorizing Iyasu's murder in October 1706 and possibly that of Täklä Haymanot in June 1708. F. clearly intended to enthrone Täklä Haymanot's infant son as the next emperor. In July, however, deserted by many of his commanders and outmaneuvered by his *Qəbat* opponents, he was captured at ↗Ǝnfraz by forces under ↗Yostos, the future emperor and a long-time Təgrayan rival. Exiled to Məsrəha Island in Lake Ṭana, F. died in 1716 and was buried at Abora in (?) Säläwa. His wife, Lahyä Dəngəl, died in 1697, a daughter, Wädaǧte, in 1747. His son, Səbhat Läʾab, a minor official, met Iyasu II in Təgray in December 1749.

Few noblemen ever attained the power and stature that F. achieved in the 1680s and 1690. His achievements, however, must be weighed against the measures he took to dominate the court after 1700-measures his successors in the office of *ras* widely emulated during the 18th and first half of the 19th cent.

Src.: GuiIohan 15, 25–35, 61, 84ff., 127, 143ff., 173ff., 184ff., 199f., 204, 214–21, 233, 244; GuiIyas 151, 262; BassÉt 154f., 159ff., 165, 167–72, 174ff., 185; BegCron 55, 65, 72, 75, 79, 82ff., 87, 89ff., 99; DombrChr 230, 266; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Iyāsu I, re d'Etiopia e martire", *RSO* 20, 1942, 65–128, here 118–21; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Contributi alla storia letteraria di Abissinia. Il «Sera'ata Mangest»", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 31, 1922, 65–89, here 81f.; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Le règne de Iyasu (I^{er}), roi d'Éthiopie de 1682 à 1706", *RevSem* 9, 1901, 71–78, 161–67, 252–59, here 164; OSVALDO RAINIERI (tr.), "Il regno di Iyāsu I, re d'Etiopia dal 1682 al 1706", *OCP* 58, 213–40, here 226; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (Šərᶜata Mangəšt)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45, here 21, 37.

Lit.: LAVERLE B. BERRY, "Ras Farés and the *Tewahido* Coalition in Late Seventeenth Century Gondar", in: *OrbAethChoj* 69–82; DIMITRI TOUBKIS, *Royauté et écriture de l'histoire dans l'Ethiopie chrétienne* (*XVI–XVIII*^{e} *s.*), Ph.D. thesis, Centre de recherche Africaine, Université de Paris I-Sorbonne 2004.

LaVerle Berry

Farheba ↗Aksumawi

Faris

Däǧǧazmač F. (ፋሪስ; d. 1605) was a minor feudal lord from a locality in ↗Gəšše in the district of Mänz of the Šäwa province. As his life-story exemplifies, the struggle for power that followed the death of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl could give a warlord vast opportunities for booty and promotion, but for premature death as well.

In 1602, with 800 of his warriors, he came to one of the pretenders to the throne, the future *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. The latter, however, suspected perfidy, arrested him and looted his native Mänz. F. fled, but after the death of *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl on 28 August 1604 he came to Susənyos again and concluded an alliance with him. However, in May 1605 he decided to go over to Susənyos's rival *aṣe* ↗Yaᶜəqob, but was arrested again and once more fled to his native Mänz. When Susənyos came there in December 1605, F. sought refuge on an *amba* called Dayär and was killed during its siege. The historiographer of *aṣe* Susənyos, Məhrəka Dəngəl concluded his story of F. with the words: "The reason for F.'s death is that F. said: 'I shall come to King Yaᶜəqob, and if not, I shall go to my country and live by myself'; that is why he perished".

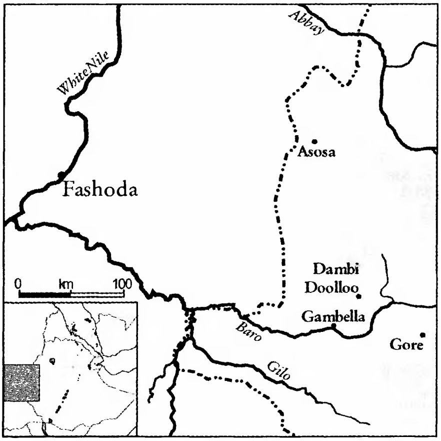
Src.: PerChron 43ff., 53, 74, 280; BTafA 912.

Sevir Chernetsov

Fascism ↗ Colonialism

Fashoda

F. (Fāšōda, now Kodok) is a town situated at 9°50' N, 31°58' E on the west bank of the White Nile in the Southern Sudan. Once a royal village of the Shilluk, and later, in 1836, the headquarters of the newly-created *mudīrīya* of the White Nile, in September-November 1898 it became the scene of the so-called F. incident, or the F. crisis, which was a major landmark in the history of European colonialism in Africa. Ethiopia, already established after the ↗ᶜAdwa victory (of March 1896) as an independent regional power, played an important role in that story.



At the heart of the issue was the British-French rivalry and competition over hegemony in their occupied continent. The British interest in controlling an uninterrupted north-south line, from Cairo to the Cape, collided with the French vision of their territories stretching east-west, from ↗Djibouti to French West Africa. The inevitable collision point, the area of the upper ↗Nile River, was of extra strategic importance. Should the French control the White Nile–Sobat River meeting area, they would not only interrupt British transcontinental communications, but would also have a strategic leverage on the irrigation of British occupied ↗Egypt and the Sudan.

French hopes of materializing their aspirations over that vital area were pinned on the goodwill of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. Independent, powerful Ethiopia stretched between Djibouti and the upper Nile basin. From the distant West Africa, Paris could only send a mission to claim the desired area symbolically, but its actual occupation and maintenance was possible only through co-operation with Ethiopia. While the British were still busy fighting the Mahdist state of the Sudan, the French in West Africa sent a mission under Major Jean-Baptiste Marchand. It left Brazzaville on 1 May 1897 and after an exhausting, long journey planted the French flag in F. on 10 July 1998. Meanwhile, Paris did its best to cultivate Mənilək's goodwill. Léonce Lagarde was dispatched in January 1897 to negotiate with *ras* Mäkʷännən in Harär and later with the Emperor in Addis Abäba. In their signed conventions the French declared Djibouti an official port of Ethiopia and ceded to Ethiopia some Somali and ᶜAfar-inhabited territories. In secret Mənilək agreed to facilitate the French Upper Nile enterprise. The understandings included Ethiopian assistance for French missions, Ethiopian occupation of portions of the White Nile and – if necessary – even an effort to block the British.

In reality Mənilək, having gained what he could, did the minimum to help the French. He thought nothing of colliding with neither the Mahdists nor the British. In spite of the war between the Sudanese Islamic state and the British, the Emperor now cultivated relations with both parties. He thus avoided risky conflicts and safeguarded his new borders. He did render some services to the French, but not to the extent of enabling them to establish contact with and reinforce Marchand. On 22 June 1898 a small Ethiopian-guided French mission finally managed to reach a location near F.

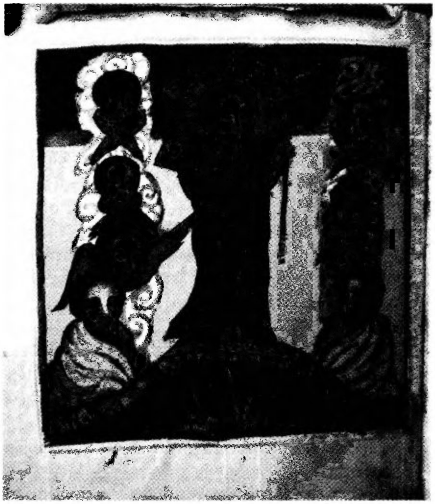
On 2 September 1898 the British under General Kitchener occupied the Mahdist capital. They now hastened to sail down the Nile and reached F. on the 18th. In spite of the French presence, they hoisted the British and Egyptian flags. Kitchener and Marchand in their confronting camps avoided bloodshed and waited for Paris and London to solve the issue. Fearing war, the French government gave up on 4 November. Marchand and his men were allowed to evacuate through Addis Abäba. They reached Djibouti in May 1899. By that time the French, in March 1899, recognized British sovereignty over the Upper Nile; they were compensated with territories in the Sahara. The peaceful solution of the crisis enabled the two colonial super-powers to start rebuilding their relations towards the Anglo-French Entente of 1904. Mənilək's F. diplomacy further cemented Ethiopia's position as a European-recognized African empire.

Lit.: GEORGE N. SANDERSON, *England, Europe and the Upper Nile, 1889–1899*, Edinburgh 1965; ID., "Fāshōda", in: *EI*^{2}, 828 (Lit.); HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II, Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975; CHRISTOPHER ANDREW, *Theophile Delcasse and the Making of the Entente Cordial*, London 1968; HENRI BRUNSCHWIG, *French Colonialism*, London 1966; CHARLES MICHEL, *Mission de Bonchamps vers Fachoda (1897-1898)*, Paris 1900; MARC MICHEL, *La mission Marchand (1895-1899)*, Paris 1972.

Haggai Erlich

Fasika

F. (**ፋሲካ**, 'Easter, Passover', also 'Paschal Lamb'), also called **ትንሣኤ** (*Tənśaʾe*, 'Resurrection') is the most important among the nine major ↗feasts of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Ethiopian ↗Calendar. F. is one of the five moveable feasts and it is celebrated between 26 *Mäggabit* [22 March of the Julian Calendar/4 April of the Gregorian Calendar] and 30 *Miyazya* [25 April/8 May, respectively]. According to the ↗*Didəsqəlya*, "The Holy Fast shall be ended on the day of the Passover, on which came Salvation". F. is preceded by the Holy Week, or Passion Week (*Sämunä ḥəmamat*), with its own order and readings established in the ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*. Every day the ↗Psalter, ↗*Mälkəʾa Maryam* and ↗*Mälkəʾa Iyäsus* are read and ↗*däbtära*-cantors perform ↗hymns and ↗*qəne*.



Resurrection of Christ, ms. *Laḥa Maryam*, 18th cent., Ǝndabba Ḥadära church, Tämben; fol. 108v; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Holy Week begins on Palm Sunday (*Hośaʿəna*), with the commemoration of the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem (Mat 19:9–21) and blessed "palm branches" being distributed among the people, who bring them home. Maundy Thursday (*Ṣälotä ḥamus*) is marked by the ceremony of the washing of the feet and in the Liturgy the establishment of the ↗Eucharist at the Last Supper is commemorated. At home the people prepare *gʷəlban*, made of cooked wheat and crushed beans. On Good Friday (*Səqlät*) a 48-hour fast (*Akfälot*) starts. The texts of the Hours (↗*Säʿatat*) are read, along with the O.T. and Gospel readings related to the events of Christ's life that happened on this day, with excerpts from the Church Fathers and the Miracles of Mary (↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*).

On Holy Saturday, F.'s eve (*Qədame səʿur*, or *Sänbätä mäḥatəwä fasika*), the churches are crowded from 6 a.m. The clergy are arrayed in their most splendid vestments. In the morning the particular "Service of peace" (*Gəbrä sälam*) is held, with young reeds (*qeṭema*) blessed and distributed. The ↗Revelation of John and the Psalter are to be read in full on this day.

Close to midnight, the doors of the ↗*mäqdäs* are opened, the curtains are removed and the clergy march in procession round the altar. As the Resurrection is proclaimed, the people light candles (*tʷaf*; ritual representing the descent of the heavenly light), while singing "Send your light upon us ...". An outburst of chanting is followed by a simultaneous procession around both the ambulatories. The deacons sing in front of the open door of the *mäqdäs*: "The Lord rose up as though awakening from sleep, and like a mighty man aroused by wine" (Ps 78:65), while the people clap their hands. Drums are beaten for the first time after the Great Fast (↗Lent); women ululate. After the procession, the deacon proclaims: *Krəstos tänśəʾa əmmutan* ('Christ is risen from the dead!'), while the people respond: *Bäʿabiy ḫayl wäsəlṭan* ('With great power and authority!') etc. The solemn liturgy, in which the Anaphora of St. Dioscorus is read, proceeds after midnight.

At three o'clock in the morning, the total abstinense ends (during the following 50 days until Pentecost there is no fasting). After the liturgy the faithful go home and eat Easter lamb. The people greet each other, saying: *Ǝnkʷan läbərhanä tənśaʾew adärräsäwo* ('Congratulations! He [God] has brought you to the Resurrection of Light'). The Monday after the the Feast of F. is called *Maʿədot* ('Passover', in the memory of the crossing of the Red Sea by the people of Israel); all the other days of this week also have particular names.

Many European travellers have described F. celebrations as one of the most conspicuous expressions of Ethiopian Orthodox ↗Christianity; ↗Poncet, describing the Easter celebration of 1704, reports that *aṣe* Iyasu I ordered his soldiers and servants to discharge their rifles together in honour of the feast.

The ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* strictly enjoins Ethiopian Orthodox Christians to keep the date of F. apart from the Jewish Passover (for this a complex system of calculations in the Ethiopian ↗Computus was elaborated).

Passover (*Fəśəḥ* in the Ethiopic sources, but commonly known as F. as well) is celebrated among the Betä Ǝsraʾel from the 15th to the 21st of the first month in commemoration of the Israelite exodus from Egypt. On the eve of the holiday a lamb is sacrificed. During the holiday no leavened or fermented products are consumed. Thus, food and drink cannot be kept overnight. A special unleavened bread (*qiṭṭa*) is eaten. Milk is drunk as soon as it is taken from the cow. Special holiday prayers are recited. At the end of F., fresh bread is baked and beer prepared.

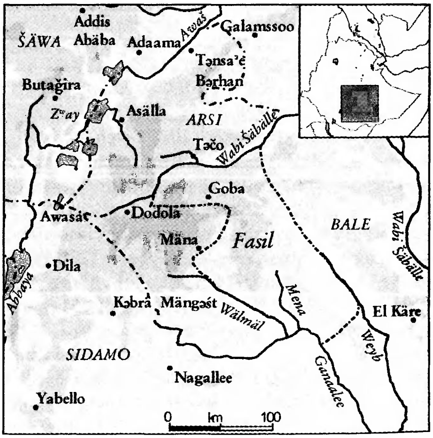
Src.: JOHN MASON HARDEN, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London – New York 1920, 123.

Lit.: CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition*, Paris 2002, 118-25; ATNAFU MAKONNEN *Ethiopia To-day*, Tokyo 1960, 248; AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Abäba 1970, 68; HABTEMICHAEL KIDANE, "La celebrazione della Settimana Santa nella Chiesa Etiopica", in: ANTONIUS GEORGIUS KOLLAPARAMPIL (ed.), *Hebdomadae Sanctae celebratio. Conspectus historicus comparativus*, Roma 1997 (Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae", Subsidia 93), 93–134; WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven 1951, xxxxi; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopien: Christliches Reich zwischen Gestern und Morgen*, Wiesbaden 1967, 133; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: eine Bestandaufnahme*, Berlin 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), 66, 89; PankSoc 40f., 190f., 262f., 293.

Maija Priess

Fasil

F. (ፋሲል) is the name of an *awrağğa* in Bale. By the end of the 1970s it was named Fasil/Mändäyo and, subsequently, Mändäyo, Gobba having remained its chief town. The province, with an area of 13,900 km², increased its population from 166,700 in the census of 1970 (12 inhabitants/km²) to 303,748 inhabitants in that of 1984 (21.8 inhabitants/km²), an increase of 82 %, higher than the Ethiopian average. The urban population was 43,696, including 22,963 in Gobba. In 1991 the north of Bale (highlands) became the Bale zone, a subdivision of the Oromiyaa *kəlləl*, whereas the south (lowlands)



joined the Somali *kəlləl*. The *awrağğa* of F., like all the other provinces, disappeared as an administrative unit to the profit of the *wäräda*.

Even if the limits sometimes varied, one can estimate F.'s population at 460,681 inhabitants by adding the *wäräda* of Agarfa (65.6 inhabitants/km^2), Sinana and Dinšo (93.2 inhabitants/km^2), Gobba (45.8 inhabitants/km^2) and Gasära and Gololča (45.1 inhabitants/km^2; CSA 2000). The increase in the population (34 %) would be thus less than between the two preceding censuses, but the territory of the four *wäräda* is half the size. The urban population, 88,131, more than doubled, the increase in Gobba having proportionaly been minor (38,069 inhabitants).

The territory of the F. *awrağğa* extended, from north to south, from the right bank of the Wabi Šäbälle to the southernmost limit of the highlands. It was inhabited mainly by Oromo farmers who had cleared the forests at the top of the mountains. According to historians (MHasOr), this *awrağğa* would correspond to one of the centres whence the Oromo migrated in the 17th and 18th cent. Between 1963–67, this high area was the sanctuary of ↗Waqoo Gutu, leader of the peasant uprising against the expulsions. In spring 2000, fires devastated the forests. The bulk of the population live in the north of the mountains, now part of a national park, along the main road passing through the towns of Dinšo, Robe and Gobba.

Src.: CSA 1998; CSA 2000; CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE (Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia), *Results of the National Sample Survey, 2nd Round*, vol. 5: *Land Area and Utilization*, Addis Ababa 1975; EMAtlas; MesAtlas^2.
Lit.: GasEth; GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest. Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 1991; *Guida* 461–71; MHasOr 19.

Alain Gascon

Fasil Gärram

F.G. (ፋሲል፡ገራም or Fasilo ፋሲሎ; d. 1586/87) was the younger son of *abetohun* Yaʿəqob and the youngest grandson of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. He became a prominent figure in Ethiopian history many years after his death, because his son, *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, practically created a new branch of the dynasty. His grandson and namesake *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs founded the capital city of Gondär, which started a new stage in the development of the Ethiopian Christian empire.

F.G. lived the life of a common warlord of noble birth who did his best to use the political instability of the time for his own advantage. When *aṣe* Minas died in 1563 and his younger son ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl was proclaimed emperor, F.G. was one of the officers of the army of the old warlord ↗Ḥamälmal, who immediately rebelled. On 23 February 1564 he concluded peace with the new Emperor, but his officers, including F.G., raided and looted the royal camp on 2 March. Later F.G. made peace with Śärṣä Dəngəl and even occupied a high post at the royal court, which did not prevent him, however, from another attack on the royal residence on 3 September 1566. In January 1567 F.G. decided to proclaim an emperor of his own, but his soldiers deserted him, so he fled, but was arrested and exiled to the island of ↗Däq. Later he was pardoned and appointed governor of ↗Qʷara district. In late 1586 or early 1587 the Oromo tribe of ↗Ǧawe raided Qʷara. They killed F.G. and captured his young son Susənyos, whom they adopted and made *ilma gossa*, 'the son of the clan'. This was the end for F.G. and the beginning of the famous dynasty of his descendants.

Lit.: CRHist 19, 27, 29f.; PerChron 3ff., 11, 14; BeckHuntAlm 123; BTafA 153; MHasOr 31, 40f.

Sevir Chernetsov

Fasilädäs

F. (ፋሲለደስ, with the regnal names Səlṭan Säggäd [II] or ʿAläm Sägäd, b. 1603, d. 1667, r. 1632-67) was a son of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos and *ətege* Səlṭan Mogäsa Wäld Səhla. According to Jerónimo ↗Lobo (1728:148), Səlṭan Mogäsa's grandmother was a Muslim who always felt sympathy for Islam, a factor which may have influenced F. So far no official chronicle of F.'s reign has come to light (cp. Kropp 1986).

F. had one full-brother, *abetohun* ↗Gälawdewos, and at least four half-brothers and two half-sisters: Qʷäsṭantinos, Əlfyos, ↗Yämanä Krəstos, Dawit, *wäyzäro* Wängelawit and *wäyzäro* Krəstosawit (Perruchon 1897:88f.).

F.'s father, *aṣe* Susənyos, helped the Portuguese and Spanish ↗Jesuits for about 20 years in their attempt to introduce Roman ↗Catholicism. F. had grown up during these bitter religious controversies. On 11 February 1626 he joined his father and many members of the nobility in declaring obedience to the Roman Pope (BecRASO XI, 509). At that time his sympathy apparently was already for the Orthodox party of ↗Səʿəlä Krəstos and his followers, as if doubtful about

Fasilädäs' castle at Gondär; photo 1990s, courtesy of Galen R. Frysinger

his real intentions, pledged allegiance to him only in so far as he would defend the interests of the Roman Catholic Church.

In 1628 Orthodoxy was restored in Tǝgray, where the rebellion against Susǝnyos was led by ↗Täklä Giyorgis and Zäwäldä Maryam, a grandson of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dǝngǝl. Täklä Giyorgis was taken prisoner and hanged in ↗Dänqäz. Yet in 1629 F. was still considered a Catholic (BecRASO XII, 297). He co-operated with his father in replacing Sǝʿǝlä Krǝstos by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Śärṣä Krǝstos, but in 1631 the latter rebelled and declared himself a supporter of Orthodoxy and of F., who was believed to support the rebellion in Goǧǧam (*ibid.* VII, 107). The prince wanted to suppress suspicion and marched against Goǧǧam; he brought Śärṣä Krǝstos to Dänqäz and executed him.

Under the influence of F., Susnǝyos proclaimed freedom of conscience (BassÉt I, 125), permitted the restoration of Orthodoxy in Bägemdǝr and authorized F. to convene a state council, a majority of which declared itself supporters of Orthodoxy (on 18 June 1632). Susǝnyos then asked Alfonso ↗Mendes, the Catholic Patriarch, to announce the restoration of the ancient faith, but the latter refused. Yet, on 25 June 1632 the restoration of Orthodoxy was proclaimed. Susǝnyos broke completely with the Jesuits and abdicated in favour of F.

The new Emperor, failing to convince his uncle Sǝʿǝlä Krǝstos to come to the court and to renounce the Catholic faith, had him deported to Sǝwada and hanged on a cedar. In 1633 all the Jesuits went in exile to May Gʷagʷa (↗Fǝremona). F. began his reign by requesting the Patriarch of Alexandria for a new metropolitan. But Peter ↗Heyling reports that the delegation was unsuccesful because the envoys were considered unreliable. In March 1633 an impostor appeared in Ethiopia, claiming that he was the new ↗*abun* sent by the Patriarch of Alexandria. Bruce calls him Sǝʿǝlä Krǝstos; he acted as a metropolitan, ordaining deacons and priests and consecrating *tabots* (Perruchon 1897:84, n. 2). In fact, he was a merchant called Rizqallāh (Guidi 1899:11), possibly an Armenian (DonMurad 187, n. 4).

When the Portuguese troops landed at Mombasa (at the time an African Portuguese colony), F. became convinced that Mendez had succeeded in his plans to overthrow him. He ordered the Jesuits to leave the country entirely, but they sought protection with *baḥǝr nägaš* Yoḥannǝs Abbay, who refused to deliver them to the Emperor; he sent them on to the Turkish *paša* of Massawa and Sawākin. F. then concluded a treaty with the *paša* which stipulated that the two ports be closed for the Roman priests. This may have led Catholic authors to conclude that F. embraced Islam.

In 1635, having taken his crown with him, the Emperor fled from ↗Libo because of the revolt of ↗Mälkǝʾa Krǝstos. The rebel sat on the throne and placed a sort of diadem on his head. The people of Qǝre and Doräba Bet rejoiced and said that the hidden Emperor had appeared (Perruchon 1898:85). In response, F. sent messages to Damo, *däǧǧazmač* of Sǝmen, to *ras* ↗Zäkrǝstos of Damot and to his brother Gälawdewos, at that time *däǧǧazmač* of Bägemdər, who finally defeated and killed the rebel.

In 1636 the campaigns against the ↗Agäw and the ↗Oromo continued. In the same year *abunä* ↗Marqos and Peter Heyling arrived in the new capital Gʷändär (↗Gondär; s. PankHist I, 115). Always fearing Portuguese intervention, F. began to make contacts with anti-Portuguese and anti-Catholic powers: the Zaydī *imām* of the Yemen, the Ottoman *sulṭān* in Istanbul, the Great Moghul in Delhi and, perhaps, the Shah of Persia.

In January 1642 the Emperor sent a letter to the Zaydī *imām* of the Yemen, al-Muʾayyad billāh (r. 1619–44), who in 1635 had succeeded in expelling the Ottoman Turks from his land, a feat which probably strongly impressed F. He wanted to open a caravanroute from Gondär to ↗Baylūl, a port on the Red Sea which was independent from the Turks. To realize this aim, the caravans had to be protected with firearms, only obtainable from the *imām*. In his letter F. underlines that he is a Christian, but nevertheless wants negotiations. In January 1643 the *imām* answered that the Emperor should show some interest in Islam. In 1647 F. sent *al-ḥāǧǧ* Sālim b. ʿAbdarraḥīm to the *imām* with a letter, which apparently mentioned the trade route and also referred to Islam, but so secretively that the real meaning remained obscure. When the Ethiopian envoy, a Muslim himself, said that the emperor wanted to embrace Islam, the *imām* sent ↗Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī to Gondär with an open message which mentioned greetings and gifts, and a secret one which should only be delivered to the Emperor in a private audience. During this audience it became clear that F. was in no way interested in Islam. Consequently, the secret letter was not handed over. It was lost in a fire started by the Gondärians in the house in which the envoy was staying, an incident by which the Emperor was quite upset.

The stories about *abunä* Marqos and *abeto* Gälawdewos that al-Ḥaymī collected before arriving to Gondär in 1648 give insight into the situation at F.'s court. Al-Ḥaymī relates that F. became jealous of *abunä* Marqos because of the great wealth he had gathered and the esteem he enjoyed with the nobility and the army. Accused of licentious behaviour (cp. BecRASO IX, 82), Marqos was deposed in 1646 and banished to an island in the Nile.

Dissension now arose between F. and his brother Gälawdewos about the new *abun*. The latter's candidate was *abba* Yoḥannəs, who arrived via Dankali, but was sent on to Särka, on the boundaries of Sənnar (BassÉt II, n. 291). The Emperor's candidate, *abba* Mikaʾel, arrived via Sənnar and was installed as metropolitan.

Before his death in 1632, Susənyos recommended to F. not to confine Gälawdewos to the *amba nägäśt* (probably ↗Ambassäl, s. van Donzel 1983:124, n. 28), but rather to keep him at the court as a minister. F. agreed with this request, putting his brother in charge of military affairs, though Gälawdewos had already rebelled in 1638 in Lasta, together with his half-brother Ǝlfyos (Perruchon 1898:88). Only in 1647 did F. succeed in subdueing him. According to the Ethiopian sources he was brought to ↗Wähni Amba (BassÉt II, n. 286), but al-Ḥaymī reports that he was exiled to an island in the Nile (DonHaySirat 189). Nobody heard any more about him and it was believed that he had been killed.

According to the report of the Jesuit Torquato Parisiani from 1649 (BecRASO XIII, 333–45), F. was informed by *abunä* Marqos that Gälawdewos was plotting to restore Roman Catholicism; the Emperor then had his brother strangled. The same source says that F. then decided that his country should embrace Islam in order to prevent the Portuguese from re-entering Ethiopia. But, as is clear from al-Ḥaymī's account, F. had no intention of becoming a Muslim; he had only used Islam as a decoy. The Jesuits were led astray by their animosity against the Emperor, who had played a complex deception on the *imām* of the Yemen.

In 1660 F. sent a certain Hag Mikaʾel Abū Yūsuf to the Ottoman *sulṭān* in Istanbul to buy weapons. In Alexandria Mikaʾel told a Coptic priest that F. had more than a hundred wives, that there were no eunuchs at the court because the Ethiopians consider castration a sin, that the Emperor ate cooked meat and that he drank wine. He also mentioned the very fine library at ↗Azäzo, probably the same the Emperor was to burn later. The Turks had provided three to four hundred arquebuses, but the ↗Oromo had none. It is not known whether Mikaʾel ever reached Istanbul (DonMurad 13–19).

In 1663 F. sent the Armenian *Ḫoǧa* ↗Murād and a Muslim merchant as ambassadors to the court of the Grand Moghul, Awrangzeb. To finance the journey and the fine appearance of the envoys, F. provided them with young slaves – boys and girls – to be sold at the slave-markets of Mūḫa. According to the 17th-cent. report of François Bernier, another Ethiopian embassy arrived in Delhi in 1664 (s. Bernier 1972). Murād was sent every year to Mūḫa in order to sell slaves and to buy Indian merchandise; he also travelled every year to meet with the Governor-General of both the Dutch and the English East India Companies. On behalf of F. the ambassadors asked the Grand Moghul for a copy of the Qur᾿ān and for eight other Islamic books; they reported on the increasing number of Muslims in Ethiopia since the departure of the Portuguese. According to Bernier's spokesman, an Indian who had returned to his country in the company of Murād, F. had at least 80 sons and daughters, but his army was quite miserable. As Manucci (1907:lxxiif.) reports, the Emperor had music played after dinner and claimed all musical instruments to be his, including those of India.

Meanwhile the situation in Ethiopia remained turbulent. Campaigns continued to be undertaken against Lasta, Goǧǧam and the Agäw. In 1660 La᾿əkä Krəstos, son of the rebel Mälkə᾿a Krəstos, presented himself before F. in chains and without clothes. F. gave him his daughter, *wäyzäro* Tawklya (Thecla) in marriage. In 1663 he ordered *azzaž* Damyanos to be put to death, and *ras* Wäldä Giyorgis and his sons were imprisoned.

F. had to pay attention to internal religious matters. In 1655 he convened a synod at ↗Aringo, where the issues of the Unction (↗*Qəbat*) and the Union (↗*Täwaḥədo*, ↗*Yäṣägga ləǧ*) were again discussed (Guidi 1900–01:15ff.). Around 1665 another synod witnessed the controversy between the ↗Ǝwosṭateans (mostly from Goǧǧam) and the followers of ↗Täklä Haymanot of Däbrä Libanos. F. was, or was made, a protagonist of the faction of Däbrä Libanos. The Emperor was apparently still alive when in 1667 another synod was held in Aringo.

In 1666, apparently still fearing the influence of the foreign priests, F. ordered the books of the Franks to be burned. In 1667 *abeto* Dawit, a son of the Emperor, rebelled, but was brought before his father, who put him in irons and sent him to Wähni Amba. F. died in 1667 and was buried at Azäzo. Later his remains were interred in ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos, the church he had restored.

Src.: BegCron; GuiIohan; PerChron, vol. 2, 126–40; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie: le règne de Fasiladas (Alam Sagad) de 1632 à 1667", *RevSem* 6, 1897, 360–72 (text); *ibid.* 6, 1898, 84–92 (tr.), here 84, n. 2, 85, 88f.; BecRASO VII, 42, 107, 220f.; IX, 57, 182, 321, 428ff.; XI, 509; XII, 297; XIII, 101, 333–45; BassEt II, 161, n. 272, 286, 291; JÉROME LOBO, *Voyage historique d'Abyssinie du R.P. Jérome Lobo, de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris 1728, 148; FRANÇOIS BERNIER, *Travels in the Mogul Empire A.D. 1656–1668*, New Delhi ³1972; NICCOLAO MANUCCI, *Storia do Mogor: or, Mogul India, 1653–1708*, tr. and ed. by WILLIAM IRVINE, vol. 1, London 1907, lxxiif.–08.

Lit.: IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Due nuovi manoscritti della 'cronaca abbreviata' di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 2, 1926, 337–421; ID., "Di due frammenti relativi alla storia d'Abissinia", *ibid.* ser. 5ª., 3, 1893, 579–605; ID., "Uno squarcio di storia ecclesiastica di Abissinia", *Bessarione* 7–8, [49–50], 1900–01, 10–25; ID., "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *ibid.* 6, 1899, 1–17; MANFRED KROPP, "Gab es eine große Chronik des Kaisers Fasilädäs von Äthiopien?", *OrChr* 70, 1986, 188–91; CerLett; DonHaySirat 53ff., 189; DonMurad 4–19; EMERI VAN DONZEL, "Fasiladas et l'Islam", in: JOSEPH TUBIANA (ed.), *L'Éthiopie moderne de l'avènement de Ménélik II à nos jours*, Rotterdam 1980, 387-97; ID., "King Fāsiladas, Abuna Marqos and Abēto Galāwdēwos", in: STANISLAV SEGERT – ANDRÁS I.E. BODROGLIGETI (eds.), *Ethiopian Studies Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on Occasion of his 75th Birthday*, Wiesbaden 1983, 419–29, here 124, n. 24; *mäl᾿akä bərhan* ADMASSU ǦÄNBÄRE, መድሎተ፡ አሚን። የሃይማኖት፡ ሚዛን (*Mädlotä amin. Yähaymanot mizan*, 'The Balance of the Faith'), Addis Abäba 1954 A.M. [1961 A.D.]; RicLett 879; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *The Ethiopians: an Introduction to Country and People*, Oxford 1960; PankHist I.

Emeri van Donzel

Fasilädäs ↗Qoma Fasilädäs

Fasting

Fasting, Christian

F. (ጾም) is one of the central ritual acts demonstrating one's adherence to Christianity in general, and the Ethiopian Orthodox one in particular. According to ch. 15 of the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*, F. is observed "at certain times determined by law, to attain forgiveness of sins and much reward ... [it] also serves to weaken the force of concupiscence so that [the body] may obey the rational soul" (Paulos Tzadua 1968:93). Ethiopian Christians observe an extraordinary number of fast days, generally reckoned to be about 250. Of these approximately 180 are obligatory for all believers, while the rest are observed by the clergy and other particularly devout individuals. In addition to the organized calendric fasts, throughout the history of the Ethiopian Church there were ascetics renowned for their extreme fasting, often subsisting on little more than wild plants and water.

Although accounts differ, it is generally agreed that the most important fasting periods are:

1. (ዓቢይ፡ ጾም, *ʿabiyy ṣom*) ↗Lent, which lasts for 56 days;
2. the Fast of Nineveh (ነነዌ, *nänäwi*) commemorating the preaching of Jonah, on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of the third week before Lent;
3. the vigil (ገሀድ, *gähad*) on the eve of Christmas;

4. the vigil (ገሃድ, *gähad*) on the eve of Epiphany;
5. the Fast of the Assumption of the Virgin (ፍልሰታ, ↗*Fəlsäta*), 15 days;
6. the Fast of the Apostles (ጾመ፡ ሐዋርያት, *ṣomä ḥawaryat*), which begins after Pentecost and varies from 10 to 40 days depending on the date of Easter;
7. Advent (ጾመ፡ ልደት, *ṣomä lədät*), which begins on 15 Ḫədar and continues for 40 days;
8. every Wednesday (ረቡዕ, *räbuʿə*) and Friday (ዓርብ, *ʿarb*).

F. is generally interpreted to mean that only one meal is eaten, either in the evening or just after midday. One abstains totally from meat, fats, eggs and dairy products such as milk, butter and cheese. Smoking is generally prohibited, but beer and wine may be consumed in moderation.

Several modern studies have speculated about the links between ritualized fasting, chronic food shortages and the need for social control in traditional Ethiopia.

↗Calendar; ↗Feasts

Src.: PAULOS TZADUA (tr.), *The Fetha Nagast: the Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 93–97, 150–57; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia: being Notes Collected during Three Years' Residence and Travels in that Country*, London 1868, 277f.; THOMAS PELL PLATT, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London 1834, 36.

Lit.: SERGEW HABLE SELASSIE – BELAYNESH MIKAEL, "Worship in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", in: SERGEW HABLE SELASSIE (ed.), *The Church of Ethiopia: a Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa 1997, 69–70; AYMRO WONDMAGEGEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU (eds.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 63ff.; EPHRAIM ISAAC, "The Significance of Food in Hebraic-African Thought and the Role of Fasting in the Ethiopian Church", in: VINCENT L. WIMBUSH – RICHARD VALANTASIS (eds.), *Asceticism*, New York – Oxford, 1995, 329–42; KARL ERIC KNUTSSON – RUTH SELINUS, "Fasting in Ethiopia", *The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 23, 1970, 956–69.

Steven Kaplan

Fasting of the Beta Ǝsraʾel

The ↗Beta Ǝsraʾel followed a complex cycle of fasts and feasts, using both a lunar and solar calendar according to information dating to the 19th and 20th cent. Practices before the early 19th cent. are not known in any detail.

The weekly fast days in the 1840s were Monday, Thursday and Friday, though a century later the only fast day was Thursday. By the 1970s that day was only observed by the elderly (Quirin 1992:150, Leslau 1951:xxxiii, Shelemay 1986: 55). F. was generally practiced by not eating or drinking before sunset. In the lunar calendar, a fast known as *maleya* was observed on the 29th as a reminder of each new moon.

In the yearly calendar, fasts were observed during nearly moon. On the 14th of the first moon, the fast of ጾመ፡ ፋሲካ (*Ṣomä fasika*, 'Passover') preceded the festival. The fast of ጾመ፡ ቶሞስ (*Ṣomä tomos*, 'the Fast of *Tomos*') occurred from the 1st to the 10th day of the 4th moon, and the fast of ጾመ፡ አብ (*Ṣomä ab*, 'the Fast of *Ab*') occurred from the 1st to the 17th days of the 5th moon (*Ab*), mourning the destruction of the first temple in Jerusalem. For the first ten days, the fast included abstention from meat and dairy products even during the evening; otherwise, it was observed the usual way by not eating or drinking before sunset.

The fast of *Elul* in the 1840s occurred the first ten days of the 6th moon (*Elul*), but a century later it was reduced to only the tenth day and was called the fast of our atonement, as a reminder of the more important fast of አስተስርዮ (*Astäsrəyo*, 'Day of Atonement') one month later (Quirin 1992:148, Shelemay 1986:53). *Astäsrəyo* was a fast on the tenth day of the seventh moon (*Tišri*); in the 20th cent., it began to be called by the Hebrew name, *Yom kippur*. As late as the 1970s, it was commemorated by a day-long fast and an all-night prayer vigil by priests, broken the next morning by scattering grains on stones for the birds and a community meal (Quirin 1992:273, note 170).

One of the most important observations by the 1970s was the fast, pilgrimage to a hilltop and feast known as *Səgd*, or the Fast of Suplication *Məhläla*) on the 29th day of the 8th moon. In the mid-19th cent., this observance was known as አማታ፡ ሳው (*Amata saw*, 'Assembly of the People') during which people assembled on a hilltop, followed by a seven-day fast by monks (Flad 1869:51).

The Fast of ጾመ፡ አስቴር (*Ṣomä aster*, 'the Fast of Esther') during the 19th cent. was held twice annually, probably due to the confusion between the Jewish month of *Adar* and the Ethiopian Christian month of *Ḫədar*. It was held on the 13th and 14th days of the ninth moon (falling during the Ethiopian month of *Ḫədar*), but the real fast was on the 11th to 13th days of the 11th moon. During the 20th cent., the *Ṣomä aster* was eliminated.

F. was also observed by both Christians and Beta Ǝsraʾel between death and burial whenever either a Christian or Beta Ǝsraʾel in the community died (Salamon 1999:47).

↗Calendar; ↗Feasts

Src.: WOLF LESLAU, *Coutumes et Croyances des Falachas (Juifs d'Abyssinie)*, Paris 1957 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie LXI); JOHANNES MARTIN FLAD, *The Falashas (Jews) of Abyssinia*, London 1869, 51.

Lit.: JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia 1992, 146–53; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, *Music, Ritual, and Falasha History*, East Lansing, MI 1986, 39–70; WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven, CT 1951, xxviii–xxxv; HAGAR SALAMON, *The Hyena People: Ethiopian Jews in Christian Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA 1999, 47–51; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, "Réponses des Falasha, dits Juifs d'Abyssinie", *Archives israélites* 12, 1851, 179–85, 234–40, 259–69; PHILOXÈNE LUZZATTO, *Mémoires sur les Juifs d'Abyssinie ou Falashas*, Paris 1852–53.

James Quirin

Fasting, Islamic

As one of the five pillars of ↗Islam (اركان الإسلام, *arkān al-islām*), prescribed by Islamic law and sanctioned by tradition, F. (ጾም, *ṣom*, also ጦም, *ṭom* [Arab. صوم, *ṣawm*], thus ጧሚ, *ṭʷami* or ጦመኛ, *ṭomäñña*, 'one who keeps F.') is obligatory for all adult Muslims of either sex. Consequently, it has been observed by Ethiopian Muslims since the introduction of Islam into the country. Though F. is usually only associated with ↗*Ramaḍān*, the pious also fast during the preceding two months, *Rağab* and *Šaʿbān*, and for six days in the tenth month (2–7 *Šawwāl*, also called *səddəsto*). Additionally, in times of crises (war, famine or drought), the *imāms* of the mosques often enjoin the faithful to keep a one-day fast for God's mercy.

Traditionally, F. is more strictly and faithfully observed than the daily prayer. With respect to this, Trimingham (1965:78) observes that F. is more visible than prayer, and eating whilst others are F. arouses open criticism and brings shame upon the individual.

F. proper usually begins immediately after the consumption of the last meal before the F. day. Trimingham (TrIslam) also alludes to the practice, widespread among the ↗Oromo (presumably of southern Ethiopia), of "purging themselves during the days preceding the fast in order to expel [...] the impure food and forbidden drinks they have consumed throughout the year ...".

Those who fast usually conduct their daily business as usual, but they also go to the mosque more regularly than usual, not only to offer prayers, but also to hear lectures on F. Whilst F., they are expected to be kind and generous, avoiding indecent talk, slander, lies and quarrelling, even if provoked. Day-long fasts are concluded with a feast and after eating, people go to the mosque to offer the regular and special prayers. Though the end of F. (*ʿĪd al-fiṭr*, 'Feast of the breaking of the F.') is colourfully celebrated and is an occasion for feasting, some rejoice simply from a sense of relief from the restrictions imposed by F. Overall, the act of F. creates a good opportunity for socializing and interaction among believers.

The description of the daily F. routine outlined above is not entirely representative of the practices followed throughout Ethiopia and is only typical of urban Islam. For a variety of reasons, Muslims in the rural areas keep the fast in a different manner. These differences, however, only reflect an economic disparity between town and country rather than a diversity in religious beliefs and practices or in the degree of piety.

Despite its physical strain and financial cost, F. is considered spiritually rewarding, rejuvenating and morally uplifting. It gives a person a sense of achievement and fulfilment of his obligations towards God and inspires self-discipline, humility and responsibility towards the less fortunate among his coreligionists. It is one of the acts of worship (*ʿibādāt*) that reinforce a sense of solidarity and unity among the diverse members of the Muslim community of Ethiopia.

↗Calendar; ↗Feasts

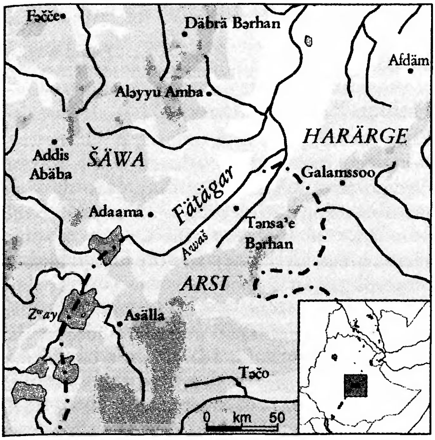
Lit.: HUSSEIN AHMED, "Faith and Trade: the Market Stalls around the Anwar Mosque in Addis Ababa during *Ramaḍān*", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 19, 2, 1999, 261–68; TrIslam; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1965, 124f.; ID., *Islam in West Africa*, Oxford 1959; EUGEN MITTWOCH, "ʿĪd al-Fiṭr", in: *EI²*, vol. 3, 1008; MARTIN PLESSNER, "Ramaḍān", *ibid.*, vol. 8, 417–18; C. C. BERG, "Ṣawm", *ibid.*, vol. 9, 94-95; ARENT WENSINCK, "Tarāwīḥ", *ibid.*, vol. 10, 222.

Hussein Ahmed

Fäṭägar

F. (ፈጠጋር, also Fäṣägar), a large historical region (possibly, once a Muslim sultanate), was located in the south-east ↗Šäwa region, on the northern shore of the ↗Awaš. As the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I testifies, F. was coveted both by the Emperor and by ↗Ṣabraddīn b. Dalḥūy of Ifat (KrAmdS 2; MarAmdS 52f.). According to other sources, in the course of the 14th-15th cent., F. was progressively integrated into the Christian empire. The conquest meant the evangelization of the region, initiated by the 13th-14th-cent. *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot and carried out (among others by a certain Matyas (Turaiev 1905:198f.), mostly under the patronage of ↗Däbrä Libanos).

The region held a strategic position between the Christian empire and the southern Muslim sultanates. This was the reason why *aṣe*



↗Dawit II settled his royal residency there, at Ṭəlq. In the 15th cent. the site was secure enough to permit the settlement of the royal family. *Aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob was born at Ṭəlq and founded the churches of Aṣädä Mikaʾel at Ṭəlq and Mikaʾel at Yäläbaš. His son, *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam I, spent his childhood there and was crowned in Yäläbaš. *Aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər was born at Ṭəlq, too.

In the beginning of the 16th cent., F. came back under Muslim control, under which it remained even after the death of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. During his attempt to reconquer the region, *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos was killed in F. in 1549. Later the region was occupied by the ↗Oromo, and the name F. gradually fell out of use.

Src.: BassHist; ConzGal 28, 96, 175; KrAmdS 2 (text), 3 (tr.); MANFRED KROPP, *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius, und Minās*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 71 (text.) = 64 (tr.); MarAmdS 53, 201; PerrZarY 67, 91f., 155; BORIS TURAIEV (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, II, Acta s. Aaronis et Philippi Louvain 1905 (CSCO 20), 198f. (text) = 178f. (tr.); GueCopMen, s. index.
Lit.: CerStud I, 9; DerDom, s. index; HuntGeogr, s. index; PankBord, s. index; TadTChurch 152, 176.

Marie-Laure Derat

Fatansa Illuu

F.I. (b. at Hadesso near Gečinai-Gomboči, d. ca. 1900/01; "horse name" Abbaa Boora, 'Lord of the Light-bay') was the king (Or. *mooti*) of ↗Nonno Illuu and ↗Gabba (Illuu) during the last 20 years of the 19th cent., with his residence at Bure. He was a warrior of Abbaa Boora, first *mooti* of Gabba (hence his "horse name"), who successfully rebelled against Abbaa Boora's grandson Bungul (cf. Yasin Mohammed 1990). As part of the non-Muslim Oromo polities of the south-west, F.I. attempted to keep Gabba independent from the Muslim Oromo kingdom of ↗Guummaa. In 1882–83 he avoided direct confrontation with *ras* ↗Gobäna Dači and later with *ras* ↗Täsämma. But during the late 1880s F.I. revolted successfully against *ras* Gobäna's local governor, the French M. Pino (cf. Michel 1900: 186). About 1900, F.I. was crucial in stifling the uprising of Prince ↗Firissa of Guumaa against *ras* Täsämma. He captured Firissa and handed him over to Täsämma who had him hanged. Soon afterwards F.I. was struck by lightening and died (cf. CerFolk).

Lit.: CerFolk 14, 26f., 44, 75f.; CHARLES MICHEL, *Mission de Bonchamps: vers Fachoda*, Paris 1900, 186; YASIN MOHAMMED, "The Peopling of Highland Illubabor", *Proceedings of the Fifth Seminar of the Department of History (Debre Zeit, 30 June–3 July 1989)*, Addis Abäba 1990, 105–24, here 116.

Thomas Zitelmann

Fatḥ ar-Raḥmānī, Al- ↗Hāšim b. ʿAbdalʿazīz

Fatḥ Madīnat Harar

The Arabic work F.M.H. (فتح مدينة هرر, 'The conquest of the town of Harär'), attributed to the otherwise unknown Yaḥyā b. Naṣrallāh, contains a legendary history of Harär in the 13th cent. The text is preserved in several manuscripts from Harär and Somalia. Though the main personalities mentioned in the text seem to have actually lived in the 13th cent., as confirmed by independent sources (genealogies, lists of rulers and oral traditions), the text includes certain legendary features (such as people riding on lions and the transformation of a dead snake into stone) and blatant anachronisms (the appearance of the "Portuguese" and the "Italians" using railways and tanks during that era).

The story begins in the year 1216 with the arrival in Harär of its most venerated saint ↗Abādir ʿUmar ar-Riḍā, together with 405 other saints from Mecca. Among Abādir's companions were not only local saints of Harär and Somalia, such as ʿUmardīn b. Quṭbaddān ʿUmar, ↗Barḫadle Yūsuf al-Akwān and Ismāʿīl al-Ǧabartī, but also well-known Muslim mystics like Bāyazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 877 in the Iranian Qūmis), who in reality had nothing to do with Ethiopia. Three months after their arrival, all the tribes assembled in Harär and chose their leaders from among the saints. The assembled tribes were the ↗Nole, the Alaa (↗Qottu), the ↗Somali and the ↗Argobba. At this point in the text it is evident hat later conditions were transposed into the time of Abādir. The same is true for saints such as *āw* Barre of Somali, *āw* Wafle of the Nole and *ḥāǧǧ* Afayzaru of the Argobba, whose real existence was probably between the 15th and 17th cent. The tribes pledged themselves to provide Harär with food and firewood. From this, it would appear that F.M.H.'s author wanted to show that Harär's supremacy over the surrounding tribes had old and religious origins.

The following decades witnessed numerous battles against Christians, mostly the "Portuguese" and, to a lesser extent, the "Italians". All of the places where the battles took place were quite near Harär: Baabbillee, Afardabba, Barahseri, Bissidimo etc. The names of the "Portuguese" kings (Karnibāl b. Mahrawāl, Ǧurniyāl b. Karnibāl, the queen Markaniš bint Karniyāl, Sayaḏār b. Mahrawāl) are not helpful for identifying the "Portuguese". It does not seem impossible, however, to identify the "Portuguese" enemies of Harär with the Persians (Šīrāzī) who came to Somalia at the end of the 12th cent. (Cerulli 1959:237–42). In this case, the lesser-known enemy of the 13th cent. could have been replaced by the better-known enemy of the 16th cent. A Portuguese queen also plays a role in the oral tradition of Harär and Somalia.

In 1234/35 Abādir and several other saints left Harär for a pilgrimage to Mecca, where they stayed till 1279. Before he left, Abādir handed the imamate over to his brother ʿUmardīn, who died in 1251. Several other saints succeeded him, but they all fell in the wars against the "Portuguese" or died in other ways. Even after Abādir's return to Harär in 1301 the battles continued. Finally, Barḫadle Yūsuf al-Akwān went to Mogadishu to ask for help. The *sulṭān* of the town, Aḥmad b. Ādam, also otherwise unknown, granted logistic support. This enabled Abādir to defeat Sayaḏār b. Mahrawāl and to distribute the conquered land to the Muslims. The text ends with a prophecy made by Abādir about the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

Src.: WagFath.

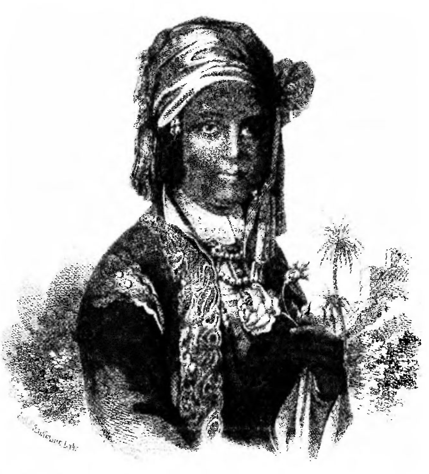
Lit.: RUDI PARET, "Eine fragwürdige arabische Chronik von Harar", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 421–43; EWALD WAGNER, *Islamische Handschriften aus Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1997 (Afrikanische Handschriften 2 = VOHD 24, 2), 144–51; REX SEAN O'FAHEY, *The Writings of the Muslim Peoples of Northeastern Africa*, Leiden – Boston 2003 (Arabic Literature of Africa, vol. 3, fasc. A = Handbuch der Orientalistik 1, 13), 34.

Ewald Wagner

Fathme, Pauline Johanne

F. (b. ca. 1832, Labu, Guummaa, d. 11 September 1855, Riehen, Switzerland) was a former Oromo slave living in Germany, who through her conversion history became influential for the foundation of the Protestant Oromo mission. Her German life-history was the first published biography of an Oromo.

F.'s original name was Ganamee, daughter of the local chief Yaaᵓii Šaseedaa Odaa in the state of Guummaa (d. 1837/39 in a battle near F.'s native village). In that time this state was regularly subject to slave-raids. In about 1840 she was kidnapped and brought to a slave market in Sinnaar. Sold and resold several times, she became a housemaid of the Egyptian ruler Muḥammad ᶜAlī in Cairo, where she was given the name "Fāṭima" and practised Islam. In about 1847 she was given to the adventurer John Baron von Müller and became his housemaid in Stuttgart, Württemberg. Here she received a Catholic education, but was sent to a Protestant School in Kornthal on the initiative of the Queen Mother of Württemberg. On 12 July 1852 she was baptized there and received new Christian names, with the family name "F." (mostly she was called Pauline – an allusion to the first "convert" to Christianity, St. Paul). F. had already shown



Pauline Fathme; from Ledderhose 1855

enthusiasm for Christianity and repeatedly expressed the wish to go to her people to tell them about "God in Europe". After baptism she showed such a great zeal that she even tried to convert those Germans whose religious devotion seemed weak. Spittler in Basle, later founder of the Protestant St. Chrischona mission in Ethiopia (↗St. Chrischona Pilgermission), was her godfather. ↗Krapf (dreaming of an Oromo mission since 1840), before departing for his expedition to Ethiopia in 1855, visited her in 1854, greatly encouraged by her to open a mission also among the Oromo. Starting from mid-1855, however, having contracted a lung disease, she lived among the deaconesses of Riehen near Basle, wishing to become a deaconess herself.

F.'s hope for a conversion of the Oromo, repeatedly expressed also during her last days, became virtually a founding legend of the later St. Chrischona Oromo Mission. Shortly after her death, the pietist Ledderhose published her biography, together with a call to open a mission in "Ormania" (as the countries of the Oromo were called among missionaries). From the beginning, this idea accompanied the establishment of the mission in "Abyssinia" after 1855, which was conceived as a first step on the way to the Oromo. Later missions to the Oromo (1867, 1871–86, 1927) again repeatedly referred to F.'s "call for a mission" and led to several re-editions of her biography.

Src.: KARL FRIEDRICH LEDDERHOSE, *Galla-Büchlein. Aus dem Leben der Galla-Negerin Pauline Johanne Fathme: ein Ruf zur Mission unter den Galla*, Basel 1855 [2nd ed. 1856, 3rd extended ed. 1867, 4th ed. *Leben und Sterben einer Galla-Christin*, Hermannsburg 1927 = Kleine Hermannsburger Missionsschriften 77].

Lit.: WOLBERT G.C. SMIDT, "The Role of the Former Oromo Slave Pauline Fathme in the Foundation of the Protestant Oromo Mission", in: VERENA BÖLL – ANDREU MARTINEZ D'ALÒS-MONER – STEVEN KAPLAN – EVGENIA SOKOLINSKAIA (eds.), *Ethiopia and the Missions: Historical and Anthropological Insights into the Missionary Activities in Ethiopia*, Münster 2005, 83–104 (Lit.).

Wolbert Smidt

Fāţima bint Kawšan

Gīsti ('princess') F. (فاطمة بنت كوشن; b. ca. 1793, d. after 1885) was the sister of the mighty Somali chief ↗Ādam b. Kawšan of the ↗Garri group. She played an important role in the nuptial policy of her brother, who married her off to the *amīr* of Harär, ↗Abū Bakr b. *aftal-garād* ʿAbdalmannān b. Muḥammad (1834–52). She became the mother of Abū Bakr's son ↗Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr. After Abū Bakr's death in 1852, Aḥmad's succession was opposed by the Nole Oromo (↗Qottu). F., however, was able to push through the claims of her son. She then became the queen dowager and used this position to exert a strong influence on her son, who was of feeble health. Aḥmad tried to free himself from his mother's interference in politics and threatened her with fetters should she continue meddling in governmental affairs. After 1855, however, Aḥmad became so ill that he had to turn over the government to his mother.

↗Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdaššakūr, from another line of the ↗ʿAlī b. Dāʾūd-dynasty, tried to take profit from Aḥmad's weakness and the rule of a woman. He left Harär, made friends with the Oromo tribes and attacked the town. F. could defend the town proper, but all the ↗coffee and ↗*čat* plantations in the vicinity were destroyed and the town's trade was interrupted. To end the war, F. had to concede new privileges to the Oromo and after Aḥmad's death in 1856 Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdaššakūr was proclaimed the new *amīr*.

Muḥammad first persecuted F. and confiscated her property. Her influence with the people, however, continued. So Muḥammad changed his attitude towards her and married her. She remained influential even after the Egyptians killed her husband when they occupied Harär in 1876. In 1885, when she was visited by Philipp ↗Paulitschke during his stay in Harär, she was 92 years old and still a much-respected person in the town.

Lit.: RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa or: the Exploration of Harar*, London 1894, vol. 1, 191; vol. 2, 21; MOHAMMED MOKTAR, "Notes sur le pays de Harrar", *Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie du Caire* 1876, 351–97, here 391f; ALFRED BARDEY, *Barr-Adjam, souvenirs d'Afrique orientale 1880–1887*, Paris 1981, 166; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, "Note per la storia dell'Harar", *Bollettino della Sezione Fiorentina della Società Africana d'Italia* 2, 1886, 193–96; RENÉ BASSET, "Chronologie des rois de Harar (1673–1887)", *JA* 1914, 245–58, here 254f.

Ewald Wagner

Fāţimids

The F. were the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿite dynasty that ruled North Africa, Egypt and large parts of the Mediterranean world from 297 H. [909 A.D.] to 567 H. [1171 A.D.]. The dynasty was first established in Ifrīqiyā on the Tunisian coast in 916

A.D. by the central leader of the Ismāᶜīlī movement and founder of the F. dynasty, ᶜAbdallāh. After several expeditions, the general of the F. caliph al-Muᶜizz (341–65 H. [953–75 A.D.]), Ǧawhar, a freed slave, conquered Egypt in *Šaᶜbān* 358 H. [July 969 A.D.] and founded al-Qāhira (Cairo). Having transferred the seat to Cairo in 362 H. [973 A.D.], Egypt remained at the centre of the F. power for two centuries.

The F. rulers were one of the three contemporary Muslim dynasties claiming the caliphate, rivalling with the ᶜAbbāsids in Baghdad and the Umayyad rulers in al-Andalus. Not least through an efficient system of religious propaganda and a secret network of agitators, the F. dominated large parts of the Mediterranean world, including North Africa, Sicily (until the Norman conquest in 1072 A.D.), Palestine, Syria, the Ḥiǧāz and the Red Sea coast of Africa and the Yemen. The F. dynasty traced their origins to Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter and wife of his cousin and first Shīᶜite imam, ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. From the very beginning, however, their claimed ᶜAlid genealogy, formulated in official documents dating to 402 H. [1001 A.D.] and 444 H. [1052 A.D.] was repudiated by the ᶜAbbāsids, the spokesmen of Sunnī Islam, who attributed heretical beliefs to their teachings. Generally noted for their prosperity and cultural achievements, the F. were overthrown by Ṣalāḥaddīn and his newly founded Sunnī Ayyūbid dynasty in 567 H. [1171 A.D.].

Thanks to their ideological orientation and administrative and economic organization, the F. had diverse political and commercial relations with the major dynasties ruling at that time, including the Ethiopian monarchy. In most cases on friendly terms, they frequently exchanged messages and embassies with the Ethiopian rulers, especially for religious and economic motives. The necessity of acquiring a new metropolitan (↗*abunä*) from the ↗Coptic Church in Alexandria made it imperative, sometimes humiliating, and often expensive for Ethiopia and their sovereigns to send emissaries, letters and costly gifts to the F. caliph in Cairo, or his *wazīr*, as well as to the patriarch, whose seat was transferred from Alexandria to Cairo during the middle of the 11th cent.

Since the 4th cent. it was the Coptic patriarch as the supreme head of the Ethiopian church who had the right to appoint, consecrate and send a Coptic monk, sometimes a bishop, from the Monastery of St. Macarius as head of the Ethiopian church. Apart from occasional delays, there was a regular supply to Ethiopia. Sometimes contracts were made with Alexandria/Cairo through ↗Nubia to induce the patriarch to send a new *abun*, as is related in the *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, formerly fully attributed to Sawīrus b. al-Muqaffaᶜ (↗Egypt).

To serve these interests, Ethiopia adopted a policy of co-existence in her relations with Egypt, troubled only occasionally by F. protests against the treatment of the Muslims in Ethiopia and the low water-level of the Nile. The Egyptians attributed the failure of the annual rise of the lifeline of their country, resulting in insufficient agricultural productivity and famine, to Ethiopia's interventions at the sources of the Blue Nile (↗Abbay). Referring to the F. caliph al-Mustanṣir (1035–94 A.D.), who had sent a mission led by the Coptic Patriarch Michael IV (1092–1102 A.D.) to Ethiopia to dissuade the sovereign with rich gifts from interrupting the flow of the Nile to Egypt; this well-known legend was first reported by the Coptic historian Ǧirǧis al-Makīn (d. 1273) in his *Maǧwī ᶜal-mubārak*. On the other hand, the Ethiopians also tried to threaten Egypt if their caliph would not yield to demands concerning the Copts and the patriarch. Although many Egyptians believed in the reality of such a danger and the Ethiopians pretended that they were able to control the annual rise of the Nile waters, no credibility can be attached to these legends. Kept alive for various reasons by the Muslim authors, e.g., Ibn Faḍlallāh al-↗ᶜUmarī (d. 749 H. [1348 A.D.]) and al-↗Maqrīzī (d. 845 H. [1442 A.D.]), it should be noted that al-Qalqašandī (d. 821 H. [1418 A.D.]), who had derived his materials in his *Ṣubḥ* from al-Makīn, doubted its accuracy (al-Qalqašandī 1913–18, vol. 5, 323, 4–8; also van Donzel 2000:304–07).

The exchanges of embassies not only served religious and diplomatic motives, but favoured commercial activities between Ethiopia and Egypt. The F. rulers, having extended their frontiers further south and revived the eastern trade in the Red Sea, which became a "F. lake" with the development of ᶜAyḏāb into a major port and the stationing of a special fleet there, absorbed as an example a large number of black slaves, chiefly from Ethiopia and the surrounding areas. Regarding the growing Muslim colonies in Ethiopia, the F. occasionally interfered in Ethiopian matters by putting pressure on the Coptic patriarchs. In general, however, their pretended role as promoters of an expansion of Islam in Ethiopia and their protection of the Muslim population appear merely as a myth, as pointed out by Tadesse Tamrat (TadTChurch 50).

Src.: SawHist vol. 2; AL-QALQAŠANDĪ, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā fī ṣināᶜat al-inšāʾ*, I–XIV, Cairo 1913–18, vol. 5, 323, 4–8; UmMasSezg vol. 4, 29f.; UmMasGaud 30.

Lit.: MARIUS CANARD, "Fāṭimids", in: *EI*^{2}, 850–62; HEINZ HALM, "Die Fatimiden", in: ULRICH HAARMANN (ed.), *Geschichte der arabischen Welt*, München 1987, 166–99, 637f.; ID., "Fāṭimiden", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 4, 1989, 317ff.; ID., *Die Kalifen von Kairo, die Fatimiden in Agypten 973-1074*, München 2003, 48, 134f., 217; OTTO MEINARDUS, "A Brief History of the Abunate of Ethiopia", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 58, 1962, 39–65, here 43–48; TrIslam 52–56, 63, 65; TadTChurch 44–50; DicEthBio vol. 1, 117f., 139, 145f; IVAN HRBEK, "Egypt, Nubia and the Eastern Desert", in: ROLAND OLIVER (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa, from c. 1050 to c. 1600*, vol. 3, Cambridge 1977, 10–97, esp. 94, 96f.; TADESSE TAMRAT, "Ethiopia, the Red Sea and the Horn", *ibid.*, 98–182, esp. 102, 104f., 112ff.; HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder, CO *et al.* 1994, 21, 23; ID., *The Cross and the River: Ethiopia, Egypt and the Nile*, Boulder, CO *et al.* 2002, 36ff.; MHAlex chs. 4–5; EMERI JOHANNES VAN DONZEL, "Badr al-Jamālī, the Copts in Egypt and the Muslims in Ethiopia", in: JAN RICHARD NETTON (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, vol. 1: *Hunter of the East: Arabic and Semitic Studies*, Leiden 2000, 297–309, here 300–07 (Lit.).

Franz-Christoph Muth

Fauna ↗Animals

Fäws mänfäsawi: Mäṣḥafä fäws mänfäsawi

M.f.m. (መጽሐፈ፡ ፈውስ፡ መንፈሳዊ, 'Book of Spiritual Medicine') is the title of two distinct but similar texts of ↗Gəᶜəz literature, both of which are penitential manuals for confessors going back to Christian Arabic originals. The two M.f.m. also display the same basic structure. Each begins with a comparatively short introduction (up to three chapters) that offers: a) instructions about the theological foundations of confession, penance and absolution; b) advice to the confessors on how to best comport themselves with their penitents. Thereafter, the bulk of both texts consists of extensive collections of penitential canons which concern themselves with a wide variety of subjects. While the two M.f.m. thus share the same general structure, the actual canons which form their second parts are in each case entirely different.

Already in the 19th cent. scholars like Dillmann, Wright, and Zotenberg described a considerable number of manuscripts of both the M.f.m. (cf. DillmLond, DillmBodl, WriBriMus, ZotBNat), and their often detailed catalogue entries leave little doubt that they deal with two different texts with the same title. Wright even explicitly distinguished between the two M.f.m. in his catalogue index. Despite this, all histories of ↗Gəᶜəz literature up to the present day inexplicably mention only one of the two texts.

The one M.f.m. regularly (but in several respects inadequately) sketched in the literary histories was compiled in the 13th cent. by the Coptic bishop Michael of Aṯrīb and Malīǧ (historical cities in the Nile Delta). Bishop Michael's M.f.m. [henceforth M-M.f.m.] – or rather, to be precise, its Arabic *Vorlage*, the *Kitāb aṭ-ṭibb ar-rūḥānī* (equally 'Book of Spiritual Medicine') – thus originated in the same milieu and roughly at the same time as the Arabic *Nomocanon* that was to be received in Ethiopia under the title of ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*. Therefore, the M-M.f.m. largely draws from the same sources of ecclesiastical law as the latter. Internally, the *Kitāb aṭ-ṭibb ar-rūḥānī* is divided into 47 chs., each of which (the two introductory chapters excepted) assembles canons prescribing acts of penance for a particular category of sins. The Gəᶜəz M-M.f.m., however, offers only a truncated version of the Arabic original: in all known Ethiopic manuscripts the text abruptly ends after ch. 34. The date of M-M.f.m.'s translation cannot be determined with certainty. It could have taken place any time between, roughly, 1300 and 1620. While the three oldest extant manuscripts all date from the reign of *aṣe* Iyasu I (1681–1706), their numerous textual variants make it clear that the book's translation, contrary to what is asserted in the histories of Gəᶜəz literature, must have occurred at least two generations earlier. The translator was often not quite up to his task, frequently distorting the meaning of the Arabic original in the process and sometimes rendering the M-M.f.m. utterly nonsensical – another feature it shares with the *Fətḥa nägäśt*. Though we know little about the history of confession and penance in pre-19th-cent. Ethiopia, it seems safe to assume that the M-M.f.m. had no great impact on the Christian life of the country. Its canons, largely dating back to Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages and originating in Byzantium and the Orient, must have been too far removed from Ethiopian life to be widely applicable.

The second M.f.m. – hitherto not mentioned in any history of Gəᶜəz literature – was transmitted anonymously [therefore henceforth A-M.f.m.]. Internally, it is much less structured than the

M-M.f.m. The A-M.f.m. lacks a clear division into chapters, does not arrange its multitude of canons according to subject matter, is repetitive in its treatment of quite a few of its themes, and only occasionally and non-specifically names sources (probably often apocryphal) for its material. An Arabic *Vorlage* must also be assumed for the A-M.f.m. This hypothesis is based on the observation that large parts of its Gəᶜəz introduction are identical in content, phrase by phrase, with sections from the M-M.f.m.'s introduction, while at the same time the Gəᶜəz wording of those content-identical passages is totally different in the two M.f.m. This can only be explained through an independent translation into Gəᶜəz of a hitherto unidentified Arabic *Vorlage* of the A-M.f.m. – a *Vorlage* which in its turn, due to the similarities in content and intention, still in Egypt had borrowed parts of its own introduction from the *Kitāb aṭ-ṭibb ar-rūḥānī*.

Src.: DillmLond 39f.; DillmBodl 30f.; WrBriMus 93–96, 213ff., 278, 281f., 346; ZotBNat 141–47; FRANZ CÖLN, "Der Nomokanon Mîẖâ`îls von Malîğ", *OrChr* 6, 1906, 70–237; *ibid.* 7, 1907, 2–135; *ibid.* 8, 1908, 110–229 [= a Karšūnī edition of the *Kitāb aṭ-ṭibb ar-rūḥānī*]; MICHAEL KLEINER, *Maṣḥafa faws manfasāwi: die Gəᶜəz-Übersetzung des arabischen Kitāb aṭ-ṭibb ar-rūhānī ("Buch von der geistlichen Medizin") des koptischen Bischofs Michael von Aṯrīb und Malīğ (13. Jh.). Teiledition und Kommentar*, 2 vols., Ph.D. thesis, University of Hamburg 2000 (Lit.).

Lit.: GrafLit II 414–27, esp. 420–26; CerLett 176; GuiSLett 78; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* 8, 1899, 197–220, 263–85 [repr. Roma 1900, here 44f.]; ALEKSANDER FERENC, "Writing and Literature in Classical Ethiopic (Giiz)", in: BOGUMIL W. ANDRZEJEWSKI et al. (eds.), *Literatures in African Languages. Theoretical Issues and Sample Surveys*, Cambridge 1985, 255–300, here 286; ENNO LITTMANN, "Geschichte der äthiopischen Litteratur", in: CARL BROCKELMANN et al. (eds.), *Geschichte der christlichen Litteraturen des Orients*, Leipzig 1907 [^{2}1909], 185–269, here 221; RicLett 843.

Michael Kleiner

Feasts

Feasts, Christian

The liturgical ↗ calendar of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church is largely composed of a cycle of fasts (↗ Fasting) and F. The latter include both major and minor F. of Christ, as well as F. of St. Mary, and F. of the saints. Since of the observance of each of the major F. will be discussed in detail under the heading of that holiday (↗ *Mäsqäl* etc.) this article offers a brief overview of the F. and highlights some of the themes which bind them together.

The F. of Christ are divided into major and minor F. The major F. include four F. with fixed dates:

1. ትስብእት (*Təsbəʾət*, 'The Incarnation') – Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, 29 *Mäggabit* – commemorates the announcement by St. Gabriel that Mary would bear a son who would bring believers salvation from sin. The F. is also referred to as His Conception (*Ṡənsätu*) and is celebrated nine months before Christmas. This date is central for the cycle of the "moveable F." in the Ethiopian calendar.
2. ልደት (↗ *Lədät*, 'The Nativity') – Christmas, 29 *Taḫśaś*. According to the ↗ *Fətḥa nägäśt*, ch. 115, Christmas (and not Annunciation) is the principal feast of the year (Guidi 1897:135), however, in practice other holidays appear more important. In the Ethiopian calendar, Christmas, like Easter, is preceded by an extended fast (of 40 days). A midnight mass is celebrated on Christmas. The Anaphora of the Three Hundred (318 Fathers of Nicea) is recited (↗ Anaphoras). The game of ↗ *gänna* which is played on Christmas also gives its name to the holiday. The holiday is also known as *Qəddus B[äᶜ]alä Wäld* ('The Holy Feast of the Son').
3. ጥምቀት (↗ *Ṭəmqät*) – Epiphany, 11 *Ṭərr*. This F. marks the blessing of the water and the commemoration of the Baptism of Christ in the River Jordan. On the eve of the F., the clergy perform a majestic procession, while deacons are currying the church "altar-tablets" (↗ *Tabot*), covered by embroidered veils. The *tabotat* are put in a special tent, next to it in another tent the ↗ *däbtära* sing their songs during the night. This is followed by the liturgy which is recited as part of a midnight mass. In the morning the water is blessed. Passages from the story of the Jesus's baptism are read from the Gospels. At the end of the prayers, people abundantly sprinkle each other with water. *Ṭəmqät* is also marked by various sports including a form of mock jousting. In preparation for *Ṭəmqät* children are usually given new clothes, while adults take special care to wash their *šämmas*.

Counted with *Ṭəmqät* is ቃና፡ ዘገሊላ (*Qana zägälila*, 'The Miracle at Cana at Galilee'). According to the literature this F. is celebrated on 13 *Ṭərr*. However, it is commonly celebrated on 12 *Ṭərr*. The celebration of Cana was moved up in order to commemorate the return from exile of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I on 12 *Ṭərr*, 1933 A.M. [20 January 1941 A.D.]. The Anaphora of the Three

Hundred (318 Fathers of Nicea) is recited on Cana.

4. ደብረ፡ ታቦር (*Däbrä Tabor*, 'Mount of Tabor') – The Transfiguration, 13 *Näḥase*. This holiday is also known as *Buhe*; it falls on the 13th day of the fast of the Assumption. On the eve of *Däbrä Tabor* children and young people light torches which symbolize the Body of Christ transfigured. Boys carrying torches run through the street, while every house displays candles. A division into teams, which whip each other is also reported to be part of the celebration of the Transfiguration.

There are also five "moveable feasts" related to the Easter (lunar) cycle. The five are counted in two different ways:

1. (5.) ሰሙነ፡ ሕማማት (*Sämunä ḥəmamat*) – Holy Week, which ends with
2. (6.) ትንሣኤ (*Tənśaʾe*, 'The Resurrection', ↗*Fasika*)
3. (7.) ቶማስ (*Tomas*, '[The appearance of Christ to the Apostle] Thomas')
4. (8.) ዕርገት (*ʿƎrgät*, 'Ascension')
5. (9.) ጰራቅሊጦስ (*P̣äraqliṭos*, Pentacost),

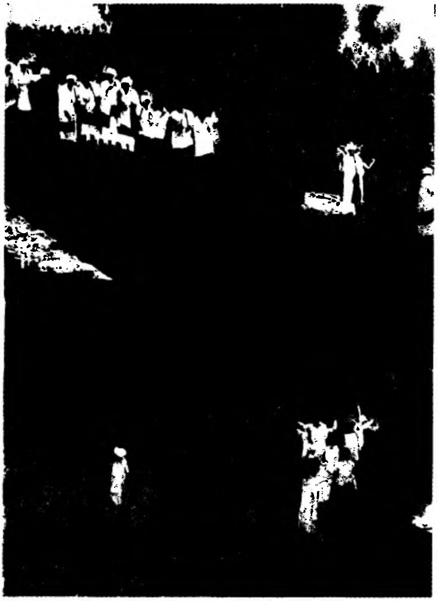
or dividing Holy Week into its separate days and omitting *Tomas*: ሆሣዕና (*Hośaʿəna*, 'Hosanna', i.e. Palm Sunday); ስቅለት (*Səqlät*, 'Crucifixion', i.e. Good Friday); ትንሣኤ (*Tənśaʾe*, 'the Resurrection'), ዕርገት (*ʿƎrgät*, 'the Ascension'), ጰራቅሊጦስ (*P̣äraqliṭos*, Pentacost).

On *Hośaʿəna* "palms" are blessed and the congregation circles the church chanting in commemoration of the Lord entering Jerusalem. In Aksum at the ↗Aksum Ṣəyon church a mule carrying palms is led in front of the church. A procession takes place with stations and prayers at the four cardinal directions. The blessed palms are distributed to the faithful in front of the church and taken home. Some plait the palm leaves into little rings which they wear on their fingers until Easter.

On Maundy Thursday unleavened bread is used in the mass. A ceremony of Washing the Feet is conducted in which the feet of twelve priests and/or deacons are washed in imitation of what Christ did to his Apostles.

Səqlät which commemorates the Lord's crucifixion is a day of fast and solemn prayer. Some people fast on Holy Saturday as well. The curtains of the sanctuary and the altar cloth should be black.

Although *Mäsqäl* 'The (Exaltation of the) Cross' on 27 *Mäskäräm* is officially considered as a minor F., it is one of the biggest celebrations in the Ethiopian tradition. It commemorates the discovery of the True Cross by Empress Helen mother of Constantine. On the eve of the feast, people bring torches of twigs (*čəbbo*) to make a bonfire (↗*Dämära*). Large processions come from different parishes and meet up. The onset of the holiday at sunset is marked by the lighting of bonfires, used to light torches which are carried throughout the towns and villages. People enter into houses and poke their lights into corners as if looking for something lost under beds and in stable and kitchen, repeating: "Turn out the spinach and bring the porridge. *Mäsqäl* has come", or: "All bad things have gone out, and good ones are coming", etc. It is reported (Parkyns 1966: 285) that every evening between St. John's day (↗New Year) and *Mäsqäl* is marked by a period of mock warfare between members of the opposite sex in which the two sides exchange insults. When the boys attack the girls with nettles, the latter retaliate by discharging a filthy, smelly liquid on their attackers. These hostilities come to an end on the eve of the holiday, which is marked by the discharge of firearms. However, Parkins



Christian Orthodox feast in Lalibäla; photo courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (ODT_1.02.08.00_003.3)

Festal procession of clergymen with an icon of St. Mary; church of Žämmädu Maryam, Wällo; photo 1970, courtesy of Diana Spencer

reports that in ʿAdwa these gender-based hostilities were replaced on the holiday itself by fighting between the different "parishes" of the town. In the evening of *Mäsqäl* the theme of combat is reprised by young men, who shout their war chants.

Other minor F. of the Lord include: **ግዝረት**, *Gəzrät* ('The Circumcision [of the Lord]'), on 6 *Ṭərr*; **ስምዖን** (*Səmʿon*, 'Simeon', i.e. The Presentation of the Lord), on 8 *Yäkkatit*; *Mäsqäl* ('The [Finding of the True] Cross', on 10 *Mäggabit*.

The following F. are listed to complete the number:

በአተ፡ ግብጽ (*Bäʾatä Gəbṣ*, 'The Entry [of the Holy Family] into Egypt'), 24 *Gənbot*,
ባረከ፡ እግዚእነ (*Baräkä Ǝgziʾənä*, 'Our Lord has blessed'), the Multiplication of the Loaves, 28 *Ṭərr*,

or the three Sundays of Advent:

ስብከት (*Səbkät*, 'The Preaching'), commemorating of the preaching of the prophets that the Messiah will come to redeem His people,
ብርሃን (*Bərhan*, 'The Light'), commemorating Christ having come into the world for its enlightenment,
ኖላዊ (*Nolawi*, '[Our Lord as] the Shepherd'),

and

ገና (*Gänna*, 'The Vigil of the Nativity') also called **መርዓዊ** (*Märʿawi*, 'The Bridegroom'), 28 *Taḫśaś*, commemorating the reality of Christ's birth, the Eve of Christmas,
ደብረ፡ ዘይት (*Däbrä Zäyt*, 'Mount of Olives'), the Sunday of Mid-Lent, which is the 4th Sunday before Easter. It is held that the Second Coming will take place on the Mount of Olives. Special prayers are offered that the faithful may be righteous on that day and sit on the right side of the Supreme Judge.

There are 33 F. of the Virgin Mary which were instituted by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob as part of his programme of religious reforms. His devotion to Mary was also expressed in his patronage of art and religious literature in her honour. However, the F. appear designed not only to focus attention on a central figure, but also to secure Marian devotion as a lynchpin of the monthly and annual rhythm of Christian life.

Among these are included F. commemorating events in St. Mary's life:

ፅንሰታ (*Ṣənsäta*, 'Her Conception'), St. Anne's conception of Mary, 7 *Näḥase*,
ልደታ (*Lədäta*, 'Her Nativity'), 1 *Gənbot*,
በአታ (*Bäʾata*, 'Her Entry'), the entry of the three year old Mary into the Temple, 3 *Taḫśaś*,
↗*ʿƎräfta* ('Her Falling-asleep'), 21 *Ṭərr*,
↗*Fəlsäta* ('Her Assumption'), 16 *Näḥase*.

F. commemorating miracles of the Virgin:

በዓለ፡ ደቅስዮስ (*Bäʿala Däqsəyos*, 'The Feast of Ildefonos [Dexius]') when Mary asked him to establish a monthly commemoration of the Annunciation, 22 *Taḫśaś*,
ጼዴንያ (*Ṣedenya*, 'Saïdnaya/Sardenai'), commemorating Mary's miracle in a monastery near Damascus, 10 *Mäskäräm*,
ደብረ፡ ምጥማቅ (*Däbrä Məṭmaq*, '[Apparition at] Däbrä Məṭmaq'), *21 Gənbot*.

F. concerning sanctuaries of the Virgin:

ደብረ፡ ቍስቋም (*Däbrä Qʷəsqʷam*, 'Mountain of Qʷəsqʷam'), commemorating the stay of the Holy Family at Qusquam (al-Qusia), in Egypt, 6 *Ḫədar*,
ቅዳሴ፡ ቤታ (*Qəddase beta*, 'The Consecration of her church [at Phillipi]'), 21 *Säne*,
ዘአንቅዓ፡ ወልዳ፡ ማይ (*Zäʾanqəʿa wälda may*, 'The Source which her Son caused to spring'), one of Jesus's miracles performed in Egypt, 8 *Säne*,
ሕንጸታ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በስማ (*Hənṣäta betä krəstiyan bäsəma*, 'The Building of the church bearing her name [at Philippi]'), 20 *Säne*.

F. regarding titles or epithets of the Virgin:

ደብረ፡ ጽዮን (*Däbrä Ṣəyon*, 'Mountain of Zion'), 21 *Ḫədar*,
ኪዳነ፡ ምሕረት (↗*Kidanä məḥrät*, 'The Covenant of Mercy'), commemorating of the agreement between Christ and his mother concerning the forgivance of sins, 16 *Yäkkatit*.

There are also numerous F. commemorating the saints.

Each of the 14 Eucharistic Anaphoras is associated with a number of holidays and F. Thus the Anaphora of Our Lord Jesus Christ is performed on three Marian F.: *Däbrä Qʷəsqʷam*, the Consecration of Marian churches (*Qəddase beta*), and the Assumption (*Fəlsäta*). The Anaphora of Our Lady by ↗Cyriacus of Behnesa is read on many Marian F., Christmas Eve, Annunciation and the holiday of St. Cyriaque (for a complete list s. Stoffregen Pedersen 1990:120ff.). The performance of each anaphora with several F. serves to link together holidays which might otherwise be viewed as totally separate events.

The F. can be analyzed through a number of different frameworks. On the most basic level, the F. can be said to combine to construct the rhythms which characterize the Christian year. Often major F. come at the end or in the midst of extended fast periods and thus provide relieve for the believers. In this context it is also significant to note that the annual observances of many holidays are reprised on a monthly basis through commemorations on the same day of every month. Thus, for example, the 1st of every month commemorates the Birth of Mary, the 3rd of every month – her presentation at the Temple, the 10th – Finding of the Holy Cross, the 16th of every month – the Covenant of Mercy. These commemorations serve to embed these festivals in the daily lives of the faithful, "so much so that the names of these holy days come to take the place of calendar dates" (LevWax 73).

From a sociological perspective the F. of the Church can be seen as occasions which define community on a variety of levels. Thus such major festivals of the Church as *Gänna*, *Mäsqäl*, and *Ṭəmqät* are celebrated at all churches and can be said to define the community of believers versus that of non-believers. In contrast, there are numerous F. that are observed only at churches which have a *tabot* devoted to Mary, to *Kidanä məḥrät* or to the saint commemorated on a particular day. In such circumstances the local parish (↗ *Aṭbiya*) or religious association (↗ *Maḫbär*) celebrates and asserts its identity. Finally, the veneration of saints is often associated with a *maḫbär* or particular families. In such cases, the commemoration of a saint's day is an expression of kinship or association solidarity (Pankhurst 1992:150–54).

One vehicle for the dramatization of these different levels of communal organization is the parading of the *tabot* at F. On *Ṭəmqät* celebrations began on the eve of the F. when priests and *dabtära* bearing *tabot* and other church vessels come together and go to a local river or lake, where tents are pitched and food is collected in tents. On major F. of the saints, the *tabot* of the neighbouring churches are taken out and paraded to honour the saint being commemorated on that day.

The prominent role of competitive sports and/or mock combats are also another expression of the communal aspect of the different F. *Fəlsäta* was, in the past, marked by "skirmishes between the town's people and the slave establishment of the king" (PankSoc 195). In the area of Lalibäla, a game involving two teams and the throwing of spears is played on Easter (Pankhurst 1992:208). In this case, as well in the playing of *gänna* on Christmas, the whipping on *Däbrä Tabor*, and the gender-based fighting of *Mäsqäl*, F. can be seen as the vehicle for the symbolic playing out of local rivalries.

Christian F. are a major occasion for the circulation of resources between believers and the church and for the giving of ↗ alms to the poor. Offerings on F. include widely varying sums of cash, prepared foods, livestock (sheep and cattle) and church utensils such as oil and incense. On saints' days, devotees of a saint give alms in honour of their patron. Membership in a *mäḫbär* requires members to both contribute to their religious organization and to host its members for F.

Although F. are a major feature of the religious life of Christian Ethiopia, there is still no systematic, comprehensive study of their role in believers' experience. Existing church literature generally focuses on the precise list, date and basic meaning of the F., and ethnographic studies offer only brief glimpses to the ritual of individual F. without integrating them into the religious economy as a whole. Nor has sufficient attention been given to the different layers of belief and practice revealed in each F. The contrast between "official" church celebrations including the recitation of the liturgy and more "popular" aspects is certainly deserving of further exploration (e.g., it is known that some of the ecclesiastics [also some saints, e.g., ↗ Mäbaˀə Ṣəyon] disliked "non-Christian" rituals, especially games, be performed during the F. and opposed them, but in vain; s. Caquot 1952:138ff.). Similarly the pre-Christian roots and elements of the F. (in honour of the saints in particular, e.g., ↗ Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus) has yet to be systematically explored; many of the games and combat situations associated with the F. may have their source in pre-Christian custom. The connection of the F. with the climate, agricultural cycle and even solar symbolism have yet to be adequately studied.

Src.: André Caquot, "Histoire amharique de Grāñ et des Gallas", *AE* 2, 1957, 123–43, here 138ff.; Ignazio Guidi (ed., tr.), *Il "Fetha Nagast" o "Legislazione dei Re", codice ecclesiastico e civile di Abissinia*, Napoli 1897 (text) = 1899 (tr.), 135 = 194; Mansfeld Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, London ^{2}1966, 276–89.

Lit.: Christine Chaillot, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradtion: a Brief Introduction to its Life and Spritiuality*, Paris 2002, 115–25; Kirsten Stoffregen-Pedersen, *Les Éthiopiens*, Tournhout 1990, 120ff., 127–30; LevWax 61–64, 73; Michael Akalou

Wolde, "Buhe", *Ethnological Society Bulletin University College Addis Ababa* 7, 1957, 57–63; Cressida Marcus, "Imperial Nostalgia: Christian Restoration and Civic Decay in Gondar", in: Wendy James – Donald Donham – Eisei Kurimoto – Alessandro Triulzi, *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*, Oxford – Athens – Addis Abäba 2002, 239–56; PankSoc 190–95; Alula Pankhurst, *Resettlement and Famine in Ethiopia*, Manchester 1992, 205–09; Helen Pankhurst, *Gender, Development and Identity: an Ethiopian Study*, London 1992, 149–56.

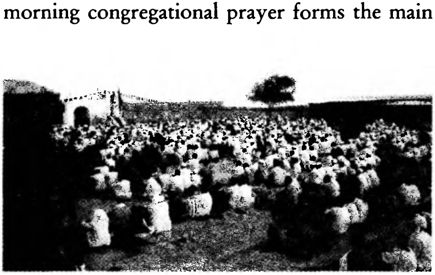
Steven Kaplan

Feasts, Islamic

The three principal Islamic festivals annually celebrated throughout the Muslim parts of Ethiopia are: عيد الفطر *ʿĪd al-fiṭr*, observed on 1 *Šawwāl* to mark the end of the month-long fast of ↗*Ramaḍān*); عيد الأضحى *ʿĪd al-aḍḥā*, 'Festival of Sacrifice', also popularly known as *ʿArafa* (cp. ↗Aräfa), from the name of the hill near Mecca, and celebrated on 10 *Ḏū l-ḥiǧǧa*; and مولد النبي *Mawlid an-nabī*, the anniversary of the Prophet Muḥammad's birthday (12 *Rabīʿ al-awwal*).

During the post-Liberation imperial era (1941–74), the first two festivals were not officially celebrated. After the morning prayers, representatives of the Muslim community in Addis Abäba were received by the Emperor in his palace and, after expressing his felicitations, he invited them to a reception. This event was announced over the radio and reported in the government press. An artillery salute was also fired from the palace grounds at daybreak to herald the occasion. However, government offices and schools remained open throughout the day of the festivities. The three festivals were only officially recognized by the Ethiopian state as national holidays in 1975.

ʿĪd al-fiṭr (also known as *ʿĪd aṣ-ṣaġīr*, to distinguish it from *ʿĪd al-aḍḥā* or *ʿĪd al-kabīr*) is celebrated at the conclusion of the fast. An early-morning congregational prayer forms the main public event associated with this occasion. The prayer is preceded by official speeches delivered by the *imām* of the central mosque and the chairman of the Ethiopian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (and occasionally by the city mayor or his representative) and followed by a sermon delivered by the *imām*. Although the faithful are urged to stay until the end of the sermon, they usually disperse early. They return home in procession and then exchange good wishes with family members, neighbours and acquaintances. Sheep and goats are slaughtered during the festivities and portions of the meat are distributed as alms among the poor. Many offer the *zakāt al-fiṭr* (↗Alms) both in cash and kind before the *ʿĪd* prayer. The festival is colourful and people usually dress in their finest clothes. The *ʿĪd al-fiṭr* is traditionally considered more solemn than the *ʿĪd al-aḍḥā*, even though it is no more than an occasion marking the close of *Ramaḍān* and the end of restrictions imposed on believers by the Qurʾān.



ʿĪd al-aḍḥā prayer in the esplanade of Ras Mədr in Massawa on 16 March 2000; photo courtesy of Jonathan Miran

On *ʿĪd al-aḍḥā* the same sequence of rituals associated with the *ʿĪd al-fiṭr* is followed: a communal prayer, official speeches and a sermon by the *imām*. Additionally, special prayers of supplication (دعاء, *duʿāʾ*) are offered on behalf of the pilgrims at Mecca for their well-being, acceptance of their sacred journey by God and safe return home. After the prayers, people return home to sacrifice rams (in commemoration of Abraham's intended sacrifice of his son, as commanded by God). According to Trimingham (TrIslam 229), in the early 20th cent., Muslims of Addis Abäba organized displays of horsemanship on the plain of Fəlwəha for three days. The number of people attending the festival in Addis Abäba nowadays is relatively small for two reasons: Gurage Muslims traditionally go out to visit their families in the countryside at this time; many Muslims are on pilgrimage to the two holy sites during this period.

A number of other festivals take place around the major shrines of Muslim saints, both during the *Mawlid an-nabī* and at different times throughout the year. These are attended by multitudes of pilgrims and provide occasions for collective worship whose intensity is only surpassed by the festivals described above. The ritual ceremonies and cults observed on such occasions are partly Islamic and partly traditional and ancestral (↗Pilgrimages; ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn; ↗Saints).

عاشوراء (*ʿĀšūrāʾ*; 10 *Muḥarram*) is observed mournfully in *Šīʿa* lands to commemorate the martyrdom of *imām* Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, the Prophet's grandson, at Karbalāʾ in 680 A.D. In northern and central Ethiopia this occasion is celebrated with a visit to ↗Nägaš in north Təgray, where, according to tradition, a group of the Prophet's followers were buried, ca. 6th cent. Once they have congregated there, the pilgrims take part in a festival marked by the recitation of panegyrics in praise of the Prophet, his companions and saints. On the eve of the festival, sheep and goats brought by the pilgrims are slaughtered and the meat is shared among the participants. Trimingham (TrIslam 252) refers to a fertility ritual performed by the women of the ↗Asaorta: "First a goat or a kid is sacrificed and the woman remains some four or five days praying for the saint's help, after which she leaves the cemetery, strips herself, and rubs earth taken from the tomb over her body".

Outside the capital and the major towns, social events are celebrated simultaneously with the principal Islamic festivals. Such events are characterized by, among other things, traditional games played by young boys and girls and competitions involving adult males, which add to the festivity of the religious holidays. In regions where Christians and Muslims have enjoyed close interactions (such as Wällo and north Šäwa), certain festivals, such as visits to local shrines, are jointly celebrated. However, the reasons for attending such festivities are not always strictly religious or spiritual; some are simply seeking healing from physical or mental afflictions, or material prosperity. In addition to the Islamic festivals, Muslims participate in Christian festivals, such as the Ethiopian New Year and *Buhe*, in their wider, popular social manifestations. The Islamic New Year (1 *Muḥarram*), whose onset is announced in the mosques, is only observed privately by the Muslim elites. The inhabitants of Harär and other predominantly Oromo-inhabited areas celebrate various festivals that reflect more indigenous social customs and traditional rites than the rituals prescribed and sanctioned by the monotheist faiths.

In addition to the annual festivals described above, there are others organized by Muslim families and held on important occasions: births, circumcisions, engagements, weddings, completion of portions of the Qurʾān and many other social events. Efforts have been made – though with limited success – by Muslim religious leaders and elders to give these occasions a distinctively Islamic character and to free them from the influence of both tradition and modernism.

Src.: BassHist 318 (text) = 419 (tr.).
Lit.: TrIslam 152 n. 2, 229, 252.

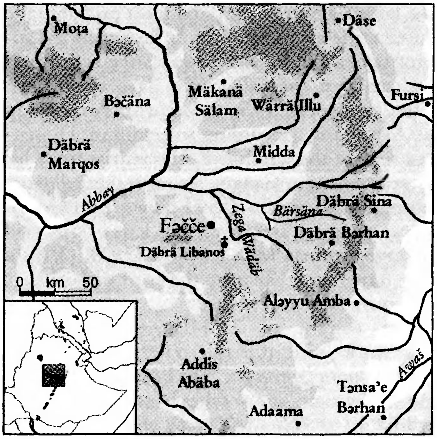
Hussein Ahmed

Fəčče

F. (ፍቼ, Oromo Fiichee) is a small town 115 km north-west of Addis Abäba at 2,738 m A.S.L. Nowadays this town is a centre for the Northern Šäwa Zone, one of the twelve zones of the Oromiyaa Region.

F.'s foundation by *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase, a member of the royal family, goes back to about 1879. *Ras* Darge Śahlä Śəllase had been appointed by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II to rule over the then ↗Sälale district. Prior to the settlement of the royal family and the establishment of the Orthodox Church there, the area is said to have been inhabited by ↗Oromo peasants, among whom a person called Hirpaa was well-known. Elders of the area say that the name F. itself is taken from the name of a person dwelling in the area. There also exists a hypothesis that the area had been previously called Balbala Hanquu ('gate of *hanquu*' [a medicinal plant]) because so many of these plants were found there.

F. is located on a highland, thus the weather is cold throughout most of the year. The reason why the town was founded at such a height is said to be for strategic purposes, i.e. the royalty of the time wanted to control any movements of



both the ↗Amhara in the north and the Oromo in the south.

F. is today subdivided in six *qäbäle*. It has one high school, one hospital (very recent), one community health centre, three elementary schools, and a few clinics and drugstores. The commercial activity of the town is very low since it is not located in a cash-crop area.

Dwellers of the town include: small-scale merchants, civil servants and farmers, most of whom live hand to mouth existence. According to the 1999 population estimate, the town has 28,457 inhabitants (CSA 2000). The population comprises Amhara, Oromo, Gurage and Təgrayans; the first two groups being numerous and the last two groups quite few in number.

Src.: oral information by *ato* Bekele Wakjira, 80; *ato* Abebe Hunde, 75; *ato* Tola Dinage, 70; Fəčče Town Administration, *The Foundation and History of Fəčče*, ms., in Amharic; Northern Šäwa Administration Zone Planning Office, *Statistics of the Zone*, ms.; CSA 2000.

Temesgen Negassa

Federal Supreme Court ↗Constitution

Fəkkare haymanot

The F.h. (**ፍካሬ፡ ሃይማኖት**, 'Synopsis/Exposition of the Faith') is, more or less, a summary by *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Gasəčča of his work known as *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśṭir*. *Abba* Giyorgis's Vita (ms. EMML 1838, 19th cent.) and one of the three manuscripts in which the "Synopsis" is preserved (ms. EMML 204, 20th cent.) call the work F.h., while the second and the oldest copy (ms. EMML 6456) and ms. Ṭānāsee 178 give it the title *Fəre haymanot* (**ፍሬ፡ ሃይማኖት**, lit. 'Fruit of the faith'), a more fitting and most probably the correct title for its contents. In fact, what the author says about himself towards the end would indicate that the title might have been taken from the words of St. Dioscurus, Archbishop of Alexandria. According to tradition, Dioscurus sent to the faithful in Alexandria, from his imprisonment in Gangra, his teeth that fell from his mouth when he suffered blows from his opponents. In an accompanying letter he is said to have written: **ንሥኡ፡ ፍሬ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Nəśəʾu fəre haymanot*, 'Receive the fruit of faith!', s. *Haymanotä abäw* 1967:9).

The copyist of EMML 6456 introduces the work with the title **ሃይማኖቱ፡ ለጊዮርጊስ** (*Haymanotu lägiyorgis*, 'The Faith of Giyorgis'). *Abba* Giyorgis, on the other hand, uses the titles **ስብሐታተ፡ መኃልይ** (*Səbḥatatä mäḫaləy*, 'Praises for Chanting'), **መጽሐፈ፡ ብርሃን** (*Mäṣḥafä bərhan*, 'Book of Light') and **ፍካሬ፡ ሃይማኖትየ** (*Fəkkare haymanotəyä*, 'Synopsis/Exposition of my Faith'). It seems that the first two titles concern only the introductory part of the text. The third title relates to the main parts that follow, the faith and the anathema against those who deviate from the faith.

According to *abba* Giyorgis's Vita, the composition of this short treatise was inspired by an inquiry about the Orthodox Faith that Giyorgis received from a certain prince called Tewodros, whom Taddese Tamrat believes was the son of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II (TadTChurch 224f.): "So he composed for him (this) work called F.h. When the king and all the priests of the mystery saw and read the work, they said, 'Truly John the Golden Mouth [Chrysostom] and Cyril the Mouth of Blessing have arisen in our time. Ethiopia is likened to Constantinople and is equated with Alexandria'" (Colin 1987:32f.).

The treatise has three separate parts: an introduction, a confession of faith and anathemas of the heresies, all of which are refuted and condemned in the *Mäṣḥafä məśṭir*. The treatise begins as follows: "I, Giyorgis, a sinner and transgressor, have written this which deals with praises in chanting ... I, Giyorgis, son of priest Ḥəzbä Ṣəyon, have composed (this) ...". Towards the end, *abba* Giyorgis tells about his life: "I have lived in this world with this faith of mine all my life, being condemned by the heretics and condemning the heretics, for there is no agreement between the children of God and the children of the Devil" (Getatchew Haile 1981: 241, 251). It is undoubtedly this Giyorgis whom *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob describes as "priest Giyorgis who fights about the person of the Trinity" (CRRicBerhan II, 131).

Src.: EMML 204, 1838, 6456; Gérard Colin, *Vie de Georges de Saglā*, Lovanii 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]), 23f. (text); CRRicBerhan II, 131 (text); Getatchew Haile, "Fəkkare Haymanot or the Faith of Abba Giyorgis Säglawi", *Le Muséon* 94, 1981, 235–58, here 241, 251; **ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው** (*Haymanotä abäw*, 'Faith of the Fathers'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1975 A.D.], 9; SixTana III, 237f., no. 67 [Ṭānāsee 178 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 67].
Lit.: TadTChurch 224f.

Getatchew Haile

Fəkkare Iyäsus

The F.I. (**ፍካሬ፡ ኢየሱስ**, 'The Explanation of Jesus') is a Gəᶜəz treatise about the last days of the world (cp. ↗Eschatology), the prophecy "on the signs of the future generations in the coming days" that was announced by Jesus Christ at the Last Supper, at the request of the Apostles (cp. also HamSixBerl 65). Christ reveals things that would happen in the future: the fall of the righteous faith and the decline of morals, the coming of false messiahs; hatred between people, arrogance of rulers, wars, droughts and other calamities. Some of the future events are metaphorically described and in these cases the narration develops from the explanation of the meaning of the metaphors; (e.g.: "In that time gold will be dishonoured, and iron will be elevated. What I call 'gold' is not gold but the people of gold, who are Christians, and [the people] of iron are pagans" (s. Vajnberg 1907:10, 34) – a method resembling the *Andəmta* commentary.

The F.I. states that one day total destruction will come, followed by 29 years "without people" (except for a few who will have repented). Then a righteous king Tewodros will come "from the east", with a (righteous) metropolitan. The king will gather those who have survived and rebuild the churches. Peace will be re-established, wrongdoing will not take place any more. The time of peace and well-being will last 40 years. Three rulers will reign for 37 years each. Then false messiahs will come and seduce many people. This will be followed by the end of the world ("100 years will be [lasting] like one day"). The sky and the earth will disappear, the righteous will be separated from the sinners and everyone will get what they have deserved. In the coming world the worthy ones will be united with God forever.

It was tentatively suggested that the F.I. was written in the early 15th cent. Tewodros – the name of the mythical king – is thought to refer to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros I, who reigned for only a short time in 1412–13 (s. Conti Rossini 1899:20; Basset 1909). However, this is far from being certain (cp. TadTChurch 220, n. 4; HamTana 109). In the Ethiopic ↗*Sənkəssar*, the commemorative reading for Tewodros on 29 *Säne* goes back to the 16th-cent. recension of the work, but similar notes were composed for other monarchs as well (the information on this reading in a presumably "older" *Sənkəssar* of ↗Däbrä Bizän, reported in Basset 1909:11, needs to be confirmed). In spite of the arcaic "apocalyptic" traits of the F.I., its manuscript tradition hardly goes back to the time prior to the 17th cent. (cp. Basset 1909:12): in the presumably earliest ms., the 16th-cent. Paris, BN Éth. 113, the folios with the F.I. seem to have been added after the manuscript was prepared (s. ZotBNat 131); other mss. date to later periods (cp., e.g., BN Éth. 123; unclear is the age of ms. Berlin, Peterm. II, Nachtr. 55).

Conti Rossini (1901:20) reports the existence of two recensions of the F.I., but does not indicate their respective features. Literary elements (s. Basset 1909:2), used by the anonymous author (in a few manuscripts the work is ascribed to a certain Ǝzra, s., e.g., BN Éth. 146) are considered to be common for any eschatological discourse; however, it is noticeable that the F.I. does not stress eschatological *topoi* characteristic for the 15th-cent. context – e.g., the 1,000-year feast on Mount Zion (s. ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon) or the issue of the Resurrection of the Dead (cp. ↗*Dagəm mäṣʾatu läkrəstos*).

It has been commonly accepted that the F.I. is a genuine Ethiopian text, even if not as ancient as thought before. There is evidence that at least from the late-18th cent. onward the treatise was obtaining more and more popularity, this coinciding with the growth of eschatological expectations during the calamities of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* period (cp. ZanLitTheo 3ff.). In the 19th cent. *dağğazmač* Kaśa Ḫaylu was influenced by the prophecy of the F.I. since the early stage of his struggle for power (s. Basset 1909:7), and he ascended the throne in 1855 as *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II (in fact, he emphasized his role as a messianic king rather than the traditional requirement of Solomonic descent).

Tewodros's suicide at ↗Mäqdäla in 1868 did not put an end to the circulation of the prophecy. The mythical king, whose image in the meantime aquired new features, still was expected to come and there are indications that some tried to link the prophecy about Tewodros to the rise of Mənilək of Šäwa (Basset 1909:8f.). The popularity of th F.I. was sustained at least till the late 19th cent., as numerous copies of the work, together with such still-unresearched pieces as its Amharic translation (mss. EMML 435, 4720, 4895) and Amharic commentaries (e.g., mss. EMML 1810, fol. 73a–77b; 4429, fol. 63a–75a), as well as a kind of refutation of the F.I. by Gäbrä Mikaʾel Gərmu (mss. EMML 1470, fol. 188b–193b) witness. Today a new edition of the F.I. and its study are highly desirable.

Src.: BN Éth 113, 123, 146; EMML 435, 1470, 4720, 4895; HamSixBerl 65, no. 11 [Ms. orient. oct. 995], fol. 70r–84v (Lit.); RENÉ BASSET, *Les apocryphes éthiopiens. XI. Fekkaré Iyasus*, Paris 1909; HamTana 109f. [Ṭānāsee

86 = Dabra Māryām 28] (Lit.); DillmBerl 4, no. 5 [Peterm. II Nachtr. 55]; ZanLitTheo 3ff.; MorTeo 150f.; ISAAK VAJNBERG, ፍካሬ፡ ኢየሱስ። *"Skazanie Iisusa": apokrif o poslednih vremenah mira* (*'Fəkkare Iyäsus*: "The Legend of Jesus": an Apocryph about the Last Times of the World'), St. Petersburg 1907 (Pamjatniki efiopskoj pis'mennosti VI).

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1899, 197–285, here 216 [§ 13]; GuiSLett 42f.; RicLett 826; TadTChurch, s. index.

Denis Nosnitsin

Fellata

The term F. (Kanuri name for the Fulbe, sg. Fullo) designates a member of a pastoral people of Muslim faith, originating in western Africa. They are commonly labelled Fulani in the anglophone and Peul in the francophone areas. Several nomadic and semi-sedentary F. groups inhabit Sudanese-Ethiopian border areas in northern Sudan and in Eritrea, occasionally also Gambella, Anfillo and Beni Šangul. The F. speak Fulfulde, the Fulbe language; a few have also adopted Oromiffa, in addition to Arabic. In encampments near Kassala, the F., living among the Haḍánḍowa, have adopted the Beğa language, weapons, way of dressing etc. (Paul 1954:146). In Beni Šangul the F. are also called Mbororo (or "Umm Bororo") after one of their subgroups; the Berta or Oromo also tend to identify them with other groups of West-African origin like the ↗Hausa, sometimes erroneously calling all of them "F.", or more generally ↗"Tuḵrir".

The Fulani languages belong to the Senegambian Fula-Wolof family (of the Atlantic branch of the Niger-Congo languages). Among the F. of Ethiopian and Eritrean regions, the East-Central Fulfulde dialect should prevail, but no linguistic research, except by Ellero in the 1930s, has ever been undertaken here (EllLusAnt 99–102). The F. on the other side of the border in the Sudan, north of Gallabat, are better documented. They move freely across the borders and stay sometimes for one year at a place, selling products from their cattle, such as milk, butter and meat, to locals. They also act as medicine-men, selling "magic" products. Recent political turmoil in the southern Sudan has changed the migration patterns, some F. stopping to move to Ethiopia, others settling permanently.

The diverse F. subgroups – the Mbororo and the Malle from Mali dominating in the Ethio-Sudanese border regions – have their own autonomous leaders who stay in the Sudan. They bear the title *sulṭān* and have several *amīrs* under their rule. These most eastern groups of the Fulbe once, many generations ago, migrated to the White and Blue Nile regions in the Sudan in the course of their yearly migrations. From here further smaller migrations, often after a pilgrimage to Mecca, first led several F. (Fullo) to the western Eritrean plains (also here identified as "Taḵruri"). Their place of origin, according to interviews of the 1930s, was northern Nigeria (EllLusAnt 97). Here they were mainly plantation workers (around ↗Ḥumära and in Kunama areas on farms on the Gaš river).

The F. in the Kassala region (in the Sudan-Eritrean border area), from Timbuktu in Mali, settled there after a pilgrimage to Mecca in ca. 1901/02 and have much increased in numbers since then; they have adopted a semi-nomadic style of life (Paul 1954:146). Other F. groups are settled in cities like Täsänäy, Aqordät, Kärän, Massawa and Asmära (EllLusAnt 103). Later, F. subgroups also migrated to other regions, such as Beni Šangul, where during the last decade some stayed in villages, becoming farmers and fishers at the Dabus, like other West-Africans (as the Hausa, who often live together with the F.). Most F., however, stay nomadic cattle-herders.

Src.: field notes of Günther Schlee, Tagebuch Äthiopien/Ethiopian Diary 2001/2002.

Lit.: GIOVANNI ELLERO, "I Tacruri in Eritrea", *RSE* 6, 1947, 189–99 [repr. in: *EllLusAnt* 95–105]; ANDREW PAUL, *A History of the Beja Tribes of the Sudan*, Cambridge 1954, 146; DEREJE FEYISSA – GÜNTHER SCHLEE, "A Brief Note about the Mbororo (Fulbe) Migration into Ethiopia", contribution to the conference *Changing Identifications and Alliances in North-Eastern Africa*, Halle/Saale, 5–6 June 2001.

Wolbert Smidt

Fəlsäta

The ↗feasts of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary on 21 *Ṭərr* (29 January; ↗*Ǝräfta*) and of her Assumption or bodily Ascension into heaven on 16 *Näḥase* (22 August; called *Fəlsäta*, ፍልሰታ), were celebrated at least as early as the 15th cent., as suggested by the Ethiopic ↗*Sənkəssar* (BudSaint 523–27; ColSyn IX, 150–57 and BudSaint 1222ff.; GuiSyn III, 335–40 respectively). Neither event has a scriptural basis, being derived from the apocryphal Marian literature (s. *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ərgäta lämaryam*; *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*əräfta lämaryam*). The reading for 21 *Ṭərr* emphasizes that the two feasts are separate commemorations rather than almost duplicate commemorations of

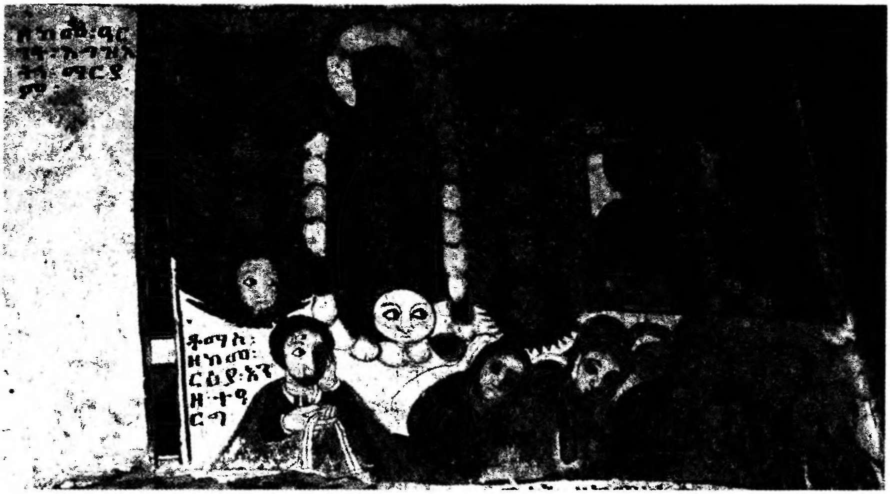


Fig. 1: Assumption of St. Mary witnessed by St. Thomas; cloth mural; 17th cent.; Ṣəraᶜ, church of Abrəha and Aṣbəha; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

the same event. Both are important feasts in the calendar of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church; the Feast of Mary's Assumption is preceded by 16 days of ↗fasting.

The images of Mary's Assumption (ፍልሰታ፡ ለማርያም, *Fəlsäta lämaryam*) do not appear in Ethiopian art until the 17th cent., and depictions of Mary's Death are extremely rare prior to the 17th cent. as well. A unique representation of Mary's Death is included in an early 15th-cent. manuscript of the ↗*Dərsanä Maryam* at the church of Bethlehem near Däbrä Tabor (Leroy 1967, pl. 13; ChojPaint fig. 140; AfrZion 92). The shrouded body of the Virgin is surrounded by the Apostles with the figure of Christ in the centre, a composition based upon the Byzantine Dormition (Greek: Κοίμησις) of the Virgin (Taft – Carr 1991:652; Schiller 1980, fig. 587-92). However, this Ethiopian miniature is no direct derivation from the standard Byzantine iconography of Mary's death. On the other hand, 18th- and 19th-cent. Ethiopian murals of Mary's death follow the Byzantine iconography of the Dormition with the figure of Christ receiving Mary's soul (ChojPaint, fig. 150a, 151a, 152a). A tale in an early 16th-cent. collection of the *Miracles of Mary* (s. EMML 3872, fol. 90r; ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*) accounts for a miniature of Mary's Assumption (probably by Nicolò ↗Brancaleone) in a Psalter that was created for Prince Səmᶜon (EMML 3872, fol. 90a).

From the 17th cent. onward, European works of art provided visual models for images of Mary's Death (Schiller 1980, fig. 701), as well as for those of her Assumption (AfrZion fig. 35). These subjects appear in miniatures that decorate various Marian literary texts, in devotional images in the form of painted wooden panels (s. Chojnacki 2000:193) and mural decoration (ChojPaint 320-26; Chojnacki 2000:76, 193, 223; Mercier 2001:162f., 171; Jäger – Pearce 1965:50, 54; di Salvo 1999:137, 206, 208; Wion 2001:304). Most Ethiopian representations of Mary's Assumption show the Virgin standing upon a crescent moon, a model that European iconography created to signify the *Immaculata conceptio Mariae* (Schiller 1980:154–57; cp. *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob's ↗*Raʾəyä täʾammər*, where Mary is the woman "clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet and upon her head a crown of stars whom John the Evangelist saw [Rev. 12:1]"; Getatchew Haile 1992:63ff.). However, within an Ethiopian cultural context, this representation is referred to Mary's Assumption. The murals of the Assumption at the late 19th-cent. church of Mädḫane ᶜAläm at ↗ᶜAdwa as well as in other 19th-cent. mural cycles in Təgray (s. fig. 1; ChojPaint fig. 151b, 152b) show the Virgin with her hair arranged in a topknot, as in a full-page miniature of the Virgin inscribed *fəlsäta* in an 18th-cent.

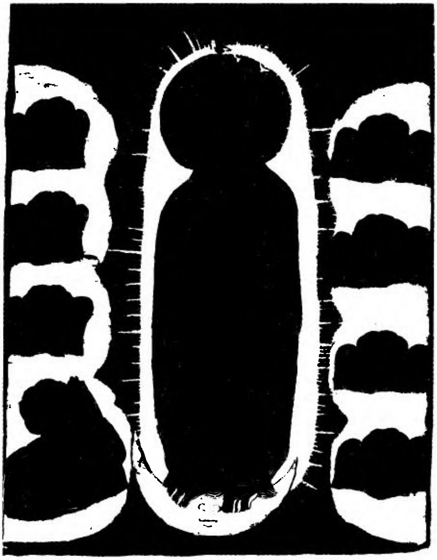


Fig. 2: Assumption; miniature from a ms. of the *Täʾammərä Maryam*; late 19th cent.; Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam; photo courtesy of the author

manuscript of Marian prayers (ChojPaint fig. 149; AfrZion no. 117). This distinctive version of Mary's Assumption follows what must have been a very well-known painting executed by an Indian painter elaborating upon a European Baroque model (AfrZion 251f.); this lost image was probably the property of an 18th-cent. ruler at Gondär. The painting of the Assumption of Mädḫane ᶜAläm church in ᶜAdwa has an additional element: the apostle Thomas in the upper left corner with Mary's girdle in his hand. The full-page miniature of the Assumption (s. fig. 2) in a late 19th-cent. manuscript of the *Täʾammərä Maryam* (EMML 22, fol. 143v) shows again Thomas among the cherubim gazing upwards. According to the legend, the apostle, when riding upon on a cloud from India, saw the body of Mary being taken to heaven by angels (Budge 1933:166).

Src.: mss. EMML 22, 3872; GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Mariology of Emperor Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob of Ethiopia*, Roma 1992 (OrChrA 242), 63ff.; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *Legends of Our Lady Mary, the Perpetual Virgin, and her Mother Ḥannâ*, London 1933, 166; BudSaint 523–27, 1222ff.; GuiSyn III, 335–40; ColSyn IX, 150-57.

Lit.: AfrZion 92, no. 3, 251f., no. 117; JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *L'Arche éthiopienne. Art chrétien d'Ethiopie, 27 septembre 2000–7 janvier 2001, Pavillion des Arts*, Paris 2001, 162f., 171; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, 193, 223; ChojPaint 291–326, fig. 140, 149, 150a, 151a–b, 152a–b, s. index; JEAN FOURNÉE, "Himmelfahrt Mariens", in: WOLFGANG BRAUNFELS (ed.), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Rom 1994, vol. 2, 276–83; OTTO JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia*, Stuttgart 1965, 50, 54; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and during the Gondar Dynasty*, New York 1967, pl. 13; MARIO DI SALVO, *Churches of Ethiopia. The Monastery of Nārgā Śellāsē*, Milano 1999, 137, 206, 208; GERTRUD SCHILLER, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, Bd. 4: *Maria*, Gütersloh 1980, 118–47, 154–57; ROBERT TAFT – ANNEMARIE WEYL CARR, "Dormition", in: ALEXANDER P. KAZHDAN (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 1, New York – Oxford 1991, 651–53; ANAÏS WION, "Un nouvel ensemble de peintures murales du premier style gondarien: le monastère de Qoma Fasilädäs", *AE* 17, 2001, 279–308, here 304.

Marilyn E. Heldman

Fəlwəha ↗Addis Abäba

Fəqər əskä mäqabər

The F.ə.m. (ፍቅር፡ እስከ፡ መቃብር, 'Love to the Grave', 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.]) is an important Amharic novel by ↗Ḥaddis ᶜAlämayyähu. It has 35 chapters in 552 pages. For some, the F.ə.m. is a story of tragic love between Bäzzabbəh, the son of an ordinary farmer, and Säblä Wängel, the daughter of a landlord. For others, it is a story of "feudalism" in Ethiopia, portraying the various manifestations of class-conflict as the lovers provoke a revolt. Some consider it a novel narrating the common front of the church-state, which pays no heed to the problems and conditions of the common man. The F.ə.m. is all this and much more.

In many of the early Amharic novels, e.g., *Addis ᶜAläm* and *Arʾaya*, the characters that advocate and practise change are returnees from abroad. In the F.ə.m. the issues of change are presented by portraying the normal social life in the community in a very ordinary manner. The agents of change and those opposing the change are members of the same community.

The novel can be read for the knowledge it provides on various traditional practices and ways of life in Goǧǧam, the setting of the book, and, figuratively, in many parts of the country. Some of the descriptions give rich information about topics like Church ↗education and traditional ↗poetry; in addition to practices like ↗*gəbər*.

The F.ə.m. was printed seven times during the rule of Ḫaylä Śəllase I, the *Därg* regime and the incumbent government. It was also narrated by Wägayyähu Nəgatu over the radio. As a result, the novel and the serious subject-matter it deals with have reached quite a wide audience.

Lit.: FEKADE AZEZE, *The Intellectual in the Ethiopian Novel, 1930–74*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield 1988, 182–232; ASFAW DAMTE, የክቡር፡ ሐዲስ፡ ዓለማየሁ፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ፤ አጭር፡ ማስታወሻ (*Yäkəbur Ḥaddis ʿAlämayyähu yäḥəywät tarik: aččər mastawäša*, 'A Biography of his Excellency Ḥaddis ʿAlämayyähu: a Short Note'), *Ethiopian Journal of Languages and Literature* 10, 2000, 3–42.

Fekade Azeze

Fəqərtä Krəstos

F.K. (**ፍቅርተ፡ ክርስቶስ**, fl. 17th cent.), also known as Ǝmmämuz (contracted form of Ǝmmä Məʿuz, lit. 'Mother of the Odouring One'), was a holy nun. Her Acts (followed by seven miracles and ↗*mälkəʾ*, s. *Gädlä Fəqərtä Krəstos* 1995 A.M.), which recently became known, seem to be the only source on her life. According to this text, she was born to a noble family; her father was a certain Laba from ↗Därа; her mother's name was Wängelawit. Both pious people, they revered in particular the Marian feast of *Kidanä Məḥrät* (16 *Yäkkatit*; *Mäshafä* ↗*kidanä məḥrät*), but remained childless for a long time. F.K. is said to have been conceived on 4 *Miyazya* and born on 29 *Taḫśaś* while priests were bringing the Holy offerings into the neighbouring church; on the same day she was baptized with the name of Maryam Ṣädala. As she grew up, she was called Muzit (Məʿəzt) and was married to Zärʾa Krəstos, an officer of the emperor – both deciding, however, to preserve their virginity. Unexpectedly, an angel predicted for them the birth of a child; but at the age of seven their son was taken to heaven by an angel.

The Acts of F.K. also refer, vaguely, to a controversy of faith that arose in the time of *abunä* ↗Marqos, probably the one who entered his office in 1636 and died ca. 1648, and was a contemporary and an opponent of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs. As partisans of the *abun* (other religious leaders mentioned are *abba* Akalä Krəstos and *abba* Kidanä Maryam), F.K. and her husband were tortured and became martyrs, together with thousands of their followers. Yet, after two weeks, F.K. arose from the dead and appeared before the Emperor to reproach him. Angered, he thought that his order had not been properly executed. F.K. was then imprisoned, but soon was released by an angel.

Followed by her disciples, she quit with the ↗*tabot* of Kidanä Maryam. Unusually, it was the Metropolitan who gave her the monastic habit and name, F.K. After staying four years in ↗Waldəbba, she moved to Eldəbba, there meeting a nun called Ǝmmäwätät. Later, she was to meet other nuns too around ↗Bäšəlo, in Dara, in the desert of Ṣaniko and Wägda, but was not allowed to enter ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos.

Once, F.K. dispatched her followers to gather the remains of her own dead body and of her fellow martyrs. Her remains were sent to the Emperor who, afraid about the matter, relinquished the "wrong faith". F.K. kept wandering with her *tabot* and founded churches and monasteries in the country of Zobel in Rama. She also worked miracles in the country of the "cannibals with tails" (maybe reminiscent of the legends on the Ǧəratom/Žaratam, the "Caudate people" serving in the army of ↗Ǝsato; s. Fiaccadori 1992:90), baptized by her and taught how to seed plants and make the harvest plentiful. Another time, "a great monk" arose from the dead and told F.K. that he was the Metropolitan Zämäläkot (?), sent to Ethiopia 528 years before (i.e. in the early decades of the 12th cent.); he evangelized the country, but after his death a pagan king ascended the throne. In the narrative of the Acts other miracles are included: from conversions of pagans and the killing of a dragon to F.K.'s own pilgrimages to ↗Jerusalem and the Holy Land, as well as to ↗Armenia, where she visited the tomb of ↗Ewosṭatewos.

In the end, F.K. settled in a place called Mačmatəs near "the desert of Siḥat", probably near ↗Däbrä Sina in Sänḥit, Eritrea. There, despite the opposition of some monks, she founded a monastic community (soon divided into a monastery and a nunnery), with a church built of "the wood *ḥuspu*" ('hyssop', translated in the 1995 edition as *səmiza*, *sänsäl*, i.e. *Adathoda Schimperiana*: its stakes take root if used for fences), which, according to Christ's promise, was to last until the second coming of the Saviour. This church, dedicated to the Virgin as Kidanä Məḥrät, is thought to be in the monastery of Ǝmmäməʾuz (Ǝmmämuz) at Ṭəba, Mäqet (Wällo). The monastery of Rama Kidanä Məḥrät in the Rayya Zobəl Qoba *wäräda* (Təgray) also claims foundation by her. On the other hand, there seems to be no evidence about F.K.'s stay near Däbrä Sina.

F.K. died on 27 *Yäkkatit*. Although her Acts do not openly state the nature of the religious controversy in which she was involved and possibly killed, tradition has her as an anti-Catholic saint and contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. It appears that the story of F.K. became better known when Wäldä Giyorgis, a son of Adäl Täsämma (↗Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam), entered Ǝmmäməʾuz. The monastery, by that time in decline, soon obtained support from Wäldä Giyorgis. The Kidanä Məḥrät church got a new *qəne maḫlet*; the nearby monastery of *abba* ʿAmdä Śəllase was placed under the administration of Ǝmmäməʾuz. The monastery's church was not affected by the huge forest fire of 1946 A.M. [1955/57 A.D.]. Abbot Ḫaylä Maryam brought the only extant, rather shabby manuscript of the Acts of F.K. to Addis Abäba and presented it to *ətege* ↗Mänän, who had it copied.

Src.: ገድለ፡ ፍቅርተ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ግዕዝና፡ አማርኛ (*Gädlä Fəqərtä Krəstos gəʿəzənna amarəñña*, 'The Vita of Fəqərtä Krestos, Gəʿəz and Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1995 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.]; KaneDic 474, 535.

Lit.: KinBibl 71, no. 52; KEFYALEW MERAHI, *The Spiritual and Social Life of Christian Women*, Addis Ababa 1998, 39f.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992, 90; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Médicine et plantes d'Éthiopie. Les traités médicaux éthiopiens*, Warszawa 1968, 51f., 88.

Denis Nosnitsin

Fəqrä Maryam Ayyälä

F.M. (ፍቅረ፡ ማርያም፡ አየለ, or Fəqre Ayyälä; b. March 1922, Kalaš, Märhabete, Šäwa Province, d. 1971, Addis Abäba) was an outstanding Ethiopian actor and musician. He attended traditional Church school in the small town of Goha Ṣəyon in Šäwa, and served there as a ↗*diyaqon* for six years. During the Italian invasion, he spent ca. six months in prison. In the course of education and life he gained knowledge of many languages: apart from Amharic, he knew Oromiffa, Təgrəñña, Gəʿəz, as well as English, Italian and Arabic.

In June 1946, he became an employee of the Addis Abäba Municipality Theatre Section to work as an actor, vocalist and trumpet-player with a 60-*bərr* monthly salary. He was one among the few privileged performing artists who were transferred to the newly built Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre in 1956. His employment contract indicates his job classification as 1st Class Actor with a 175-*bərr* monthly salary.

Fəqrä Maryam Ayyälä on stage; photo courtesy of the author

F.M. performed major roles in Yoftahe Nəguśe's አፋጀሽኝ (*Affağäšəññ*, 'You [fem.] Put me in Conflict [reference to political struggle over Ethiopia]'), Afäwärq Addafre's መቀነትዋን፡ ጥፍታ (*Mäqännätəwan ṭəfta*, 'She has Lost her Belt'), Mäkʷännən Ǝndälkaččäw's አልሞትሁም፡ ብዬ፡ አልዋሽም (*Almothum bəyye alwašəmm*, 'I do not lie saying that I am not dead'), Siläši Dəfabbaččäw's ጎንደሬው፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም (*Gondärew Gäbrä Maryam*, 'Gäbrä Maryam of Gondär'), Gərmaččäw Täklä Ḥawaryat's ቴዎድሮስ (*Tewodros*, '[Emperor] Tewodros'), Franz Zolveker's ዳዊትና፡ ኦርዮን (*Dawitənna Oryon*, 'David and Uriah'), Käbbädä Mikaʾel's አኒባል (*Anibal*, 'Hannibal'), Dawit Abdu's translation of Graham Greene's *The Way to Glory*, Abbe Gubäñña's ቂመኛ፡ ባሕታዊ (*Qimäñña baḥtawi*, 'The Vengeful Hermit'), Aššäbbər Gäbrä Ḥəywät's የንግሥተ፡ አዜብ፡ ታሪካዊ፡ ጉዞ (*Yänəgəśtä azeb tarikawi guzo*, 'The Historical Journey of the Queen of the South'), Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən's የፌዝ፡ ዶክቶር (*Yäfez doktor*, 'The Mock Doctor') and አውናባጅ፡ ደብተራ (*Awnabağ däbtära*, 'The Charlatan Church-scholar'), Mängəśtu Lämma's ጠልፎ፡ በኪሴ (*Ṭälfo bäkise*, 'Snatch and Run'), as well as in Täsfaye Gässäsä's የሺ (*Yäši* [proper name]). He had also performed as a comedian with Sahlu Ezenäh.

F.M. also had high reputation as an excellent vocalist, song-writer and composer. እስቲ፡ ተናገሪ (*Ǝsti tänaggäri*, 'Do Speak'), ሙሽራዬ (*Mušraye*, 'My Dear Bride'), አንቺ፡ የውበት፡ ጮራ (*Anči yäwəbät čorra*, 'You [fem.], a Ray of Beauty'), አልመታም፡ ቀረሁ (*Almätam qärrähu*, 'I will not Come'), ሽምብራ፡ ዱቤ (*Šəmbəra dubbe*, 'Check-pea') and ና፡ ጎበዜ (*Na gobäze*, 'Come, my Brave Man') are considered to be some of his best songs.

His popularity, on the one hand, and misconduct and drinking habit, on the other, caused him many problems: he was often reprimanded by the theatre management and once even imprisoned for three days. One of the disciplinary measures was a ban on playing music at night-clubs on a part-time basis. In October 1962, F.M. was caught singing in a night-club at the Addis Abäba Hotel. The next day, his salary was cut by half; in August 1964 he was dismissed. Four years later F.M. got his job back, but only for two years, as in October 1970 he was sacked again. He died shortly after, poor and homeless. The mourning ceremony took place at actress Asnaqäčč Wärqu's place for three days. F.M. was buried at Bale Wäld Church in Addis Abäba. He was survived by an illegitimate child.

F.M. deserved high recognition as an actor; he even inspired Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən to write a one-act play ክራር፡ ሲከር (*Kərar sikärr*, lit. 'When *Krar* is Played', here 'When Contradictions Reach the Climax'). The voluntary service F.M. rendered in Korea as a member of the 7th Infantry Division of the UN Army in the 1950s is also worth remembering.

Src.: Fəqra Maryam Ayyala's personal file no. 25, the Ethiopian National Theatre Archive, Addis Abäba; interviews with Getaččäw Debalqe, Täsfaye Sahlu, Märawi Sitot, Säyfä Araya at the Ethiopian National Theatre; with Asnaqäčč Wärqu, May 2004.

Lit.: ኢትዮጵያ፡ ብሔራዊ፡ ቲያትር፡ የሕዝብ፡ ግንኙነት፡ ክፍል፡ የሚዘጋጅ፡ አጠቃላይ፡ መጽሔት (*Ityopya bəḥerawi tiyatər yäḥəzb gənəññunnät kəfl yämmizzägağğ aṭṭäqalay mäṣəḥet*, 'Magazine Prepared by the Department of Public Relations of the National Theatre of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1981 A.D., 22, 45 (ill.).

Aboneh Ashagrie Zeyessus

Fəqrä Maryam Gämmäčču

Bishop F. (ፍቅረ፡ ማርያም፡ ገመቹ; b. 21 November 1926, Qärsa, Wayu Tuqa *wäräda*, Wälläga, d. 8 March 1994, Konč̣i) was the Roman Catholic Vicar Apostolic of ↗Neqemte. He studied first at the Consolata Catholic School in Dambi Dolloo and in 1932–41 he attended the Catholic elementary schools in Komto and Dambi Dolloo. He then moved to Addis Abäba for his secondary studies in 1943–47 at the Catholic Seminary. In December 1947 he was sent to Rome as a diocesan seminarian, together with other candidates to the priesthood (including *abba* Gäbrä Maryam Amänte, a student from Wälläga, who later worked for many years at the Catholic Cathedral of Addis Abäba); until 1952 F. stayed at the Collegio Etiopico in the Vatican (↗Santo Stefano dei Mori).

At the completion of his philosophical training at the Collegio Urbano, F. decided to join the Congregation of the Mission, or Vincentian Congregation (↗Lazarists). It seems that the issue of choosing between the Ethiopic (Gəᶜəz) and the Latin Rite played a role in his decision. He went to Paris to undertake his canonical year of noviciate with the Vincentian Congregation, followed by further theological training. He was ordained priest in Paris on 15 September 1957.

When he returned to Ethiopia, he was assigned as director of the Lazarist School in Addis Abäba. F. remained in the capital for five years and took on several responsibilities. He was involved in starting the Minor Seminary (of the Latin Rite) for the Vicariates of Harär and Ǧimma in the Lazarist compound of Addis Abäba. He was thereafter transferred to Neqemte (Neqämt), where he was active in both the pastoral ministry and the social promotion of the people he served. In Konč̣i, near Neqemte, F. restored the Holy Saviour church and built a clinic and an elementary school. In 1981, F. erected the church of Maryam Ṣəyon at Aryağawä in the proximity of Konč̣i, along with an elementary school and a clinic. On 28 October 1985, he was appointed bishop, in fact the first Oromo Roman Catholic bishop. His consecration took place on 16 February 1986. He resigned as bishop for health reasons on 18 January 1994, died soon thereafter and was buried in Konč̣i Holy Saviour church.

F. took a clear-cut stand towards the Gəᶜəz Rite (↗Catholicism). Although neither a formal decree, nor a circular was issued upon his episcopal ordination, Bishop F. made an important and legitimate gesture, asking some priests, who used to say Mass in the Ethiopic rite, not to do so in his juridically Latin-Rite Vicariate; he also demanded that both they and the religious congregations operating in the Vicariate of Neqemte remove all vestments of the Ethiopic rite. However, both the Ethiopic rite and its liturgical vestments which F. wanted to abolish had been tolerated by his Dutch predecessor Mgr. Henny Bomers; some of the religious congregations chose to retain the liturgical vestments anyway.

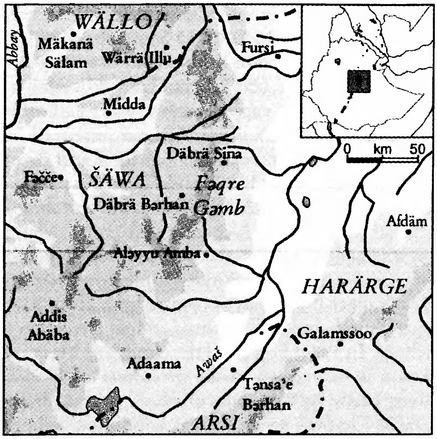
After the political events of 1991, F. gave a lengthy interview to the newspaper of the Italian Episcopal Conference "Avvenire", in which he complained about most of the developments that followed the overthrow of the *Därg*.

Lit.: ETHIOPIAN CATHOLIC SECRETARIATE (ed.), *Ethiopian Catholic Directory 1990*, [Addis Ababa] ^{2}1990, 47–50.

Tedros Abraha

Fəqre Gəmb

F.G. (ፍቅሬ፡ ግምብ, Amh. 'building [or wall] of my love') was a natural – and well-wooded – fortress on the ↗Ǝmmä Məḥrät range of mountains 10 km north-east of ↗Ankobär, the long-established


WÄLLO
ʿAbbay
Mäkanä Sälam
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Fursi
Midda
Däbrä Sina
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Fəčče
ŠÄWA
Fəqre Gəmb
Däbrä Bərhan
Afdäm
Aləyyu Amba
HARÄRGE
Addis Abäba
Galamssoo
Adaama
Awaš
Tənsa'e Bərhan
ARSI

capital of Šäwa (*Guida* 407f.; BTafA 64ff., 677, 913, 947; PankHist II, 159, 162f., 356). F.G. was used as a residence early in the 19th cent. by *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase (GueCopMen I, 71); and subsequently served as a place of refuge, in difficult times, for Bäzzabbəh Wäriq, *aṣe* Tewodros II's governor of the province (Fusella 1961:24).

F.G. grew in importance during the future Emperor ↗Mənilək II's reign as *nəguś* of Šäwa. The Italian missionary ↗Massaja claims that this took place in the late-1860s when Mənilək, fearing the province's occupation by Tewodros, established the mountain as one of his principal defensive positions: to protect Ankobär from attack, and to serve as a place of refuge in which he and his followers could find safety. Fortifications, according to Massaja, were erected under the supervision of the monarch's principal mason, by name Wäldä Giyorgis (MasMis vol. 9, 75ff.; BTafA 593ff.). To increase the importance of F.M., Mənilək reportedly declared it a royal city, and heaped favours on its already existing church, that of Giyorgis. To emphasize its renown he appointed an *aläqa*, a notable scholar called ↗Täklä Ṣəyon, as well as many priests and *däbtära*. They established a traditional church school with around 50 students, some from as far as Gondär and Goǧǧam. Massaja, who travelled to F.G. to discuss religious doctrine with its priesthood – and later introduced European vegetables there, also taught several young Ethiopians, including the illustrious future scholar, *aläqa* ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis Gäbrä Mäsih (MasMis vol. 9, 85f.; BTafA 64). The missionary also left engravings of both the mountain and the school, as well as an unflattering account of traditional Ethiopian scholarship (MasMis vol. 9, 77; vol. 10, 101).

After the death of Tewodros in April 1868, Mənilək no longer had any fear of an attack by the latter, with the result, according to Massaja, that his interest in F.G. waned. Its status as a royal city was accordingly revoked in 1870, and work on its fortifications was suspended. Subsequent threat of occupation by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, however, led to resumed work on the fortifications, which had been completed, Massaja reports, by 1870 (MasMis vol. 9, 77, 118; vol. 10, 9f.). Confirmation of the defensive significance of F.G. at this time is provided by the Italian traveller ↗Cecchi, who recalls that ditches were dug, and barricades erected, to make the mountain a secure refuge in times of danger (CecZeila 414f.). With the resumption of more stable times F.G. lost virtually all its importance.

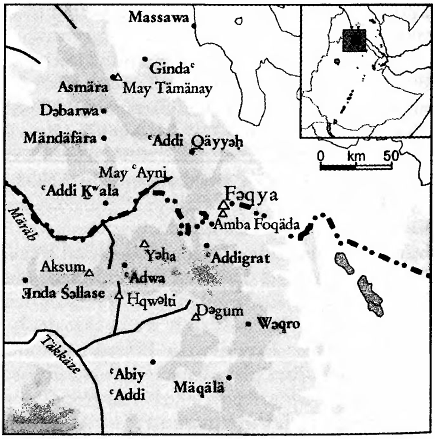
The term F.G. had earlier been applied to one of the buildings erected by *aṣe* Iyasu I (r. 1682–1706) in the Gondär palace compound (BassÉt II, 324).

Src.: BassÉt II, 93–183, 285–389, here 324; GueCopMen I, 71; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Il Dagmawi Menilek di Afewarq Gabra Iyasus", *RSE* 17, 1961, 11–44; *ibid.* 19, 1963, 119–49; MasMis vol. 9, 74–77; vol. 10, 9, 44, 62, 65, 74–77, 101, 110, 113–16, 192f., 196ff.; CecZeila 414f.; LINCOLN DE CASTRO, *Nella terra dei negus*, Milano 1915, vol. 2, 226; BTafA 64ff., 593ff., 677, 913, 947; *Guida* 407f.
Lit.: PankHist II, 159, 162f., 356.

Richard Pankhurst

Fəqya

Fəqya (ፍቅያ, also Fiqya) is an archaeological site located in the Akkälä Guzay region of Eritrea


Massawa
Gindaʿ
Asmära
May Tämänay
Dəbarwa
Mändäfära
ʿAddi Qäyyəḥ
0 km 50
May ʿAyni
ʿAddi Kʷala
Märäb
Fəqya
Amba Foqäda
Yəḥa
ʿAddigrat
Aksum
ʿAdwa
Ǝnda Śəllase
Ḥqwəlti
Dəgum
Wəqro
Täkkäze
ʿAbiy ʿAddi
Mäqälä

south-west of the town of Sänᶜafe and within 10 km distance of the ancient archaeological site of Mäṭära. The F. site probably dates to the Pre-Aksumite culture period and includes the ruins of building structures with walls constructed largely from schist rock. Architectural elements at F. suggest that the site contained a Pre-Aksumite temple structure. Also documented at F. were Pre-Aksumite inscriptions engraved in stone blocks (RIE nos. 69f.), and a rectangular-shaped offering table with two projecting broken stone sphinx-like figures.

Src.: RIE nos. 69f.; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "The Inscription from Dibdib in Erythrea", *BiOr* 11, 1954, 185–86; ID., "Nouvelles Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie", *ibid.* 13, 1956, 179–82; ID., *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leyden 1962, 19–22.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Chronique Archéologique (1960–1964)", *AE* 6, 1965, 3–26, pl. 3, fig. A–D.

Matthew C. Curtis

Fəre haymanot ↗Fəkkare haymanot

Fəre Mikaʾel

F.M. (ፍሬ፡ ሚካኤል) was a monk from the Wäräb region of Šäwa during the 15th cent. He was ordained by *nəburä əd* ↗Ǝndrəyas of Säffəᵓa some time during the reign of Zärᶜa Yaᵓəqob, and received the skullcap (*qobᶜ*) from abbot Märḥa Ṣəyon.

According to tradition, F.M. stayed six months in contemplation in a cave dug out by himself near the king's residence. After he returned from this time of meditation, he was appointed the new *nəburä əd.*

Legends record that F.M. had a spiritual relationship with St. ↗Anorewos. He reportedly healed an injured warrior by means of dust from the saint's grave. He ordered a holy grove, where "idolators worshipped their gods" to be deforested. He blessed the woodcutters and let the wood be burnt. The incense found in the grove was spread over the place. Certain pieces of wood were later used for church construction. Another holy grove near a place called Zad was completely burnt out. In the imperial residence the servants of a prince fell ill of a disease called *ker*. Inspired by St. Anorewos, the prince had a vision of F.M., who asked him to leave the place. As the prince hesitated, F.M. appeared him for the second time. Later F.M. physically appeared near the residence. Another legend says that once, when the priest was praying to God, F.M. had a vision of the *tabot* hovering at the height of three cubits above the earth. On another occasion, when F.M. was reciting the Revelation of John, the water he was standing in front of started sparkling. When fasting, F.M. skipped three to four meals in a row. And still he was powerful enough to carry the loads of others, in addition to the Psalter of David.

Src.: BORYSSUS TURAIEV, *Gadla Fərē Mikāʾēl, Acta Sancti Ferē Mikāʾēl*, Romae 1905 (CSCO 35, 36 [SAe 18, 19]), 1–11.

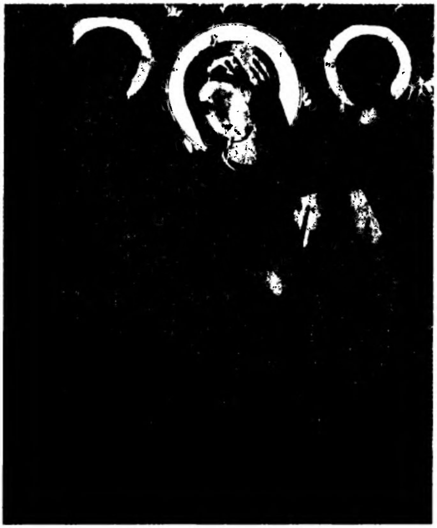
Lit.: FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Heiligen der Äthiopischen Erde*, Erlangen 1998 (Oikonomia 37), 96–100; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Ferē Mikāᵓēl", in: *EncSan* vol. 1, 548.

Friedrich Heyer

Fəre Ṣəyon

F.Ṣ. (ፍሬ፡ ጽዮን, fl. ca. 1440-70) was an Ethiopian painter from the monastery of Däbrä Gʷəgʷəben on Lake Ṭana, where he painted a series of devotional images of Our Lady ↗Mary for *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob. His only extant signed work is a large wooden devotional image (178 cm x 102 cm) painted for the church of St. Stephen at the monastery of ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos (Heldman 1994: 24f. and pl. I, II; AfrZion no. 76). In the upper register Mary with her Son Jesus are depicted, being flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel. The lower register shows St. Stephen the Deacon flanked by St. Peter and Paul. In the legend which is written at either side of St. Stephen the painter identifies himself: "This picture was made in the days of our king Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob and our Abbot Yəsḥaq of Daga. The painter [is I] the meek F.Ṣ. the sinner from Däbrä Gʷəgʷəben ..." (Heldman 1994:24f.; dates of Yəsḥaq's tenure are unknown).

Stylistic analysis allows the attribution of other works to F.Ṣ. (Heldman 1994:27–52; AfrZion nos. 4, 5, 78, 80, 81). In addition, a number of painted panels datable from the second half of the 15th cent. are related to the distinctive style of F.Ṣ.'s signed icon (Heldman 1994:54–69). All the paintings attributed to F.Ṣ. are Marian icons although each of them exhibits variations in iconography and inscription. These include a wooden panel (168 cm x 111 cm) of Our Lady Mary with the Twelve Apostles, presently at the monastery church Mädḫane ᶜAläm on ↗Rema island (Anfray 1978:168f.), the right panel (584 mm x 578 mm) of a diptych in a private collection (AfrZion no. 6) and painted icons now preserved at the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Abäba University (IES nos. 3980, 4186, 4053).



St. Mary with Child; wooden panel painted by Fəre Ṣəyon for Daga Ǝsṭifanos Monastery, Lake Ṭana; 15th cent.; photo 1967, courtesy of the author

F.Ṣ.'s devotional images display shared motifs and stylistic similarities with early 15th-cent. Italian paintings of the Madonna and Child, the feature demonstrating that F.Ṣ. had seen Italian pictorial models. His signed panel at Daga Ǝsṭifanos with a Christ child holding a grey dove should be compared with 14th-15th-cent. Italian devotional images where the Christ Child holds a goldfinch, a symbol of Christ's Passion (cp. Friedmann 1946:7f.). F.Ṣ. borrowed the bird's motif but not the symbolism because F.Ṣ.'s bird is not a multicolored goldfinch but a grey dove, a popular Marian symbol in the devotional literature of the Ethiopian Church (VelMe II, 287, 296; Grohmann 1919:72f., 88f., 173f.; Heldman 1994:130ff., 178f.). Other motifs borrowed from Italian Renaissance paintings by F.Ṣ. include, e.g., the sword carried by St. Paul (Daga Ǝsṭifanos panel, s. Heldman 1994:130-37).

The most likely milieu of cultural exchange for F.Ṣ. and a source of artistic motifs should have been the court of *aṣe* Zär᾽a Ya῾əqob. It is documented that the Emperor owned at least a few imported devotional images (CerMaria 96, 101), some of which may have been presented by emissaries from European Christian states (TadTChurch 248-67). The Marian icon was a necessary accessory for the cult of Our Lady Mary introduced by Zär᾽a Ya῾əqob during the 1440's. The Emperor mandated a ritual celebration of Our Lady Mary in the Sunday service as well as on the 32 annual Marian feast days (cp. ↗Calendar; ↗Feasts). The ritual included the solemn procession of a portable icon of Our Lady Mary through the congregation, accompanied by the burning of incense (PerZarY 81; Budge 1923:l-lii; BeckHuntAlvar 77ff., 125). In his *Mäṣḥafä ↗bərhan* Zär᾽a Ya῾əqob described how to exhibit Mary's icon within the church, placing it upon a high "throne" (*mänbär*) with a baldachin above it (CRRicBerhan II, 4).

A direct connection between F.Ṣ. and the royal court is suggested also by the striking relationship between the iconography of several of F.Ṣ.'s devotional images and the writings on the Virgin composed by Zär᾽a Ya῾əqob, in particular his collection of Marian tracts entitled *↗Ra᾽əyä tä᾽ammər* (s. Getatchew Haile 1992: 63–145). F.Ṣ. probably worked with theologians such as *abuna* ↗Yosṭinos from the court St. Mary church in ↗Däbrä Bərhan (Getatchew Haile 1983a), developing schemes that gave visual form to Zär᾽a Ya῾əqob's Mariology.

Src.: AfrZion nos. 4ff., 76ff., 80f.; BeckHuntAlvar 77ff., 125; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *One Hundred Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, London 1923, l–iii; CerMaria 96, 101; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, nos. 106 [IES no. 3980], 121 [IES no. 4053], 146 [IES no. 4186], 157 [IES no. 4324]; CRRicBerhan, II, 4 (text) = 2 (tr.); GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Life of Abunä Yosṭinos", *ABoll* 101, 1983a, 311–25; ID., *The Mariology of Emperor Zär᾽a Ya῾əqob of Ethiopia*, Rome 1992 (OrChrA 242), 63–145; ADOLF GROHMANN, *Aethiopische Marienhymnen*, Leipzig 1919 (Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 23, 4), 72f., 88f., 173f.; HamTana I, pl. 6, fig. 9; PerrZarY 81.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Chronique archéologique (1960–1964)", *AE* 6, 1965, 3–48, here 16f., pl. XIX; ID., "Enselalé, avec d'autres sites du Choa, de l'Arssi et un îlot du Lac Tana", *AE* 11, 1978, 153–80, here 168f.; ChojPaint, s. index; HERBERT FRIEDMANN, *The Symbolic Goldfinch: Its History and Significance in European Devotional Art*, Washington, DC, 1946, 7f.; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Documents on the History of Aṣé Dawit (1382–1413)", *JES* 16, 1983b, 25-35; MARILYN E. HELDMAN, "The Role of the Devotional Image in Emperor Zär᾽a Ya῾əqob's Cult of Mary", in: *PICES* 7, 131–42; EAD., *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Seyon. A Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage, and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6), 27–52, 54–69, 130-37, 178f.; EAD., "Creating Religious Art: the Status of Artisans in Highland Christian Ethiopia", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 131–47; VelMe II, 287, 296; TadTChurch 248–67.

Marilyn Heldman

Fəremənaṭos ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan

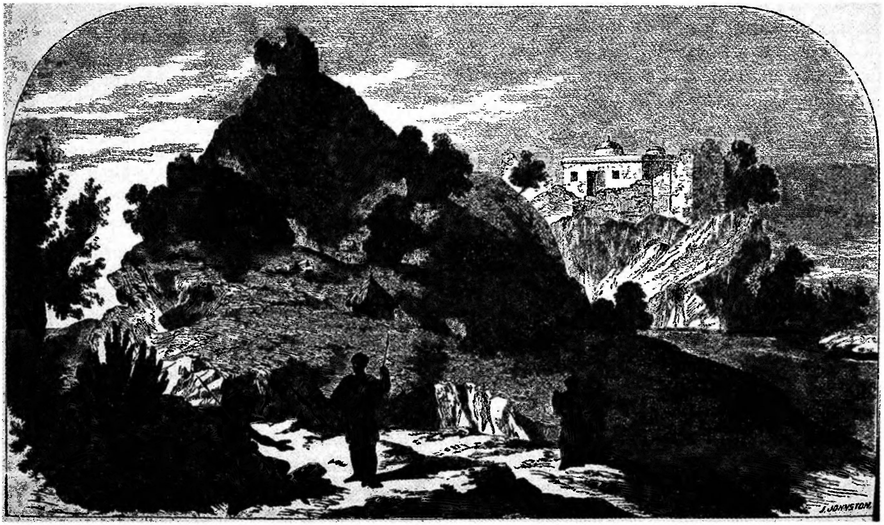
Fəremona

F. (ፍሬሞና), a historical site next to the village of May Qaḥqəḥä ("Maygoga") in Təgray, was one of the principal centres of activity of the ↗Jesuit mission and hosted a community of Ethio-Portuguese.

The hill of F. (1,981 m A.S.L., also called Ǝndet Näbbärš), flanked by the eponymous stream of May Qoqa – a tributary of the Wärʾi river and affluent of the Täkkäze – and 6 km north-east of ↗ʿAdwa, stands on a strategic location in the highlands of Təgray. Close to the ecclesiastical and former political centre of ↗Aksum (14 km north-east), it dominated an important road-junction, connecting ↗Ḥamasen, ↗Dämbəya and ↗ʿAgamä. Later, the Italian administration built there the main ʿAdwa-Asmära road. The area of F. enjoys a relatively low annual rainfall (400–800 mm), concentrated between July and August, and benefits from a mild climate. Its population density is high (100–200 inhabitants/km²) and the inhabitants, mostly Təgrəñña-speaking, practise agriculture and stock breeding.

The origin of the name F. is uncertain, but epigraphic and historical evidence points to ancient times. A reference to "Däbrä F(ə)rem" in the *ḥaśani* ↗Danəʾel inscriptions in Aksum could suggest the existence of an ancient monastery dedicated to Fəremənaṭos or Frumentius (↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan; s. Fiaccadori 1990: 327), a hypothesis that the Jesuit missionaries would later support (s. BecRASO V, 417f.; cp. Pennec 2003:154–59). In 1522, the name appears again when a "frate Raphaello" (↗Franciscans) is reported by Alessandro ↗Zorzi to have travelled southwards through "Flemona" and "Axon" [Aksum] (CrawItin 140).

F. acquired importance with the arrival of the Jesuits. Following the religious disputes in which the Bishop – later Patriarch – Andrés de ↗Oviedo confronted *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos around 1558, the missionaries went into "exile" to Təgray, where they enjoyed the favour of *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq. In the early or mid-1560s, fleeing the torrid climate of ↗Dəbarwa and probably having been granted lands by Yəsḥaq (BecRASO XI, 292), then at war with ↗Minas, they settled in and around F., together with remnants and descendants of the expedition of Christovão da ↗Gama. This community, counting some 230 Catholics (ibid. V, 430, 417f.), suffered troubles due to political instability: around 1572 Turkish troops – later to occupy Dəbarwa – ravaged the area (ibid. 440). However, they enjoyed the support of some local notables (ibid. X, 207) and a relative tolerance during ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl's long reign.



Fəremona in the 1830s, with the church of Ǝnda Giyorgis in the background; etching by J. Johnston; courtesy of Basler Mission21

The missionaries – the Patriarch together with Manuel Fernandes, Antonio ↗Fernandes and Francisco ↗Lopes – managed to keep a stable community. They received annual alms from the Portuguese king (the Ethio-Portuguese half-castes being his subjects) that reached Massawa on an irregular basis (BecRASO XI, 93) and were engaged in administering their church, preaching in the surrounding areas and providing medical care. The Jesuits also befriended with the local population and important groups of the Təgray religious microcosm, such as the monks of ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima (ibid. V, 453–66; for the second mission, s. XI, 109). They built there a rudimentary church, which later hosted the reremakers of most of the missionaries (on a possible grant by the *nəguś*, s. Couto 1777, Década VII, Livro VII, Capitulo XII; BecRASO V, 463).

The situation improved during the second missionary period (1603–32). Under *aṣe* ↗Yaʿəqob and ↗Susənyos, the village was granted as ↗*gʷəlt* to the Jesuit church and had its own ↗*šum*, appointed by the Portuguese (BecRASO XI, 100). A new church of stone and lime was erected, as well as a house with stone and mud walls, serving as a seminar for young boys (ibid. V, 456, 458; XI, 311f., 382f.). The compound, strongly fortified in the progress of time, successfully protected the community from several ↗Oromo raids upon the area (ibid. V, 458f.; XI, 434, 473; Beccari 1912: 174). F. also became a place of pilgrimage, for an image of the Holy Virgin – a copy of the famous icon kept in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome – and the tombs of the missionaries were venerated there (BecRASO XI, 62, 115, 159, 285, 312; VIII, 199). Around 1627, a new church, dedicated to the Virgin of the Assumption, was built, as well as a tower for protection and a water cistern (ibid. XII, 181, 482). During these years F. played a key role as a pivotal point connecting the coast with the southern residences – e.g. ↗Gorgora (s. Paez 1616, f. 351).

Following the restauration of the Orthodox Faith, in 1633 the Jesuits were obliged to abandon F. (BecRASO XII, 521). The community of "Portuguese" remained in place until 1648–51, when an *abba* Yämanä Krəstos, vicar of *abunä* Marqos, lead an expedition that murdered several of them and exiled the survivors to Dämbəya (ibid. XIII, 322, 380). At the end of the 17th cent., "May Gʷagʷa" and "ʿAdwa" are reported to have provided 1,000 ounces of salt-tax (HuntGeogr 239, 259) to the Christian state. By then F. probably had been abandoned in favour of a settlement on the other side of the stream of May Qoqa. In 1919, *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Ṣəyon erected a fort on top of the hill, later turned into a fortress by the Italians. The ruins of the Portuguese compound were still visible in 1936 (Guida 243).

On the same hill, to the north, the important complex of the church of Ǝnda Giyorgis (possibly bound to the ancient Däbrä Fərem) is lying. The place has an early origin, as it appears in a land-charter of *aṣe* Yəsḥaq (1414–29; CRAxum 23) and the church architecture shows late ↗Aksumite or medieval influences. In the interior of the church building there are traces of Portuguese craftsmanship (DAE III, 66), which could point to its use by the Jesuit mission (the place, though, is not mentioned in their texts). So far no survey or excavation has been carried out at F. and an archaeological enquiry is, therefore, a desideratum.

Src.: DAE III, 64ff.; *Guida* 241, 243; EMAtlas; CrawItin 140; CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Il Tigrè descritto da un missionario gesuita del secolo XVII*, Roma 1912, 174; DIOGO DO COUTO, *Da Asia*, Lisboa 1777, Década VII, Livro VII, Capitulo XII; *Letter of Pedro Paez*, 1616 [Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Goana, Hist. Aeth. 1549–1629, doc. 31], fol. 351; BecRASO V, 417f., 430, 440, 453–66; VIII, 199; X, 207; XI, 62, 93, 100, 109, 115, 159, 285, 292, 311f., 382f., 434, 473; XII, 181, 482, 521; XIII, 322, 380; CRAxum 23; HuntGeogr 239, 259.

Lit.: GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Epigraphica Aethiopica", *Quaderni utinensi* 8 [15/16], 1990 [1996], 325–33, here 327f., 331ff. (Lit.); HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au royaume du prêtre Jean (Éthiopie): stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation 1495–1633*, Paris 2003, 154–59.

Andreu Martínez

Ferenc, Alexander

F. (b. 24 July 1945, Chelm Wielki [today known as Chelm Slaski], d. 20 January 2001, Warsaw) was a Polish ethiopisant. A student of Stefan ↗Strelcyn, he successfully completed High School in Oświęcim (1962) and graduated five years later in Semitics and Ethiopian Studies. His M.A. thesis, "The Life of Isaac of Gunda Gunde", was written under supervision of Stefan Strelcyn. His doctoral thesis, "History of Oromo (Galla) on the Basis of Amharic Sources", was completed in 1976 under the supervision of Prof. Witold Tyloch. F. published many articles on the Oromo people from an Ethiopian historiographical perspective. He lectured at Warsaw University, primarily focusing on the Gəʿəz language, as well as the history of Ethiopian literature and the history of the Ethiopian

Orthodox Church. As a pioneer of his field in Poland, he popularized Ethiopian religion and poetry. He published, in numerous parish journals, translations of various ↗*qəne*, mainly dealing with Christ and Mary.

Src.: ALEKSANDER FERENC, "'Herezja' Stefanitów w Etiopii w XV–XVI w.", *Euhemer* 1–2, 1969, 71–80; ID., "Moeurs des Gallas. Un récit édité et traduit d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 38, 1, 1974, 79–94; ID., "Les Actes d'Isaie de Gunda-Gunde", *AE* 10, 1976, 243–94; ID., "Les peuples Oromo dans les écrits et l'historiographie éthiopienne", *Africana Bulletin* 29, 1980, 81–95; ID., "Rola ludu Oromo w historii Etiopii", *Przeglad Orientalistyczny* 1–4, 1984, 141–44; ID., "Myths and Traditions Concerning the Origin of the Oromo People", *Africana Bulletin* 1, 1988, 59–65; ID., "Historia Galla – wybór i tlumaczenie z jezyka giʾiz", *Afryka* 12, 2000/01, 39–59.

Lit.: EUGENIUSZ RZEWUSKI – HANNA RUBINKOWSKA, "Aleksander Ferenc (1945–2001). Wspomnienia", *Afryka* 12, 2000/01, 1–5; *The Department of African Languages and Cultures in 1999–2002*, Warsaw University 2002, 8, 25ff.

Joanna Mantel-Niećko

Ferguson, Charles Albert

One of the founders of the discipline of sociolinguistics, F. (b. 1921, Philadelphia, PA, d. 2 September 1998, Palo Alto, CA) included several important contributions to Ethiopian studies in his multifaceted output. F. was Director of the *Language Survey of Ethiopia*, part of the five-nation Ford Foundation project, "Survey of Language use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa (SLULTEA)", during 1968–69 (the other members were M. Lionel Bender and Robert L. Cooper, with J. Donald Bowen, overall SLULTEA director, also taking part from Addis Abäba and Nairobi). The overall results of the survey were published in *Language in Ethiopia* (BendLang), which still serves as a starting point for the study of Ethiopian languages in the broader context, although requiring revision in social and educational facets to account for later developments.

The details of F.'s multifaceted career can be consulted in the obituaries in *Language* and in *Language in Society*. His major areas of interest were psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, language in religion, phonology, language typology, Arabic and Bengali languages, and applied linguistics. He brought his deep and wide experience in linguistics, and especially in applied linguistics, to the Ethiopian survey, and maintained an ideal balance among the descriptive, sociolinguistic and educational aspects of the project. His publications (a sample is listed below) included the Ethiopian musical notation attributed to ↗Yared, the status of ↗Arabic in Ethiopia, Ethiopia as a language area (↗Ethiopian Language Area), a typological comparison of the Amh. copular construction and the nature and functions of language surveys.

Src.: BendLang; CHARLES ALBERT FERGUSON, "St. Yared the Deacon: Ethiopian Hymnist", *Response* 10, 1969, 136–38; ID., "The Role of Arabic in Ethiopia: a Sociolinguistic Perspective", in: *Georgetown University Round Table*, Washington, DC 1970, 355–70; ID., "The Ethiopian Language Area", *JES* 8, 2, 1970, 67–80; ID., "Verbs of 'being' in Bengali with a Note on Amharic", in: JOHN W.M. VERHAAR (ed.), *The Verb 'be' and its Synonyms: Philosophical and Grammatical Studies*, vol. 5, Dordrecht 1972, 74–114; CHARLES ALBERT FERGUSON et al., "Language in Ethiopia: Implications of a Survey for Sociolinguistic Theory and Method", *Language in Society* 1, 1972, 215–33; CHARLES ALBERT FERGUSON – SIRARPI OHANNESSIAN – EDGAR C. POLOMÉ (eds.), *Language Surveys in Developing Nations*, Arlington 1975.

Lit.: THOM HUEBNER, "Obituary: Charles Albert Ferguson", *Language in Society* 28, 1999, 431–37; ANON., "Obituary of Charles Albert Ferguson", *Language* 75, 4, 1999.

M. Lionel Bender

Fernandes, António

F. (b. in Braga, Portugal, d. 1593, Fəremona) lived in Ethiopia for 36 years as a member of the first ↗Jesuit mission. Apparently, one or both of his parents were Jewish converts, since he was identified as *cristão novo* ('new Christian'), a rather problematic social condition to bear at that time in Portugal (Wicki 1956:455). It is possible that he decided to join the Society of Jesus, not only to respond to a spiritual calling, but also to avoid being charged with crimes connected with that condition. F. entered its ranks in 1556 in Goa where the formal requisites were not so strict as in Europe. Next year, as a lay brother, he was assigned to the Ethiopian mission headed by Andrées de ↗Oviedo. He received his orders in Ethiopia and, except for the first two years, developed his activities in Təgray, with Gonçalo ↗Cardoso and Manoel ↗Fernandes and, after 1566, at ↗Fəremona.

F. wrote some letters in which he expressed the missionaries' general thought about the mission's impasse: a military offensive intervention would be the only solution to open Ethiopia to Roman Catholicism. Particularly, F. complained about the delay due to the Portuguese lack of interest – "if this business was in the hands of the king of Castille, Ethiopia would already be reduced [to the Catholic faith]" (BecRASO X, 192). As time went on, his major preoccupation became the future of the Catholic community. Affected with paralysis, he died after 16 July 1593.

Src.: BecRASO X, 192; FERNÃO GUERREIRO, *Relação anual das coisas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas missões dos anos 1600 a 1609*, vol. 3, Coimbra – Lisboa 1942 [Lisboa 1611; Spanish: Madrid 1614; German: Augsburg 1614]; BALTASAR TELLES, *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, London 1710 [Portuguese: Lisboa 1660]; JOSEF WICKI (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 4, Roma 1956, 455.

Lit.: MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "The Legacy of Jesuit Missionary Activities in Ethiopia from 1555 to 1632", in: *GetLRubMiss* 31–56; HERVÉ PENNEC, "La mission jésuite en Éthiopie au temps de Pedro Paez (1583–1622) et ses rapports avec le pouvoir éthiopien", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1993, but 1995], 77–115; *ibid.* 37, 1993 [1995, but 1996], 135–65; *ibid.* 38, 1994 [1996, but 1997], 139–81.

Isabel Boavida

Fernandes, António

F. (b. 1567, Lisboa, d. 12 or 13 November 1642, Goa) lived in Ethiopia for 29 years as a member of the second ↗Jesuit Mission. He entered the Society of Jesus as a novice in the Colégio do Espírito Santo, Évora, in 1586 and sailed to India in 1602. In Goa he was assigned to the Ethiopian mission and travelled together with Father Francesco Antonio de Angelis in 1604. To assist properly the Catholic community, scattered in different provinces of the country, the Jesuits, headed by Pedro ↗Páez, founded new residences. F. worked at Märäba (1605–07), (Old) ↗Gorgora (1608–09) – both in Dämbəya – Nanina and Qʷäläla (1610–11) in Goǧǧam. He participated in the theological controversies with the Orthodox Täwaḥədo clergy and composed a catalogue of the "errors" they defended (BecRASO XI, 201ff.); later, in 1621, he was said to be writing a controversial book (ibid., 484) that might be the ↗*Mäqśäftä ḥassätat* ('Whip of Lies'), later printed in Goa (1642), in which he refuted the ↗*Mäzgäbä haymanot* ('Treasure of Faith'), discussing such theological issues as the nature of Christ and the origin of the Holy Spirit.

In 1613 F. joined a secret diplomatic mission with Fəqurä Ǝgziʾ, appointed ambassador to the Holy See of Rome and to King Phillip III of Spain (II of Portugal) by *aṣe* Susənyos. They had to avoid the Red Sea harbours and the land-route to Cairo, all controlled by the Ottoman powers, and travelled southwards through Ǝnnarya, expecting to reach Malindi and open a long-sought new route to the Ethiopian plateau. They went as far as the lands of Kämbata and Ǧänǧäro and returned one year and seven months after. Several aspects of the way of life of the southern peoples were reported for the first time (Pais 1946: 202–34; BecRASO XI, 305–09).

As Vicar-General of the Jesuit mission since 1619, F. spread "the happy news on the conversion of Ethiopia" (ibid. XI, 509). He was given special ecclesiastical powers to test the Ethiopian clergy and to revise their sacred books. In the beginning of 1624, he finished a correction of the *Haymanotä abäw* ordered by Susənyos to replace the Orthodox version (BecRASO XII, 14, 55). Apparently, he also wrote (in Portuguese) a *Treatise in Praise of the Guardian Angel*, a *Treatise on Fasting*, another about *Ecclesiastical Immunity* and (in Gəᶜəz?) an *Instruction for Confessors*. After the arrival of Patriarch Afonso ↗Mendes (1625), he became his private confessor and senior of the Patriarch's household in Däbsan, Ǝnfraz, where he was also charged with the training and examination of new priests. F. accompanied the Catholic Patriarch to ↗Fəremona in 1633 and, one year later, to Sawākin, where Mendes remained imprisoned while other companions in faith and misfortune, including F., could sail back to India. For seven years he held the position of Prefect at the Jesuit College of São Paulo in Goa where he died.

Src.: BecRASO XI, 201ff., 305–09, 484, 509; XII, 14, 55; XIII; ANTÓNIO FERNANDES, *Comentarii in Visiones Veteris Testamenti*, Lugduni 1617; ID., *Magseph assetat id est Flagellum mendaciorum ...*, Goa 1642; ID., *Vida da Santíssima Virgem Maria*, Goa 1652; PÊRO PAIS, *História da Etiópia*, 3 vols., Porto 1945–46; BALTASAR TELLES, *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, London 1710 [Portuguese: Lisboa 1660].

Lit.: MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "The Legacy of Jesuit Missionary Activities in Ethiopia from 1555 to 1632", in: *GetLRubMiss* 31–56; HERVÉ PENNEC, "La correspondance royale éthiopico-européenne de 1607, traduite et réinterpretée", *Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Africaines* 9, 1998, 91–111; ID., *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean*, Paris 2003; TEWELDE BEIENE, *La politica cattolica di Seltan Sägäd I (1607–1632) e la missione della Compagnia di Gesù in Etiopia. Precedenti, evoluzione e problematiche, 1589–1632*, Roma 1983.

Isabel Boavida

Fernandes, António

F. (b. 1603 in Viana do Alvito, Portugal, d. 1636, Dio, India) lived for eight years in Ethiopia, the last one under persecution, as a Jesuit missionary. Being assigned to the flourishing Catholic mission in Ethiopia, he arrived there with four brothers in the faith, João de Sousa, João Pereira, Francisco Rodrigues, and Damião Calaça. In 1630–31, he was working at the House of ↗Fəremona, with José Giroco, preaching and baptizing. Once the banishment order was issued in 1633 and the Jesuits definitely forced to leave Fəremona, where they were assembled, in 1634 at Easter time, F. sailed back to India where he arrived in October. He held the position of Principal at the Jesuit College in ↗Dio until he caught a bad fever and died.

Src.: BecRASO XI–XIII; BALTASAR TELLES, *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, London 1710 [Portuguese: Lisboa 1660].

Lit.: MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "The Legacy of Jesuit Missionary Activities in Ethiopia from 1555 to 1632", in: *GetLRubMiss* 31–56; HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean*, Paris 2003.

Isabel Boavida

Fernandes, Manoel

F. (b. ca. 1515, Olivença, Portugal [today in Spain], d. 25 December 1583, Fəremona) lived for 26 years in Ethiopia as priest superior of the first Catholic mission. He was already a mature man when he entered the Society of Jesus and took holy orders (1553). Assigned to the Ethiopian mission, he travelled to India in 1555 and, two years later, to Ethiopia, via Ḥərgigo, with the group led by Andres de ↗Oviedo. When *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos refused to accept the dogma of the Roman Church, the missionaries left the court and restricted their activities to spiritual assistance to the Catholic community in Təgray (BecRASO X, 146–56). The continuous conflicts that ravaged the country rendered Təgray a very insecure place and many Catholic families sought refuge in Dämbəya. Consequently in 1575, F. went there to assist them, replacing the deceased Father ↗Cardoso. As his peers did, he often requested Portuguese assistance for the "poor Catholic people wandering here and there" (ibid. 259) and defended Holy War as a means to open not only Ethiopia, but also "a certain Europe" (e.g., the countries where the Reformed Churches flourished) to massive conversion to Roman Catholicism (Guerreiro 1942:356).

Src.: BecRASO X, 146–56, 259; FERNÃO GUERREIRO, *Relação anual das coisas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas missões dos anos 1600 a 1609*, vol. 3, Coimbra – Lisboa 1942 [Lisboa ^{1}1611]; BALTASAR TELLES, *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, London 1710 [Portuguese: Lisboa 1660]; JOSEF WICKI (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 4, Roma 1956.

Lit.: MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "The Legacy of Jesuit Missionary Activities in Ethiopia from 1555 to 1632", in: *GetLRubMiss* 31–56; HERVÉ PENNEC, "La mission jésuite en Éthiopie au temps de Pedro Paez (1583–1622) et ses rapports avec le pouvoir éthiopien", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1993, but 1995], 77–115; *ibid.* 37, 1993 [1995, but 1996], 135–65; *ibid.* 38, 1994 [1996, but 1997], 139–81.

Isabel Boavida

Ferrandi, Ugo

F. (b. 6 January 1852, Novara, d. 26 October 1928, Novara) was an Italian traveller. After several seaborne voyages and a visit to Egypt in 1861, F. was engaged in the failed attempt of the Franzoj expedition to reach the southern Danakil (↗ᶜAfar) in 1886. He was in Massawa in 1887 as a war correspondent. In April 1888 he moved to Zaylaᶜ and then to Harär, studying the Ogaden and the course of the Juba (↗Ganaalee) river. After a brief stop in Aden, he was back in Harär in November 1888 as agent of the Howarth House. He remained there until his repatriation in 1889.

In Harär the Società Milanese di Esplorazioni Commerciali in Africa entrusted him with the exploration of the courses of the rivers ↗Omo and Juba, a task which was never realized. F. briefly worked as a secretary in the Bienenfeld Company in Aden, from where in 1891 he attempted to travel to Somalia to explore the lower ↗Wabi Šäbälle and the Juba up to Manṣūr, near Bardera. After a short journey to German East Africa, he assumed a position in the Filonardi Company as inspector of Brava coastal customs. He recieved there an invitation from the Italian Geographical Society to participate in the ↗Bottego expedition. F. stayed in Lugh (later Lugh Ferrandi, cp. Guida 594) from December 1895 until the end of 1897, there facing the attacks of Ethiopian troops (after the battle of ᶜAdwa) and returned to Italy in November 1897, where he remained until 1900. After a period in Eritrea, in 1903 he was in Tripoli, where he explored its surroundings up to Homs. There he joined the Chiesi mission to Benadir, where, together with Girolamo Cappello, he was the head of the administration of the Società Anonima Commerciale Italiana del Benadir from 5 October 1903 until 11 November 1903 in Bardera. He returned to Italy in early 1909, but was again in Benadir in 1910 as Commissary of the Upper Juba until January 1912. He retired in 1923.

Src.: UGO FERRANDI, *Itinerari africani.* I *Da Lugh alla costa*, Novara 1902; ID., *Lugh, emporio commerciale sul Giuba*, Roma 1903; *Guida* 594.

Lit.: PIETRO BOLZON, *La commemorazione di Ugo Ferrandi*, Roma 1928; EMILIO DE BONO, *Ugo Ferrandi*, Novara 1937; ANNA MARIA GAVELLO, *Ugo Ferrandi esploratore novarese*, Novara – Genova 1975.

Giancarlo Stella

Ferret, Pierre Victor Adolphe

Captain F. (b. 1814, Realmont, Tarn, d. 1874) was a young graduate of the French Military Accademy of St. Cyr, and travelled with a fellow staff-officer, Captain Joseph-Germain ↗Galinier, to Ethiopia in 1840. Both were sent by the French Government to study the "customs, habits, religions, political institutions and natural resources" of the Ethiopians. On leaving France, the two travellers sailed first to Egypt, where they learnt Arabic in the hope that it would assist them on their journey. They then made their way down the Red Sea to Jeddah, and thence to Massawa, where they landed on 21 October 1840. They then proceeded via ᶜAdwa and Aksum to Šire, ᶜAgamä and Ǝndärta before crossing the Täkäzze river to visit Anṭalo and Çäläqot, and eventually proceeded to Gondär and Lake Ṭana. On their return to France, they published a detailed three-volume work, which appeared in Paris in 1847. It contained a valuable account of their travels and, notably, of their meeting with *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, ruler of Təgray and Səmen. The third volume comprised a detailed survey of the country's geology, botany, zoology, astronomy, geography and meteorology.

F. subsequently pursued a notable military career. After fighting against insurgents prior to the Revolution of 1848, he was awarded the Légion d'honneur. He later fought in French Algeria and was inducted into Napoleon III's Imperial Guard. Captured by the Germans in the Franco-Prussian war, he was duly promoted a general and had a street named after him in his native town.

Src.: PIERRE VICTOR ADOLPHE FERRET – JOSEPH GERMAIN GALINIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie dans les provinces du Tigré, du Samen et de l'Amhara*, Paris 1847, 3 vols., with an atlas; IID., "Note sur les antiquités de l'Abyssinie", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 1, 1844, 25–30.

Lit.: GEORGES MALÉCOT, *Les voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie de 1835 à 1870*, Paris 1972.

Richard Pankhurst

Fəśśəḥa Giyorgis ᶜAbiyä Ǝgziʾ

Däbtära F.G. (ፍሥሐ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ዓቢየ፡ እግዚእ, b. 1868, Yəḥa, ᶜAdwa, d. 1931, ᶜAddi Zenu, Säraye) was a writer, historian and theologian who combined traditional church learning and western education. He is regarded as the founder of the Təgrəñña literary tradition.

F.G. was a native to the ᶜAdwa region, but he spent more than two-thirds of his life in Eritrea, where he eventually remained. Hardly anything is recorded about his early life, but he apparently enjoyed a high-church education in his home region and possibly in the monasteries of Eritrea such as Däbrä Maryam and Däbrä Bizän before he arrived in Massawa in the late 1880s.

Why he travelled to the coast is obscure. It seems that the great famine of 1888–92 had prompted him, like it did with thousands of others, to seek food at the port where grain, imported by the Italian colonial administration, was available. F.G. was in any case in Massawa as early as 1889 and he was already in contact with Count ↗Antonelli and other Italian officials.

At the end of this year, he accompanied *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel (apparently on behalf of the Italians) from Massawa through Asmära, Säraye, ᶜAdwa and Ḥawzen to Mäqälä probably as an interpreter and guide. In his *Storia d'Etiopia* he gives a vivid account of this journey and the tragic events he witnessed (Fesseha Giyorgis 1987:125-33). As soon as the *ras* joined the newly crowned Emperor *aṣe* Mənilək II, F.G. returned to Massawa, from where he went to Italy in 1890 to teach Geᶜez, Təgrəñña and Amharic at the Oriental Institute in Naples under the auspices of Francesco ↗Gallina to whom he dedicated his first publication in 1895. At the same time, he learnt Italian, Latin and Arabic which provided him access to foreign works on Ethiopia.

The first work of F.G. to be published was a brief account of his journey from his home country to Italy (Fəśśəḥa Giyorgis 1895) which he wrote at the instigation of the academic members of the Oriental Institute to serve as a textbook for Təgrəñña. It turned out to be a brilliant essay which scholars subsequently regarded as the first impressive Təgrəñña literary piece.

At about the same time, F.G. penned a more-elaborate work and perhaps one which attracted the attention of a wider public; namely, a history of Ethiopia from its origin to 1890 which was published by Yaᶜəqob Bäyyänä (s. Fesseha Giyorgis 1987). This work, written in Təgrəñña, is of a special interest to linguists and historians alike. His interpretation tends to be of the traditional type, but his presentation is very systematic and lucid. In so far as most Ethiopian traditional historians tended to be region-oriented in their accounts, events in the north were thereby generally neglected in the works of the writers from Gondär, Goǧǧam and Šäwa. Hence, F.G.'s historical work fills an important gap in the historiography.

A third work of F.G. was a history of the Arabs and the Egyptians which appeared in print under the title "Storia degli Arabi e degli Egiziani" (Fəśśəḥa Giyorgis 1897). This work was a mixture of translation and his own composition. Some tracts attributed to him were also published under the pen-name of Zäwäldi in 1899–1900.

When exactly F.G. returned to Eritrea, what he did for a living thereafter and whether he continued to write at all is unknown.

Src.: FESSEHA GIYORGIS, *Storia d'Etiopia*, ed. by YAQOB BEYENE, Napoli 1987, vii–xii, 125–33, 232–36; FƎŚŚƎḤA GIYORGIS, ብዛዕባ፡ እንካብ፡ ጦብያ፡ ንኢጣልያ፡ መንገዱን፡ ነዙ፡ ሃገር፡ እዙይ፡ እውን፡ ብምርኣይ፡ አብ፡ ሰብንቱ፡ ጦብላሕ፡ ዝበሎ፡ ጦብላሕታን. *Notizie del Viaggio di un Etiopico dall'Etiopia all'Italia*, Roma 1895, 1–16; ID., እንካብ፡ ዓረብኛ፡ እተገልበጠ፡ ቅያ፡ ቀዳሞት፡ አዕራብን፡ እንካብ፡ ኢጣልያ፡ እተገልበጠ፡ ታሪኽ፡ አግባጽን. *Storia degli Arabi e degli Egiziani tradotta in lingua tigrai*, Roma 1897.
Lit.: RicLett 885ff.; GHIRMAI NEGASH, *A History of Tigrinya Literature in Eritrea: the Oral and the Written, 1890–1991*, Leiden 1999, 77–87, 82ff.; BAIRU TAFLA, "A Turning-Point in Ethiopian Historiography from within", in: RAINER VOIGT (ed.), *Die äthiopischen Studien im 20. Jahrhundert – Ethiopian Studies in the 20th Century: Akten der Internationalen Tagung Berlin 22. bis 24. Juli 2000*, Aachen 2003 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 2), 167–71; HAILU HABTU, *Aspects of Tigrigna Literature (until 1974)*, M.A. thesis, University of London 1981, 13; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 3, 1962, 241–90, here 258.

Bairu Tafla

Fəśśəḥa Krəstos

F.K. (ፍሥሐ፡ ክርስቶስ, lit. 'the joy of Christ', var. ፍሣ፡ ክርስቶስ, Fəśśa Krəstos, ፍሣ፡ ክሶስ, Fəśśa Kəssos) is mentioned for the first time in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I under the month of October 1677 with the title of ↗*fitawrari*. *Aṣe* Yoḥannəs died on 19 July 1682, and the new sovereign, *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, appointed F.K. as regent of Goǧǧam. However, soon after F.K. was returned to Gondär and made a commander of one of the royal-guard regiments. In 1693 he was awarded his next title of ↗*däǧǧazmač*.

F.K. always remained with his sovereign and took part in all his campaigns. When, in March 1706, Iyasu took a sudden decision to abdicate in favour of his elder son ↗Täklä Haymanot, who at the moment was in rebellion and had proclaimed himself emperor, it was precisely to F.K. that Iyasu entrusted his other sons to be handed to Täklä Haymanot for further confinement at the royal prison of ↗Wähni Amba, the conventional place of detention for all possible pretenders to the throne. The future fate of F.K. is obscure, but he was still alive in May 1698.

Src.: GuiIohan 20ff., 62f.,136, 159f., 193 (text) = 20ff., 60f., 142, 167, 203 (tr.); BegCron 62, 84, 94f.; BassÉt I, 371f., II, 321; DombrChr 212, 226, 240f., 260.
Lit.: TSTarik III, 282.

Sevir Chernetsov

Fəṭḥa Mägarəḥ

F.M. is the major customary law of the ↗Bilin. The name alludes to the legend of the founder of this ethnic group, who first established himself in the plain of Mägarəḥ, close to ↗Kärän in the present-day Ansäba *zoba*. According to Munzinger (1891:39), the idea of God as a principle of law is not known to the Bilin and law and morals are not connected. A bad action not involving a neighbour too closely is not a crime and the punishment in this case is left to God: "What is against God, relates to God". This seems to offer some evidence that traditional law in this area is secular and not influenced by religion.

The bulk of the Bilin converted to ↗Islam during the 19th cent. They were an oligarchic and aristocratic society divided into (at least) two castes. Their traditional law reflected the division between dominators and dominated, between nobles and vassals. Before the Italian occupation they were ruled in some periods by highlanders (*ḥabäša*), in others by Egyptians. According to Mondaini (1941), Bilin traditions originated in the highlands and were modified under the influence of foreign customs (↗Beǧa coming from the north and ↗Sāho from south-east), and by religion (Islam). The same author argues that differences between the F.M. and highland-Təgrəñña laws are not very relevant and that, on the whole, traditional law seems to have had a stronger influence than Islamic law in the life of the Bilin community (Mondaini 1941:136ff.). However, it is clear that in some cases the ↗*šarīʿa* modified the traditions, often radically (Favali – Pateman 2003:29); e.g., some of the most ancient aspects of tradition, such as vassalage, were entirely replaced with the Qurʾānic rules (Pollera 1996:99).

In the case of an irresolvable land dispute, a "foreign prince" could be asked to arbitrate; however, he made his judgement in accordance with the law of the F.M. (Munzinger 1891: 42ff.). Women were not allowed to participate in a blood feud. If a Bilin woman was accused of murder, the person to be targeted was whichever male was her "protector" (Conti Rossini 1916: 646). If the written code makes no provision for a particular case, elders will refer back to unwritten law that predates the F.M. (Ghebil Temnewo 1999:4).

↗Law

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916, 646; Lyda Favali – Roy Pateman, *Blood, Land, and Sex: Legal and Political Pluralism in Eritrea*, Bloomington 2003, 29; Gennaro Mondaini, *La legislazione coloniale italiana nel suo sviluppo storico e nel suo stato attuale (1881–1940)*, vol. 1, Milano 1941, 136ff.; Ghebil Temnewo, *Murder and Blood Money under the Fitʾha Megarh*, LL.B. senior thesis, University of Asmara 1999, 4; Werner Munzinger, *Dei costumi e del diritto dei Bogos*, Roma 1891, 39, 42ff.; Alberto Pollera, *The Native Peoples of Eritrea*, Asmara 1966 [= PollEr], 99.

Lyda Favali

Fəṭḥa nägäśt

The F.n. (**ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት**, 'The Law of the Kings') is a book of law that has been in use in Christian Ethiopia since at least the 16th cent. In spite of its being an object of considerable pride and veneration by Ethiopians, it is not an original Ethiopian composition, for it is rather derived from an Arabic work known as مجموع القوانين (*Maǧmūᶜ al-qawānīn*, 'Collection of Canons'), written in the year 1238 by the Christian Egyptian jurist Abū l-Faḍāʾil b. al-ᶜAssāl aṣ-Ṣafī, a contemporary of Patriarch Cyril III of Alexandria (1235–43; s. ↗Coptic Church).

Ibn al-ᶜAssāl's work (GrafLit vol. 2, 400ff.) was divided into two parts, dealing with religious (22 chs.) and, respectively, secular or civil matters (29 chs.). The sources of the first part were the Old and the New Testaments, writings of alleged Apostolic origin, Canons of the early Councils and writings of Church Fathers. In compiling the secular part, Ibn al-ᶜAssāl relied mostly on a four-book collection of laws known as *Canons of the Kings* (GrafLit vol. 1, 618ff.). The first book of this collection is the *Procheiros nomos*, a handbook of Roman-Byzantine laws collected and edited between 870 and 878 under the Byzantine Emperor Basilius I; the second is an Arabic version of the so-called *Syro-Roman Book of Law*; the third has been recognized as an Arabic version of a handbook of Roman-Byzantine laws, i.e. the *Ecloga* of the Emperors Leo III and Constantine V (with the "Canons of the Nicean Fathers"); the fourth corresponds to the *Precepts of the Old Testament*, a compilation of ritual and moral rules from the Pentateuch with Christian interpolations. Some scholars deem this work to have been compiled for the use of the Episcopalis audientia, i.e. the court(s) held in Egypt by Coptic bishops – the author himself stating in his introduction that the *Nomocanon* was meant to guide the judges in their duty.

The date of the Ethiopic translation is still debated. Yet, according to the most authoritative opinion, based on philological evidence, the F.n. is a creation of 16th-cent. ↗Gəᶜəz literature (Guidi 1901:501f.). According to Ethiopian tradition, the F.n. was introduced into Ethiopia during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob: a certain "Ṗeṭros Abdä Säyd [ᶜAbdassayyid?]", an Egyptian native, brought the book from Egypt to Ethiopia at the request and at the expense of the Emperor. As to the translator, at the end of the F.n., a note reads: "(the book) was translated by Ṗeṭros, the son of Abdä Sayd" (Guidi 1897: 335; Paulos Tzadua 1968:319). A passage in the Ethiopic ↗*Senodos*, referring to a "Book of the Law of Kings", has prompted the hypothesis that the F.n. was translated before the *Senodos* (Getatchew Haile 1981:94). As a matter of fact, the same reference to a "Book concerning the Sentences of the Kings" is already found in the original section of the Arabic *Sinūdūs*, circulating as early as between 1229 and 1234, i.e. before the composition of Ibn al-ᶜAssāl's work (Bausi 1990:36f.).

The difficult style and poor quality of the Gəᶜəz translation are partly due to the fact that the translator had to deal with legal concepts and terms to which no Ethiopic correspondents existed. Admittedly, the F.n. does not reflect in full the life and customs of the Ethiopians. It is however undeniable that it was held in great esteem by local scholars and judges due to its spiritual character, brought about by continuous references to the Holy Scriptures and Church Canons, all of which constituted the core of traditional learning. The book's prestige was further enhanced by the belief, common among Ethiopians, that it had been written by the 318 Fathers of the Council of ↗Nicaea.

The formal position of the F.n. as the supreme ruling law of Ethiopia is confirmed by many documents. The first one to bear witness to the application of the F.n. as law goes back to the reign of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl (CRHist 75f.). The Chronicles of *aṣe* Susənyos, *aṣe* Iyasu II, *aṣe* Iyoʾas I, *aṣe* Tewodros II and *aṣe* Mənilək II mention the authority of the F.n. in civil and penal matters. More remarkably, in a law issued by Mənilək II concerning the powers and duties of the Minister of Justice, it was expressly provided that the F.n. be the law regulating civil and duties of the Minister. Art. 2 of the regulation established that "the Minister of Justice must supervise every judgement diligently and conformably to the expression of F.n." (MahZekr 68f.).

As a mark of importance of the F.n. in the legal system of Ethiopia, it is worth mentioning some instances related to the modern legislation of the country. In promulgating Ethiopia's first Penal Code in 1930 (↗Criminal Codes), the legislator clearly stated that his work was a "revision" of the F.n., "updated" so as to meet the needs of present times. He emphasized his intention not to depart from the law written in the F.n. and he made clear references to the latter in more than 60 Articles. In 1957 a new Penal Code was issued, prefacing to which Ḫaylä Śəllase I declared: "We have ensured that their concepts [the concepts elaborated by the Commission of Codification] adopted as a point of departure the venerable and well-established legal traditions of our Empire as revealed in the Fetha Neguest". In 1960 the Civil Code of Ethiopia was enacted, to which preface it was stated that "the Codification Commission ... has been inspired in its labours by the genius of Ethiopian legal traditions and institutions as revealed by the ancient and venerable Fetha Neguest".

The archaic tendency to blend secular with religious matters, common to the F.n., has indeed contributed to a conception of law as something intrinsically sacred in character, though this mental attitude was primarily derived from Christian principles deeply rooted in Ethiopia. A work such as the F.n., full of Biblical and Christian wisdom as well as of juridical principles of eminent pedigree, was to be much revered by people that boast such a longstanding juristic tradition and an almost innate sense of law. At the same time, the function of the book as a ruling law should not be overestimated; in fact, the common every day life (including dealing with crimes and judicial procedures) was better regulated by the ↗customary law. Being a very complicated book, the F.n. was heard of by many, but really understood only by a few educated clergymen and traditional scholars. It was studied in the school of exegesis (↗*Maṣḥaf bet*), i.e. the traditional school of the highest level; along with the computus, being considered the most difficult subject (s. Guidi 1899:xiv).

Src.: Ignazio Guidi (ed., tr.), *Il "Fetḥa Nagast" o "Legislazione dei Re" codice ecclesiastico e civile di Abissinia*, Napoli 1897 (text), 1899 (tr.); Paulos Tzadua (ed., tr.), *The Fetha Nagast*. ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት. *The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968 (Lit.); ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት፡ ሥጋዊ፡ ወመንፈሳዊ (*Fətḥa nägäśt śəgawi wämänfäsawi*, 'Law of the Kings, Corporeal and Spiritual'), Aśmära 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]; ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት፡ ንባቡና፡ ትርጓሜው (*Fətḥa nägäśt nəbabənna tərgʷamew*, 'Law of the Kings, its Reading and Interpretation'), Addis Abäba 1958 A.M. [1965/66 A.D.]; SixDeu 296, no. 130 (Lit.); MahZekr 68f.; CRHist 75f.; ZanLitTheod; PerCron; Wilhelm Riedel (ed., tr.), *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien zusammengestellt und zum Teil übersetzt*, Leipzig 1900; Eduard Sachau – Karl Georg Bruns (ed., tr.), *Syrisch-Römisches Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1880.

Lit.: Alessandro Bausi, "Alcune considerazione sul 'Sēnodos' etiopico", *RSE* 34, 1990 [1992], 5–73, here 36f.; Giuseppe A. Costanzo, *L'Ecloga araba nel Fetḥa Nagast e la sua prima versione in italiano*, Roma 1947; GrafLit vol. 1, 618ff.; vol. 2, 400ff. (Lit.); Ignazio Guidi, "Der aethiopische Sēnodos", *ZDMG* 55, 1901, 495–502; Id., "Contributi alla storia letteraria di Abissinia. Un responso sul diritto d'asilo", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 31, 1922, 210–18; GuiLet 78f.; Getatchew Haile, "A Study of the Issues Raised in Two Homilies of Emperor Zärʾa Yaʿeqob of Ethiopia", *ZDMG* 131, 1981, 85–113, 94; Carlo Alfonso Nallino, "Libri giuridici bizantini in versioni arabe cristiane dei sec. XII–XIII", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 1, 1925, 101–65 [repr. in: Maria Nallino (ed.), *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, vol. 4, Roma 1942, 324–82].

Paulos Tzadua – [Red.]

Fətḥat

F. (ፍትሐት, 'Absolution [of the Dead]'), both the ritual and prayer, is substantial part of the Ethiopian Orthodox funeral rite (↗Burial; ↗Funerals). The entire funeral rite is sometimes called F.

As the person feels that he or she will depart soon, immediately the priests are called to perform the ↗Unction, that should be preceded by the confession and absolution. Different prayers are prayed from the time the soul is separated from the flesh until the body is buried, e.g. prayer on the separation of the soul, prayer on the water with which the body will be washed, prayer on the oil which will be rubbed on the body. As to the F., in the common version of the *Mäṣḥafä*

↗*gənzät* there is an extensive prayer, called in full ጸሎተ፡ ፍትሐት፡ ላዕለ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ ሙታን (*Ṣälotä fətḥat laᶜəlä kʷəllomu mutan*, 'The Prayer of Absolution over all the Deceased') that should be read in the house of the deceased after the corpse is prepared for the burial (*Mäṣḥafä gənzät* 1944, ch. 9; Dobberahn 1997:900–17), but before the start of the funeral procession (which is called የጉዞ ፡ ፍትሐት, *yäguzo fətḥat*, lit., 'the F. travel'). The main sources of the prayer are the Old and New Testaments, especially the Psalms and the Prophets. The prayer asks God for forgiveness of sins and mercy to the souls of all the deceased faithful. It is performed before particular prayers for different categories of the deceased – clerics and laymen, men and women etc. It is remarkable that this F. is followed by still another absolution prayer for all the deceased, without differentiating between laymen and clergy (*Mäṣḥafä gənzät* 1944, ch. 10; Dobberahn 1997:918-33). Than the ritual proceeds till the last burial stage, called ግብ አተ፡ መሬት (*gəbʾatä märet*, 'entering the earth').

Ch. 22 of the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* dictates that the psalms and prayers should be recited for 40 days continuously and, when it is possible, after six months and one year. After the burial of the dead, there are prayers on the 3rd, 7th, 12th, 20th, 30th, 40th and 80th days (cp. ↗*täzkar*). The main prayer is on the 40th day for men and 80th day for women.

Src.: መጽሐፈ፡ ግንዘት። ጸሎት፡ ላዕለ፡ ምውታን (*Mäṣḥafä gənzät. Ṣälot laᶜəlä məwtan*, 'The Book of the Dead's Wrapping. Prayer over the Deceased'), Addis Abäba 1944, ²1979 A.M. [1951/52; ²1986/87 A.D.]; FRIEDRICH ERICH DOBBERAHN, "Das äthiopische Begräbnisritus", in: HANSJAKOB BECKER – HERMAN ÜHLEIN, *Liturgie im Angesichts des Todes. Judentum und Ostkirchen*, Sankt Ottilien 1997, vol. I [*Texte und Kommentare*]: 137-316, 657-84 (Lit.); vol. II [*Übersetzungen, Anhänge und Register*], 859–1036; vol. II ["Weitere Formulare zum äthiopischen Begräbnisritus"], 1397–432, 1506f. (Pietas liturgica 9, 10); PAULOS TZADUA, *The Fetha Nagast.* ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት. *The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968. Lit.: KWKDic 737; CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition*, Paris 2002, 125ff.; HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, ጥንታዊ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ትምህርት (*Ṭəntawi yäʾityopya śərᶜatä təmhərt*, 'The Old Order of Ethiopian Learning'), Addis Abäba 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.], 105ff.; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopien. Christliches Reich zwischen Gestern und Morgen*, Wiesbaden 1967, 142f.

Merawi Tebeje – Red.

Fətḥat zäwäld

F. (ፍትሐት፡ ዘወልድ, 'Absolution of the Son'), is a prayer of absolution recited by the priest over the faithful at confession and at the end of the rite of offering up incense. It is part of the Coptic Ordinary of the Mass, where it has the Arabic title *taḥlīl al-ibn*. The prayer is based on the authority given by Our Lord to the Apostles and their successors, the clergy, in Jn 20:22–23, to absolve repenting sinners from their sins. As it is part of the preparatory service, or Ordinary of the Mass, of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church liturgy, one finds it copied in most manuscripts of the missal. It has also been published in Ethiopia more than once and an abbreviated version of it is found in the *Mäṣḥafä qəddase* published in the Vatican City in 1945. Marcos Daoud and Märsəᶜe Ḥazän's translation of the missal into English and Arabic in *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church* includes this prayer.

Src.: መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ በግዕዝና፡ ባማርኛ (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase bägəᶜəzənna bamarəñña*, 'The Book of the Liturgy in Gəᶜəz and Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.], 23ff.; MARCOS DAOUD – MARSIE HAZEN (tr.), *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Cairo 1959, 31ff.; መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, 'The Book of the Liturgy'), Città del Vaticano 1945, 34f.; *Kitāb al-Ḫūlāǧī al-muqaddas* ('The Holy Book of the Euchologion'), Cairo 1902, 128–33; F.E. BRIGHTMAN – C.E. HAMMOND, *Liturgies Eastern and Western, being the Text Original or Translated of the Principal Liturgies of the Church*, Oxford 1896, 148f., 205–08.

Getatchew Haile

Feudalism

F. is generally defined as the system of polity which prevailed in Europe during the Middle Ages and was based on the relation of superior and vassal arising out of the holding of lands on condition of homage and service. That polity has been described by Marc Bloch (1962, vol. 2, 446) as follows: "A subject peasantry; widespread use of the service tenement (i.e. the fief) instead of a salary ...; the supremacy of a class of specialized warriors; ties of obedience and protection which bind man to man and, within the warrior class, assume the distinctive form called vassalage; fragmentation of authority – leading inevitably to disorder; and, in the midst of all this, the survival of other forms of association, family and State ...".

A number of observers have seen striking parallels between this description and historic Ethiopian society. The historic Ethiopian state rested on a subject peasantry, from whose production it drew its sustenance. This relationship is summarized by the Amharic apposition: አረሰ/ነገሠ (*arräsä/näggäśä*, 'plowing/ruling'). ↗*Gʷəlt* is the term which, historically, most generally characterized the holding of land by Ethiopian rulers and soldiers. This term, which entails obligations of service, has often been rendered as "fief". While in theory all *gʷəlt*-holding emanated from the royal court, in practice regional rulers in Ethiopia, in turn, granted land to their subordinates in a process known in Europe as "sub-infeudation".

A warrior ethos dominated historic Ethiopian society as numerous noble titles attest: ↗*fitawrari* ('leader of the vanguard'), ↗*däǧǧazmač* ('commander of the front'), *qäññazmač* ('commander of the right'), *grazmač* ('commander of the left'; s. ↗*Azmač*). The French traveller Arnauld d'Abbadie (AbbSéjour vol. 1, 367) remarked: "The social form of the Ethiopians is completely military". From the 14th cent. onward, the core of the royal Ethiopian army was the ↗*č̣äwa*, a term frequently translated in this context as 'regiment'. The *č̣äwa* were specialized soldiers, who were supported either by grants of land or by the service obligations of subject peasants. One specialized soldier was the ፈረሰኛ (*färäsäñña*, 'horseman'), who, in this context, corresponds to the European mounted knight, without, to be sure, the elaborate armour of the latter. So far as ties of obedience and protection are concerned, historic Ethiopian society was markedly hierarchical, subordinates looking up to superiors as ጋሼ (*gašše*, 'my shield'). In the ritual of European feudal submission, the hands played an important symbolic role; the Amharic for tributary obeisance is እጅ፡ መንሻ (*əǧǧ mänša*, lit. 'raising the hand'). Authority was fragmented: ከጎንደር፡ ንጉሥ፡ ያገር፡ አምባራስ (*kägondär nəguś, yagär ambaras*, 'the local ruler [is more powerful] than the king in Gondär'). Even at the height of royal power, in the reigns of such rulers as Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (r. 1434–68) and Iyasu I (r. 1682–1706), the court operated through the nobility, which was based in the countryside and not at court. And the regional base of noble power is seen in recurrent centripetal episodes – following the reign of Śärṣä Dəngəl (d. 1597) and, most notably, in the period known as the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* (1769–1855). Finally, the concept of the state is an enduring one throughout Ethiopian history – the medieval Solomonic rulers evoking the legacy of Aksum; the idea of the state persisting through the trials of the period from 1527 to 1632, marked as it was by ↗*ǧihād*, ethnic migration and religious conflict; and the persistence of Solomonic norms through the *Zämänä mäsafənt*.

Social relations of production, a concern of Marxist scholarship, also suggest parallels between the Ethiopian and European examples. The Ethiopian ruling class was supported, to an overwhelming degree, by extracting surplus agricultural produce from the country's peasantry and herders. *Gʷəlt* land-holding entailed property rights, *gʷəlt*-holders, at least in some instances, being granted rights in specific plots of land, rights which they could, and did, transfer by inheritance, gift and sale. In some instances these rights were exclusive to the point of overriding any pre-existing rights which may have been claimed by cultivators. More commonly, *gʷəlt* rights co-existed with the inherited, ↗*rəst* rights of peasants to have access to agricultural land. In either case, *gʷəlt*-holding entailed the payment of agricultural goods as tribute or rent by the producers to the *gʷəlt*-holder. *Gʷəlt*-holding, in turn, was a constituent characteristic of the Ethiopian ruling class. However, the extent to which the status of Ethiopian peasants paralleled the status of medieval European "serfs" was a contested one.

A byword of class relations was ሰብእ፡ ሀራ፡ ወገባር፡ ምድር (*säbᵓ ḥarra wägäbbar mədər*, 'Man is free, land is tributary' in one rendering; Conti Rossini 1893:807, 811). The saying first appears in an edict of *aṣe* Zädəngəl at the beginning of the 17th cent. in a period of profound turmoil. It is usually understood as an institutional attack by the emperor on the military regiments, or *č̣äwa*, whose rebellious insubordination contributed so much to the disorder of the times. By contrast, Zädəngəl is held to have sought a general recruitment from the peasantry. It is most probable that the saying was already in circulation as an assertion of the absence of a "serf" status on the part of the peasants, whose position was that obligations were tied to the land, not to individuals. The slogan re-appears in the reign of *aṣe* Iyasu I and at several points in the 19th cent. Nevertheless, some ambiguity remains. In early 20th-cent. Ethiopia, the term ↗*gäbbar* had two quite divergent meanings – in such provinces as Goǧǧam, Bägemdər and Təgray it commonly described a self-consciously "free", tribute-paying farmer; whereas in southern Ethiopia its connotation quite closely approximated that of "serf", the southern *gäbbar* being subjected on terms of service to individual overlords.

Modern Ethiopia entered its relations with Europe in a period marked by political fragmentation. Europeans encountered a society dominated by competing nobles, whose great preoccupation was military activity, so it is not surprising that they found many parallels between contemporary Ethiopia and their Middle Ages. The structure and ethos of Ethiopian society changed little throughout the 19th and into the 20th cent. However, the restoration period of Ḫaylä Śəllase I's rule, which started in 1941, saw a systematic dismantling of most elements of "Ethiopian feudalism". This period saw a rapid development of the modern state, one increasingly centralized. The link between social and political power was increasingly weakened, while the state bypassed regional nobles through the creation of a national bureaucracy. Tribute was increasingly converted into government-collected taxes paid in cash. The status of serf-*gäbbar* was eliminated. So, too, in 1966 by imperial decree was the *gʷəlt* form of land-holding. Ethiopian society on the eve of the 1974 Revolution had lost much of its "feudal flavour", though its marked inequality remained.

↗Land tenure; ↗Taxation; ↗Titles

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Due squarci inediti di cronaca etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 2, 1893, 804–18; ID., "Su due frasi della cronaca abbreviata dei re d'Etiopia", *Annali IUO* 3, 1949, 283–90; BaetDic col. 524; GuiVoc col. 380; AbbSéjour vol. 1, 367.

Lit.: MARC BLOCH, *Feudal Society*, vol. 2, London ^{2}1962, 446; DONALD CRUMMEY, "Abyssinian Feudalism", *Past and Present* 89, 1980, 115–38; CrumLand; HuntLand; ALLAN HOBEN, *Land Tenure among the Ambara of Ethiopia: the Dynamics of Cognatic Descent*, Chicago 1973 (Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure 4), 1f.; GENE ELLIS, "The Feudal Paradigm as a Hindrance to Understanding Ethiopia", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 14, 1976, 275–95; TadTChurch 100–08; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Feudalism in Heaven and on Earth: Ideology and Political Structure in Medieval Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 7, 195–200.

Donald Crummey

Fidäl ↗Script, Ethiopic

Filəp̣p̣os

F. (ፊልጶስ, ca. 1274–1348) was the third abbot of Däbrä ᶜAsbo (later known as ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa). According to his hagiography (*Gädlä Filəp̣p̣os*, perhaps of the first half of the 15th cent.), he was born in Zəma, in the Lat region, the population of which was predominantly pagan. His parents, Christians, sent him to a teacher; while a boy, he miraculously killed a local warlock. He decided to become a monk, went to Däbrä ᶜAsbo and, after three years of noviciate, received the habit and ↗*askema* from *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot (this is also recalled in Täklä Haymanot's hagiography); soon he was ordained as a priest. F. succeeded Abbot ↗Elsaᶜ in 1314 when the latter died shortly after assuming office. He moved a part of the community from the cave that was its initial shelter, and organized a coenobitic community nearby; during the 34 years of his tenure, Däbrä ᶜAsbo developed into one of the major monastic centres of Ethiopia (Turaiev 1908:190–93).

F. had close links to the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob and assisted in the organization of his program of missionary activities. The *Gädl* reports that F. dispatched eleven pupils of *abunä* Täklä Haymanot – called in the sources 'teachers' (*mämhəran*) or 'hand-appointed' (*nəburanä əd*) – to build new monasteries and spread ↗Christianity in respective regions of Šäwa and provinces further to the south (Turaiev 1908: 198, cp. Fiaccadori 1988:142 and n. 13ff.; 146f.). *Abunä* Yaᶜəqob appointed F. head over them and elevated him to ↗*liqä kahənat* and ↗*ep̣p̣isqop̣p̣os* (notwithstanding the resistance of the royal church ecclesiastics, *kahənatä däbtära*). Däbrä ᶜAsbo thus became the centre of a monastic congregation, organized on the basis of the regular veneration of Täklä Haymanot's grave (according to the *Gädl*, however, this practice was gradually abandoned under *əččäge* Tewodros and ↗Yoḥannəs Käma).

Like some other monastic leaders, F. is remembered for his clashes with *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, whom he openly reproached for his marital practices and his interference in church matters. He was tortured, but did not recant his accusations; along with his disciples, he was sent into exile, probably to ↗Wäläqa. He preached to the local population and worked miracles (e.g., the healing of the daughter of Tämben's governor); then, fearing his growing popularity, the Emperor repeatedly sent him further north (Qʷärqʷara, Zälan, Təgray). Under *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arᶜad (in the time of *abunä* ↗Sälama "the Translator") F. suffered further persecutions: he spent some time in custody at ↗Zʷay and was expelled from one province to another. Fearing the Emperor, the monks of F.'s own monastery (administrated by Həzqəyas at that time) allowed him only a short stay. Aged 74 years and nine months, F. died in exile on 28 *Ḥamle* and was buried in Ḥaqqalet, Təgray.

The *Gädlä Filəp̣p̣os*, published from a single ms. (BritLib Or. 728, 18th cent., s. Turaiev 1908), is supposed to have been written under the tenure of ↗Yoḥannəs Käma who is mentioned in the colophone, yet this is most probably a recent composition. Cerulli recorded another manuscript of this work (ms. VatCerAeth 167, fol. 3r-74v), possibly of an earlier date, with the colophone explicitly mentioning, in addition to Yoḥannəs Käma, also Däbrä ᶜAsbo (an old name of Däbrä Libanos), *abunä* ↗Bärtolomewos and the 76th "Year of Grace" [1424/25 A.D.] (Cerulli 2004:319). The contents of this text has not been studied so far. Ms. EMML 6771 (16th cent.) contains still another copy of the *Gädlä Filəp̣p̣os* (fol. 3r-74v), possibly identical to the text recorded by Cerulli.

Attached to the *Gädl* in EMML 6771 there is a story of the translation of F.'s relics to Däbrä Libanos (fol. 77r–87v) which took place after *aṣe* ↗Əskəndər gave his permission to abbot ↗Märḥa Krəstos, some 100 years after F.'s death. This text, commissioned by *əččäge* ↗P̣eṭros (1496–1523), is preceded by a summary of F.'s life with details absent in the published version of the *Gädl* (Getatchew Haile 1990:75f.; Cerulli 1943:234ff.). The same short version of F.'s Vita seems to be found in the 16th-cent. manuscript from the Schoyen Collection (Mercier 2000:64f.).

Src.: WrBriMus 196, no. 304 [Orient. 728], fol. 150r-99r; ms. EMML 6771 [not yet catalogued]; ms. VatCerAeth 167; GuiSyn I, 438ff.; BudSaint 1169; ENRICO CERULLI, *Inventario dei manoscritti Cerulli etiopici*, ed. by OSVALDO RAINERI, Città del Vaticano 2004 (Studi e testi 420), 319, no. 19; BORIS TURIAEV (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*. II. *Acta s. Aaronis et Philippi*, Louvain 1908 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 173–248 (text) = 157–222; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Translation of the Relics of Abunä Filəp̣p̣os of Däbrä Libanos of Shoa", *RSE* 34, 1990 [1992], 75–113; JACQUES MERCIER, *L'arche éthiopienne: art chrétienne d'Éthiopie*, Paris 2000, 64f.

Lit.: KinBibl 71, no. 54; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libanos, capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo la «lista rimata» (sec. XIV–XVIII)", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 12, 1943, 226–53, here 233–53; TadTChurch 174ff.; KapMon, s. index; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Nota su Yoḥannes Meśrāqāwi", *Quaderni utinensi* 6 [11–12], 1988 [1991], 141–50, here 142 and n. 13ff. (146f.); DerDom s. index; TurIz 119–30, 374–431.

Steven Kaplan – Red.

Filəp̣p̣os

F. (ፊልጶስ), a 14th- early 15th-cent. saint and prominent member of the Ewosṭatean movement, was the founder of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Bizän in Ḥamasen (today's Eritrea). The main source on F.'s life is his hagiography (*Gädlä Filəp̣p̣os*), composed not before the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (Conti Rossini 1901:67f.; cp. LusStud 97; but KinBibl no. 64). Besides, there are data on F. in the "Chronicle of ᶜAddi Näᵓammən" (KolTrad 1, A23-24; cp. a related 15th-16th cent. chronological note in a manuscript from ↗Däbrä Dəḫuḫan, s. Lusini 1998:29f.), a commemorating note on F. in the *Sənkəssar* of ↗Däbrä Wärq (Schneider 1978) and oral traditions (all summarized in LusStud 97–107).

According to his *Gädl*, F. was born ca. 1322/23 in the time of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon. His father was Yərdəᵓannä Əgziᵓ from Ṣəraᶜ (he died shortly before his son was born) and his mother Mägdälawit, both "from the children of Iyankäre". *Abunä* ↗Ewosṭatewos had announced to Mägdälawit the coming birth of F. and his future fame. After some time Mägdälawit left the worldly life and sent F. to a monastery, too. Christ appeared to F. and ordered him to go to ↗Däbrä Ṣärabi, to Bäkimos, a pupil of Ewosṭatewos. F. became a "spiritual son" of Bäkimos; as the vita states, however, F. received the *qobᶜ* and ↗*askema* "from the hands of Our Saviour, speaking to him in the appearance of *abba* Ewosṭatewos" (Conti Rossini 1901: 79). Soon F. left the monastery and wandered into the desert (in Afä Gaḥgaḥ with *abba* Samuᵓel [of Waldəbba], ᶜAbiy Wägr in Bäräka, Təkul, Dubane and among the ↗Kunama; Conti Rossini 1901:81; LusStud 99). Then he settled in the monastery of *abba* ↗Absadi, another pupil of Ewosṭatewos. About 30 years old, he entered the desert (in Gʷäda) once again. Gradually F. acquired pupils; in 1373/74, after passing the place of Gärami in Ḥamasen, he founded a monastery, which became known as Däbrä Bizän, the stronghold of the ↗Ewosṭateans. The monastery became prosperous; F. imposed upon the monks the strictest discipline according to the "order of the Apostles". The monks did not have any private possessions; their manifold household activities were organized "according to the rules of Pachomius". Their ascetic practices were also the subject of detailed organization (Conti Rossini 1901:99f.).

The power of F.'s monastery increased to the degree that the ruler of ↗Dahlak, Malek (Arab. *malik* 'king'), sought good relations with F., crucial for the Muslim traders operating from Massawa (s. LusStud 100f.). According to the *Gädlä Filəp̣p̣os*, the community had 24 churches; the monks preached among the neighbouring "Barya" (↗Nara) and some of them (Erməyas, Yəbarkannä Krəstos etc.) were sent to establish a new monastery, a task they fulfilled struggling against Ḫətutay, a local Muslim ruler. F.

propagated his vision of ecclesiastical life, with strict adherence to the orders of the Apostles and great monastic fathers, and also defended the holy ↗Sabbath rest on two days, including Saturday – **ቀዳሚ፡ ሰንበት** (*qädami sänbät*). He united around Däbrä Bizän the leaders of several other communities (Conti Rossini 1901:107; LusStud 102f.).

The activities of F. aroused the animosity of the local clergy and attracted the attention of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II and *abunä* ↗Bärtälomewos. Aged and sick, F. was summoned to court (some sources report that he was one among twelve heads of Ewosṭatean monasteries who were requested to come for interrogation, s. Lusini 1998:30). The *kahnatä däbtära* (the priests of the royal camp church), *abba* Matyas of Šəmagle and Zäkaryas of Bärbäre immediately made accusations against him in front of the Metropolitan (Conti Rossini 1901:111f.), the main charge being the veneration of "two Sabbaths". F. refused to renounce his teaching and was imprisoned in ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos (ibid. 116). However, after his victory over ↗Saʿadaddīn Abū l-Barakāt, *aṣe* Dawit changed his attitude to the Ewosṭateans in general and F. in particular. In 1403/04, after the death of *ʿaqqabe säʿat* ↗Śäräqä Bərhan, F. was set free (ibid. 118f.; Taddesse Tamrat 1970:103). The following four years F. spent in Amhara, preaching and working miracles. Then he headed to his monastery, passing through ↗Mäṭära, ↗Ǝgäla and ↗Säḥart(i) and concluding "testaments" (↗*Kidan*) with the local people (Conti Rossini 1901:119–22). F. died in 1406, on 5 *Näḥase* (BudSaint 1194), at the age of 84, having installed *abba* Yoḥannəs as his successor.

There is a later charter of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV confirming land possessions granted to Däbrä Bizän by DawitII during the tenure of F. (Bausi 1995:29f.). In addition to the manuscript edited by Conti Rossini (1901), two early 16th-cent. copies of the *Gädlä Filəp̣p̣os* (one with an image of F.) have recently been discovered (Bausi 1995: 42–47).

Src.: BudSaint 1194; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1901, 61–170; KolTrad I, A23f., 30f.; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes sur Filpos de Dabra Bizan et ses successeurs", *AE* 11, 1978, 135–39.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso communità monastiche dell'Eritrea (Parte seconda)", *RSE* 39, 1995 [1998], 25–48, here 29f., 33, 42–47; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḫuḫān e Dabra Ṣegē, Sarā'ē, Eritrea)", *RSE* 42, 1998 [2000], 5–55; LusStud 97–107, index; KinBibl no. 64; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Däbrä Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117; TadTChurch, s. index.

Denis Nosnitsin

Filəp̣p̣os

Abunä F. (**ፊልጶስ**, b. ʿAddi Qaš, Səfag, Eritrea, 1896, d. 1983, Addis Abäba) was the first Ethiopian bishop in ↗Jerusalem. Born as Gäbrä Ab Mängəśtu, F. became a monk at the monastery of *abunä* Ǝndrəyas, where he received a traditional ecclesiastical education. While *mämhər* Maḥṣäntä Śəllase was head of the Ethiopian monastery in Jerusalem (1906–23), F. served as its ↗*mäggabi*. He was a *liqä liqawənt* before the Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1936. Having pronounced the opinion that the occupation was illegal, he was exiled to Italy. When he returned to Ethiopia, he was consecrated bishop by *abunä* Yoḥannəs on 12 September 1940 together with four other priests. After Ḫaylä Śəllase I's return to Ethiopia in 1941, in 1947 he was appointed the first Ethiopian bishop in Jerusalem, where he arrived on Easter that year. His first task, which he accomplished successfully, was a delicate one: to take care of the return to Ethiopia of some 30 monks and nuns in the Ethiopian monastery who had become Italian citizens and as such were now living in British mandatory internment camps. After that, he also proved by publishing various documents the Ethiopian ownership of ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān.

In 1956, he bought land at al-ʿAzarīya (Bethany) for a new Ethiopian monastery and a cemetery. Participating in an ecclesiastical assembly at Addis Abäba in 1965, he was retained there for the rest

Abunä Filəp̣p̣os; from Filəp̣p̣os 1960 of his life because of a theological quarrel between him and some members of the Holy Synod, who accused him of being too close to the Roman Catholic Church in Christological matters.

Src.: *abunä* FILƎṖṖOS, *The Rights of the Abyssinian Church in the Holy Places*, 2 vols., Asmara 1960; ID., ኢየሩሳሌምን፡ ዕወቅ (*Iyärusalemən ʿəwäqu*, 'Know Jerusalem'), Addis Abäba 1964 A.M. [1972 A.D.]; ID., እግዚአብሔር፡ ከኛ፡ ጋራ፤ የጌታቸው፡ ሥጋዌና፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ምሥጢር (*Ǝgziʾabəḥer käñña gara: yägetaččäw śəgawenna täwaḥədo məsṭir*, 'God with Us. The Mystery of the Incarnation and Union of our Lord'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]; ID., ቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር (*Qalä əgziʾabəḥer*, 'God's Word'), Asmära 1957 A.M. [1964/65 A.D.]; ID., የምንኵስና፡ ሥነ፡ ሥርዓትና፡ ብያኔ (*Yämənkʷəsənna śənäśərʿatənna bəyyane*, 'The Order and Definition of Monastic Ordination'), Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.].

Lit.: KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN PEDERSEN, *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the Time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*, Jerusalem 1983.

Kirsten Stoffregen-Pedersen

Filkəsyos

F. (ፊልክስዮስ, or ፊልክስዩስ, Filkəsyus) is the title of one of the most important texts of Ethiopian ↗monastic literature. It belongs to the three monastic writings which are traditionally called *Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat*, the other two being ↗*Arägawi mänfäsawi* and *Mar Yəsḥaq* (↗Isaac of Nineveh). Still today these ascetic writings remain basic works for the religious and spiritual education of Ethiopian monks. All three are often found copied together in the same manuscript.

The full title of the F. reads: ተስእሎታተ፡ ዜናሆሙ፡ ለአበው፡ መነኮሳት፡ ግብጻውያን። ወጸሐፎ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ፊልክስዮስ፡ ሶርያዊ፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ዘመንበግ ('Questions about the stories of the Fathers, Egyptian monks. Holy Filkəsyus the Syrian, bishop of Mänbäg, wrote it', s. ms. BritLib Orient. 759, fol. 81ra, 5–9); it states that its author was Philoxenus of Mabbogh, an anti-Chalcedonian theologian (ca. 450–523) who wrote in Syriac. Philoxenus's authorship was accepted by Cerulli (CerLett 140) and Ricci (in: CE vol. 3, here 976b). In reality, however, the F. is an Ethiopic version of a work written in Syriac by Dāḏīšōᶜ Qaṭrāyā (i.e. "of [modern] Qaṭar"), an East Syrian ("Nestorian") monk of the monastery of Raḇ Kennārē, who lived in the 7th cent. (Baumstark 1922:226f.; Sims-Williams 1994:38f.). This work is in turn a commentary on ᶜƎnānīšōᶜ's (another 7th-cent. East Syrian author) compendium of early Egyptian monastic texts called *Paradise of the Fathers*, which included four parts: (1) the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius, (2) another collection of stories of monks also attributed to Palladius, (3) the *Monastic History* by ↗Rufinus of Aquilea, but ascribed to Jerome, and (4) a series of apophthegmata. Dāḏīšōᶜ Qaṭrāyā's *Commentary* is divided into two books, the first being a complement to parts 1–3 of ᶜƎnānīšōᶜ's work, and the second corresponding to the latter's part 4; it is composed in the form of questions and answers. It became a very popular monastic reading and was soon adopted by the West Syrian ("Jacobite") monks. In their version the name of the author as well as that of his monastery was suppressed in order to make the reading more palatable to the Jacobite readers. Instead of an "Old Man" of the original (Sims-Williams 1994:40f.), one of the answers was attributed to Philoxenus and this is the reason why the whole work was subsequently given to this author (though the known Syriac manuscripts – all of them acephalous – contain no hint to this effect).

Dāḏīšōᶜ's work was quite voluminous and, with time, abbreviated versions were composed. One of them, ascribed to Philoxenus, was translated from Syriac into Arabic. On the basis of the Arabic, the Gəᶜəz version was produced, in which the entire work is named after Philoxenus. The Ethiopic form with the ending *-əyos*/*-əyus* instead of *-ənus* is owed to the Arabic Vorlage, where the letters *Yāʾ* and *Nūn*, deprived of their diacritical points, looked the same.

According to the colophon of at least four manuscripts (out of 17 presently known, dating between the 17th and the 20th cent.), the work was translated into Gəᶜəz by the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Sälama "the Translator" (van Lantschoot in: PICES 1, 400). The translation is dated to the year 1021 of the Era of the Martyrs, corresponding to 1304–05 A.D. Since, however, the tenure of Sälama falls within the years 1348–86, the sign for 20 (፳) should probably be replaced by that for 80 (፹) – an emendation (1081 Era of the Martyrs) that would give the year 1365 A.D. (s. LöfUpp 106).

The F. is written in the form of questions asked by "brethren", i.e. monks (introduced with the phrase ይቤሉ፡ አኃው, *yəbelu aḫaw*, 'the brethen said'), and answers of an "interpreter" (መተርጕም, *mätärgʷəm*). Some of the questions have additional explanations or comments by an "Old Man" (አረጋዊ, *arägawi*, or አረጋይ, *arägay*). In some of the manuscripts the questions are numbered, the figures ranging between 175 (ms. EMML 418, of the 18th or early 19th cent.) and 251 (ms. EMML 15, of the 17th or 18th cent.), but notwithstanding these differences, the text seems to be identical. The material is grouped into chapters, the division probably following that of ᶜƎnānīšōᶜ's *Paradise of the Fathers*.

The monastic authorities mentioned in the text are mostly Egyptian fathers, like Anthony (Ǝnṭonəs), Pambo (Bawmo or Bamwo), Sisoes (Sisoy), but also Syrian, like Awgin (Awkin [= Eugene]). The matters that the "brethren" inquire about are, e.g., whether anachoretism is better than coenobitism, or why Palladius did not write the story of *mar* Awkin in the *Book of Paradise*.

The portion corresponding to the second part of Dādīšōᶜ's work contains nine chapters, on such topics as prayer and vigilance (**በእንተ፡ ጸሎት፡ ወትጋህ**, *bäʾənta ṣälot wätəgah*), rules of (spiritual) combat (**ሥርዐተ፡ ተጋድሎት**, *śərʿat tägadlot*), repentance (**ንስሓ**, *nəśśəḥa*) and working miracles (**ምግባራተ፡ ተአምራት**, *məbaratä täʾamərat*).

In Ethiopia, the popularity of the F. is confirmed by the fact that there exists an additional commentary to it, in both Gəᶜəz (ms. EMML 2837, 17th cent.) and Amharic (ms. EMML 2305, 18th–19th cent.). There is no critical edition of the Gəᶜəz text, as is the case for the Syriac text of Dādīšōᶜ Qaṭrāyā and its Arabic version.

Src.: EMML 15, 418, 2837, 2305; BritLib 177f., no. 266 [Orient. 759]; **ፊልክስዩስ** (*Filkəsyus*), Addis Abäba n.d.

Lit.: ANTON BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte*, Bonn 1922, 226f.; CerLett 140; LöfUpp 105f., no. 33 [O Etiop. 7]; DAVID PHILLIPS, "The Syriac Commentary of Dadisho Qatraya on the Paradise of the Fathers: towards a Critical Edition', in: *Studia Patristica: Papers presented at the Fourteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 2003*, Leuven 2005, in preparation; RicLett; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Ethiopian Christian Literature", in: *CE*, vol. 3, 975–79, here 976b; NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS, "Dādīšōᶜ Qaṭrāyā's Commentary on the *Paradise of the Fathers*", *ABoll* 112, 1994, 33–64; ARNOLD VAN LANTSCHOOT, "Abbā Salāmā, métropolite d'Éthiopie (1348–1388) et son rôle de traducteur", in: *PICES* 1, 397–401; WITOLD WITAKOWSKI, "*Filəksəyus*, the Ethiopic version of Dadisho' Qatraya's Commentary on the Monastic Life", *Orientalia Suecana* 54, 2005, in preparation.

Witold Witakowski

Filmona

F. (**ፊልሞና**) was a holy monk from Təgray who was active in the regions of ↗Ǝndärta and ↗Tämben. He lived in the second half of the 14th cent. during the reigns of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I and ↗Säyfä Arᶜad. The Metropolitan who ordained him deacon was *abunä* ↗Sälama "the Translator". F. was the nephew and disciple of ↗Tadewos of Bärtärwa. He served as a monk at Däbrä Maryam and Däbrä Bärtärwa, and later founded the monastery of Däbrä ᶜAysäma, all in Tämben. He is said to have also met ↗Samuʾel of Däbrä Halleluya. F.'s Acts, probably composed at Däbrä ᶜAysäma in the first half of the 15th cent., were to be read on 22 *Täḫśaś*, the day of his death. His successor was Ǝndrəyas.

Src.: MAURICE ALLOTTE DE LA FUŸE, *Actes de Filmona*, Louvain, 1958 (CSCO 35, 36 [SAe 181, 182]); RICCARDO DE SANTIS, "Il Gadla Tādēwos di Dabra Bārtārwā", *Annali Lateranensi* 6, 1942, 9-116, here 35, 40, 42; GÉRARD COLIN, *Vie de Sāmu'ēl de Dabra Hāllēluyā*, Louvain 1990 (CSCO 519, 520 [SAe 93, 94]), 52ff. (text) = 41f. (tr.).

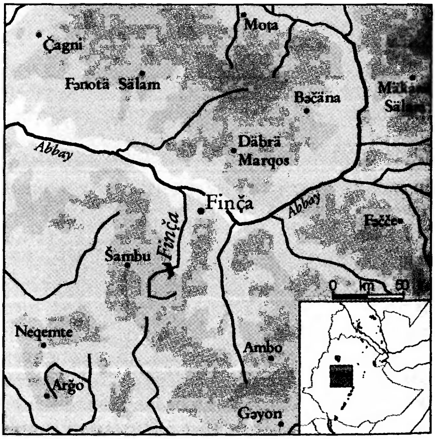
Lit.: KinBibl 73, no. 55.

Steven Kaplan

Finča

F. (**ፊንጫ**, Orom. Fincaa) is the name of a town as well as of one of the main tributaries of the ↗Abbay river. The town of F. (9°54' N, 37°27' E) is situated on the upper bank of the river F. at 2,320 m A.S.L. in Horo Guduru *awrağğa* in ↗Wälläga province.

The river F. has a total catchment area of 4,089 km² (BECOM 1998). It is a perennial river with an average annual discharge of 13,29 m³/second as gauged near ↗Šambu town (Ministry of Water Resources 2001). It originates from the highlands of Eastern Wälläga, bordered to the south by the ↗Gibe river basin. The catchment area of the F. river has one of the highest levels of precipitation in Ethiopia; around 2,000 mm rainfall annually (EMAtlas). The drainage basin



Finča; photo 1997, courtesy of the author

is rolling and undulating and is highly cultivated in its upper watershed.

A multipurpose dam was constructed close to F. town in its upper catchments area in ca. 1973. This dam is one of the major hydroenergy stations in the country, along with other major sources from the ↗Qoqa dam in the Awaš river and Mälka Wakena dam on the ↗Wabi Šäbälle river. The dependable installed capacity of the hydropower is 100 Megawatts with an average energy capability of 660 Gigawatts per year (AGRES 2001). There are also other identified sites for further hydropower development in its catchment area in the future. The water from the F. dam is also used for large-scale sugar-cane irrigation activity. The sugar-cane factory constructed close to the irrigation field near F. town is one of the major producers of sugar in Ethiopia (BECOM 1988).

Src.: AGRES (eds.), *Ethiopian Power System Expansion Master Plan. Main Report. Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation*, Addis Ababa 2001; BECOM (eds.), *Abbay River Basin Integrated Development Master Plan Project. Water Resources Studies. Phase 3. Ministry of Water Resource*, Addis Ababa 1998; EMAtlas; MINISTRY OF WATER RESOURCES (eds.), *Hydrological Data Base (1962–1969)*, Addis Ababa 2001.
Maps: MICROSOFT CORPORATION (eds.), *Encarta-97 (location map)*, 1997.

Tenalem Ayalew

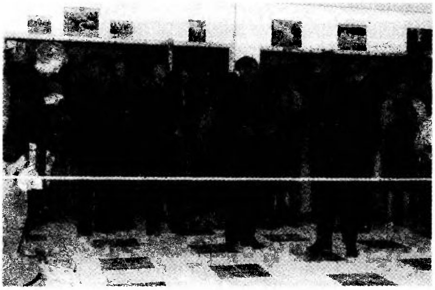
Fine Arts School

The Addis Abäba F.A.S. (Amh. የአዲስ፡ አበባ፡ ሥነ፡ ጥበብ፡ ትምህርት፡ ቤት, *Yäʾaddis Abäba śənä ṭəbäb təmhərt bet*) was founded in 1958/59 by Allä Fälägä Sälam (b. 1929), who had studied art at the Art Institute of Chicago, USA. He became F.A.S.'s first Director. The objective of the School, which was under the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, was to train professional artists and art teachers for the Ethiopian schools. There were only a few subjects offered at the very beginning: drawing, painting and a small number of academic subjects. Foreign artists of the staff provided the impetus for new means of expression and expanded the school's curriculum.

Since the 1960s, Ethiopian artists increasingly have worked as instructors, several of whom had graduated from the F.A.S. and went abroad for further studies. The most important, who, however, never attended the F.A.S., were ↗Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa and Alexander Boghossian, known as "Skunder" (↗Əskəndər). Gäbrä Krəstos was influenced by German Expressionism while in Cologne (1958–61) and Skunder was exposed to Surrealism and the art and philosophy of Negritude while in Paris (1957–66). Both artists influenced a whole generation of modern Ethiopian artists.

After the Revolution of 1974, the School was placed under the control of the Ministry of Culture and Sports Affairs and Abdäl Rähman Šärif (b. 1939) became the new Director. Education to diploma originally took five years, but after the Revolution, the curriculum was expanded and the entire diploma-course lasted only four years. The budding artist was not only expected to have talent and creativity, he had also to be class-conscious in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

After 1991, after the takeover by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, the school came under different administrative structures and in 1998 it was incorporated into the Addis Abäba University system. The curriculum is now designed to meet the requirements that would allow for its graduates to be awarded the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Art Education and the degree of Fine Arts, respectively. This has brought a change in name and the school is now called the Addis Ababa University School of Fine Arts and Design.



Opening ceremony of an exhibition at the Fine Arts School in Addis Abäba, 1959, Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I with the new director Allä Fälägä Sälam; photo courtesy of Ebba Dettenberg-Weddig

Lit.: ELISABETH BIASIO, *The Hidden Reality: Three Contemporary Ethiopian Artists*, Zürich 1989, 84ff.; KONJIT SEYOUM, "Ethiopie: l'École des Beaux Arts et la révolution socialiste", in: *Anthologie de l'art Africaine du XX siècle*, Paris 2001, 298–303.

Elisabeth Biasio

Finfinnee

In the oral tradition of the ↗Oromo, the "Horaa F." (the 'source of F.') was considered as one of the six holy springs owing to the medical properties of its thermal mineral water. The term itself is onomatopoeic, imitating the sound of the sprinkling water. Today, "the source of F." is Fəlwəha (Amh.: 'hot water'), the spring and locatity in the middle of ↗Addis Abäba.

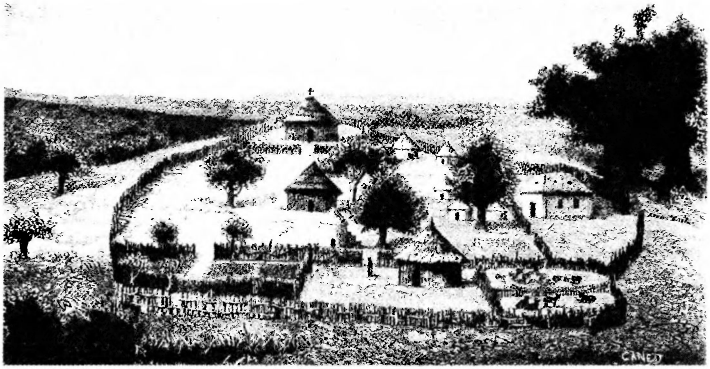
From the 17th cent. onward, the F. piedmont was inhabited by the Tuulama subgroups ↗Abbičuu and Galaan. Up to the early 19th cent. they were in recurrent conflict with each other. *Nəguś* ↗Sahlä Śəllase of Šäwa in his expansion southwards sided with the Abičuu and thus could include F. in his realm. One of the first mentions of F. in historical sources is the report of the traveller ↗Lefebvre, who noted that F. was one of the newly acquired Oromo provinces of Sahlä Śəllase (Lefebvre 1845, vol. 3, 13). The population had submitted not long before 1843 (ibid., vol. 2, 239); in that year Lefebvre visited it with the King and his army. F. is described as a plain with thermal springs, surrounded by mountains, hills and the river Aqaqi, and crossed by the rivers Qabänna and Bulbula. F. lay southwest of ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo and east of the "Gaara" ('hill', probably meaning the Dalaatii hill, an assembly-place, later that of Mənilək's ↗*gəbbi*), and directly "neighbored" the Galaan Oromo. Yet, according to oral tradition, F. itself was at that time inhabited by Galaan; therefore, it seems that Lefebvre uses the term F. for those Galaan inhabiting F. Unlike those Christian Oromo who voluntarily submitted to Šäwa, the F. Oromo did not enjoy royal protection and were living in poor conditions.

In March 1843 Sahlä Śəllase discovered ancient church ruins in F. and planned to build a new church on the old foundations – symbolizing the continuation of an older Christian presence in the area and thus claiming F. as a historical part of his Christian kingdom (Lefebvre 1845, vol. 2, 240, 426). By the time of the first foreign visitors, these ruins were considered a unique example of an "advanced civilization" in the south (d'Abbadie 1890:278ff., 282). Later reports of Catholic missionaries contain detailed descriptions of these ruins "close to the Dildila hill" (as the main part of Ǝnṭoṭṭo was called). It was a square building measuring over 9 to 8 m, with three naves and possibly with a vault. Locally the place was known as Birbirsaa ('cypress tree') and was also called *Maariyaam güftii* ('St. Mary'). In the late 1860s local tradition attributed this former church to *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob and it was said to have been destroyed by *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, called "Grañ" (ibid.; Foucher 1986:2f., 5). Birbirsaa, with its ancient sycamore tree, served as a traditional assembly-place of the local Oromo. The plan of building a church on this site, however, was realized only much later.

The king built two churches on two other Oromo assembly-places in the F. area. In a territory called Ǧammoo, near the rock-hewn church of ↗Yäkka Mikaᵓel in the mountain chain near Ǝnṭoṭṭo, Qäranyo Mädḫanä ᶜAläm was founded in 1816 A.M. [1823/24 A.D.] and put under *abba* Zäwäldä Maryam of the ↗Ǝtissa Däbrä Ṣəlaləš monastery in Bulga. The second church was Qaallittii Saalloo Giyorgis. Both were burnt by the locals, then re-erected and protected by "Gondäre" gunmen. The slaughter of these (about 300 soldiers) in one overnight action was followed by revenge expeditions (cp. Haile Gabriel Dagne 1986:8).

After the inclusion of F. into the Šäwan kingdom, the Qortee lineage of the ↗Gullallee Oromo, another Tuulama subgroup (of the Ǧəddaa), migrated into this area and pushed most Galaan and Abičuu to the east and south (e.g., to Bišoftuu, Aqaqi). The territorial term "F." was then, in the 1860's, also used to designate the local Gullallee Oromo subgroup (s. d'Abbadie 1890:277). The only two villages in the plain of F. were, at that time, Gullallee (still today a name of two quarters in Addis Abäba) and "Mande" (ibid. 283, perhaps a misreading of Marii, an area in today's Addis Abäba).

In 1868 Mənilək – in that period residing at ↗Ləčče, about 100 km north-east of F. – suggested to the Capuchin Fr. Taurin de Cahagne that he should open a mission at F. among the Gullallee. After visiting the area, Fr. Taurin described "Finfini" as being "the most agreeable of the country ... it is not too cold, water is plentiful (and the area is) wooded ... I visited the territory and chose a hill covered with magnificent trees; but my choice was determined by the discovery



Finfinnee mission in the 1870s; from Massaia 1939, vol. 10:31

of a church destroyed by the invasion of Grañ". With the permission of the Oromo people, who owned the land, he built a Catholic church that was dedicated to Mary and consecrated on 25 July 1869. In a "ritual of adoption", he was also integrated into the local Gullallee group, led by Abbaa Obboo (Foucher 1986). Missionary education was started; later even some former students of the ↗Collège des Galla in Marseille arrived in the 1870s (Massaia 1939:285). Oromo texts, written by Taurin, were used in church services, among them the canticle *Maariyaam kan Birbirsaa* (Foucher 1986).

On 26 March 1878, *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV crowned Mənilək as *nəguś* of Šäwa. Intending to submit permanently the southern Oromo, Mənilək needed to reside in a more strategic site than ↗Ankobär, where he held court. The first Oromo to submit were the Gumbičuu (from the Ǧəddaa Tuulama, as the Gullallee), the Galaan and the Gullallee – thus, it was on their mountainous stronghold of Ǝnṭoṭṭo, above F., that he established his residence in 1879. In the same year, *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV expelled, by an edict dated 3 October, Mgr. Massaja, Mgr. Taurin, his coadjutor, and Fr. Louis de Gonzague. Thus the missionary station of F. (also called "Birbirsaa-F.") had to be given up and the church fell into disuse. Later, in 1896, Mənilək ordered the building of an Orthodox church on the site, consecrated in 1897, with *ras* Mäkʷännən as its first ↗*gäbäz* ('head administrator'). This was the church of ↗Gännäta Ṣəge Giyorgis, which was again rebuilt in 1906–11 (Foucher 1986:9; to become later the coronation church of Ḫaylä Śəllase I, s. Haile Gabriel Dagne 1986:11).

The residence of Ǝnṭoṭṭo was suitable from a strategic point of view, but in the rainy season the site was most unpleasant. With an entourage of about 50,000, the mountain quickly became deforested. During Mənilək's military campaigns in Arsi and Harär (1886–87), *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul spent most of her time at the nearby hot springs of Fəlwəha on the lower grounds of F., finding there relief from her acute rheumatism. In 1887, she built a house on a site nearby amid the luxurious mimosa trees and called it "Addis Abäba". Although F. could not yet be called a capital, an estimated 10,000 to 15,000 people moved down from the mountain and settled in the vicinity. But even for his coronation as emperor of Ethiopia, on 3 November 1889, Mənilək returned to Ǝnṭoṭṭo. Only gradually did Addis Abäba assume the role of an established capital.

The name F. is still used by local Oromo and employed as an alternative name of Addis Abäba. After 1991, in official documents of the regional state of Oromiyaa, "Addis Abäba" is often replaced by "F.". The stream is known today by its Amharic name Bantiqetu.

Src.: THÉOPHILE LEFEBVRE, *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté pendant les années 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843*, Paris 1845, vol. 2, 231ff., 238–41, 426; *ibid.*, vol. 3, 13; AbbGeogr 277–84, 293, 298; WILHELM MASSAIA [GUGLIELMO MASSAJA], *35 Jahre in Abessinien*, München 1939, 260f., 264f., 268, 285, 299; AWTarik 102-06, esp. 104 and n. 22, 23 (Lit.); GueCopMen I, 233; interview with Wäldä Yoḥannəs Wärqnäh, Addis Abäba, May 2004.

Lit.: ANTONIOS ALBERTO, *The Apostolic Vicariate of Galla: a Capuchin Mission in Ethiopia (1846–1942): Antecedents, Evolution and Problematics*, Addis Ababa 1998, 108–11; GAËTAN BERNOVILLE, *Monseigneur Jarosseau et la mission des Gallas; l'épopée missionnaire d'Éthiopie*,

Paris 1950, 66; ÉDOUARD BERLAN, *Addis Abeba, la plus haute ville d'Afrique*, Grenoble 1963; PankHist II, s. index; OMahPh vol. 3, 24, 112, 132; ÉMILE FOUCHER, "Birbirssa in 1868–1869", in: *CentAddis*; TEKALIGN W. MARIAM, "Notes on Intoto: the Precursor of Addis Ababa (1881–1892)", in: *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Seminar of the Department of History*, Addis Ababa 1989, 133–52; HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "Oral Information on the Establishment of Churches in Addis Ababa", *ibid.*, 4f., 8, 11.

Kevin O'Mahoney – Wolbert Smidt

Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission

The F.E.L.M. (Finnish: Suomen Lähetysseura or SLS), the oldest of the Evangelical Lutheran mission agencies of Finland (founded in 1859), started co-operation with the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY) on 22 October 1968. The first missionaries were sent in January 1969.

The mission work began in Hośaʿəna (↗Hossäyna; first Kambaata Synod, now South Central Synod) where the F.E.L.M. missionaries co-operated with local people and other missionaries in several parishes and taught in the Bible School and in the Theological Seminary. The Bible translation into ↗Kambaata and ↗Hadiyya was started with their participation. The School for the Deaf was established in 1982 with the support of the F.E.L.M. In 1976 the development work was started, first in Tunto with a health-care clinic.

Since 1993 F.E.L.M has been co-operating with the Illubabor Bethel Synod, with special emphasis on outreach work, women's work and the training of pastors and lay-leaders of the church. Teaching in the nursing school in Aʾira in the former Western Synod, now Birbir Dilla Synod, started in 1993.

The F.E.L.M. participates in community-based development-work projects with the support of Finnish International Development Aid. This work has included, since 1991, several ↗HIV/AIDS programmes besides traditional health care, literacy work, social work with day-care centres for children, family planning and marriage work. The mission opposes such traditions as genital mutilation of women (↗Circumcision, female) and tries to prevent unbalanced nutrition. The newest area is the North Central Ethiopia Synod since 2001, which work among AIDS orphans in ↗Däse.

In 1970s two other Finnish missions, the Finnish Lutheran Mission (F.L.M.) and the Finnish Lutheran Overseas Mission (F.L.O.M.), joined in the work of the EECMY. In 2004 there were about 35 Finnish missionaries in Ethiopia.

Src.: Library and archives of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission; internet resources.

Lit.: EMMANUEL ABRAHAM, *Reminiscences of my Life*, Oslo 1995, 244ff., 283–311; VEIKKO VASKO – HENNU KJISIK – LIISA SALO-LEE et al., *Culture in Finnish Development Cooperation*, Helsinki 1998 (Report of Evaluation Study 1998, 1), 3f., 24ff., 96.

Maija Priess

Fiqṭor

F. (ፊቅጦር, Arab. Buqṭur) was, according to the Arabic *History of the Patriarchs* and the Ethiopic ↗*Sənkəssar* (3 *Mäggabit*), a 10th-cent. monk of Syrian origin who had been driven out of the Egyptian monastery of St. Anthony (Dayr Anbā Anṭūniyūs, from where many metropolitans were selected for Ethiopia) with his fellow conspirator Minas. After that, F. and Minas went to Ethiopia, where they presented letters supposedly from Patriarch Cosmas III of Alexandria (923–34). It happened that the late king of Ethiopia had given responsibility for the choice of his successor to Peter the Metropolitan and the Metropolitan had selected the younger candidate (his name is sometimes thought to have been "Tabtahāğ", but this is nothing else but erroneously written Ar. *bibtihāğ* 'with joy'). The letter by Minas and F., presented to the unsuccessful older candidate, claimed that Peter was an impostor and that Minas was the legitimate bishop. This invalidated Peter's selection of the younger heir and, with the help of the army, the elder brother took the throne. Peter was deposed and Minas installed as Metropolitan. The two conspirators later quarrelled and F. fled from Ethiopia, apparently with considerable plunder. However, later letters from Patriarch Cosmas invalidated Minas's claim and he was executed. The incident was of some importance since Peter had meanwhile died and the Patriarch would not consecrate another bishop. The king therefore forced Peter's assistant to take up the metropolitanate illegally. This breach with Alexandria lasted until Patriarch Philotheus (979–1003) eventually sent Bishop ↗Danəʾel in response to a plea from the king after Ethiopia's sufferings under the "queen of the Banū l-Ḥam(u)wīya" (↗Ǝsato).

Src.: BudSaint 666ff.; SawHist vol. 2, part 2, 118ff.

Lit.: SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "La Reine de Saba et le roi Tâbtahâdj", *AE* 14, 1987, 167–74, here 171ff.; MHAlex 130ff. (Lit.); TedEthPrel I, 1001f. (Lit.).

Stuart Munro-Hay

Fiqṭor

F. (**ፊቅጦር**, Arab. Buqṭur) was a metropolitan of Ethiopia who probably lived in the second half of the 11th cent. He is known only from an incidental reference in the *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*. There had been problems with the Ethiopian metropolitanate during the Patriarchate of Christodoulos of Alexandria (1047–77) with the usurpation of the metropolitanate by an intruder, Qūrīl (Cyril) ᶜAbdūn. F. eventually fled Ethiopia and Patriarch Cyril II (1077–92) appointed a new Bishop, ↗Säwiros, possibly his own nephew. However, the relationship between these two individuals is by no means certain. The Ethiopic ↗*Sənkəssar* (12 *Säne*) states instead that Säwiros was a brother of the Bishop of Ethiopia, F., and had been brought up there. Because at this time another metropolitan Victor (Buqṭur) of ↗Nubia, appointed by Christodoulos, is mentioned by the *History of the Patriarchs* in connection with the accusation of demolishing a mosque, some scholars have assumed that it was his nephew who became bishop of Ethiopia (Monneret de Villard 1938: 128f.).

Src.: SawHist vol. 2, part 3, 327–30, 350f.; BudSaint 995.
Lit.: MHAlex 152ff. (Lit.); TedEthPrel I, 1002f. (Lit.); UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, Roma 1938, 128f.

Stuart Munro-Hay

Fiqṭor

F. (**ፊቅጦር**, d. 7 April 1539) was the eldest son of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl (r. 1508–40), who had another three sons (↗Gälawdewos, ↗Minas and Yaᶜəqob) and three daughters (Amätä Giyorgis, Säbänä Giyorgis and Wälättä Qəddusan). F. was killed by *garād* ↗ᶜUṯmān, one of the warlords of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. He died childless. Immediately afterwards his brother Minas was confined to ↗Amba Gəšän, which was later stormed by Muslims; its inhabitants were massacred. F.'s death produced a lasting impression in the country (as well as in the contemporary Europe), his name being mentioned in the ↗*Dərsanä Raguᵓel*, a popular prophecy on the fate of the dynasty.

Src.: BassÉt II, 330; MANFRED KROPP, *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minas*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 503 [SAe 83]), 17, 30; BegCron 22; DombrChr 165.
Lit.: BruNile vol. 2, 175–79.

Sevir Chernetsov

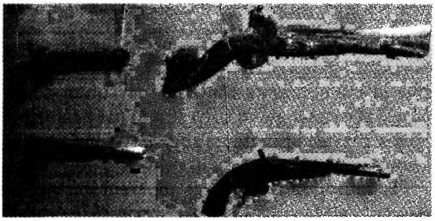
Fire-arms

F. which first arrived in Ethiopia in the 15th cent., during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq, played a major role in the country's history. They often determined the outcome of battles, and the balance of power between provinces and states; and were in great demand by Ethiopian rulers.

The importance of F. was apparent during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, who in 1526 reportedly had only two swivel-guns and 14 muskets. These failed to repel *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ), who, after his rebellion in 1527, acquired seven cannon, and later over 200 muskets. The Portuguese, who came to the Emperor's aid, in 1541, brought, decisively, six cannon, 100 swivel-guns and over 600 matchlocks. Grañ responded by obtaining 10 field bombards and some 1,000 muskets from Arabia. In later fighting around Harär in 1559, *amīr* ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid reportedly had five to seven cannon, and 500 muskets. By the 1620s the Jesuit, Manoel de Almeida, nevertheless stated there were only 1,500 muskets in the entire country, and that no more than 400 or 500 were employed in any expedition. Many weapons were, however, then being smuggled from Massawa into Təgray. The Scottish traveller James Bruce estimated that by the turn of the 1770s there were 6,000 muskets in Təgray, and only 1,000 in the rest of Ethiopia.

The number of F. thereafter increased steadily. The British envoy Henry Salt estimated there were 8,000 matchlocks in Təgray, in 1810, while the German Wilhelm Rüppell thought a generation later that the nominal capital, Gondär, had only 400. Šäwa, however, had by then about 1,000 F., including two cannon, 300 muskets, and 100 pistols presented to *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase by Captain ↗Harris's mission, in 1841. By the

Fire-arms: Ethiopian painting from the 1930s, showing the 1896 battle of ᶜAdwa (detail); photo courtesy of Robert Wiren



Fire-arms as used by Ethiopian soldiers (19th cent. and earlier), Ethnographic Museum of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, photo 2004 by Wolbert Smidt, courtesy of the IES

middle of the century the Frenchman Arnauld d'Abbadie estimated that *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam of Təgray had 28,000 rifles, but that his nominal overlord *ras* ↗Ali Alula in Bägemdər, where imports were difficult, had only 4,000. The ↗Oromo south of the Blue Nile were, however, still unacquainted with F.

Aṣe ↗Tewodros, located in the north-west where fire-arms could not easily be procured, made European missionaries caste him nine cannons under the auspices of the former Tsarist soldier Moritz ↗Hall. At the battle of Mäqdäla in 1868, he had 37 pieces of artillery, but only 4,000 rifles, three-quarters muzzle-loaders, the rest match-locks. The British, by contrast, had 32 heavy artillery, 16 rocket-firers and 16,000 rifles, a quarter of them breech-loaders. They subsequently gave *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Mərč̣a (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV) six mortars and 855 muskets or rifles.

The next two decades witnessed a fierce arms race between *aṣe* Yoḥannəs and *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa. Yoḥannəs, in his battles with the Egyptians at Gundät and Guraᶜ in 1875–76, captured 25 to 30 cannons and 20,000 modern Remington rifles. He suffered thereafter, however, from an arms blockade, first by Egypt and later by Italy, but obtained some smuggled weapons. Mənilək II meanwhile was actively acquiring F. According to the Italian geographer Antonio Cecchi, he had by 1881 22,000 rifles, but only 4,000 of them modern. Gifts from the Italian Government and sales by French merchants, however, transformed the situation. Mənilək, according to the French arms-dealer Arthur ↗Rimbaud, obtained 25,000 modern weapons between 1882 and 1887. Further imports were that year facilitated by Mənilək's occupation of Harär, by which time the Italian envoy Pietro ↗Antonelli estimated that Mənilək had 50,000 rifles, 12,000 of them modern. He was thus beginning to catch up with the previously much-better-armed Yoḥannəs, who in 1888, the year prior to his death, had an estimated 60,000 rifles. The production of ammunition by order of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs in a factory in Təgray, directed by Europeans, was the first industry built up in Ethiopia. Even before, already under *aṣe* Tewodros, black powder was produced on a small scale, e.g., utilizing ↗euphorbia coal. The production of patrons under *aṣe* Yoḥannəs, however, even if causing some unrest among European diplomats, never reached an important scale.

Mənilək, threatened by an Italian invasion, subsequently devoted immense efforts to importing F. By the time of the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa in 1896, he had 40 cannons and over 100,000 rifles, at least half of them modern. The Italians, on the other hand, had 56 cannons and less than 15,000 rifles.

F., throughout this time, were much prized by Ethiopians. They used them for ceremonial fusillades and evolved their own names for guns, mainly corruptions of the French, e.g. *wäǧigra* for *fusil* Gras (Pankhurst 1971:72ff.; KaneDic 1574).

Shortage of funds, Italian pressure on international arms-dealers and an Anglo-French arms embargo, greatly limited *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase's purchase of F. prior to the Italian invasion of 1935. Ethiopia, according to contemporary estimates, thus entered the war with only about 400 light cannons, 2,000 to 3,000 machine-guns and 50,000 to 60,000 modern rifles.

F. continue to play an important, also symbolic, role in the local societies of Ethiopia and Eritrea. The appearance of kalashnikovs, easy to handle, contributed to the increase of armaments in minority ethnic groups, especially starting from the 1970s; they also became an instrument in the re-formulation of identities (cp. ↗Kara). Traditional enmities tend to become fueled by the appearance of F. (Matsuda 2002). The importance of F. as male status symbols, as known already among highland Ethiopians before the 20th cent., has the effect that the possession of F. is greatly appreciated, even if out-of-date or even if ammunition is lacking. Due to the crucial role F. played, e.g., in liberation struggles, even personal names like Kəlašni (from "kalashnikov", attested among the Kunama) are given to newly-born children.

Src.: KaneDic 1574; BeckHuntAlm; Charles Johnston, *Travels in Southern Abyssinia through the Country of Adal to the Kingdom of Shoa, during the Years 1842–1843*, London 1844; Theophilus Waldmeier, *Erlebnisse in Abessinien in den Jahren 1858–1868*, Basel 1869; Clements Robert Markham, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition, with a Chapter Containing an Account of the Mission and Captivity of Mr. Rassam and his Companions, by W.F. Prideau*, London 1868.

Lit.: Angelo del Boca, *The Ethiopian War 1935–1941*, Chicago 1969; Richard Pankhurst, "The History of Fire-arms in Ethiopia prior to the Nineteenth Century", *EthObs* 11, 1967, 202–25; Id., "Fire-Arms in Ethiopian History", *EthObs* 6, 1962, 135–80; Id., "Linguistic and Cultural Data on the Penetration of Fire-Arms into Ethiopia", *JES* 9, 1971, 47–82; Merid Wolde Aregay, "A Reappraisal of the Impact of Firearms in the History of Warfare in Ethiopia (c. 1500–1800)", *JES* 14, 1980, 98–121; Hiroshi Matsuda, "Political Visibility and Automatic Rifles: the Muguji in the 1990s", in: Wendy James – Donald Donham – Eisei Kurimoto – Alessandro Triulzi (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*, Oxford 2002, 173–84.

Richard Pankhurst

Firriisa

F. (d. 1901) was the son of Abbaa Foggi by a slave wife and heir to the throne of ↗Guummaa. Before its submission to *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa, Guummaa was one of the most Islamized among the Oromo states of the ↗Gibe region. Carrying out the policy of territorial expansion, Abbaa Ǧoobir, following the policies of his father King ↗Ǧaawe Oučo (converted to Islam between 1854 and 1860, d. 1879), carried out policies of territorial expansion and ↗*ǧihād* against his non-Muslim Oromo neighbours.

When *daǧǧazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Täsämma Nadäw, Mənilək's general, finally conquered Guummaa in 1885, F. fled to Massawa, where he met *šayḫ* ᶜAbdarraḥmān (*šeh* Abderoman) from ↗Gomma, a follower of the Mīrġanīya Islamic brotherhood. They stayed together for a long time, making pilgrimages to ↗Mecca and Medina. When in 1899 F. learned that an uprising against Mənilək's administration had erupted in Guummaa, he went boldly through Eritrea to Kassala and thence to the Sudan and reached Guummaa, passing Anfillo and Leeqa. At Ebičča Ruya, in front of a gathering of the local chiefs, he proclaimed himself king and announced the *ǧihād* against the Christian empire. His appeal had some success among the chiefs; he defeated Täsämma Nadäw at Ganǧi, then beat back *fitawrari* Sägirde, dispatched by Täsämma, and was successful in several more clashes. However, as the pressure from Mənilək's troops grew, he decided to withdraw to the Sudan. Finally, he was delivered to *ras* Nadäw's soldiers, together with *šayḫ* ᶜAbdarraḥmān, by ↗Fatansa Illuu of Ñoñño (whom F. tried to convert to Islam) and executed. He is still revered and venerated as *walī* by the local Oromo.

Lit.: CerFolk 45f.; MHasOr 160; TrIslam 202.

Denis Nosnitsin

Fisalgos

F. (**ፊሳልጎስ**, also *Fisəʾaləgos*, *Fisäʾaləgos*, from Greek Φυσιολόγος, 'Physiologus') is a small literary work, originally composed in Greek in Alexandria around 200 A.D. Each of its 48 chapters treats a species of animal (42 chs.), plant (2 chs.) or mineral (4 chs.), usually starting with a Biblical quotation (in the majority of cases from the N.T.) and the phrase "The Physiologus said about ...", followed by a legendary description of the species' properties and, as a moral, a Christian interpretation of these properties. The chapters usually close with the phrase "Rightly did he [the Physiologus] say what he said". E.g., the Phoenix, which burns itself and rises from its ashes, is compared to Christ: "Since the bird has the power to kill itself and to rise again, how then is it possible for the Jews to murmur against our Redeemer for having said: 'It is in my power to lay down my soul and to take it up again' [Jn 10: 18]" (ch. 7). The Physiologus makes use of pre-Christian motives current in Antiquity.

The F. was very popular and influential. It was translated into all languages of early and medieval Christianity. Already during the Aksumite period it was translated from the original Greek into Gəᶜəz. The translator was not too well-versed in Greek, which resulted in the transcription, instead of translation, of quite a few animal terms (e.g. **ጊጶስ**, *gip̣os*, from γυπός, gen. of γύψ, 'vulture', ch. 19). But also some original Gəᶜəz terms for animals are preserved in the F. as *hapax legomena* (Hommel 1879:370). Many of these Greek and Gəᶜəz terms were the subject of explanations in the Ethiopian lexical tradition (↗*Säwasəw*).

The F. is the major source for natural history in the Ethiopian traditional Bible interpretation (Cowley 1983:44, index; ↗*Andəmta*). It is also quoted in the ↗*Mäzmurä Krəstos* (WrBriMus 82).

A new edition, taking into account the newly discovered manuscripts, would be desirable, as well a further evaluation of the F.'s impact on the exegetical tradition.

Src.: FRANCISCUS SBORDONE (ed.), *Physiologus*, Milano 1936 [repr. Hildesheim 1976; 1991]; WrBriMus 82, no. 128 [Orient. 534]; 311, no. 391 [Orient. 818], fol. 171–76; ZotBNat 241–42, no. 146 [Éth. 123], fol. 153–61; CRAbb IV, 219f., no. 243 [d'Abbadie 247, II], fol. 2–8; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 21, 6; GreTisVat 477f., no. 118, fol. 151–61; EMML 258, fol. 112a–24b; 629, fol. 143b–57a (late); FRITZ HOMMEL (ed., tr.), *Die äthiopische Uebersetzung des Physiologus nach je einer Londoner, Pariser und Wiener Handschrift herausgegeben, verdeutscht und mit einer historischen Einleitung versehen*, Leipzig 1877; ID. (tr.), "Der äthiopische Physiologus", *Romanische Forschungen* 5, 1890 (Festschrift Konrad Hofmann zum 70sten Geburtstag), 13–36; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (tr.), "Il Fisiologo etiopico", *RSE* 10, 1951, 1–51; CLAUDE SUMNER (tr.), *The Source of African Philosophy: the Ethiopian Philosophy of Man*, Stuttgart 1986 (AeF 20), 81–89.

Lit.: FRIEDRICH LAUCHERT, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, Strassburg 1889 [repr. Genève 1974]; BEN EDWIN PERRY, "Physiologus", in: *Paulys Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1941, vol. 20.1, 1074–1129; CLAUDE SUMNER, *The Fisalgʷos*, Addis Abeba 1982 (Ethiopian Philosopy 5); LESLIE S.B. MACCOULL, "The Coptic 'Triadon' and the Ethiopic 'Physiologus'", *OrChr* 75, 1991, 141–46; FRITZ HOMMEL, *Die Namen der Säugethiere bei den südsemitischen Völkern*, Leipzig 1879; ROGER W. COWLEY, *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Cambridge 1983 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 33); KLAUS ALPERS, "Untersuchungen zum griechischen Physiologus und den Kyraniden", *Vestigia Bibliae* 6, 1984, 13–84.

Stefan Weninger

Fish and fishing

The relatively few species of fresh-water F. present in Ethiopia are similar to those of the basin of the Nile and the East African lakes: e.g., *Oreochromis niloticus* or *tilapia* (Amh. ቆሮሶ, *qoroso*), *Clarias gariepinus* (አምባዛ, *ambaza*), *Cyprinus carpio* (አባ ሳሙኤል, *Abba Samuʾel*) and *Barbus* sp.

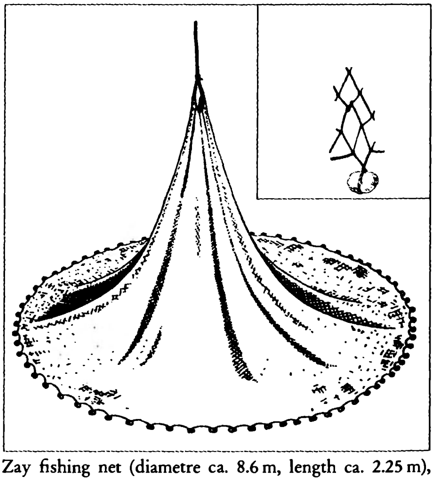
There is a wide range of fishing techniques in use. In north-western Ethiopia, for example, anaesthetic plants (among others *Milletia ferruginea*, *Maesa lanceolata*, *Solanum marginatum*) are thrown into the water to stupefy the F. The dried and crushed herbs are, traditionally after offerings for good success, scattered in the water. After some hours the dazed F. can be collected from the water's surface. Gill nets are used, e.g., by the ↗Wäyṭo of Lake Ṭana: the net is opened parallel to and a short distance from the shore. Then the water in between is beaten so that the F. flee and enter the net (Simoons 1960:159). A similar technique is known in the south, for example by the ↗Zay (VSAe II, 672f., table 42). Other techniques are catching the F. in cast nets. In fast-flowing rivers traps are built near dams and basketry. Tools include also scoop-nets and, as a more recent phenomenon, trawl-line and hook-line. In some cases spears (e.g., by Wäyṭo and ↗Gumuz) or bow and arrow (e.g., by Gumuz) are used (Simoons 1960:160; VSAe II, table 44).

Once captured, F. are tied together with the help of a string to be transported and sold in the neighbouring areas. Fishing is still a non-professional activity that provides a supplementary source of income for local households.

In the last four decades the various Ethiopian governments have paid special attention to fishing, strongly interested in its role for economic development. Hence, they set up programs aiming at the improvement of the equipment (providing boats) and techniques used. They also tried to organize the fishermen and bring their products to established markets. Fisheries were set up around ↗Arba Mənč̣, providing the markets of the town with cat-fish.

From the point of view of ichthyology, halieutics and maritime culture, the Eritrean coast has been strongly linked throughout time to the Yemen. F. abound there and fishing is practised in the small coastal villages. Their production is sold in the Yemen and ↗Massawa. Massawa is also a centre for modern fishing activities in Eritrea, exporting its products to the highlands as well as international destinations.

The importance of F. for the different populations of Ethiopia depends on their proximity to



Zay fishing net (diametre ca. 8.6 m, length ca. 2.25 m), with detail showing a stone weight, from VSAe II, pl. 41

waters rich in F., as well as to a large extent in their cultural and religious beliefs. The avoidance of F. is a cultural feature widely spread in the Horn of Africa. The ↗Kəmant as well as the ↗Oromo and most southern Ethiopian peoples (with the exemption of the Ganǧule [↗Harro]), for instance, believe that F. is impure, whilst the Wäyṭo of Lake Ṭana hold the opposite ideology, wherein their people are meant to eat anything living in the water. They hunt animals (e.g., the ↗hippopotamus), that are held as impure by the surrounding groups; such a practice is used to give an explanation for their status as ↗peripheral people. The ↗Waṭa, another group of this category, on the other hand, eat hippopotamus but avoid F. (VSAe II, 88, 717).

Like the Jews, the followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church distinguish between aquatic animals and marine monsters (Gen 1:21). Among monsters, the Leviathan and the Behemot (Job 40:25) do not seem to be comparable, respectively, to the crocodile and the hippopotamus, whose meat is forbidden. F. are divided into two groups, according to the presence or absence of scales and fins in their anatomy; in the first case their meat is eaten, in the second it is considered impure (s. Lev 11:9–12; Deut 14:9; Mt 13:47–50). F. is the only flesh allowed during ↗fasting in the *Fətḥa nägäśt* (ch. 15), but some ascetic devotees still include it in their fasts. It is normally fried (with an incision and without cutting the head) in special fat consonant with fasting or in ቀይ፡ ወጥ (*qäyy wäṭ*, 'red stew'). Its consumption, not highly valued, is relatively modest (150 g per annum and per capita) and strongly linked to fasting periods, especially Easter.

The indigenous form ዓሣ (ᶜ*aśa*) invaribly designates F. in Gəᶜəz, Təgre, Təgrəñña, Gurage, Gafat and Amharic (with the variants ᶜ*aía* in Tgt. Tgn., *asa* in Amh.). The term comes probably from the old Cushitic substrate and can also be found in Bilin, Kəmant etc. The new expanding Cushitic languages, however, do not include it (Oromiffa: *qurxummii*; Somali: *kalluun*, *mallaay* etc.). ᶜ*Aśa* indicates any kind of F., but some species also receive local names (s. supra). Loanwords (*šark* and *šrimp*, from English 'shark' and 'shrimp', respectively) and calques (*dəmmät* ᶜ*asa*, 'cat-fish') are also used. The term ዘንዶ (*zändo*, '[water-] snake' etc.) indicates the Leviathan, whilst the whale of Jonas is called ዓንበሪ (ᶜ*anbari*). Amharic vocabulary related to F. does not have a specific, but rather an analogical character, being poorly mastered by the speakers: አጥንት (*aṭənt*, 'bone') and አሾህ (*əšoh*, 'spine') indicate the fishbone, but also the scale of the animal, which is also named ቅርፊት (*qərfit*, 'peel'), ክንፍ (*kənf*, 'wing'), etc.; አቃጠነ (*aqqaṭṭänä*, 'to pull a F. out of the water with a hook [*mäqaṭən*]'), etc.

Although F. has such a marginal place in Christian Ethiopian society, everybody has notions of it, in particular due to the importance of this animal in the history of Christianity. F. is also present in popular culture and in Amharic proverbs, like ለዓሣ፡ መዋኘት፡ አያስተምሩትም (*läᶜaśa mäwañät ayastämrutəm*, 'one does not teach a F. to swim') and ዓሣን፡ መብላት፡ በብልሃት (ᶜ*aśan mäblat bäbəlhat*, 'to eat F. carefully [because of the fishbones]').

Src.: KaneDic 1162f.

Lit.: GUSTAVO BRUNELLI et al., *Esplorazione dei laghi della fossa Galla; missione ittiologica dell'Africa orientale italiana*, Roma 1941; A.S. GOLUBTSOV et al., *A Key to Fish Species of the Gambela Region* (*the White Nile Basin in the Limits of Ethiopia*) [Addis Ababa: Joint Ethio-Russian Biological Expedition], Moscow 1995; MASRÄYA HAYLE, የዱር፡ አራዊትና፡ የባሕር፡ ዓሣ፡ ስሞች፡ በኢትዮጵያ (*Yädur arawitənna yabaḥər* ᶜ*aśa səmočč bäʾityopya*, 'Names of Wild Animals and Sea Fish in Ethiopia'), Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; GIOVANNI OMAN, *L'ittionimia nei paesi arabi dei Mari Rosso, Arabico e del Golfo Persico* (*o Arabico*), Napoli 1992; JOSEPH TUBIANA, "Le grand mythe des Kemant", in: ALAIN ROUAUD, *Les orientalistes sont des aventuriers*, Paris 1999, 69–85; YAQOB BEYENE, "I tabù alimentari e il cristianesimo etiopico", *RSE* 38, 1996, 209–32; VINIGI LORENZO GROTTANELLI, *Pescatori dell'Oceano Indiano: saggio etnologico preliminare sui Bagiuni, Bantu costieri dell'Oltregiuba*, Roma 1955; FREDERICK J. SIMOONS, *Northwest Ethiopia. Peoples and Economy*, Madison 1960, 158ff.; VSAe I, 256, 416; VSAe II, 87f., 103, 672ff., 716f.

Alain Rouaud

Fistula Hospital

The F.H. was founded in Addis Abäba in 1974 by Reginald Hamlin, a New Zealand gynaecologist holding a post at the Princess Ṣ́äḥay Hospital in Addis Abäba since 1959. He, together with his Australian wife Catherine, was expected to set up midwifery training, but they were soon touched by the plight of the fistula patients. Fistulas (abnormal openings) can occur as a complication of childbirth, when women are unable to reach a doctor during problematic labour. Ethiopia's rugged terrain, scattered population and poor communications prevent those in remote villages from receiving the required medical aid. Women are so damaged by the obstructed labour that they become incontinent and consequently social outcasts.

As Hamlin's skill in curing fistula patients became known, they began arriving in such large numbers that the wards of the general hospital were unable to cope. The social stigma attached to them also required the establishment of a special hospital. Money was raised from wealthy countries, particularly Australia and New Zealand. Hamlin was able to obtain the required permission to build from the Ministry of Health and, with the readily given approval of Emperor Ḥaylä Śəllase I, he was able to buy land on which to construct the hospital.

On 24 May 1974 a main ward of 40 beds was opened. By January 1991 over 17,000 patients had been treated. They came as social outcasts, but went away normally after three weeks able to reintegrate into society. The hospital still relies on public donations for the greater part of its finances. The Ethiopian Ministry of Health provides the funding for the doctors and some of the nursing staff. The hospital has 60 beds and about 16 operations are carried out each week. In less severe cases, stitching the torn bladder is all that is required. More serious cases require skin and muscle grafts. Overseas surgeons used to visit Addis Abäba to learn the latest techniques in fistula surgery from the Hamlins, and in 1965 Reginald Hamlin was invested with the Order of the British Empire in recognition of his outstanding work in this field. Hamlin died in 1993, but his wife Catherine continues to run the Addis Abäba F.H.

↗Birth; ↗Hospitals

Src.: author's own data.

Joachim Persoon

Fit Abbo ↗Gondär

Fitawrari

From the 14th cent. F. (ፊታውራሪ) was the title for a commander of an advanced detachment of a traditional Ethiopian ↗army en march. The F.'s duties were to contact first the enemy forces, to provide for the safety of the march and to supply the army by looting of local population.

Formally, a F. was lower in rank than other commanders (↗*azmač*), such as *grazmač*, *qäññazmač* and ↗*däǧǧazmač*, and the site of his detachment in battle-disposition was in front of the *däǧǧazmač*'s central regiment. However, this hierarchy was valid only within one army. As there were many armies in the country, the general hierarchy was far from being standardized. A Russian officer Arnoldi, who made a survey of the Ethiopian army at the beginning of the 20th cent., remarked that the hierarchy was intricate and impregnated with the same feudal spirit as the majority of Ethiopian institutions. As for the F., he wrote: "Not every F. is higher than *grazmač*, and sometimes *qäññazmač* means more than *däǧǧazmač*. First of all one should distinguish a *däǧǧazmač* F. etc. of the Imperial army from the same titles in vassals' armies. These are by no means equal figures and any F. of the *nəguś* has incomparably more land and soldiers than the best *däǧǧazmač* of a ↗*ras*. Every *däǧǧazmač* has also several F. and *qäññazmač* of his own, but again *qäññazmač* of a *ras*'s *däǧǧazmač* is incomparably lower in position than his namesake of a *nəguś*'s *däǧǧazmač*. Thus, for example, the *nəguś* has a trusted officer to whom he confides the command of the main bulk of his troops. By his title he is a F., but even *däǧǧazmačes* of the *nəguś* bow to him waist-deep and *rases* seek his favour" (Arnoldi 1907:22f.). Here the Russian officer meant *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis Dinagde, whom *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II had made the War Minister with the title of F. in his newly established cabinet of ministers on the European model.

However, there was an Ethiopian logic in granting this particular title, because the high command over the armed forces belonged to the Emperor himself, who was in this case the *däǧǧazmač*, so his subordinate Habtä Giyorgis could only be his F. As Bairu Tafla remarked, "an attempt was made in 1907–30 to link the title to the modern ministry of war; but it lost its functional essence and was retained only as an honorific title bestowed usually upon civilians" (BTafA 914).

Lit.: KaneDic 2306; DombrChr 301; BTafA 914; KONSTANTIN ARNOLDI, *Voennye ocherki Abissinii* ('Military Essays on Abyssinia'), St. Petersburg 1907, 22f.

Sevir Chernetsov

Flabellum ↗Märäwəḥ

Flad, Johannes Martin

F. (b. 7 January 1831, Undingen, Württemberg, d. 1 April 1915, Kornthal, Württemberg) was a Protestant missionary. A farmer and saddler, he studied at the St. Chrischona Seminary near Basle. In 1855, Bishop Samuel ↗Gobat sent F. and Ludwig ↗Krapf to Ethiopia to establish a basis for missionary work there. F. returned in 1856 as part of the ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission. With other Pilgrim missionaries, with the help of the newly crowned *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II and *abunä* ↗Salama III, he started Bible work among the Ethiopian people, distributing and editing the new Amharic Bible (↗Bible translation). Their aim was to strenghten the Ethiopian Church and to foster spiritual and social development for Ethiopia and the surrounding peoples, according to the Moravian tradition of serving local communities. F. established his first school for the ↗Betä Əsraʾel near Gondär in 1856.

In 1858 F. married Pauline Keller (↗Flad, Pauline) in Jerusalem. With her he returned to Ethiopia where they raised 8 children (3 adopted). In 1860, the mission among the Betä Əsraʾel was established due to a report of F. to Gobat and the sending of Henry ↗Stern by the ↗London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. In 1863 the relations with *aṣe* Tewodros went through a sever crisis; difficult times started for F. and other St. Crischona artisans (ordered by the Emperor to build giant mortars). The British ambassador ↗Cameron was imprisoned. In 1866 and sent by Tewodros as his ambassador to London to mediate in the crisis and, with Queen Victoria, to prepare Ethiopia's technical development. In 1868 Tewodros's prisoners were released by the ↗Napier expedition, and F. had to return to St. Crischona.

The F. family settled in the Moravian community of Kornthal. They continued their ministry through young Ethiopians F. was teaching at St. Crischona who later returned to Ethiopia and took up missionary activities there. F. himself made five more journeys to Ethiopia (1870, 1873, 1880, 1890, 1894) to bring help and foster missionary work in Ethiopia.

Johannes Martin Flad, Pauline Flad and their children (on the right ↗Mikaʾel Arägawi); photo courtesy of the author

In 1886, F.'s revised Amharic Bible was published. It was distributed throughout Ethiopia. Bible-reading movement around the copies brought by the ↗Church Missionary Society to ↗Ḥamasen eventually gave birth to the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus.

↗Mikaʾel Arägawi, F.'s first adopted son, became his most prominent successor in Ethiopia, whereas his son Frederic succeeded him in Europe. Käntiba Gäbru, another F.'s student, resumed the technical development, with Alfred ↗Ilg, during the time of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II.

Src.: interview with Frederic Flad; Basle State archives; St. Crischona archives; MARTIN FLAD, *Notes from the Journal of F. M. Flad, one of Bishop Gobat's Pilgrim Missionaries in Abyssinia …*, London 1860; ID., *Zwölf Jahre in Abessinien oder Geschichte des Königs TheodorosII. und der Mission unter seiner Regierung …*, Basel 1869; ID., *60 Jahre in der Mission unter den Falaschas in Abessinien*, Giessen – Basel 1922; ID., *Ein Leben für Abessinien*, Giessen – Basel 1936; HORMUZD RASSAM, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia*, London 1869; THEOPHILUS WALDMEIER, *Erlebnisse in Abessinien in den Jahren 1858–1868*, Basel 1869.

Lit.: ArEvang; JULIUS FLAD, *Ein Leben für Äthiopien: Martin Flad*, Giessen – Basel 1936; CrumMis 117–40; RubInd 176–80, 247–55.

Wilfred Heintze-Flad

Flad, Pauline Keller

F. (née Pauline Keller; b. 26 November 1826, Saarbrücken, Prussia, d. 21 October 1909, Kornthal, Württemberg) studied to be a nurse and became Germany's first modern woman pharmacist. In Kaiserswerth she was a room-mate of Florence Nightingale, working with her at the Deaconesses' hospital. In 1851 she travelled to Jerusalem to start a hospital with Bishop Samuel ↗Gobat. There she met Johannes Martin ↗Flad, whom she married in 1858. The day after their marriage, they left for Ethiopia to engage in missionary activity among the ↗Betä Əsraʾel. She helped the needy, and her medical skills saved many lives. From 1863 she, together with Stern and Rosenthal, was a target of ↗Tewodros II's wrath for mentioning himan rights violations. After her release in 1868, she did not return to Ethiopia, but continued to be involved in the mission's work.

Src.: interview with Frederic Flad; PAULINE FLAD, *Eine braune Perle*, Giessen – Basel 1929.

Lit.: ArEvang, passim; JULIUS FLAD, *Ein Leben für Äthiopien: Martin Flad*, Giessen – Basel 1936; CrumMis 135, 142; RubInd 233, 253.

Wilfred Heintze-Flad

Flora ↗Plants

Florence, Council of

The Council of F. (1437–43) is known as the last serious, though unsuccessful, attempt by Rome to put an end to the long-lasting schisma that opposed it to the Eastern Churches.

The history of the Council offers itself a clear picture of the position of the papacy in late medieval times. Pope Eugene IV (1431–47) initially convoked on 18 December 1431 a Council to be held at Bologna. Its aim was to dissolve the Council of Basle (opened in 1431 by Martin V, closed at Lausanne in 1449) which, imbued with the "conciliar" theories set forth at Constance (1414–18), appeared as a major challenge to papal authority. The Council was finally opened in Ferrara on 8 January 1438 (Bull *Doctoris gentium*) and was later moved to Florence for economic reasons. Yet, the last sessions took place at the Lateran palace in Rome (1443–45). Beside the "conciliar" problem, other important elements in the background were the rise of the Ottoman power (Thessalonica and Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1429 and 1453, respectively; Petrocchi 1955:23) and a diffused ecumenical spirit for the reunion of the Latin and Eastern Churches.

With a clear unionist purpose, the discussions started in Ferrara with the Greek delegation, composed of 700 people, at the head of which were Emperor John VIII Paleologus and Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople. Before moving to Florence, 16 sessions had been held, mostly dedicated to doctrinal questions and led by an outstanding theological figure, Archbishop Basil Bessarion. In January 1439, the Council resumed its sessions again in the Tuscan capital; its discussions, centred on the *Filioque* clause, resulted in the decree of Union with the Greeks of 6 July (Bull *Laetentur caeli*; s. Wohlmuth – Alberigo 2000:524–28).

After the departure of the Greeks and following a strategy of one Church at a time, the turn came of the other Oriental Churches: Armenian, Syrian, Maronite. The Ethiopian community in Jerusalem (↗Dayr as-Sulṭān) was contacted in 1440 by the papal envoy, Brother Alberto da ↗Sarteano (s. Hofmann 1942b:11–16; ↗Franciscans). On September of the same year, a Coptic-Ethiopian embassy composed of twelve monks under the lead of Abbot Andrawos, a Copt from the monastery of St. Anthony in Egypt, departed from Cairo to join the Council. In Florence, on 2 December 1441, the Ethiopian deacon Peṭros, the head of the Ethiopian delegation sent by Abbot Niqodemos of Jerusalem, presented a discourse with conciliatory tones (Hofmann 1942b:17f.; Cerulli 1933b). Meanwhile, a comission formed by three cardinals (Giuliano Cesarini, the ↗Dominican Juan de Torquemada and Jean Le Jeune, Bishop of Thèrouanne) was appointed to study the "heresies" of the two Churches, the results of which came with the Bull of Union *Cantate Domino* (s. Wohlmuth – Alberigo 2000:567–83), read solemnly in the church of Santa Maria Novella on 4 February 1442.

Pope Eugene IV gives the Bull of Union to the Copt and Ethiopian delegation; bronze door by Antonio Averulino called "il Filarete", 1445; Rome, Basilica di San Pietro; photo 2004, courtesy of Andreu Martínez

The decree contained important discrepancies between the Latin original and its Arabic version (Hofmann 1942a:228) and was both a clear exposition of the Catholic doctrines and a severe rectification of the Coptic and Ethiopian "errors", such as food prescriptions, the practice of ↗Sabbath and ↗circumcision (ibid. 230; s. Wohlmuth – Alberigo 2000:577f.). However, the Union between Rome and the two African churches – who, like the other Eastern churches, attributed to the See of Peter only a spiritual primacy – never took place. Furthermore, only the Egyptian envoy signed the document (Hofmann 1942b:23f.) and there is no clear evidence that the Bull ever arrived inEthiopia (cp. Hofmann 1942a:232f.; Hofmann 1942b:30ff.; Tedeschi 1989:401ff.).

The Council nevertheless had an impact in Renaissance Italy: the Ethiopian legates provided humanists and geographers with first hand accounts on Christian Ethiopia (Tedeschi 1993:355ff.) The Bull *Cantate Domino* – whose solemn proclamation was represented in a bronze image by Antonio Averulino Collet "il Filarete" on the central door of the Basilica of St. Peter – played an important role: a canon on the authority of Scripture was refered to in the fourth session of the Council of Trent (Hofmann 1942a:234; s. Wohlmuth – Alberigo 2002:663–64). Furthermore, the coveted project of Unity with Copts and Ethiopians, although lingering for years (s., however, Lefevre 1941:82ff.), was to gather momentum with the religious mission lead by the ↗Jesuits and the crown of ↗Portugal in the second half of the 16th cent.

Src.: Enrico Cerulli, "L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici", *Africa Italiana* 5, 1933a, 57–112, here 58–80; Josef Wohlmuth – Giuseppe Alberigo (eds.), *Dekrete der ökumenischen Konzilien/Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, vol. 2, Paderborn 2000, 524–28, 567–83; *ibid.* 2002, 663f.

Lit.: A. Vogt, "Florence, Concile de", in: *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 6, Paris 1920, 24–50; Georg Hofmann, "La 'Chiesa' Copta ed Etiopica nel Concilio di Firenze", *La Civiltà Cattolica* 93, 2, 1942a, 141–46, 228–35; Id., "Kopten und Aethiopier auf dem Konzil von Florenz", *OrChrP* 8, 1942b, 5–39, here 11–18; Enrico Cerulli, "Eugenio IV e gli Etiopi al Concilio di Firenze nel 1441", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 9, 1933b, 347–68; Petro B.T. Bilanuik, "Florence, Copts at the Council of", in: *CE*, vol. 4, 1118–19; Renato Lefevre, "Roma e la comunità etiopica di Cipro nei secoli XV e XVI", *RSE* 19, 1941, 71–86, here 82ff.; Massimo Petrocchi, *La politica della Santa Sede di fronte all'invasione Ottomana*, Napoli 1955, 23; Salvatore Tedeschi, "Etiopi e Copti al Concilio di Firenze", *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 21, 1989, 380–407, here 401ff.; Id., "L'Etiopia di Poggio Bracciolini", *Africa* (Roma) 48, 1993, 333–58, here 355ff.

Andreu Martínez

Fogära

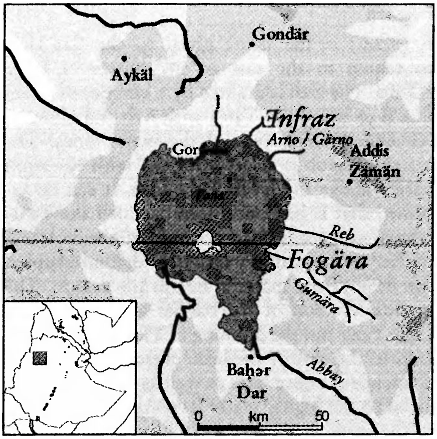
F. (ፎገራ) is the name given to the flat land stretching to the east of the shores of Lake ↗Ṭana. The area is drained by a number of rivers that flow into Lake Ṭana, with Reb and Gumära (Gʷəmära) being two of the major ones. The marshy region is largely treeless, with elevation barely above the level of the lake. It can be assumed that F. had once been part of Lake Ṭana, which was formed as a result of the volcanic barrier from the heavy lava flow that interrupted the flow of the major rivers in the region. The gradual erosion of the barrier at the outlet of Lake Ṭana and the draining of a large tract of flat land to the east of the lake, created the F. plain. Evidence of shore lines as well as local traditions attest to the higher water levels of the lake prior to the gradual erosion of the lava deposit by the River ↗Abbay in the south-eastern part of Lake Ṭana.

The waters of the Gumära and Reb and their tributaries often flood F. In 1992 over 12,000 people were displaced by flood. ↗Malaria epidemics occure in the region (e.g., in the 1950s; s. Simoos 1960). A large part of the inhabitants of F. move to the hilly areas surrounding the regions during the rainy season (June to August) and then return to F. plain during the dry season. The seasonal movement helps the population to avoid malaria and also to protect their cattle from tse tse-flies.

The villages in F. are located on higher plains or mounds scattered in the region. The villagers cultivate the area when the water-level is low, and grow crops, mainly field-peas, vetch and corn. Most of the farmers in the region depend on cattle rearing for their livelihood. Corn is widely grown on the rich alluvial black soil as the lake recedes. Local farmers command a good price with it since the corn matures early and reaches the market before corn in other parts of the region is ready.

Many churches are located in F., including ↗Krəstos Sämra, Qəddəst Ḫanna, Qəddus Giyorgis and Ǝngor Märqorewos. ↗Ṭana Qirqos, on an island close to the shore, is the most important among them.

F. is an important historical region. In 1619, *aṣe* ↗Susənyos established his camp (↗*kätäma*) at the Gumära, in the area which he had passed, or visited, on different occasions several times before. In May 1622, on return from one of his succesful campaigns against the ↗Oromo, the



Emperor attended a church council in F., where ecclesiastic parties came to argue over the issues of theology. Susənyos judged by formulating the Unctionist doctrine (↗*Qəbat*) himself, which however, did not stop the controversy (the discussion continued at the council of ↗Aringo 30 years later).

Č̣äqla Mänzo, another island close to the F. shore, obtained importance as a royal residence of ↗Iyasu I. There he built a castle and a church, with the *tabot* of St. ↗Gälawdewos (their ruins are still visible). He was murdered at this residence in 1706.

In 1777, *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot fled the troops of ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul to F. but was defeated at Ṭeza Amba in F. and later imprisoned at ↗Ǝmäkina.

In the early 19th cent., *ras* ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel promoted ↗Gugsa Märsa to *grazmač* and made him governor of F., an important step for the latter's later career. Later in the century, F. often became a site of Tewodros II's military conquests. In the ↗administrative division of the 20th cent., F. formed a *wäräda* within the ↗Däbrä Tabor *awrağğa*.

Src.: PerChron 234ff., 239 (text); FusTeo 38, 51 (text) = 107, 120 (tr.); ZanLitTheo 1, 13 (text); GueCopMen 200, 305, 406, 532 n. 8; DombrChr 215, 220, 224, 226, 241, 290. **Lit.:** BTafA 379, 437, 449, 914 (Lit.); ChTana 165f., 181–84, 186; *Guida* 380; MahZekr 148; HuntGeogr, s. index; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Iyasu I re d'Etiopia e martire", *RSO* 20, 1942, 65–128; Zämädkun Bäqqälä, ቅዱሳን፡ መካናት፡ በኢትዮጵያ (*Qəddusan mäkanat bäʾityoṗya*, 'Holy Places in Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999 A.D.], 229–335; Frederick Simoos, *Northwest Ethiopia, Peoples and Economy*, Madison 1960.

Mulatu Wubneh – Red.

Folktales

Folktales in Amharic

F. are fictional prose narratives which may be set in any time and any place. F. may include a "moral". Some tales are told as true stories. Mixed genres also occur (Molvaer 1995:158ff., 223).

In Ethiopia, F. (Amh. sg. ተረት, *tärät*) have been used in schools, with a moral attached, often contrary to wide-spread tradition. Some have been turned into poetry (Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl 1967/68; Mängəśtu Lämma 1960/61). Students and foreigners have often retold them with a polished, literary slant (Wilks 1971; Courlander – Leslau 1950; Davis – Ashabranner 1959). Many are jokes and puns, often ascribed to the Ethiopian wit *aläqa* ↗Gäbrä Ḥanna Gäbrä Maryam (Pankhurst – Pankhurst 1982/83; Abbäbä Ayəččeh 1955/56; Aräfä ʿAyne Ḥagos 1986).

Folklore studies of the "romanticist period" (e.g., Davis – Ashabranner 1959) claimed it was possible to find the character of each Ethiopian nationality reflected in their typical tales. This view, however, reflected more the stereotypes of the different ethnic groups already existing in Ethiopia: trickery and cleverness among Amhara (ibid. 31), fighting, courage and strength among ʿAfar (ibid. 76), comedy and nonsense among "easy-going" Oromo (ibid. 92), hard work and the pursuit of wealth among Gurage (ibid. 127), etc. (s. Korten 1972:117; cf. Eadie 1924:72ff.).

Another approach focuses on the geographical origins and ways of diffusion of F. According to it, stories travelled all over the country, many deriving from Arabia, India, other parts of Africa and beyond (Courlander – Leslau 1950:131; but for critical analysis s. ibid. 4; Molvaer 1995:171). F. can also be seen as an educational device. Parents select stories to strengthen favoured traits in their children, which would vary from one child to another (Molvaer 1995:164f., 169f.).

Compiled trickster-tales are the most common tales in Ethiopia, according to the collection of 3000 stories by Davis and Ashabranner (1959: 31f.). Further evidence is provided by other collections, such as Molvaer (1995:171ff.). Among both rulers-oppressors and ruled-oppressed groups, such stories flourish. The trickster, often admired, always wins (unless outsmarted by another trickster) and may even be rewarded for his tricks by a tricked king (Eadie 1924:7–18).

The second most important theme in F. seems to be food and the acquisition of wealth (e.g., Wilks 1971:5–33, 73–80).

Filial duty is shown in providing for parents, first of all the mother, commended, even if it is done by stealing, cheating and harming others (Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl 1967/68:9–17), whereas stealing may otherwise be censured (Davis – Ashabranner 1959:23–26).

Humorous stories also abound. Foolish people feature in many and the unreliability of women is a common theme (Molvaer 1995:200ff.; Pankhurst – Pankhurst 1982–83:99f.; Wilks 1971:12ff.). But women are sometimes shown to be more clever and down-to-earth than men (Courlander – Leslau 1950:19ff., 45ff.) and even devoted wives (Wilks 1971:44–50, 55–62). The capriciousness of justice and that might is right are told with both humour and sadness (Davis – Ashabranner 1959: 77–80, 112–15; Courlander – Leslau 1950:14–17, 25f.); sometimes justice is obtained by cleverness (Courlander – Leslau 1950:7–13, 29–33).

Ethiopian F. may deal with religious matters, especially aetiological tales, as well as myths and legends, which are told as true stories, expected to be believed. Some exceptions can be found: "Why the hyena became lame" (Molvaer 1995: 205), "How the sea became salty" (Wilks 1971: 5–11), "Why the donkey laughs and the frog croaks" (Courlander – Leslau 1950:105–12), etc., are told to satisfy a child's curiosity or just for fun.

F. are allegories, not told as literally true, with human or stereotyped animal actors (fables), or even speaking inanimate phenomena (Courlander – Leslau 1950:51–56). Spirits, devils and magicians appear occasionally (Wilks 1971: 91–100).

The point or "moral" of a tale is meant to be understood and appreciated and, although a child may be gently guided to the desired conclusion, it is normally not stated. It is a late innovation to attach an explicit "moral", often in the form of a proverb (**ምሳሌ**, *məssale*). Perhaps this new tradition came into existence under the influence of an Amharic translation of Aesop's fables by Amarä Mammo (1965/66).

Otherwise F. are told as plain stories. They reveal an adult, mostly male world, to which children are expected to aspire to; curiosity and innovation are not cherished traits (Wilks 1971: 51–54).

Public storytellers (men) tell stories to mixed groups of children or in village gatherings where adults are also present. These stories are of a general kind, without specific application, and serve to perpetuate shared values. Such tales are of interest to anthropologists, who look for institutionalized social phenomena.

For each public performance, thousands of F. are told in the homes, often introduced with a riddle (**እንቆቅልሽ**, ↗*ənqoqəlləš*) to sharpen attention and with a standard opening: **ተረት፡ ተረት፡ የመሠረት** (*tärät tärät yämäśärät*, 'tale, tale of the base'). This private situation is the most typical way of transmitting F. They are specific, selected and told to mould and correct a child's character, not for pure entertainment. The public performer may use theatrical effects (mime, song, dance), but this is not common when parents tell stories to their own children, where a more dignified relationship prevails, especially to the father (s. Molvaer 1995:161–65.) Mothers tell more stories to their children than fathers.

Several authors, e.g., Mängəśtu Lämma (Molvaer 1997:276) and Taddäsä Libän (ibid. 304ff.), have told of the influence of such story-telling on their literary talents. Others, e.g. Daññaččäw Wärqu (ibid. 292), have used F. in their novels, whereas some, e.g. Ḥaddis ʿAlämayyähu (1992/93; Molvaer 1997:147) and Səbḥat Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer (ibid. 355), have created original tales on the pattern of F.

There are tales purporting to explain the origin of things, not only in nature but also in the social organization (Davis – Ashabranner 1959:168–71); dilemma tales (ibid. 179–84), and tales told for fun, often by children to each other (cf. Pankhurst – Pankhurst 1982–83), who also tell "sexually explicit" tales among themselves (cf. Molvaer 1997:172). Many F. may seem amoral or immoral according to the prevailing ethos in the society (Davis – Ashabranner 1959:70ff.). Some include both myths and saints' stories among F. (ibid. 160–66, 168–72), but these are "border cases".

Ethiopian F. are mostly straightforward and easy to understand. By repeated retelling, they may attain some sophistication or great beauty. Whereas professionally trained people have collected tales from public performers, the usual case is that the most typical tales told in the privacy of homes are collected by amateurs and often printed in publications dealing with other social topics. Wide dispersion of F. may reveal many variations in the form. It is of the essence that variants of the same tale are found wherever F. are part of the living tradition and adapted to the listeners. There cannot be one "correct" version of any tale, although many F.

are also transmitted with surprising uniformity over wide areas.

↗Oral literature

Src.: ABBÄBÄ AYƎČČEH, ቢልጮ (*Bilčo*, 'The Wit'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]; ID., ጉራማይሌ (*Guramayle*), Addis Abäba *Gənbot* 1951 A.M. [May 1959 A.D.]; ARÄFÄ ᶜAYNE ḤAGOS, አለቃ፡ ገብረሀናና፡ ቀልዶቻቸው (*Aläqa Gäbrähannanna qäldoččaččäw*, 'Aläqa Gäbrä-Ḥanna and his Witticisms'), Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1986 A.D.]; ḤADDIS ᶜALÄMAYYÄHU, ተረት፡ ተረት፡ የመሠረት (*Tärät tärät yämäśärät*, 'Tale, Tale of the Base'), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [A.D. 1992/93]; KÄBBÄDÄ DÄSTA, ዕውቀት፡ በጭውውት (*Ǝwqät bäčəwəwwət*, 'Learning by Conversation'), Addis Abäba 1973 [1980/81 A.D.]; MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, እንቅልፍ፡ ለምኔ (*Ǝnqəlf läməne*, 'I am not Sleepy'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.], 9–17; MÄNGƎŚTU LÄMMA, ያባቶች፡ ጨዋታ (*Yabbatočč čäwata*, 'Tales of the Fathers'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; *blatta* WÄLDÄ YOḤANNƎS WÄLDÄ GIYORGIS, እንቆቅልሽ (*Ǝnqoqəlləš*), Addis Abäba 1941 A.M. 1948/49 A.D.]; CHRISTINE PRICE (ed.), *The Rich Man and the Singer: Folktales from Ethiopia, Told by Mesfin Habte-Mariam*, New York 1971; BRIAN S. WILKS (ed.), *A Collection of Ethiopian Folk Tales from All Parts of Ethiopia*, Addis Abäba 1971, 5–33, 44–62, 73–80, 91–100; HAROLD COURLANDER – WOLF LESLAU, *The Fire on the Mountain and Other Ethiopian Stories*, New York 1950, 4, 7–17, 19ff., 25f., 29–33, 45ff., 51–56, 105–12, 131; MARTINO MARIO MORENO (ed., tr.), *Cent fables amhariques, mises en écrit par le dabtara Kenfé*, Paris 1947; RUSSELL DAVIS – BRENT ASHABRANNER, *The Lion's Whiskers*, Boston 1959, 23–26, 31f., 70ff., 76–80, 92, 112–15, 127, 160–66, 168–72, 179–84; JOHN INGLIS EADIE, *An Amharic Reader*, Cambridge 1924, 1–74.

Lit.: DAVID C. KORTEN, *Planned Change in a Traditional Society: Psychological Problems of Modernization in Ethiopia*, New York 1972, 115–41, 361–73; REIDULF K. MOLVAER, *Socialization and Social Control in Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1995 (AeF 44), 153–207 (Lit.); MolLit, 147, 172, 276, 292, 304ff., 355; RICHARD PANKHURST – ALULA PANKHURST, "Ethiopian Children's Folktales Attributed to Alaqa Gabra Hanna", *QSE*, 1982/83, 95–105 (Lit.); CerFolk III, passim.

Reidulf K. Molvaer

Folktales in Təgrəñña

Təgrəñña F. as part of the wider Təgrəñña oral literature have received some consideration from as early as the first reports of the European missionaries and linguists. The Swedish mission in particular has made valuable contributions to the codification and standardization of the Təgrəñña language. Thus, in the religious journal መልእኽቲ፡ ሰላም (*Mälʾəḵti sälam*), which was published from 1909 to 1915, occasional reference is made to indigenous popular literature. Similarly in the ቀዳማይ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ንባብ (*Qädamay mäṣḥaf nəbab*, 'First reading book'), published by the *Missione evangelica* in 1928, a number of stories are included.

Short F. can also be found in the grammars by de Vito (e.g., de Vito 1893:40–43) and Schreiber (1893:186–91): stories of the Fox (*wəḵarya*, nowadays: *wäḵarya*) and the Jackal (*täkʷla*, nowadays: *tåḵʷla*). These were, however, translations from French. In addition the works by Conti Rossini (1897, 1942) are important. A short collection of Təgrəñña F. by Gäbrä-Mädhən Dəgnäy, edited by Gallina (1902), was in part translated into English with a commentary by Ghirmai Negash (1999: 89–96). The extensive record by Kolmodin (KolTrad) of the traditions (*Zanta*) of the Ṣäᶜazzäga and Hazzäga (in Ḥamasen) is, however, primarily concerned with oral tradition.

As a consequence of the awakening of Təgrəñña literature in the 1940's, and more so following the independence of Eritrea and the cultural autonomy of Təgray province in the 1990's, F. in the mother-tongue have been printed in Təgrəñña school-books as a matter of course in both countries. The anthology by Yaᶜəqob Gäbrä-Iyäsus (1941 A.M. [1948/49 A.D.]) is well known – see the review by Moreno (1950) – and a collection of "44 Stories" by Yəshaq Täwäldä-Mädhən (1943). Alluding to this latter title, Täkkəʾä Täsfay called his collection "144 Stories" (1998), which is his rendering of Aesop's fables translated from English into Təgrəñña. A further collection of European fables was issued by Täkkəʾä Täsfay (1999).

Genuine folk-material can be found in Gäbrä-Kidan Dästa (1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.], 1990 A.M. [1997/98 A.D.]). Abrəha Rəstu (ca. 1966) deals with the richness of folk-literature from a religious viewpoint (cf. also Sälomon Gäbrä-Krəstos [1985/1993] with its extensive bibliography on the local traditions of Təgrəñña).

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, (Note etiopiche 2.) "Leggende tigray", *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* 10, 1897, 143–53; ID., *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Roma 1942; LUDOVICO DE VITO, *Esercizi di lettura in lingua tigrigna*, Roma 1893; FEKADE AZEZE, "The State of Oral Literature Research in Ethiopia", *JES* 34, 1, 2001, 43–85; GHIRMAI NEGASH, *A History of Tigrinya Literature in Eritrea*, Leiden 1999; KolTrad; JOHANNES AXEL KOLMODIN, *Prime letture tigrigna/*ቀዳማይ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ንባብ, Asmara 1928; JULES SCHREIBER, *Manuel de la langue tigraï*, vol. 2: *Textes et vocabulaire*, Wien 1893; *qäšši* ABRƎHA RƎSTU, ብዛንታታትን፡ ምሳሌታትን፡ ንመንፈሳዊ፡ ምስጢር፡ ዚገልጹ፡ ቃላት (*Bə-zantatatən məssaletatən nə-mänfäsawi məsṭir zigälṣu qalat*, 'Words which Explain the Spiritual Mystery through Stories and Proverbs'), Asmära ca. 1966; GÄBRÄ-KIDAN DÄSSTA, ጸውጸዋይ፡ ትግርኛ (*Ṣəwṣəway təgrəñña*, 'Təgrəñña Parables'), Mäqälä 1988/[=] 1996, Addis Abäba ²1990 A.M. [1997/98 A.D.]; GÄBRÄ-MÄDHƎN DƎGNÄY, *Apologhi ed aneddoti volti in lingua tigriñña, per cura di*

F. Gallina, Roma 1902; *ḥaw* Sälomon Gäbrä-Krəstos, **መጽናዕቲ፡ ቋንቋ፡ ትግርይና፤ "ሐረጋት፡ ትግርይና"፤ ናዕታ፡ ሰብ፡ ቋንቋ** (*Mäṣnaʿti qʷanqʷa təgrəyna – "ḥarägat təgrəyna" – naʿta säb qʷanqʷa*, 'The Foundations of the Təgrəñña Language – Təgrəñña Idioms – Colloquial Language'), Asmära, *Gənbot* 1985/[=] 1993; Täkkəʾä Täsfay (ed., tr.), **እተመርጸ፡ ጽውጽዋያት** (*Ǝttämärṣä ṣəwṣəwayat*, 'Selected Stories'), Asmära 1999; Id. (ed., tr.), **ምእትን፡ አርብዓን፡ አርባእተን፡ ጽውጽዋያት፡ ኤዞፕ** (*Məʾtən arbəʿan arbaʾtän ṣəwṣəwayat Ezop*, 'One Hundred Forty Four Aesop's Fables'), Asmära 1998; *abba* Yaʿəqob Gäbrä-Iyäsus Ḥebo, **ዝናን፡ ትረትን፡ ምሳሌን፡ ናይ፡ ቀዳሞት** (*Zənnan tärätən məssalen nay qäddamot*, 'Accounts, Stories and Proverbs of the People of the Past'), Asmära 1941 A.M. [1948/49 A.D.], [Specimens in: Edward Ullendorff, *A Tigrinya (Təgrəñña) Chrestomathy*, Stuttgart 1985, 61–64, 136]; Yəshaq Täwåldä-Mädhən, **ሐጺር፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ንባብ፡ በትግርኛ፡ "አርብዓን፡ አርባእተን፡ ዛንታ"** (*Ḥaṣṣir mäṣḥaf nəbab bń-təgrəñña "arbəʿan arbaʿtän zanta"*, 'A Short Reading Book in Təgrəñña – "44 Stories"'), Asmära 1943, ^{4}1953 A.M. [1961 A.D.].

Rainer Voigt

Folktales of the Betä Ǝsraʾel

The oral literature of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel includes a large corpus of F.; however, only preliminary work has been done in documenting this rich collection of literature. ↗Faitlovitch collected written versions of 58 Amharic tales prior to 1935. These were published in Hebrew after his death on the basis of his manuscript (Wurmbrand – Noy 1990). More recent collections have been assembled since the massive migration of Betä Ǝsraʾel to Israel. Like Faitlovitch's collection, these were only published in Hebrew, and in several cases neither the Amharic nor Təgrəñña versions were preserved. In some cases manuscripts containing F. accounts were deposited in the Israel Folktale Archives at the University of Haifa.

On the basis of studies to date, it is possible to mention a number of dominant themes in Betä Ǝsraʾel F., such as animal tales (fables) and trickster stories (particularly those pertaining to *aläqa* ↗Gäbrä Ḥanna). While some scholars include among Betä Ǝsraʾel F. oral traditions that record historical events, these should perhaps be considered as legends and not F. Some attempts have been made to locate the distinctively "Jewish" characteristics of Betä Ǝsraʾel F. However, most Betä Ǝsraʾel F. can be easily placed in the context of the regions of Ethiopia in which the Betä Ǝsraʾel lived until recently.

Src.: Mordechai Wurmbrand (tr.) – Dov Noy (ed.), *Sipurey Beta Israel: Šišim sipurim ve-sipur mi-pi Yehudey Etiopia* ('Stories of the Beta Israel: Sixty Stories and a Story from the Mouths of Ethiopian Jewry'), Lod 1990; Tamar Alexander – Amalya Einat (eds.), *Tarat Tarat: Sipurey am mi-pi Yehudey Etiyopia* ('Folk Stories from the Mouths of Ethiopian Jews'), Tel Aviv 1996; Shoshana Ben-Dor, *Sipurim mi-pi Yehudey Etiopiya* ('Stories from the Mouths of Ethiopian Jews'), Jerusalem 1986.

Lit.: Dov Noy, "Sipurey Ba'alei-ḵaim šel Beta Israel" ('Animal Stories of the Beta Israel'), *Peamim* 33, 1987, 77–92; Ina Ruth Sarin, "Evidence of Jewish Characteristics in the Tales and Legends of the 'Falashas', The Ethiopian Jews", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 275–99.

Steven Kaplan - Hagar Salamon

Folktales in Oromiffa

The first Oromo F. to be published were three narratives collected by Karl ↗Tutschek in the middle decades of the 19th cent. that appeared posthumously in Praetorius's grammar (1893: 305–10). The first one is an anecdote about a soothsayer and a certain Waqayo Garada, the second a short story about leopards and their cubs, the third a longer narrative about a young man who, after rescuing a child from a man-eating snake, is instructed by him about how to trick his parents into rewarding him. This longer narrative, but not the other two, is called a *dubbii durii*.

In 1894 ↗Onesimos Nasib and ↗Aster Gannoo published their ↗*Ǧalqaba barsiisaa*, 'The Beginning of Teaching', a book aimed at teaching the Oromo how to write their language with the Ethiopian script. It includes proverbs, poems and traditional religious hymns, a Christian catechism, as well as a great number of narratives. Andrzejewski (1985:409f.) pointed out that the two authors used different sources and included in their book legends about Christian saints during the Roman persecutions, as well as several traditional Oromo narratives, that form the first major corpus of Oromo F.

A few samples of humorous tales, called *haasaa*, are found in Cerulli (CerFolk 190f.), together with some historical narratives and, especially, a huge number of poems and religious hymns, many of them transcribed and translated from Onesimos – Aster (1894). Moreno (1935) published another translated and annotated major collection of 59 traditional narratives of different kinds. Andrzejewski (1985:416f.) distinguished among them realistic fiction and fabulous narratives with animals or things as their dramatis personae.

During the 1960s Haberland (VSAe II:607–44) published the German translations of a sizeable corpus of myths and F. that he arranged as (1) the creation of the world and of man, (2) cattle, (3) pious and moralizing tales and themes from the Old Testament, (4) demons, (5) animal tales,

(6) fairy tales, adventures, and tribal legends. A smaller group of ten ↗Boorana F. has been published by Andrzejewski (1962). The second legendary narrative in this article is about Diido Gaawwole, a man who actually lived in the second half of the 19th cent. and who figures as the central character in several F. Also Tablino (1980: 104–29) includes translations of southern Oromo F. and myths, but the major work on this topic is Sahlu Kidane (2002), which includes 76 traditional narratives, partly with their text in Boorana Oromo. He carefully describes when, how and by whom they are told and divides them into three major ethno-genres: (a) *duri-duri*, children's tales about tricksters, ogres and rescues. The latter generally have a typical structure, of which there are several examples also in tales from the more northern Oromo groups (e.g., *Turaaḍaafi loon* 'Turaa and the cows' in *Quluu bareeda* 1980: 19–42), whereby one or more troubled characters address successively different humans, animals or even objects "in search of help or offering something to acquire help in exchange". Lonfernini (1984:218ff.) calls this kind of tale "filastrocca" even though it is not a 'nursery rhyme'.

The second ethno-genre identified by Sahlu Kidane is (b) the *mamaksa*, adult's tales that include both narratives and plain proverbs. *Mamaksa* narratives include morality tales where a villain harms a helpless victim and is subsequently exposed and punished by supernatural means, short illustrative tales that show the virtues of positive values and the bad consequences of misconduct, as well as "anecdotes of speech" about true, wise, or simply witty things that someone said in a particular situation. The third ethno-genre is (c) the *arga-ageti* or *argaa ḍageetti*, myths and legends that include both historical or allegedly historical narratives about wise men, famous leaders, or great warriors like the above-mentioned Diido Gaawwole, and tales about the origins of elements of the world and of human life, of particular groups of people, of social institutions etc.

After publishing in Oromo became more easy, a considerable amount of books with collections of F. have been published in Ethiopia, e.g. Walda Yohannes Warqinaa (1998), and especially the volumes of *Durdurii* by the team of the Gumii Qormaata Afaan Oromoo ('Committee for the Oromo Language'; Abarraa Nafaa, Asteer Ejersoo etc.).

Src.: BOGUMIL W. ANDRZEJEWSKI, "Ideas about Warfare in Borana Galla Stories and Fables", in: *African Language Studies*, 3, 1962, 116–36; *Awağ* ONESIMOS – ASTER GANNOO, ጀልቀበ፡ በርሲሳ፡ እንስ፡ መጨፈ፡ ዱቢሱ፡ በርሲሳኑን፡ አፋን፡ ኦሮሞቲ (*Ǧalqaba barsiisaa: innis mačafa dubbisuu barsiisanun afaan Oroomotti*, 'The Beginning of Teaching, i.e., a Book for Reading and Teaching in the Oromo Language'), Moncullo 1894; CerFolk; VSAe II, 607–44; MANGESHA RIKITU, *Oromo Folktales for a New Generation*, London 1992; BRUNO LONFERNINI, *I Gugi Giamgiam*, Bologna 1984; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, *Favole e rime galla: testi raccolti, editi e annotati*, Roma 1935; GUMII QORMAATA AFAAN OROMOO (ed.), *Durdurii* ('Folktales'), 4 vols., Finfinnee 1991, 1992, 1995; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, *Zur Grammatik der Gallasprache*, Berlin 1893; *Quluu bareeda* ('The Beautiful Gourd'), no place 1980; SAHLU KIDANE, *Borana Folktales: a Contextual Study*, London – New Brunswick 2002; PAOLO TABLINO, *I Gabbra del Kenya*, Bologna 1980; WALDA YOHANNIS WARQINAA, *Daaw'itii* ('Psalter'), Finfinnee 1998.

Lit.: BOGUMIL W. ANDRZEJEWSKI, "Literatures in Cushitic Languages Other than Somali", in: BOGUMIL W. ANDRZEJEWSKI – STANISŁAW PIŁASZEWICZ – WITOLD TYLOCH (eds.), *Literatures in African Languages – Theoretical Issues and Sample Surveys*, Cambridge – Warsaw 1985, 408–25.

Giorgio Banti

Food

Food ecology

Most traditional diets are dominated by products made from a single crop. The most prominent grains are ↗*ṭef* (*Eragrostis abyssinica*), maize (*Zea mays*), ↗sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor*), barley, wheat, oat (*Avena sativa*) and millet (*Eleusine coracana*). For a very high number of people ↗*ənsät* (*Ensete ventricosum*) is the most important staple F. A variety of nuts, berries, roots and tubers, onions (*Allium cepa*), garlic (*Allium ursinum*), red peppers (s. ↗*Bärbäre*, *Capsicum frutescence*) and green vegetables such as cabbage (*Brassica oleracea*) are propagated. Pulses grown include peas (*Pisum sativum*), beans (*Vicia faba*) and lentils (*Lens culinaris*). The general geographical distribution of these products is for the most part explained by annual totals and seasonality of rainfall. Thus, crops like sorghum and millet make their greatest dietary contribution in the lowlands, while the highlands is where the rest of the grains grow during two wet seasons.

The role played by livestock varies from insignificant to very relevant. The ʿAfar, Oromo and Somali raise sheep, goats and cattle wherever disease, especially sleeping sickness, do not prohibit them, whereas fowl are fairly ubiquitous in all Ethiopian households.

Food-preparation and consumption

The place of F.-preparation as well as the place for its consumption (the "kitchen", Amh. ማእድ፡

ቤት, *ma'əd bet*, lit. 'house where F. is consumed') is centred around the hearth in the form of an earthen oven or fireplace. It is in the kitchen where meals are made and consumed, storage is maintained, household decisions are made, neighbours are entertained, a bath is taken, hair is dressed and evenings are spent. The hearth occupies a central place in the family's economic life, transforming the results of its productive activities into consumable forms and thus "stands" in between F.-production and consumption. The social significance of cooking can be seen as a process that involves not only processing and combining, but also categorizing and naming.

The hearth is thus the basis of the nuclear family. The use of parent–child kinship terminologies refers to family members who share space around the hearth and where the older generation feeds the younger one. F., not blood, is then the tie that binds (Bakhtin 1984:163).

Women's cooking-tools and the processes assigned to them are subject to female representations expressed by the concepts of ባለሞያ (*balämoya*, 'professional') or ባልትና (*baltənna*, 'good housekeeping, housewifely skills') to indicate their ability to manage the hearth, while ገልቱ (*gältu*, 'unskilled person, slovenly housekeeper') or በሰሮ (*bäsäro*, 'poor housekeeper') underscores their ineptitude to run the household. The whole conceptual framework we call cuisine in Ethiopia is, therefore, considered to be the exclusive domain of the female gender.

In most areas of Ethiopia, F. is served in a sequence of three main meals per day: morning meal (ቁርስ, *qurs*), midday meal (ምሳ, *məsa*) and evening meal (እራት, *ərat*). In some areas, not every F. eaten is part of a meal. There are different types of "snacks" for the people to carry in order to eat them out in the field, pasture, or during a trip. Such snacks are, e.g., boiled, roasted or toasted peas or beans or seedlings of the same pulses, sometimes served with highly spiced liquefied *bärbäre* (አዋዜ, *awaze*). In some areas of north-central Ethiopia, serving one large meal each day is the normal pattern. Both morning and evening meals tend to be more like snacks and often involve left-overs of earlier meals.

Dishes

A single staple F.-crop is the principal item in the diet, eaten most days or even every day. Grains are most often pounded into flour, whereas root-crops frequently are grated before being boiled. In the former case, the end-product is either a pancake-like bread known as *əngăra* or a variety of ↗breads. These are then eaten either as they are or with a variety of stews (ወጥ, *wäṭ*) and soups (መረቅ, *märäq*), whose ingredients consist of greens of one kind or another and increasingly include onions and garlic. In many cases, the addition of condiments depends on local availability and preferences. Sometimes the end-product of grain-flour is a stiff porridge-like substance (ገንፎ, *gänfo*) that is normally formed into bite-size ball, dipped into a mixture of butter (↗milk and milk products) and red peppers, or pulses such as sunflower, seed (*Carthamus tinctorius*), nug and flax (*Linum usitatissimum*) during Lent or Ramaḍān, where it is consumed.

↗Salt and sugar are necessities, but the use of other ↗spices varies considerably. In Ethiopia, the stews are often fired with red peppers. Other kinds of preparation include boiling or roasting of grains and vegetables such as maize and potatoes, respectively. Rice, as a preference of urban dwellers, who have created a taste for wheat-flour to make leavened breads as well, is prepared in the usual boiled manner, simmered and consumed after the addition of meat or vegetable sauces.

Some other F., especially gathered ones, that include different kinds of greens, wild nuts, berries and ↗fruits, are also widely consumed. Vegetarianism during Lent is part of the Christian Orthodox tradition. Like agriculturalists, pastoralists (↗Pastoralism) consume very little meat. They rely on fresh and soured milk, along with butter and grain-porridge, as their staples, and slaughter animals only for sacrificial rites or other special ceremonial occasions or when livestock becomes old, feeble or sick.

In most parts of Ethiopia, meals are seldom accompanied by beverages (excluding water), except if these are part of rituals and feasts. For example, coffee-drinking in the early morning or evening or right after lunch is a lengthy process involving not only drinking, but also incense-burning, popcorn- (ፈንድሻ, *fändəša*) tossing, snack-eating and much sociability. With the exception of Muslims, the drinking of alcoholic ↗drinks is virtually ubiquitous.

The elements that constitute the cuisine include grains, legumes, vegetables, root-crops, and few flesh F. Grains are produced for both consumption and transaction. They occupy a major part of agricultural and domestic working-time. According to local interpretation, *ṭef*, barley, wheat, sorghum/millet and maize are Ethiopia's mainstays of the indigenous diet. In some arid areas, wheat, barley and oats are purchased staples.

While the well-to-do peasants subsist on wheat, barley and *ṭef* breads, the meals of poor peasants consist of breads made of sorghum or maize. Inter-house variation is therefore reflected in menu and meals, and distinctions in economic status indeed affect diet and cuisine. Grains are either heavily and finely ground, sifted and baked or lightly and coarsely ground and baked. Most main meals thus consist of *ənǧära* made of these grains. In poor peasant households, the function of the stew is almost limited to moistening the *ənǧära*, while in well-to-do peasant households, its function is to accompany it as means of consuming stew. This implies that in rich households, the consumption of *ənǧära* decreases with increasing consumption of stew. Moreover, while, for example, in fortunate households a lentil-stew (*šəro*) pottage may be flavoured with chopped onions and a lump of butter, in less fortunate families such stews are cooked with vegetable oil and water. Inter-household variation in F. expresses class ideologies and socio-economic distinctions (Goody 1982:55).

As an early-morning meal, coffee or tea with or without sugar (or in some areas salt) and accompanied by toasted or baked barley, wheat-bread, *ənǧära* or bakery-bread is often served. Bread is indeed the mainstay of the diet, something without which a meal would be incomplete. Hence, it is a quintessential symbol of reciprocity and household hospitality.

Wheat- and barley-flour are the main ingredients for making porridge dishes, which are more commonly consumed during life-circle celebrations such as births and weddings and as part of the F. served for breaking the fast during *Ramaḍān*. It must ideally have lustre, stickiness and taste. It should not be farinaceous or gritty, too hard or too heavy, nor should it be too liquid. Most of the time the relish, usually made up of glutinous ingredients like butter mixed with red peppers, flax, or linseed supplies the lubricant which allows the mouthful of porridge to slip down the throat smoothly. Butter-mashed flour F. like **በሶ** (*bässo*) among the Amhara and **ጥሕኒ** (*ṭəḥni*) among the Təgrayans are also typical of grain-based dishes. Oats are consumed as the main ingredient of a beverage (**አጃ**, *aǧǧa*) that is flavoured with ↗honey, sugar or butter. It is seen as a necessary diet for women during pregnancy and delivery and for individuals recuperating from all kinds of illnesses.

Legumes, greens and tubers form a characteristic part of the horticultural and agricultural subsistence-patterns. The production and place of peas, beans and lentils varies widely according to season. Around *Mäskäräm* and *Ṭəqəmt* they are eaten fresh (**እሳት**, *əsat*). During subsequent months many meals centre around stews based on peas, beans and lentils. These pulses are ground into flour and mixed with red peppers and other spices to prepare thin or thick stews like **ሽሮ** (*šəro*), **ክክ** (*kəkk*), **ቱምቱሞ** (*tumtumo*) and **ምስር** (*məssər*).

Legumes predominate in every meal and are by far the most important part of both diet and cuisine. Even when other meals are prepared, the above stews are sometimes added as side-dishes. When used this way, they come close to filling the role of "vegetable" F., present in amounts greater than a complement, but less than a main course or main ingredient. In *Mäskäräm* and *Ṭəqəmt* legumes are thus staple F. that play a major part in most meals. The rest of the year, legumes and grains are toasted (**ቆሎ**, *qolo*) or boiled and toasted (**አሹቅ**, *ašuq*) as a snack (**መቅሰስ**, *mäqsäs*) in the diets of at least the peoples of north-central Ethiopia. Finally, the above bean-based F., including **እልበት** (*əlbät*) and **ስልጆ** (*səlǧo*), are also most commonly consumed by Christian highlanders during Lent.

Among greens, onion and garlic are the single most important vegetable in the diet. In almost every household, onions are eaten every day as a prime condiment in any stew and the amount used in a meal is controlled by a strong cultural preference for the presence of onions. Stews, soups and sauces are made up of finely chopped onions and other vegetable ingredients. While two onion stalks are, for example, normally thought to be an appropriate amount for a *šəro* stew that will feed a family of three, chicken-stew (**ዶሮ፡ ወጥ**, *doro wäṭ*), consumed very rarely, requires three to four onion stalks. Red pepper, which is prepared through the combination of condiments such as onion-seed (*Nigella sativa*), false cardamon (*Afromomum angustifolium*), coriander (*Coriandrum sativum*) and garlic, is a prominent seasoning whose presence in cuisine is more frequent than its absence. It is not only an exclusively hot culinary but, like paprika, also adds colour to the flavour of F. Consumers may grab raw green peppers (**አርቅያ**, *arqəya*) at will and hack off a piece to eat along with meals. The various cuisines of Ethiopia also frequently use potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*) and vegetables such as tomatoes (*Lycopersicum esculentum*) and cabbages as thickening agents for stews and soups. The importance and desirability of potatoes and vegetables are further indicated by their ubiquity in various regions and their appropriate addition to any culinary category. Aside from being eaten boiled, baked and roasted in or out of their skins, potatoes are also mashed and fed to infants.

The most popular squash eaten in Ethiopia is the large, round, hard squash (*Cucurbita peppo*), bright, orange or light green like a pumpkin on the inside. It is cut up, without the skin and seeds, and cooked in stew along with other ingredients. It is sold in markets cheaply and considered an inferior substitute for the more costly potatoes. The dry climate of many areas in which it is grown is so different that droughts that affect other crops would be less likely to strike squash-plants. Squash serves as a substitute staple during rainfall shortages and can be grown in gardens with less wetness.

Meat

In many Ethiopian traditions, it is absolutely acceptable to eat meatless meals. Yet there are occasional meals in which meat plays pivotal parts. The symbolic weight of meat is markedly greater than that accorded to most other F. Occasions for meat-consumption include Christian and Muslim holidays like ↗ *Fasika* and *ᶜId al-fiṭr*, initiation rites, life-circle events and visits of important guests. Flesh F. gets its symbolic power from this combination of utility and scarcity (Harris 1986:22).

Meat is considered as having quasi-medical and health-strengthening qualities. Thus, sick persons and women experiencing pregnancy and delivery are given a great deal of meat and such conditions become occasions for slaughtering and butchering. Beside such occasions, meat is frequently present more as a flavouring than as an ingredient significant by quantity. Communal and individual servings contain stews, but the pieces of meat are often gristle to be sucked, rather than actual morsels.

At present, game-meat is increasingly uncommon, and the vast majority do not have the sacred or secular occasion to eat them. In fact, game-meat such as that of an antelope or fowls like pheasant have fallen out of favour and partly became rare due to the damage of the environment. If affordable, beef, mutton, goat and chicken meat are preferred.

Various peoples of Ethiopia consume a small amount of lake and river ↗ fish by roasting or putting them into stews and soups. In the Eritrean coastal areas, sea-fish has an important role.

Lamb-stew is more commonly consumed in the highlands, while goat-meat is most commonly consumed in the lowlands- where families either butcher one of their own goats or purchase one for slaughtering. People do so when a goat is dying of natural causes or simply when it is felt that there has been too little meat for too long.

Many peoples, especially the Amhara and the Təgrayans, developed a variety of meat stews: meat stew with *bärbäre* (**ቀይ፡ ወጥ**, *qäyy wäṭ*), without *bärbäre* (**አልጫ**, *alləč̣a*); roasted meat (**ጥብስ**, *ṭəbs*); **መንጬ፡ ጥብስ**, *mänč̣e ṭəbs* (ground meat); **ዱለት**, *dulät* (gastro-intestinal sections sautéed with various ingredients and seasonings); different kinds of raw meat. The head, including the tongue and the mandible of a slaughtered animal, is eaten in the form of a broth or soup, while the rest of the body-parts are kept in pieces for later consumption. Sometimes meat can be dried and preserved in the form of sliced and thin linings (**ቋንጣ**, *qʷanṭa*). Inside the house it is hung on a rope or wire from one corner of the room to another. Unlike chicken, beef would never be chosen as a special-occasion F. or guest taste treat. A cow or an ox can be butchered for the sole purpose of selling the beef within the neighbourhood or the community. Even when a cow or an ox is dying unexpectedly and is butchered immediately by its owners, a great effort is frequently made to sell the meat rather than eat it. It is divided into equal portions (**ቅርጫ**, *qərč̣a*), comprising a package of every internal organ, muscle-meat and bone of the slaughtered animal. The size of a package is determined by the number of divisions. The greater the number of divisions, the smaller the size of a package of meat and the cheaper the cost (Pankhurst 1988: 178).

Chickens are supposedly raised within household courtyards, though in some cases they also tend to be inside the house together with humans. Chicken meat is used for special occasion meals and, normally, is not eaten on an everyday basis. Fowl-flesh F., for example, mark life-circle events such as births and marriages, and they are luxuries to sacrifice and serve during Christian and Muslim holidays or present to guests. They are softer and tastier than beef, mutton or goatmeat and they are also cheaper. To cook chicken for someone is an open declaration for deepening and formalizing relations between hosts and guests. Although chickens and eggs are also bought and sold in markets, and few families eat eggs on a day-to-day basis, families owning laying hens will cook those eggs not sold or used in redistributive networks and reciprocal exchanges or still toss them in meals as nutritional supplements or as a way of flavouring. By and large, the standard meal in a family is composed of *ənǧära* and some sort of lentil or vegetable relish, sometimes garnished with small chunks of meat.

Food, distinction and community

According to the pattern of F.-consumption traditionally seen as ideal in north and central Ethiopia, most people eat out of one common family dish, bowl or pot, which is placed first before the men; when they have finished, the women take what is left for themselves and their children. The shared meal represents the unity of the family that gathers to eat it, but the manner in which it is served and eaten also speaks of the division between more important and less important household members.

Men do not eat together with women unless they are familiar with each other. Owing to the etiquette of formal occasions and sometimes as family routines, women eat separately. Not only the order of serving but also the quantity and quality of what is served (controlled by women) emphasizes the social inequality. For example, if the meal is chicken stew, men get breasts, thighs and legs while women and children get necks, wings and skin pieces. If the wife is supposed to serve F. to her husband, he in turn is supposed to eat it. Otherwise she will have a perfectly legitimate ground for contest and protest. Thus, meals are not only among the most relaxing and enjoyable moments the family members spend together, but by the same token, they often also become expressions of conflicts and frustrations endemic to family life.

Great respect is shown for F. and people bless themselves before and after eating and, as best as possible, refrain from talking or laughing. They scoop small pieces of F. with three or four of their fingers and always chew, with their mouth closed, along one side of the jaw, because chewing on both sides of the jaw is considered gluttony. The size and composition of each portion of F. and the routine of scrupulously serving it are in many Ethiopian societies also highly ritualized, and respect is shown through sharing and the uttering of specific words of request and thanks. Hence Ethiopian peasant-homes may lack tables but have table manners.

Traditionally many F. avoidance-taboos exist and different socially and religiously influenced restrictions fall on both men and women (cp. Braukämper 1984:459). More widespread is, for example, the abomination of pork among Christians and Muslims, while the avoidance of fish by Cushitic-speaking people, although of cultural and historical importance, is less widespread (Simoons 1961:42).

Rules concerning commensality are important markers of status and purity that define hierarchy among many peoples of Ethiopia (Hamer 1994:132). For example, the Wäyṭo of Lake Ṭana gobble gastro-intestinal parts which many other peoples of Ethiopia would consider too vile to touch (Teclehaimanot Gebreselassie 1984:60). Avoidance of F.-sharing is one indication of the social distinction between peoples (Braukämper 1984). Similarly, the evil-eye (↗*buda*) belief involves the person causing the possession or "eating", the possessed or "eaten", and the person called upon to are the possessed (Reminick 1974: 284). The belief that the people accused of being *buda*-related offend dietary rules by eating carrion meat and other prohibited F. and that they transform themselves into ↗hyenas by night to "eat" people, strongly suggests that a good deal of symbolism is negotiated around F. In this respect, F. play an important part in the rituals and symbols that establish and polish social relations within a group and are an equally potent expression of relations between groups (Mintz 1985: 96) For example, the mutual affection between spouses and their interest in sustaining the conjugal union is among the Amhara metaphorically expressed as having "grain and water" (**እህል፡ ውሃ**, *əhəl wəha*); the marriage collapses when "grain and water" diminish (**እህል፡ ውሃ፡ ሲዘጋ**, *əhəl wəha sizzägga*). Food is thus so central to the concept of marriage that it often replaces or serves as a euphemism for sexual intercourse as the focus of discourse about marital relations.

F.-avoidance practices exist among the Christians and Muslims. For example, both find it difficult to eat meat together because of the differing religious rules of slaughtering. For Muslims it is forbidden by ↗*šarīʿa* dietary principles to consume flesh F. prepared by non-Muslims because what is forbidden (*ḥarām*) and permissible (*ḥalāl*) is related to the way of carrying out the slaughtering.

An example of the different tastes in Ethiopia is the perception of sweetness. For example, the Argobba prefer sweet F., like honey-marinated bread which to Amhara palates is considered sickly sweet. Again the Argobba and the Adäre have a tolerance for high sugar-levels, especially in tea and coffee, which among the Amhara, beyond a certain concentration, is commonly thought to be too sweet. Among some southern peoples, milk and other dairy products are not central features of their diet. Although the cuisine of diverse ethnic groups contains a large number of identical elements and dishes, the manner of combining, preparing and seasoning of meals out of these elements can be very different.

During the long centuries of conquest and migrations, many ethnic groups appropriated a whole variety of cultigens and cuisines and an enormous diversity of F. and culinary customs of "others". For example, Oromo butter-based F. such as ቃተኛ (*qatäññа*, i.e. *ənǧära* marinated with a mix of butter and *bärbäre*), ቅንጬ (*qənč̣e*, butter-soaked boiled barley), ጨጨብሳ (*č̣äč̣č̣äbsa*, bread mashed in butter) and ጭኮ (*č̣əkko*, flour mashed in butter) are today culinary practices central to Amhara indigenous F. and figure prominently in the flow of consumables that surround the cultural-cuisine categories of many other ethnic groups in Ethiopia. Just as Ethiopian culture is often described as a blend of Amhara, Oromo, Təgrayan, Gurage etc. influences, the "Ethiopian traditional F." is defined as consisting of Amhara chicken-stew (*doro wäṭ*), Oromo buttered flour (*č̣əkko*) or buttered boiled barley (ቅንጬ, *qənč̣e*), Təgrayan bread (ሕማሳ, *ḥəmmassa*) and Gurage butter-sautéed raw or cooked ground beef (ክትፎ, *kətfo*) accompanied by *ənsät* bread (ቆጮ, *qoč̣č̣o*), while minimal attention is paid to other indigenous dishes.

At present, many Ethiopians adopt new dietary patterns owing to their integration into a global economy. Pre-packed foreign F. such as bakery bread, wheat flour, rice, pasta and macaroni have, for example, been grafted on to the native peoples *doxa*, entailing new requirements in F.-preferences and eating habits from alien ecological systems. The ingredients and condiments of their F. have changed, largely owing to regional and international commercial contacts, which in turn has resulted in diversity in F.-types and mealtimes (Abbebe Kifleyesus 2002).

Cooked F. are no longer composed only of local products, but are also made of those products made available by way of cash-based market exchange. Many Ethiopian families are learning to combine new products with traditional F. For example, partly prepared or entirely processed F. such as powdered *šəro* and *bärbäre* that are available in shops are transformed into household tastes through the addition of home-made condiments and spices and careful cooking-processes.

Lit.: ABBEBE KIFLEYESUS, "Muslims and Meals: the Social and Symbolic Function of Foods in Changing Socio-Economic Environments", *Africa* 72, 2, 2002, 68–71; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "Food Avoidances in Southern Ethiopia: Religious Manifestation and Socio-Economic Relevance", in: *PICES* 7, 459–61; MIKHAIL BAKHTIN, *Rabelais and his World*, Bloomingtom 1984, 162ff.; JACK GOODY, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class*, Cambridge 1982, 55, 61, 69; MARVIN HARRIS, *Good to Eat: Riddles of Food and Culture*, New York 1986, 22, 31, 35; SYDNEY MINTZ, *Sweetness and Power: the Place of Sugar in Modern History*, New York 1985, 95f.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Hierarchy at the Feast: the Partition of the Ox in Traditional Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 9, 178f. 1988; RONALD REMINICK, "The Evil-Eye Belief among the Amhara of Ethiopia", *Ethnology* 13, 1974, 283–85; TECLEHAIMANOT GEBRESELASSIE, *The Wayto of Lake Tana: an Ethnohistory*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1984, 58–61.

Abbebe Kifleyesus

Forbes, Rosita

F. (née Joan Rosita Torr; b. 1893, Lincolnshire, d. 1967) was a British travel-writer. Educated at home, she developed an early interest in maps and foreign languages. Marrying a soldier, Colonel Ronald Forbes in 1911, she travelled with him to India and the East, but was soon divorced. During World War II she drove an ambulance in France and later became one of the first travel-writers in a then male-dominated profession.

In 1924, already familiar with Arabic, F. sailed to Djibouti, travelled to Dərre Dawa by rail and thence by mule to Harär, where she met *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ǝmməru Ḥaylä Śəllase, and on to Addis Abäba, where she was received by Empress ↗Zäwditu and *ras* Täfäri. She then proceeded to Däbrä Marqos, Lalibäla, Gondär, Aksum and ʿAdwa, and thence to Eritrea. She described her adventures, "serious and frivolous", in her book *From Red Sea to Blue Nile* (1925): the title also of a film she made with cameraman Harold Jones – one of the first such ever made.

Elected to several geographical societies, F. subsequently wrote travelogues of other eastern countries, lectured in the United States of America in support of World War II, wrote melodramatic film scripts and edited a periodical publication, *Women of All Lands*.

Src.: ROSITA FORBES, *From Red Sea to Blue Nile*, London 1925; EAD., "Behind the Lines in Ethiopia", *Independent Woman* 19, 1935, 364–66; EAD., *Gypsy in the Sun*, London 1944; EAD., *Appointment with Destiny*, London 1946, EAD., *Appointment in the Sun*, London 1949.

Richard Pankhurst

Forest(s)/Forestry

Forests

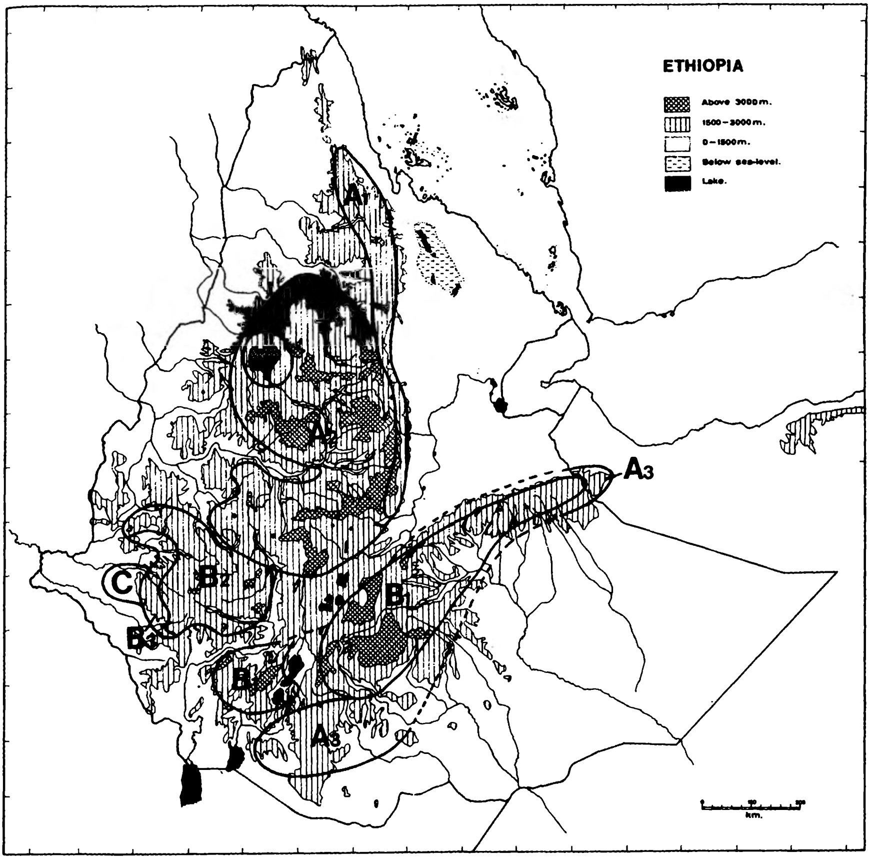
A commonly accepted definition for F. can be "a continuous stand of trees which may attain a height of 50 m or more, with crowns touching or intermingling, under which are often growing under-storeys (herbs, shrubs, lianas)" (White 1983). For the need of statistical assessments, the definition of the word F. can be more precise: for the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), it is an area of land over 0.5 ha containing a tree crown cover of at least 10 % (with trees that should reach a height of 5 m at maturity). In Amharic, the words used for F. are ዱር *dur*, ደን *dän*, ጫካ *č̣akka*: they all refer to wooded lands, more or less open, as opposed to cultivated lands. This semantic opposition to infield is also found in English as the word F. originally comes from the Latin *forestis* < *foris*, that is 'what is outside' (outside the village and the fields is understood).

One must distinguish primary *F.*, which are the climatic state of the vegetation after a long period of time without any human influence, and secondary F., which are the result of the evolution of vegetation after a recent human interference. In most places in Ethiopia, the F. are of the second type. When human and animal pressure is particularly high, these F. are replaced by bushlands. Another distinction must be made between natural F., constituted by indigenous species regenerating spontaneously, and artificial F., planted by humans (with species newly introduced or not). The second type is chiefly represented in Ethiopia by numerous ↗eucalyptus plantations, a genus introduced in Addis Abäba in the beginning of the 20th cent.

According to tradition, the highlands were once generally forest-covered and had gradually been cleared. The National Atlas of Ethiopia (Asfaw Fanta 1981) estimated that the past F.-coverage was higher than 30 % of the entire area of the country and stated that the present coverage is about 3 %. Logan (1946) estimated that high F. covered about 5 % of the area of the highlands, and a more recent estimation states that F. cover nowadays 3.6 % of the national territory (Wood, after Gascon 1998). But according to the FAO assessment, the F.-cover in Ethiopia would represent 13 % of the territory in 2000, i.e. 4,593,000 ha (s. FAO web-site). Various publications quote different figures, most of the time in favour of a heavy deforestation. But these pieces of evidence must be analysed very carefully, as any estimate of the past coverage is beyond our present possibilities of assessment, as it has so far to be based on rainfall-distribution and F.-relic-patches estimates. Furthermore, the measurement of the F. cover depends on the sense the word F. is given. Good statistics should clearly distinguish between primary F., secondary F., and other serial stages in F. re-growth.

The main reasons given to explain the presumed deforestation are uncontrolled exploitation (wood fuel and wood construction consumption, grazing), shifting cultivation, F. fires and expansion of permanently cultivated areas. Some old fields may be abandoned and progressively colonized by vegetation: they will be in most cases invaded by evergreen bushland and later species of ↗Acacia (*Acacia abyssinica*) or eventually more typical F. species e. g. *Albizia schimperiana*.

F. are not homogeneously distributed in Ethiopia: according to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) estimates in 1992, 52 % are in the western regions of Illubabor (48 %), Käfa, Wälläga and Goǧǧam, and 38 % are in the southern regions of Bale (19 %), Sidamo and Gamo Gofa. Šäwa region is estimated to account for 3.1 %, Harärge only 0.6 % and the rest (Təgray, Wällo, Gondär, as well as the now-independent Eritrea) for only 4.1 %. (UNCED 1992). Yet in densely populated areas the remaining high F. still exist chiefly for cultural reasons, as they are either preserved areas (e.g., ↗Männagäša), woods surrounding churches or sacred F. (↗Sacred places; ↗Däbr). But the protection these F. are submitted to does not exclude any human management within them (s. the example of the Konso ↗juniper F. in Demeulenaere 2002).



Map of forests in Ethiopia and Eritrea outlining the general bioclimatic regions in which the forest types are distributed (from Friis 1986)

The natural F. of Ethiopia may be categorized into the following types of Greenway (1972, in Friis 1982, 1986): lowland rain-F., upland rain-F., upland dry evergreen F. and riverine F. Their spatial repartition depends mainly on the climate, which is in Ethiopia strongly correlated mostly to elevation but also to latitude and to exposure to the moist winds from the Sudan. Our description of the types of F. will be restricted to the characterization of the species in the higher storey (canopy).

Lowland F. are located in Illubabor, at an altitudinal range of 450–600 m A.S.L., with an annual rainfall approximately between 1,300 mm and 1,800 mm. The F. is semi-deciduous, with a 15–20 m tall, more or less continuous canopy of *Baphia abyssinica* (endemic to this region) mixed with less-common species such as *Celtis toka*, *Diospyros abyssinica*, *Lecaniodiscus fraxinifolius*, *Malacantha alnifolia*, *Trichilia prieuriana* and *Zanha golungensis*.

At elevations between 1,200 m and 2,600 m A.S.L. in the humid areas of southern Ethiopia, the natural vegetation is upland rain-F. (with the exception of rocky slopes and river valleys). In the southern part of the Rift Valley and in Harärge, the upper layer (10–30 m) is dominated by the conifer *Podocarpus gracilior* (*zəgba*), mixed with different broad-leaved trees (around 20 species), among them *Croton macrostachyus*

Forested hill where the enthronization of the *tato* of Hinnaro (Ǝnnarya) took place; Käfa Gawata, 1972/74; photo by Werner Lange; courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (ODT_1.02.12..01_0034)

(*bəsanna*), *Celtis africana*, *Schefflera abyssinica*, *Ilex mitis* and *Olea hochstetterii*. In the southwestern part of the plateau (southern Wälläga, Illubabor and Käfa) the humid broad-leaved F. is now characterized by an emerging species above the 20–30 m canopy: *Aningeria adolfi-friederici*. The 10–30 m-high canopy mainly consists of *Albizia spp.* (among them, *sisa*), *Celtis africana* (*amalaqa*), *Croton macrostachyus*, *Ficus spp*. (among them *šola*), *Ilex mitis* (*məsr gämfo*), *Macaranga kilimandscharica*, *Olea welwitschii* (*səgəda wäyra*), *Polyscias fulva* (*yäzənǧäro wänbär*), *Schefflera abyssinica* (*keṭema*), *Prunus africanus*, *Sapium ellipticum* (Oromiffa: *bosoqa*), *Syzygium guineense* ssp. *afromontanum* (*doqma*). Around Ǧimma, the F. are mostly transformed into semi-natural "coffee F." where the shrub layer has been cleared and replaced by coffee-plants (*Coffea arabica*).

The "upland dry evergreen F.", poor in species, which mainly grows on the plateau at altitudes from 2,200 m to 3,200 m with an annual rainfall between 500 m and 1,500 mm, is constituted by the typical association *Juniperus procera* (*ṭəd*) – *Olea europeae* ssp. *africana* (*wäyra*), mixed with a more-or-less high quantity of *Podocarpus gracilior.* The F. east of the Rift Valley are indeed often dominated by *Podocarpus gracilior*, whereas F. at higher elevations (between 2,200 and 3,200 m) are dominated by *Juniperus procera*. On yet-drier sites (in Sidamo, Bale and Harärge, for example), with rainfall not exceeding 1,100 mm, *Juniperus procera* F. is also dominant at lower altitudes. At the upper limit the F. are often mixed with *Hagenia abyssinica* (↗*kosso*) and woody species of *Hypericum*. *Arundinaria alpina* (*qärqäha*), the mountain bamboo, occurs on the wetter side of the mountains, almost pure or mixed with *Hagenia*, *Erica arborea* and other shrubs.

Riverine F., growing along the riverbanks, consist of a 10–20 m-high canopy which is rich in species. Some are restricted to riverine F.: *Ficus valis-choudea*, *Trichilia emetica*, *Salix subserrata*. *Albizia grandibracteata* is frequent at higher altitudes (1,200–1,600 m A.S.L.), while other species, e.g., *Mimusops kummel*, *Syzygium guineense* ssp. *guineense*, *Phoenix reclinata*, are common at most altitudes. The majority of the canopy-species are evergreens. In the shrub-layer, *Salix subserrata* frequently forms thickets.

↗Environment

Src.: UNCED Ethiopia, *Ethiopia: National Report on Environment and Development. A Report Prepared for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development*, Rio de Janeiro 1992.

Lit.: Elise Demeulenaere, "Woods (*Mura*) and Social Organisation in Konso (Southwestern Ethiopia)", *JES* 35, 2, 2002; Percy James Greenway, "A Classification of the Vegetation of East Africa", *Kirkia* 9, 1973, 1–68; Ib Friis – Finn N. Rasmussen – Kaj Vollesen, *Studies in the Flora and Vegetation of Southwest Ethiopia*, Copenhagen 1982 (Opera Botanica 63); Ib Friis, "The Forest Vegetation of Ethiopia", *Symbolae botanicae Upsalienses* 26, 2, 1986, 31–47; Alain Gascon, "La forêt perdue d'Ethiopie, un mythe contemporain", in: Monique Chastanet, *Plantes et paysages d'Afrique*, Paris 1998, 383–409; F. White, *Vegetation Map of Africa: a Contrasting Approach*, UNESCO 1983.

Elise Demeulenaere

Forestry

After the liberation of the country from Italy, the then government ordered the provisional governors to reserve the big F. that were in private hands. By 1965 the basic forestry acts were promulgated. These included proclamations concerning state F., private F. and protective F. The many objectives of these proclamations were: protection of the existing F. and development of highly productive sources of raw materials and fuel wood; and afforestation of lands in the protection areas and lands in the vicinity of settlements to ensure the availability of fuel wood and industrial raw materials (Abraham 1995).

Prior to the 1974 Revolution in Ethiopia a large portion of Ethiopia's natural F. was owned by the private sector. During this period, private individuals also played a key role in planting and maintaining eucalyptus species on their farm lands and homesteads, and along the roads under a system where commercial utilization was given priority and precedence over other management objectives.

The first reconnaissance of F. inventory of the Ethiopian F. was made during 1975–79. The inventory covered areas within a 400 km radius of the city of Addis Abäba and provided substantial information about the country's natural high F. This was followed by a three-pronged development approach based on reforestation, namely: a regular program (financed by the government and implemented throughout the community); priority project-areas development (financed by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency [SIDA] and implemented in a few selected natural F.); and planting degraded highland areas under the World Food Program.

In the 1980s the Forest and Wild Life Conservation and Development Authority (FWCDA) was created for the administration of State F. In 1985 further reorganization occurred and the Community Forest and Soil Conservation Development Department (CFSCDD) was set up in order to reach the doors of each spreading Community.

In 1986 a study conducted under the auspices of the Ministry of Agriculture resulted in the identification of the National Forest Priority Areas (NFPAs). They numbered 58 and their total area, including the disturbed and undisturbed F. as well as plantations and open lands, was 3.5 million ha. The main objectives of the identification of the NFPAs were to promote F. management practices and to implement an integrated management system with the ultimate goal of enabling each NFPA to locome a self-financing and sustainable enterprise.

However, due to financial constraints and shortage of professional manpower, the building-up of an improved forestry management system did not take place at the expected rate. By 1995 only 37 NFPAs, having a total area of about 2.1 million ha, were demarcated with boundary marks of concrete pillars. Furthermore, inventory has been carried out for a total F. area of about 0.45 million ha and a F. management plan has been prepared for only 6 NFPAs.

In accordance with the NFPA (1994), the following were the main types of forestry plantations: industrial-plantation F.; peri-urban plantation F.; community woodlots; community-protection F.; individual farm F.; and minor-products F.

The industrial-plantation F. is used for producing raw materials for industries. The aim is to increase the supply of industrial wood to a level that corresponds to the demand of the wood-processing industry. The largest area to be planted in any single year was 21,600 ha (i.e. in 1994) compared to the 33,100 ha planted in 1981/82. The main tree-species planted included: *Cupressus lusitanica* and *Pinus patula*, *Juniperus procera* planted on high elevations. *Eucalyptus globulus* and *Eucalyptus camaldulus* and *Eucalyptus camaldulensis* are also widely grown, mainly for construction-poles and fuel wood.

The second F. type is peri-urban plantation which is planted to solve the fuel-wood deficiency.

The third F. type is community woodlots, whose area has been estimated at 50,000 ha.

The fourth F. type is the protection forestry. Its purpose is the protection of environmentally fragile catchment-forestry, including the establishment of new F. cover, which is essential for conserving the organic matter of soils for: regulating stream-flows; enhancing water-quality and for controlling soil-erosion and run-off from steep hillsides, which would, among other benefits, also protect agricultural production downstream in the river basin.

The fifth F. type component is the farm-forestry, which is the centre-piece of the tree-F. production program. Its importance is to promote the integration of trees into farms to produce fuel wood, poles and fodder; to assist the availability of adequate arable land; and to increase total agricultural production.

The sixth F. type is the minor-products F. Ethiopia is a major producer of ↗honey in Africa. Gums, incense and myhrr are collected, respectively, from ↗*Acacia spp.* (notably *Acacia senegal*), *Boswellia spp.* and *Commiphora spp.* (notably *Commiphora myrrha*).

Currently a new Environmental Protection Authority has been established. It is empowered to manage and develop the country's environment, in general, and the F., in particular. To this effect this authority has issued an environmental policy, which is in the process of being implemented.

Lit.: ABRAHAM URKATO, *Forestry Management and Utilization of Forest Products in Ethiopia,* senior essay, Department of Geography, Addis Ababa University 1995; EMAtlas; MENGISTA GONSAMO, *The Problem of Environmental Degradation and Food Shortage in Ethiopia,* Department of Geography, Addis Ababa University 1995.

Mekete Belachew

Forts

Man-made F. were rare in Ethiopia. However several traditional defence-compounds, profiting from special features of the landscape, existed. Elevated and rocky hills (↗*Amba*) at various times played an important role, e.g., ↗Amba Gəšän and ↗Amba Sänayti. Often the natural features of the *amba* were reinforced with earth walls, palisades, ditches and look-out constructions to strengthen the fort's defensive capacity.

In many political entities different types of defence-constructions encircled the settlements or compounds of chiefs and ritual leaders. In the south-western Ethiopian kingdoms (Wällamo, Dawro, Konta, Käfa, Ǧimma, Ǝnnarya, Gera, Gomma and Guummaa), the territories were protected by earth walls and ditches along the borders. In the kingdom of ↗Ǧanǧäro, for instance, such fortifications with walls, fosses and three-metre-high palisades were only erected at the gates of the regional trade routes entering the territory. The way could be blocked by huge wooden doors and was overseen by guards on high platforms. Within the kingdom several fortification lines were also created. The courts of local kings, such as Angir, Amfal and Kanfoča were fortified with stone walls (VSAe III, 326f., 340f.).

It should be mentioned that fortifications sometimes could also have had a strong symbolic meaning, separating the sacral from the profane sphere (cp. the court of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl, HabKön 157 and 265).

In the Christian empire of Ethiopia the existence of temporary camps (↗*Kätäma*) militated against permanent fortification. The idea of modern F.-building in the region was apparently initiated by the Portuguese. During their conflict with the Ottoman Turks, they proposed to *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl in 1520 the establishment of F. on the Red Sea coast at ↗Massawa and ↗Sawākin; the monarch later urged the Portuguese to erect one at the Gulf of Aden port of Zaylaᶜ (BeckHuntAlvar 416, 478). Such ideas were not implemented. However, after their capture of Massawa in 1557, the Turks themselves constructed a F. there and two on the mainland: one at the port of Ḥərgigo and the other, further inland at ↗Dəbarwa. It consisted, according to an Ethiopian chronicler, of a "long wall and very high tower". *Aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl captured it in 1580 and raised it to the ground, but found the F. at Ḥərgigo impregnable.

Śärṣä Dəngəl (whether or not influenced by his experience with the Turks is uncertain) later built a F. at ↗Ǝnfraz, also known as Gubaʾe or Guzara (CRHist 117) east of Lake ↗Ṭana. The structure, referred to in his chronicle as a fine *maḥfäd*, or fortress, was in existence in 1586. This building may have inspired the construction by *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, early in the following century, of the first of the ↗Gondär palaces or castles and indirectly Gondärine palace architecture generally.

During the reigns of Śärṣä Dəngəl and ↗Susənyos, the ↗Jesuit missionaries and the community of half-caste Ethio-Portuguese managed to make of ↗Fəremona a solid fortress. Probably with the help of European craftmanship, they erected there defensive walls, successfully protecting the population from several Oromo raids in the first quarter of the 17th cent. Once abbandoned, the strategic settlements was taken over by *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Ṣəyon, who in 1919 erected there a F. and, following by the Italians, turning it into a fortress (Guida 243).

Some F.-building can later be discerned at many military settlements, built in strategically well-located mountains, notably *aṣe* Tewodros's camp at ↗Mäqdäla and *aṣe* Mənilək's establishments at Fəkkare Gəmb and Ǝnnäwari in Šäwa, and his *kätäma*, or camps, in southern Ethiopia. F. were likewise erected by the Egyptians during their occupation of ↗Harär and ↗Kärän in the 1870s, and later by the Italians, notably at ↗Asmära, ↗Ambalage, invested by *ras* Mäkʷännən's forces in 1895, and ↗Mäqälä (s. Berkeley 1935, ch. 6), whose successful siege paved the way for the Ethiopian victory at ᶜAdwa.

Src.: CRHist 117; BeckHuntAlvar 416, 478.

Lit.: PankHist I, s. index, 94-100, II, s. index, 80; GEORGE

FITZ-HARDINGE BERKELEY, *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik*, Westminister 1902, London ^{2}1935, ch. 6; *Guida* 243; VSAe III, 326f., 340f.; HabKön 157, 265.

Richard Pankhurst

Four Power Commission

The 1947 Peace Treaty with ↗Italy stated that the four allied powers – Great Britain, France, the USA and the USSR – should settle the future status of her pre-fascist African colonies, ↗Eritrea, ↗Somalia and Libya. In the case of Eritrea, the Allies had different views. While Great Britain and France sought to protect their colonial interests in the area, the USA and the USSR – both anti-colonialists – aimed at becoming the most influential power in the Horn.

Great Britain, the occupying power (↗British Military Administration), believed that Eritrea could not constitute a viable independent State and, from 1943, was inclined to split the country, assigning the western Moslem-inhabited lowland to Anglo–Egyptian Sudan (which had been under Sudanese control already prior to the Italian colonization) and leaving the plateau, inhabited by Christian Təgrəñña-speakers, to Ethiopia. The latter, however, claimed the whole of Eritrea by virtue of her supposed rights over the territory – based on historical, geographical, ethnic and economic grounds – and on strategic issues, such as an outlet to the sea for the land-locked empire. The USSR opted for an individual trusteeship; the USA proposed a UN collective trusteeship for ten years followed by independence, while France backed Italy in her desire to prolong her control of Eritrea by the award of a UN trusteeship or calling for the independence of the country. The Allies decided to send a Commission of Enquiry to Eritrea with the task of acquainting themselves with the wishes of the inhabitants.

Although the relative strength of the political organizations was difficult to ascertain and the system adopted debatable, the following proved to be the most representative Eritrean parties: 1) the Unionist Party (↗Maḥbär fəqri ḥagär), which was mainly supported by the Təgrəñña-speakers of the Ḥamasen region, but also by Moslem aristocrats who counteracted the serf-emancipation movement promoted by the Moslem League; it stood for unconditional union with Ethiopia and was the largest single party in Eritrea (48 % of supporters); 2) The ↗Moslem League was the second largest party of E. (30 %); it mobilized the Moslem communities and demanded independence or, at least, a UN trusteeship; 3) the ↗Liberal Progressive Party, which was composed of Christian highlanders, was sponsored by the British Administration to favour the independence of E. together with the Təgrəñña districts of Ethiopia (Təgray); 4) the ↗Pro-Italy Party, composed of Italians, half-castes and natives who had gained privileges from colonialism, sought the maintenance of Italian political rule in the country.

The Four Power Commission of Enquiry (FPC) visited Eritrea from 8 November 1947 until 3 January 1948. The Commission received the platform of political parties, examined written petitions and interviewed the traditional *élite* of the population, but failed to reach agreement over a unified report. The British and the American delegates reported that 55 % of the Eritreans favoured independence and 44.8 % stood for union with Ethiopia, while the French and the Soviet delegates registered 52.17 % of pro-independence and 47.83 % of unionists. Both the Eritreans and the powers were divided regarding the future of the country. Therefore, the case was submitted to the international forum of the UN on September 1948.

↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation

Src.: FOUR POWER COMMISSION, *Report of the Four Power Commission of Investigation, Former Italian Colonies*, vol. 1: *Report on Eritrea*, New York 1948.

Lit.: ANDARGACHEW TIRUNEH, "Eritrea, Ethiopia and Federation 1941–1952", *NEASt* 3, 1, 1980–81, 99–119; LIONEL CLIFFE – BASIL DAVIDSON, *The Long Struggle of Eritrea for Independence and Constructive Peace*, Trenton 1988; LLOYD ELLINGSON, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Eritrea, 1941–1950", *JAH* 18, 2, 1977, 261–82; EYASU GAYIM, *The Eritrean Question: the Conflict between the Right of Self-Determination and the Interests of the States*, Uppsala 1993; JORDAN GEBRE-MEDHIN, *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea*, Trenton NJ 1989; GETAHUN DILEBO, "Historical Origins and Development of the Eritrean Problem", *Current Bibliography on African Affairs* 7, 3, 1975, 221–44; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence: Domination, Resistance, Nationalism, 1941–1993*, Cambridge 1995; SAUL KELLY, *Cold War in the Desert: Britain, the United States and the Italian Colonies*, London 2000; STEPHEN H. LONGRIGG, *A Short History of Eritrea*, London 1945; PIER GIACOMO MAGRI, *La politica estera etiopica e le questioni eritrea e somala (1941–1960)*, Milano 1980; HAROLD G. MARCUS, *Ethiopia, Great Britain and the United States, 1941–1974, the Politics of Empire*, Los Angeles 1983; JOHN MARKAKIS, *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, Cambridge 1987; OKBAZGHI YOHANNES, *Eritrea: a Pawn in World Politics*, Trenton 1991; ESTELLE SYLVIA PANKHURST – RICHARD PANKHURST, *Ethiopia and Eritrea: the Last Phase of the Reunion Struggle 1941–1952*, London 1953; ESTELLE SYLVIA PANKHURST, *Eritrea on the Eve: the Past and the Future of Italy's 'First-Born Colony', Ethiopia's*

Ancient Sea Province, Essex 1952; Redie Bereketeab, *Eritrea: the Making of a Nation, 1890–1991*, Uppsala 1999; Gianluigi Rossi, *L'Africa italiana verso l'indipendenza 1941–1949*, Milano 1980; Tekeste Negash, *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1997; Tesfatzion Medhanie, *Eritrea: the Dynamic of a National Question*, Amsterdam 1986; Gerald Kennedy – Nicholas Trevaskis, *Eritrea: a Colony in Transition 1941–52*, London – New York – Toronto 1960.

Federica Guazzini

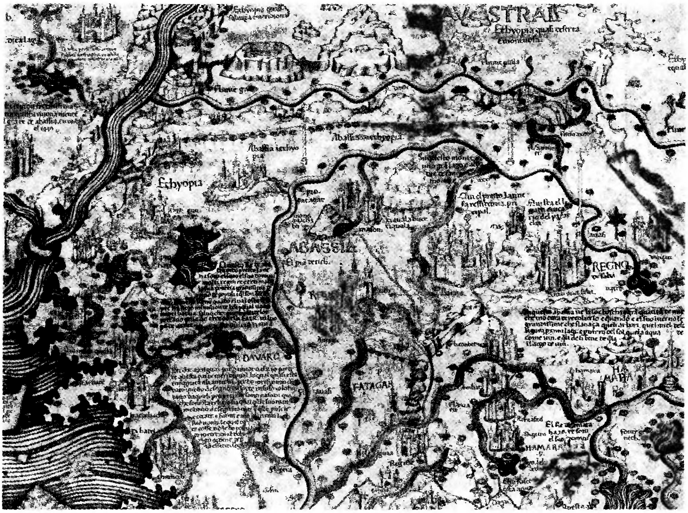
Fra Mauro

F.M. (Lat. Frater Maurus, no family name known; d. by October 1459) Camaldolese, was a famous cartographer. Very little is known about his life except that at least since 1433 he was a friar (hence Fra) at the Camaldulian monastery of San Michele di Murano, on the homonymous island near Venice, and that he was for some time residing in the Istrian monastery of San Michele al Leme, here drawing a map of its landed property (copy of it survives in a 1737 engraving). At Murano he was in charge of a ↗cartography workshop within which, *a contemplation di questa illustrissima Signoria*, i.e. 'in obeyance to [= "at the instigation of", rather than "in homage to"] the most illustrious Signoria (of Venice)', he produced the famous "Mappamondo", a comprehensive world map painted in the form of a circular *oikoumene* ("inhabited world"), the only extant exemplar of which is now kept at the Marciana Library in Venice. Such an important parchment map – showing remarkable similarities with the so called "Carta Borgiana" of the Vatican Library (Borg. v, s. Almagià 1944:32–40, no. 10; 1956:5ff., 10) – was achieved with the help of Andrea Bianco, who had already been working on a sea chart of the West African coast (1436) and a planisphere (1448). The original of the "Mappamondo" was fully laid out by 1448 (all relevant information being gathered by then), and however finished before 1453 or, less probably, by the beginning of 1459. The different termini for the work's final completion are depending, respectively, upon two significant circumstances at least: *co(n)stantinopoli* ("Constantinopolis") is still mentioned in a caption as the Byzantine capital; and a similar world map was sent to the king of Portugal ↗Alfonso V in the early months of 1459. Yet, this lost exemplar is not necessarily the original (made instead for the Signoria), as more often surmised; besides, it seems to have disappeared some time after 1494, if not 1779, from the Portuguese monastery of Alcobaça in which it was reportedly preserved (Almagià 1956:5f., 10).

Whatever its relationship with the previous one, the almost contemporary "Mappamondo" of the Marciana Library was achieved, as clearly written on the rev. of the parchment, "on 23 August 1460", after F.M.'s death. It is a magnificent slightly elliptical planisphere (with its major diameter, east-west, close to two metres), inscribed in a square frame and furnished with ornaments and elaborate vignettes around its margin and texts in the form of scrolls – simple labels or detailed captions – appended to the geographical units they are identifying or describing (s. Falchetta, in preparation, for full transcription, commentary and translation). Should one assume that in 1460 only a few more legends, indeed on fragments of different parchment, were eventually integrated by pasting them between the circular profile and the square frame of the map, this exemplar is even likely to be the original one.

A pioneering reproduction of the extant "Mappamondo", with neither texts nor most of the geographical names, was published by the then Abbot of San Michele, later Cardinal Placido Zurla (1816). The standard facsimile edition, by Gasparrini Leporace (1956), now implemented by Falchetta (in preparation, with important chronological and geographical issues), consists of 48 colour plates: no. x, covering modern ↗Eritrea and ↗Ethiopia, as well as some other zones of Africa (with ↗Nubia and the ↗Red Sea area), is reproduced here. The portion of Africa where Ethiopian names appear has been usefully redrawn and replotted on a modern basis by Crawford (CrawItin 19, figs. 3 and 4).

As to its orientation, the planisphere (like the "Carta Borgiana") is perfectly falling within the medieval framework of maps and sailing ("portolan") charts with south to the top, in the Ptolemaic tradition (Arentzen 1984:147ff., 302; Woodward 1987:378 n. 62), thus marking the culmination of late medieval cartography. Jerusalem has lost its customary central position, being now moved eastwards because of Asia's increased importance. For the African and Asian parts, the knowledge of the world displayed in the "Mappamondo" is relying upon information already found in Marco Polo (quoted extensively but silently) and other Arabic sources, as clearly indicated by the confusion of "Indian" and "Ethiopian" regions in plate no. IX, relevant to "Somali" countries (with *Mogodis*



Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana; "Mappamondo" by Fra Mauro: section corresponding to modern Eritrea and Ethiopia; from Gasparrini Leporace 1956, pl. x

= ↗Mogadishu on *Diab* = Madagascar, s. Cerulli 1935, 336f.; Fiaccadori 1992, 36ff. and n. 113f.). F.M. seems to convey all the more critical evaluations of the sources and to abandon traditional views as actual reports of the latest discoveries by "navigators send by the King of Portugal" become available – not before the 1460s, however, for the Venetian Alvise Ca' da Mosto.

Several new details are introduced with special reference to South Asia (India) and Japan, the latter appearing now for the first time on a European map. Remarkably enough, Africa is depicted as capable to be circumnavigable to the south – some 39 years at least before Vasco da ↗Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope on his way to India (1498).

Central and southern Africa are called "Ethiopia", whereas "Abassia" means ↗Abyssinia (cp. ↗Aithiopía). For the first time the realm of ↗Prester John, the legendary priest and king, originally thought to be somewhere in Central Asia, is found in Abyssinia at *Berara* (= ↗Bärara), a place specifically styled as his chief residence (*Qui el presto Janne fa ressidentia pri*[*n*]*cipal*). This and other original evidence, providing invaluable information on the country (and later exploited by Alessandro ↗Zorzi, indirecly acquainted with F.M.'s preparatory materials), is explicitly drawn from local sources: namely, from Ethiopian monks passing by Venice – a mandatory halt on their way to other parts of Italy – and asked by F.M. to describe *tute q*(*ue*)*ste p*(*ro*)*ui*(*n*)*cie e citade e fiumi e monti cum li suo nomi* ('all these provinces and towns and rivers and mountains with their own names').

The "authenticity" of the Ethiopian section of the map is obvious from its agreement with the known geography of the country. In fact, apart from a few major designations – e.g., *Abassia Etiopia*, *Ethyopia* – appearing there more than once as traditionally spread over a great part of Africa (but cp. the expression *Abassia i*(*n*) *Ethyopia*), several Ethiopian and East African names (s. "Gazetteer" in CrawItin 194–204) can be easily identified with modern equivalents: e.g., *abaui* = ↗Abbay (the "Blue Nile"), *amasen* = ↗Ḥamasen, *auasi* = ↗Awaš, *bagamidre* = ↗Bägemdər, *hacsum* = ↗Aksum, *F*(*iume*) *Galla* = river (of the?) Galla (a tributary of the *xebe* or *vabi* = Wabi [Šäbälle]), *mons xiauala, ouer xiquala* = mount ↗Zəqʷala, *R*(*EGN*)*O HAMARA* = province ('kingdom') of ↗Amhara, *simi* = ↗Sämen; the *regno de saba* does not refer to the legendary realm of the Queen of Sheba (Ar. Sabaʾ; ↗Makədda), but to the actual kingdom of ↗Šäwa (s. CrawItin 201).

Src.: PLACIDO ZURLA, *Il Mappamondo di Fra Mauro Camaldolese*, Venezia 1806; TULLIA GASPARRINI LEPORACE (ed.), *Il Mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, Presentazione di ROBERTO ALMAGIÀ, Roma 1956 [repr. 1966]; PIERO FALCHETTA, *Fra Mauro's World Map. With a commentary and translations of the inscriptions*, Presentation by MARINO ZORZI, Essays by ANGELO CATTANEO – SUSY MARCON, Turnhout, in preparation (Lit.).

Lit.: ROBERTO ALMAGIÀ, *Planisferi, carte nautiche e affini dal sec. XIV al XVII esistenti nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano 1944 (Monumenta cartographica Vaticana 1), 32–40, no. 10 ["Carta Borgiana"]; JÖRG-GEERD ARENTZEN, *Imago mundi cartographica. Studien zur Bildlichkeit mittelaterlicher Welt- und Ökumenekarten unter besonderen Berücksichtigung des Zusammenwirkens von Text und Bild*, München 1984, 147ff., 302f.; ENRICO CERULLI, "Noterelle somale ad al-Dimašqī ed Ibn ʿArabī", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 4, 1935, 335-43, here 336f. [repr. in: ID., *Somalia. Scritti vari editi ed inediti*, I. *Storia della Somalia, l'Islām in Somalia, il Libro degli Zengi*, Roma 1957, 41–50, here 42ff.]; CrawItin 18f. (and figs. 3f.), 194–204 [Appendix I. "Gazetteer of names on Fra Mauro's map"]; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992, XVI, 15, 26, 36–39, 75 (Lit.); BERTRAND HIRSCH, "Cartographie et itinéraires: figures occidentales du nord de l'Éthiopie aux XVe et XVIe siècles", *Abbay* 13, 1986–87 [1988], 91–122, here 98f., 117f. [abridged version in: *PICES* 9, vol. 6, 58–73, here 62f., 67, 71]; EGON KLEMP, *Africa on Maps Dating from the 12th to the 18th Century*, Leipzig 1968, vol. 1, no. 9; CHARLES DE LA RONCIÈRE, *La découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen Âge: cartographes et explorateurs*, vol. 2. *Le périple du Continent*, Le Caire 1925 (Mémoires de la Société R. de Géographie d'Egypte 6), 122–28, pl. XXXVI; F. WAWRIK, "Fra Mauro-Karte", in: *Lexikon der Geschichte der Kartographie*, vol. 1, Wien 1986, 230f.; DAVID WOODWARD, "Medieval *Mappaemundi*", in: J.B. HARLEY – DAVID WOODWARD (eds.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1. *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe, and the Mediterranean*, Chicago, IL – London 1987, 286–370, here 315f., 327f., 358, 371 n. 71, 374 n. 33, 378 n. 62, pl. 18; MARINO ZORZI, *La Libreria di San Marco. Libri, lettori e società nella Venezia dei Dogi*, Milano 1987 (Ateneo Veneto. Collana di studi 1), 327, 359, 516.

Rainer Voigt – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

France, relations with

French interest in Ethiopia dates back to medieval times. As early as 1313 a French Dominican monk, Guillaume Adam, advised the King of F. to seek an alliance with the Christians in the mountains south of Egypt, but nothing came of the idea (TadTChurch 252). In the 17th cent., however, the French consul in Cairo, Charles de Maillet, developed a keen interest in the far-off Christian country and King Louis XIV conceived the plan of opening relations with the Gondär-based Ethiopian kingdom. Charles ↗Poncet, a French physician in Cairo, was accordingly despatched in 1699 to treat *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I for a troublesome skin disease (Foster 1949:xxiii–xxxvii, 92–172). The Frenchman was virtually the first foreigner to visit Ethiopia since the expulsion of the ↗Jesuits over half a century earlier. Poncet's visit was secret, but led to some warming of relations between the two countries. When a French envoy, Lenoir du Roule, was subsequently seized by the ruler of Sinnār, *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot I wrote a strong letter remonstrating with him in 1706 (Lobo 1735:359–469).

French interest in Ethiopia was resumed more effectively in the early 19th cent. during the last decades of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. Two Saint Simonian missionaries, Edmond ↗Combes and Maurice ↗Tamisier, abandoning their sect's bizarre interest in the women of the East, visited the country in 1833. They were followed by the scholarly brothers Antoine and Arnauld d'↗Abbadie in 1838–48, and by the more commercially-minded Louis-Rémy Aubert-Roche and Jean-Nicolas Dufey in 1837–38. Official French governmental missions, mainly interested in F.'s ties with the East, then followed briefly one after another: a scientific mission led by Charlemagne Théophile ↗Lefebvre in 1838–43, an abortive trading effort by the Société Nanto-Bordelaise in 1840–41 and the mission of two French naval officers, Pierre Victor A. ↗Ferret and Joseph Germain ↗Galinier in 1840–43. Another French traveller, Charles-François-Xavier ↗Rochet d'Héricourt, meanwhile made his way further south to Šäwa three times, in 1839, 1843 and 1847–48 (Malécot 1972). Some of these travellers and missions were primarily concerned with geographical investigations, but others had various other interests.

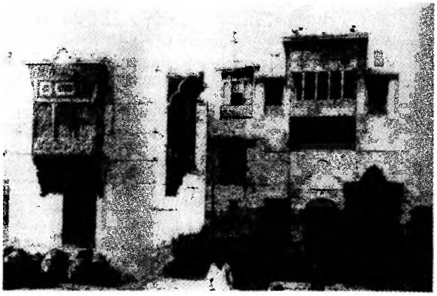
Some visitors sought to establish commercial or coaling-stations along the ↗Red Sea or Gulf of Aden coast; others attempted to recruit workers for the island of Bourbon (later Mauritius), where labour, after the abolition of slavery, was scarce. Other travellers again had a more apparent political agenda. Rochet d'Héricourt, though seeking to purchase supplies of ↗*kosso*, which he regarded as a valuable cure for tapeworm, also claimed to have signed a political and commercial treaty with ↗Šahlä Śəllase, *nəguś* of Šäwa, on 7 June 1843. Starting with the 1840s, F. entertained a regular vice-consulate in ↗Massawa in the Ottoman territory. Henry Lambert, a French consul in Aden in 1855–59, proposed the creation of a military and commercial establishment at ↗Tağūra, on the Gulf of Aden coast. Stanislas Russel, a French naval captain, purchased the more northerly Red Sea island of Dessey in Zula Bay in 1860 from *däğğazmač* ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel of Təgray, but the French failed to occupy it. Nəguśe also ceded Zula through his envoy, the Catholic convert ↗Əmnätu, but this was never realized on the ground. He had even offered the cession of the whole coastal province, in exchange with French support for his claim to the throne, which could not materialize due to his downfall soon afterwards (RubInd). Two years later the French Government purchased the Gulf of Aden port of ↗Obock, which was not, however, effectively occupied until 1884 when a French commandant, Léonce ↗Lagarde, was appointed.

In the mid-1860s French influence had increased considerably especially in regions near the coast due to the presence of the French-directed ↗Lazarist mission (↗Catholicism), who had erected the Vicariate Apostolic of Abyssinia by order of Rome. After the conversion of the Tәgrәñña-speaking ↗Ṣänᶜadäglä in ↗Akkälä Guzay and of important parts of the ↗Bilin, their leaders declared themselves subjects of F. – who had helped, similar to Great Britain, to reduce the danger of raids from Egyptian territory especially in Bogos (Bilin). As a consequence, Bogos became a weak French protectorate, under influence of the French vice-consul, and during a short period even governed by a French tax-collector in the services of the governor of Ḥamasen.

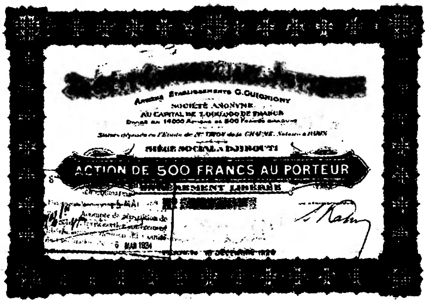
In Ethiopia itself, after the rise of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, Guillaume ↗Lejean, the French vice-consul at Massawa, started an unsuccessful attempt to open commercial relations with the new Ethiopian ruler. The latter's death in 1868 and the fall of the Second French Empire two years later marked the end of this phase of Franco-Ethiopian relations. From then on, any project of a French protectorate was de facto given up, even if F. continued to claim Zula formally.

F. had relatively little contact with *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannәs IV, who sought unsuccessfully to obtain the support of F. in gaining access to the sea at Massawa. A French archaeologist, Ernest Choequine de ↗Sarzec, was nevertheless appointed vice-consul in Massawa in 1872 as the successor of Werner ↗Munzinger, and a French gunsmith, Jean Baraglion, remained in the country for many years (Wylde 1888, vol. 1, 293ff.; Pankhurst 1968:58).

Several French traders were by then active in the Šäwan interior, most of them importing firearms for *nәguś* Mәnilәk (later *aṣe* ↗Mәnilәk II). Such merchants included Pierre Arnoux, C. Brémond, Léon ↗Chefneux, Labatut, Paul Soleillet, Tian and the former poet Arthur ↗Rimbaud, who settled in Harär in 1881 (Starkie 1937). A number of French Roman Catholic missionaries were also active in the latter area. Prominent among them were two ↗Capuchins, Taurin ↗Cahagne, who arrived in 1882, and his successor André ↗Jarosseau, who was largely responsible for the education of Täfäri Mäkʷännәn, the future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Sәllase I (HSLIfe 18, 291; ZerEth 442ff.).


Building of the French Consulate in Massawa in 1886; photo by Firmin-André Sallès; courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France

During the Italo-Ethiopian confrontation which culminated in the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa, the French Government was openly sympathetic to Mәnilәk. The latter, on his part, showed himself desirous of establishing close links with F. This was reflected in many ways. His coins and postage stamps, both instituted in 1894, were produced in Paris, and commercial links between his empire and the French Somali Protectorate (↗Djibouti) were foreshadowed in his railway concession of the same year. Granted to his Swiss advisor Alfred ↗Ilg and the latter's French partner Léon Chefneux, this agreement envisaged the construction and operation of a line to Djibouti, which would make the port Ethiopia's principal point of access to the sea. This was confirmed shortly after the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa when the French Government granted a corresponding concession for the construction of the railway line across the French Protectorate (Pankhurst 1968; ↗Railways). One effect of this was later even the use of French colonial money along the railway line (↗Currency). On 20 May of the following year Ethiopia and F. signed a Frontier Convention. This was followed by the Tripartite Treaty of 13 December 1906 signed by France, Italy and Britain, which provided for their establishment of spheres of influence in Ethiopia, and the subsequent Franco-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce of 10 January 1908, called after Anthony ↗Klobukowski,



SOCIÉTÉ ANONYME

SIÈGE SOCIAL A DJIBOUTI

ACTION DE 500 FRANCS AU PORTEUR

A share of a French concession-holding company in Ethiopia, from a private collection

the French Minister in Addis Abäba. This gave the French extra-territorial rights and led to the establishment of French consular tribunals (ZerEth 435ff.).

The first years of the century witnessed the advent of three important French scientific missions, led by the Marquis Charles de Bonchamps (↗Fashoda), Jean ↗Duchesne-Fournet and the Visconte du ↗Bourg du Bozas, respectively. Other French travellers included Prince Henri d'↗Orléans, J. Gaston ↗Vanderheym, who accompanied Mənilək's army to Wällamo, and Hugues Le Roux, who produced (1914) a French version of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* and did much to publicize Mənilək's state in F.

Though Mənilək never learnt French, he made use of a French adviser, the scholar François Marie Casimir ↗Mondon-Vidailhet, who became an Ethiopian Councillor of State; and appointed a Francophone physician from Guadeloupe, Joseph ↗Vitalien, who was also later involved in the railway project. The latter led to the employment on the line of many Frenchmen and a considerable expansion of foreign trade, part of it in French hands, and as well as the growth of the French port of Djibouti and of the Ethiopian railway-town of ↗Dərre Dawa. Addis Abäba's first pharmacist was likewise a French-oriented Georgian physician Paul ↗Mérab, while a veterinarian mission at the time of the major rinderpest epidemic of the 1890s was led by Repetto Wurtz of the Paris Faculty of Medicine. Three French traders were also prominent in early Addis Abäba, namely ↗Savouré, Trouillet and Stévenin, who, like other compatriots, had contacts with the French in ↗Djibouti (Pankhurst 1968; BZHist 97).

↗Ethiopian Studies in F. began in the late 19th and early 20th cent. with the works of Joseph ↗Halévy, who studied ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel literature; Hermann Zotenberg, who catalogued the Ethiopian manuscripts in the ↗Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; René ↗Basset and Jules ↗Perruchon, who edited and translated important works of Gəʿəz historiography (e.g., the "short chronicles" [BassÉt] and the royal chronicles [PerrZarY]).

The study of ↗Ethio-Semitic languages later owed much to Marcel ↗Cohen, who conducted linguistic and cultural research in Addis Abäba in 1910–11 and was subsequently responsible for teaching a generation of European éthiopisants, among them Wolf Leslau, Stefan ↗Strelcyn, Joseph Tubiana and Roger ↗Schneider. France was also responsible later for the Dakar to Djibouti mission of 1931, which conducted considerable ethnographic and linguistic research, by Marcel ↗Griaule, Michel ↗Leiris, and others; and the archaeological mission of François ↗Azais and Roger ↗Chambard, which travelled in the southern provinces. ↗Gäbrä Śəllase's chronicle of Mənilək (GueCopMen) was edited and annotated by Maurice de ↗Coppet, a sometime French Minister to Ethiopia. An Amharic-French dictionary was published by a French Lazarist missionary Joseph ↗Baeteman (BaetDic) and the first Ethiopisant journal ↗*Aethiopica* was launched by another French scholar, Sylvain ↗Grébaut. French culture became increasingly important in the Mənilək period.

An Alliance Française school was established in Addis Abäba in 1907. The ↗MəniləkII School, founded in the following year, also employed French teachers and took the French certificate of education. Students sent abroad for further education largely went to F., as well as the Lebanon and other countries where French was widely used in modern educated circles. Ethiopia thus became a Francophone country and French became the foreign *lingua franca* for the Ethiopian intelligentsia. An important French weekly, ↗*Courrier d'Éthiopie*, ran for many years until the war of 1935/36. Government proclamations in the 1920s and early 1930s were published in French, too.

French influence increased in the pre-war years. The regent Täfäri Mäkʷännən was French-speaking. Trade was largely monopolized by the French firm of A. Besse. The Täfäri Mäkʷännən School, founded 1925, gave most of its instruction in French. Several Ministers had studied in F. and/or the Lebanon. Several leaders of the Imperial Bodyguard had been trained at Saint-

Cyr-l'École. Ethiopia's French community by 1935 numbered about 350, about the same as the Italians (BZHist 238).

After Ethiopia's liberation, in 1941, contacts with F., then under German occupation, and the employment of French teachers were virtually impossible. French thus dropped out of the Ethiopian educational system, which was thereafter geared to Britain and later the United States of America. A French Lycée, called after the Ethiopian patriot ↗Gäbrä Maryam, was, however, opened in 1948. The 1960 Ethiopian ↗Civil Code was drafted by French. In 1966 a French-Ethiopian agreement was signed to promote ↗French as a second foreign language in secondary schools. French Ethiopian studies were promoted, especially by the Maison des Études éthiopiennes established in Addis Abäba in 1991 and reorganized in 1997 as Centre français des Études éthiopiennes. Commercial ties with the French at Djibouti were likewise later resumed and the railway once more played an important role in Ethiopian economic life. The headquarters of the Economic Commission for Africa and the Organization of African Unity, both situated in Addis Abäba, employed many Francophone Africans.

↗French language

Src.: Jerome Lobo, *Voyage historique d'Abyssinie du R.P. Jerome Lobo*, Paris 1735, 359–469; Guillaume Lejean, *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté de 1862 à 1864*, Paris 1871; Augustus Blandy Wylde, *'83 to '87 in the Soudan*, London 1888, vol. 1, 293ff.; HSLife 18, 291; GueCopMen; Jules Borelli, *Ethiopie méridionale. Journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama (septembre 1885–novembre 1888)*, Paris 1890.
Lit.: TadTChurch 252; William Foster, *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, London 1949, xxiii–xxxvii, 92–172; Georges Malécot, *Les voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie de 1835 à 1870*, Paris 1972; Alexandre Girard, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Abyssinie*, Cairo 1973; Enid Starkie, *Arthur Rimbaud in Abyssinia*, Oxford 1937; Sylvain Vignéras, *Une mission françaiss en Abyssinie*, Paris 1897; Hugues Le Roux, *Ménélik et nous*, Paris 1902; Id., *Makeda, reine de Saba*, Paris 1914; Henri Rebaud, *Chez le roi des rois d'Abyssinie*, Paris 1935; ZerEth 431–49; ZewYohan; RubInd; PankEcon 58, 755; BZHist 97, 238; Jacques Bureau, *Marcel Cohen et ses successeurs. Cent ans d'études éthiopiennes en France*, Addis Ababa 1997.

Richard Pankhurst

Franchetti, Raimondo

F. (b. 31 January 1889, Treviso, d. 7 August 1935, Cairo) was an Italian explorer and a rather controversial figure, owing to both his involvement with Fascism and his anti-Ethiopian political action. Of noble origin (he held the title of baron), from 1910 to 1914 he travelled extensively to North America, south-east Asia and eastern Africa (the Sudan, Baḥr al-Ġazāl, Kenya). In 1928, with the permission of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) and of the colonial Eritrean Government, he organized a scientific expedition to Dancalia (↗Danakil) with Alberto ↗Pollera, Silvio Gilardi, Candido Maglione, Saverio Patrizi, Amedeo Moscatelli, Captain-Topographer Piero Veratti, Count Riccardo Rocca, film operator Mario Craveri, Ettore Nannoni, Erminio De Filippi and 90 *askari* and servants. The expedition left ↗ᶜAsäb on 3 February 1929 and visited Lake Afḏera (Giulietti) and the Teru sultanate. It crossed Danakil from the sea to the plateau, with special interest in oil prospecting. On theirreturn, F. amd his fellows passed bythe place where ↗Giulietti's expedition had been massacred by the ↗ᶜAfar in 1888 and brought the remains to ᶜAsäb on 2 June 1929. The findings of the expedition Dancalia were never made public. F. returned there several times, going on other journeys in Ethiopia under assignment of the government of the *Nəguś*. He died in an aircraft incident near Heliopolis (Cairo), while heading to ↗Asmära on a political mission to Dancalia.

Src.: Raimondo Franchetti, *Nella Dancalia etiopica. Spedizione italiana 1928–29*, Milano 1930, ^{4}1936.
Lit.: Olinto Laguzzi, *Raimondo Franchetti "il Lawrence Italiano"*, Genova 1948; Giuseppe Puglisi, *Chi è? dell'Eritrea*, Asmara 1952, ad nomen; Francesco Surdich, "Franchetti, Raimondo", in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 50, Roma 1998, 73-75 (Lit.).

Gian Carlo Stella

Franchini, Vincenzo

F. (b. 11 November 1911, Bologna, d. 7 October 1995, Massa), professionally a civil servant, started to serve in the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana in 1937. After the restoration of the Ethiopian state in 1941, F. remained in the country and in 1944 settled in Asmära, where he lived until 25 February 1980, the date of his return to Italy.

During his long stay in Asmära, he dedicated, as an amateur, his free time to archaeological research, mainly prehistoric and protohistoric, having its main field in the region of ↗Akkälä Guzay. At first he operated under the guidance of Carlo ↗Conti Rossini, who exchanged correspondance with F. until his death. With much energy,

F. travelled around the country, making a great number of discoveries, included rock-paintings, rock-drawings and rock-inscriptions (in ↗Epigraphic South Arabian and Ethiopic), all of them of paramount relevance. On his discoveries of rock-paintings and rock-drawings he gave several accounts in various publications. Some of the rock-inscriptions were published by Lanfranco Ricci, who is currently writing the final draft of the general edition of the inscriptions.

Src.: VINCENZO FRANCHINI, "Notizie su alcune pitture ed incisioni rupestri recentemente ritrovate in Eritrea", in: *PICES* 1, 285–89; ID., "La zona archeologica di Machedà. Stazioni litiche in superficie", *Il Bollettino* [Asmara] 1, 1953, 21–24; ID., "Ritrovamenti archeologici a Dibdib", *ibid.*, 85; ID., "Altre pitture rupestri nell'Akkelè Guzay", *ibid.* 2, 1958, 1–12; ID., "I graffiti rupestri di Edit", *ibid.* 3, 1964, 9–12; ID., "Pitture rupestri e antichi resti architettonici dell'Acchelè Guzài", *RSE* 17, 1961, 5–10; ID., "Nuovi ritrovamenti di pitture rupestri e graffiti in Eritrea", *ibid.* 20, 1964, 97–102; ID., "La stazione litica all'aperto di Mehrad Tièl", *JES* 9, 1, 1971, 27–34; ID., "Contributo alla toponomastica dell'Eritrea tigrina", *QSE* 3–4, 1982-83, 163–75.

Lit.: LANFRANCO RICCI, "Vincenzo Franchini", *RSE* 37, 1995, 177–82; PAOLO GRAZIOSI, "New Discoveries of Rock Paintings in Ethiopia", parts 1 and 2, *Antiquity* 138, 1964, 91–99, 187–90.

Lanfranco Ricci

Franciscans

F. is the term generically refering to the different communities observing the Rule of St. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226). This article focuses on the F. branches with a proper missionary vocation, the Observants and Reformed (both merged, in 1897, into the Friars Minor, Lat. Ordo Fratrum Minorum). Another F. family, the ↗Capuchins, is treated in a separate entry.

The F. were founded in Italy around 1209 by St. Francis and in 1223 the definitive rule of the Order or "Regula bullata" was approved. It incorporated monastic elements (obedience, chastity and poverty) and commitement to preaching "among the Saracens and other infidels". The F. also followed the ↗Dominicans in stressing theological learning, to which field they would contribute with such important figures as St. Bonaventure and the "Doctor subtilis", John Duns Scotus.

Medieval missions

Medieval F. missions to Ethiopia are, due to the unreliability of the accounts, difficult to prove, despite the enthusiasm showed by F. historians (Somigli 1928, vol. 1/1, XXIII; Golubovich 1906: 399). However, there are many references to friars (including Dominicans) in connection with the story of ↗Prester John, some of which undoubtedly concern the Ethiopian Christian kingdom. Likewise, the privileged position of the F. as holders of the Custodia Terrae Sanctae made them one of the earliest sources on Ethiopian Christianity available.

Vague references to F. in "Ethiopia" date back to the first half of the 13th cent. under Pope Gregory IX (1227–41; Musie Ghebreghiorghis 1984: 41–44; Richard 1976:324f.). To this century are dated also two anonymous tractates by minorites with a description of the Nile and references to "Ethyopi(a), unde fuit regina Saba" (Golubovich 1906:404).

Later, to respond to the fall of Acre in 1291, the Latin church enforced an expansion of the mendicant orders to the East. This, which was aimed also at challenging ↗Nestorianism in the East, gained momentum under Pope John XXII (1316–34). John of Montecorvino (1246–1328), head of the newly created F. archbishopric of Khanbaliq (today Beijing), then capital of the Mongol Yüan dinasty, attempted repeatedly to establish contacts with the Ethiopian Church (Golubovich 1919:93; Richard 1998:114, 145; Pavot 1990:156). Around 1323, two Irish friars issued an *Itinerary* identifying the Prester John with the Ethiopian ruler (Cerulli 1943:102–07). There were parallel attempts, in the same century, to introduce the Observance in Egypt. They were hindered by the opposition of the ↗Mamlūk sultans (Richard 1998:261ff.; Manfredi 1958: 14–18). Within this context, in 1348 the Minorite John of Winterthur wrote a *Chronicon* relating both of a Dominican mission to Egypt impeted by the sultan and of the wars between this country and Ethiopia (Golubovich 1913:145ff.).

The renewed unionist projects in the 15th cent. gave a new élan to the F. missions. The Observant Alberto da ↗Sarteano played an important role during the Council of ↗Florence (1438–45), bringing to Italy a Copt–Ethiopian delegation that included monks from the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem (↗Dayr as-Sulṭān; Richard 1998:268f.; Lefevre 1945:384f.). Around 1455, another friar, Ludovico da Bologna, was charged by the Popes Nicholas V and Calistus III with a failed mission to engage ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob in a crusade against the Turks (Richard 1998: 274f.; Lefevre 1945:392f.); in the 1470s, the friar Nicola da Oliveto would have managed to reach Ethiopia (Lefevre 1945:397). Later, the head of the F. community in Beirut, Francesco Suriano (1450–ca.1529), with his *Trattato di Terrassanta e dell'Oriente* (Suriano 1949) published the travels of the diplomat Giovanni Battista da ↗Imola to Ethiopia, in which a Fra Giovanni da Calabria was also involved (Richard 1998:398–401, 409ff., 432; CrawItin 45ff., 205–10, fig. 8).

Early modern missions

New opportunities for the F. to enter Ethiopia opened with the failure of the ↗Jesuit mission and the "Pax Ottomana" (Carobbio da Nembro 1971:628ff., 636). The ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, handed then the Ethiopian "dossier" to such other orders as Capuchins, Carmelitans and F.), thus placing it de facto out of the reach of ↗Portugal, by then a minor player in the Indian Ocean. The attempts to reach Ethiopia would henceforth run through the Eastern Mediterranean and Egypt, most of them being sponsored by the new powerful France of Cardinal Richelieu and its influential consul in Cairo.

The F., who by the early 1620s served in Cairo as chaplains of the Catholic consuls, were entrusted in 1630 and 1633 with the newly founded prefectures of Egypt and Ethiopia. Several expeditions of Italian Reformed friars, who throughout the century contended with the Observants of the Custodia Terrae Santae for the control over the Ethiopian mission, followed. Initially targeting the Coptic Church and its well-disposed Patriarch John XV (1619–34), over time several F., along with their fellow Capuchins, made efforts to reach the Ethiopian highlands. Yet, none of these attempts was successful since most of the missionaries were decapitated in ↗Sawākin or kept in the ↗Funǧ kingdom and the Ethiopian highlands (Carobbio da Nembro 1971:640). An exception was an expedition including F. and French Jesuits who, at the turn of the 18th cent., managed to live and serve – mainly as doctors – at the courts of ↗Iyasu I and ↗Yosṭos (ibid. 645–68). In 1717, the Propaganda Congregation finally suppressed the costly and ill-fated mission (s. doc. summarized in BecRASO I, 175–224), although attempts by F. to reach the country continued up to the late 18th cent (ibid. 489–99).

The archives of the Congregation in Rome offer a wealth of correspondance from F. missionaries, with indications on the best ways to reach Ethiopia – including the most befitting fancy-dress costumes – but few ethnographic or historical accounts on the societies of the Ethiopian highlands and on the Christian realm (s. Fondo Scritture riferite nei Congressi, "Africa Centrale, Etiopia, Arabia", vol. 1, 1630–98).

Src.: Teodosio Somigli (ed.), *Etiopia Francescana nei documenti dei secoli XVII e XVIII*, Firenze 1928, vol. 1, part 1, xxiii; Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1949; Girolamo Golubovich (ed.), *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, vol. 1, Firenze 1906, 404; vol. 2, *ibid.* 1913, 145ff.; vol. 3, *ibid.* 1919, 93; BecRASO I, 175–224, 489–99; CrawItin 45ff., 205–10, fig. 8.

Lit.: Ayele Teklehaymanot, "The Franciscan Apostolate in Ethiopia", *Miscellanea Aethiopica* 1, Addis Ababa 1999, 341–67; Musie Ghebreghiorghis, "Franciscan Missionaries to Ethiopia during the Early Renaissance", *QSE* 5, 1984, 34–62; Jean Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Age (XIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècles)*, Roma 1977, ^{2}1998, 56f.; Id., *Orient et Occident au Moyen Age: contacts et relations (XII^{e}–XV^{e} s.)*, London 1976, 324f.; Jacques Pavot, "L'imaginaire géographique des découvertes au XV^{e} siècle", in: Jean Aubin (ed.), *La découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe*, Braga 1990, 141–58, here 156; Renato Lefevre, "Riflessi etiopici nella cultura europea del Medioevo e del Rinascimento", *Annali Lateranensi* 9, 1945, 331–444; CerPal I, 102–07; Metodio Carobbio da Nembro, "Martirio ed espulsione in Etiopia", in: Josef Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum: 1622–1972*, vol. 1, part 1: *1622–1700*, Roma 1971, 624–49; Gaudenzio Manfredi, *Ricerche sull'origine del "Praefectus Missionis" e la prefettura d'Egitto-Etiopia affidata ai frati minori*, Cairo 1958, 14–18.

Andreu Martínez

Franco-Ethiopian treaty of friendship and commerce ↗Kłobukowski treaty

French language

Expansion of the F. in the Horn of Africa began at the end of the 19th cent. Due to its imposition as a colonial language, F. spread rapidly along the French Somali coast, penetrating into independent Ethiopia.

Several factors caused this rapid diffusion of F. within Ethiopia, an independent country without proper colonial links with France. First, there was the establishment of the new railway (↗Railways) connection between the port of ↗Djibouti and the new capital of *aṣe* Mənilək II, Addis Abäba. As a consequence, F. was adopted by all the railway workers; F. involvement in that project can still be seen nowadays in the names of the stations and locomotives. At the same time, it became the *lingua franca* of merchants and traders who used the railway to trade inland. Second, the organization of the school system, including the technical schools such as those in ↗Dərre Dawa, that hosted the headquarters of the Compagnie du chemin de fer franco-éthiopienne (C.F.E.). Teaching played a fundamental role in the success of the language. Until the 1950s, the colonial administration in Djibouti entrusted teaching to the ↗Franciscan sisters of Calais and the brothers of the Institut Saint Gabriel.

In Ethiopia, the work of the Capuchin missionaries and teachers of the schools opened by l'Alliance Française at Dərre Dawa and Addis Abäba helped F. penetrate Ethiopian society (↗Capuchins). These private schools had the financial support of the C.F.E., who in turn received from them its future F.-speaking technicians. Furthermore, the various institutions run by the missionaries – schools, seminaries, hospitals - provided important numbers of trained personnel for the administration. In addition to this, F. also appealed to members of the court and the Imperial family.

The third important factor was the F.-speaking press. The first F. newspapers in the Horn were edited either by the Compagnie Impériale des Chemins de Fer Éthiopiens (C.I.É.) – like *Le Djibouti* which appeared between 1899 and 1903 – or by the ↗Capuchins, and thus were printed in F. In 1905, the Capuchins moved the Saint Lazare printing-house from Harär to Dərre Dawa. Their press produced not only cathechisms, but also the *Journal officiel de la Côte française des Somalis*, *Le ↗Semeur d'Ethiopie* and *Le ↗Courrier d'Ethiopie*. These were, however, papers with a very small readership (less than 2,000 subscribers), modest in comparison to the readers of the Amharic press.

After World War II, F. became the main language in the territory under F. suzerainty. With the Republic of Djibouti's independence, F. became one of the official languages. Nowadays it plays a prominent role in schools with the younger generations mastering both the written and the oral form. It is also widely used in the press, e.g. the main newspaper *La Nation*, heir of the *Réveil de Djibouti*. In the national television it is broadcast alongside ᶜAfar, Arab and Somali-speaking programmes.

Unlike in Djibouti, in Ethiopia the cultural influence of France has always been heavily influenced by the diplomatic relations between the two nations. Under ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I there were some important steps forward for F. culture in Ethiopian society. Founded in 1948, the Lycée Franco-Éthiopien Guebre-Mariam offered a full-F. curriculum, from infants to high school. The Alliance Française, very active from Addis Abäba to Dərre Dawa, opened schools for children and adults and also organized exhibitions and film presentations. The veterinary mission at ↗Däbrä Zäyt, the Technical College of the Municipalities, which opened in 1970 in Addis Abäba, and the activities of the Archaeological Mission since 1952 are other examples of F. activities that helped propagate the language within Ethiopia. Additionally, F. remained the most frequently used language among the Ethiopian railway technicians, who often attend professional internships organized by the Société Nationale des Chemins de Fer Français. With the arrival in power of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam (↗Revolution), F. expansion suffered a major setback. The civilian and military personnel (volunteers of the National Service) working in the schools were forced to leave and the missionary schools and those of the Alliance Française were closed. Little by little F. lost ground to English, the last French stronghold being the railway staff.

Lit.: Colette Dubois – Jean-Michel Kasbarian – Ambroise Queffelec (eds.), *L'expansion du français dans les Suds (XVe–XVIIe siècles): hommage à Daniel Baggioni: actes du Colloque d'Aix-en-Provence, mai 1998,* Aix-en-Provence 2000; Remi Leroux, *Le Réveil de Djibouti. Simple outil de propagande ou véritable reflet de société?*, Paris 1998; Sylvia Pankhurst, *Ethiopia. A Cultural History*, London 1955; Jean-Dominique Penel, *L'école à Djibouti 1888–1977*, Djibouti 1998; Père Aloys, *Capucins missionnaires en Afrique orientale*, Toulouse 1931; Alain Rouaud, "Un journal éthiopien en langue française: le Courrier d'Ethiopie 1913-1936", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 711–24.

Colette Dubois

French Somaliland ↗Djibouti

Frobenius, Leo Viktor

F. (b. 29 June 1873, Berlin, d. 9 August 1938, Biganzolo, Italy) was an ethnologist and cultural historian with an autodidactic background who became one of the most famous researchers on Africa during the first half of the 20th cent. Between 1904 and 1935 he carried out twelve expeditions to various African countries to collect ethnographic data, oral traditions, material objects, folk tales and documentation of ↗rock-art. As a theoretician, he developed the idea of "cultural morphology" which conceives of cultures as living organisms, i.e. they are born, undergo their childhood, their youth, their manhood, their old age and finally their death. They are dominated by "Paideuma", a kind of cultural soul which is considered to act more or less independently of men.

The 1915 expedition of Leo Frobenius hiding below deck on an Arabic boat going between Kunfuda and Massawa; from left to right: Frobenius, Robert Türstig, Albert Martius, Friedrich Solomon Hall, Hieronymus Kistenfeger and Abdul Fadal; photo, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (no. 07–8091)

Irrationalist ideas of this type have temporarily exerted a certain fascination, but they have always met scepticism and have been mostly discarded by modern research. However, many data of F.'s field research proved to be of lasting value.

In World War I F. was appointed by the Supreme Command of imperial Germany to carry out a mission to north-eastern Africa aiming at provoking counterinsurgency actions against the entente powers in this region. However, this enterprise (1914–15) totally failed and the Italian colonial administration of Eritrea forced F. to return to Europe. The only scientific result of this journey was the documentation of some sites of prehistoric rock-paintings in the ↗Ḥamasen region. Although he never personally resumed field research in this area, F. preserved a vivid interest in north-eastern Africa and later initiated the expedition of his collaborator Adolf ↗Jensen to southern Ethiopia in 1934–35. The institute named after him, the ↗Frobenius Institut, in 1946 became an important centre of ethnological/anthropological studies on Ethiopia from the 1950s onwards.

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "Frobenius as Political Agent: Journey to Eritrea in 1915", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 553–61; HANS-JÜRGEN HEINRICHS, *Die fremde Welt, das bin ich. Leo Frobenius: Ethnologe, Forschungsreisender, Abenteurer*, Wuppertal 1998; HERMANN NIGGEMEYER, "Das wissenschaftliche Schrifttum von Leo Frobenius", *Paideuma* 4, 1950, 377–418.

Ulrich Braukämper

Frobenius-Institut

The F.I. traces its origin back to the *Afrika-Archiv* ('African Archive') founded by Leo ↗Frobenius in Berlin in 1898. After World War I, this institution was transferred to Munich and was renamed *Forschungsinstitut für Kulturmorphologie*. In 1925 it moved to Frankfurt am Main and in 1946 adopted the name of its founder. The F.I. devoted itself to the advancement of cultural historical research, with a particular interest in Africa. From 1904 onwards, the F.I. organized numerous scientific expeditions.

The first mission to Ethiopia in 1914–15, lead by Frobenius himself, aimed at provoking political counterinsurgency in accord with the German military interests in north-eastern Africa. The expedition, however, failed completely since the Italian administration of the ↗Colonia Eritrea became suspicious and forced its participants to return to Europe. The researchers just had time to carry out minor explorations on prehistoric ↗rock-art sites in the ↗Ḥamasen region. The first expedition of the F.I. to southern Ethiopia (↗Konso, ↗Gideᵓo/Därasa and ↗Gurage) was carried out by Adolf ↗Jensen, Hellmut Wohlenberg and Alf Bayrle 1934–35. Among the data collected, some is worth mentioning: substantial documentation of age-grade systems of the ↗*gadaa* type; information on important carving production, especially stone monuments and wooden grave-effigies and collections of folk tales.

After World War II, Jensen, who by then had become director of the F.I., resumed the tradition of ethnological field research in southern Ethiopia with two more expeditions, in 1950–52 and 1954–56. During the first journey he was accompanied by Eike ↗Haberland, Willy Schulz-Weidner and Elisabeth Pauli. Haberland and Pauli again, along with Helmut ↗Straube and Wolfgang Kuls, followed him on the second journey. During the first expedition of 1950–52 the researchers worked mainly among the *Altvölkers* ('culturally archaic peoples') west of the Rift Valley, such as the Baka, ↗Šangama, ↗Ubamär, ↗Basketo, ↗Dime, Male, ↗Banna and ↗Hamär. Between 1954 and 1956 they extended their field research eastwards and visited groups such as the ↗Koorete, ↗Burği, ↗Wälaytta, ↗Sidaama and, within the Oromo cluster, the subgroups ↗Guğği and ↗Arsi. With Haberland as director since 1967, new expeditions of ethno-anthropological fieldwork in southern Ethiopia were initiated. Two further missions were organized for 1970–71 and 1972–74, where Haberland himself, along with Siegfried Seyfarth, Werner Lange and Ul-

Frobenius-Expedition in southern Ethiopia; Eike Haberland with Boorana men; 1950/52; photo courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (no. 23–Ha222–04)

rich Braukämper participated. Information was collected among the Wälaytta, ↗Dawro, ↗Gofa, ↗Dizi, ↗Gimira, Hinnario (↗Ǝnnarya), ↗Boša, Šeka, ↗Käfa, ↗Hadiyya and ↗Kambaata.

The surveying and thorough investigation of the hitherto least-documented ethnic groups of Ethiopia had been a central goal of the F.I. Such a research-oriented tradition ended in the mid-1970s due to shifts in the interests of the Institute and was only resumed after Haberland's death in 1992.

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "Der Beitrag der deutschen Ethnologie zur Äthiopien-Forschung", in: PIOTR O. SCHOLZ (ed.), *Von Hiob Ludolf bis Enrico Cerulli. Akten der 2. Tagung von Orbis Aethiopicus*, Warszawa 2001 (Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica 8), 159–70; VSAe I, II, III; ADOLF E. JENSEN (ed.), *Im Lande des Gada*, Stuttgart 1936.

Ulrich Braukämper

Fruits

In Ethiopia, a large number of wild and cultivated F. are cherished by the society. In botany a F. is the organ of angiospermous plants containing the seeds; it develops from the ovary of the flower. In common use, the term connotes conventional F., i.e. a horticultural category of useful plants in which the F.-pulp, juice, skin or other parts are consumed by humans. Life of early humans who largely led a nomadic life relied on wild F. With the development of agriculture, many F.- trees began to be cultivated. In Ethiopia, monks, hermits and nuns in monasteries and secluded churches have traditionally largely depend on F. Modern F. were first introduced into church gardens (the earliest record of introduced F.-trees comes from a monastery in Eritrea) and then into palaces and homes of the privileged members of society. Having F. trees in the garden and around the house (homegarden, *yäg^{w}aro ərša*) has generally been a sign of prestige.

There are many wild indigenous fruits in Ethiopia, the most common including *ənkoy* (monkey-guava), *agam* (Carissa plum), *qäga* (Abyssinian rose), *košəm* (wild key-apple), *yäʾəräñña qolo*, *šola*, *ənğorri*, *awəṭ* (cape gooseberry), *q^{w}əlq^{w}al* ↗*bäläs* (prickly pear), *ğäğğäba*, *wanza*, *q^{w}ərq^{w}əra/gäba* (Christ-thorn/ jujube).

The most commonly cultivated F. include citruses (orange lime/lemon, citron, grapefruit and mandarin), avocado, papaya, banana cherimoya, tree-tomato, mango, fig, strawberry, passion-fruit, pomegranate, egg-plant, loquat, pineapple, guava, grapes, and peach.

Lit.: RODNEY HARLAN, "Ethiopia: a Centre of Diversity", *Economic Botany* 23, 1969, 309–14; ID., *Crops and Man*, Madison 1975, ^{2}1992; MICHAEL JOHN THORNLEY NORMAN – C.J. PEARSON – P.G.E. SEARLE, *The Ecology of Tropical Food Crops*, Cambridge – New York ^{2}1995; IRVIN ELDIE SIEGENTHALER, *Useful Plants of Ethiopia*, Alemaya 1962/63 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.] (Imperial Ethiopian College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, Jimma Experiment Station – Oklahoma State University, Bulletin 14–1), 31; ZEMEDE ASFAW, *Survey of Indigenous Food Crops, their Preparations and Home Gardens in Ethiopia. Indigenous African Food Crops and Useful Plants*, Nairobi 1997 (The United Nations University, Institute for Natural Resources in Africa, Series B6).

Zemede Asfaw

Frumentius ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan

Fuga

The term F. (or Fuga'a) indicates an endogamous social group in ↗Gurage, ↗Kambaata, ↗Yäm and ↗Hadiyya. The F. can be categorized as ↗marginalized people to whom the dominating majority of society traditionally accorded the lowest rank among all social strata. Only slaves had a lesser status. Although the term F. is considered to be derogatory, it is still used in unofficial public discourse and even in academic literature. To prevent discrimination, the F., like other marginalized groups in Ethiopia, are designated according to their traditional occupations as "potters", "tanners", "artisans" or "hunters". Under the *Därg* regime, they were also called "workers", and in Gurage the name "Amarika" ('American') was introduced (Freeman — Pankhurst 2003:28ff., 32). As another positive name, "Betä Ǝsraʾel" is sometimes used because some F. claim connection to the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel.

There are different explanations concerning the origin of the F. While they themselves frequently claim to have migrated from the north

Fuga in Hossäyna, 1970/71; photo courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (1.02.09.06)

("Gondär") together with certain clans of commoners, they are often seen as indigenous to the region by the peasant population. Braukämper (1983:38) calls Kambaata an "old centre of the Fuga", from where they spread to Hadiyya and other places. The F. are heterogeneous in descent and also have genealogical linkages to other marginalized groups.

The F. are traditionally engaged in woodworking, pottery and tanning (in Gurage the tanners build a separate, less marginalized, but also discriminated group, the Buda or Geze). A division of labour between women and men can be observed: women work as potters, while men work as tanners or woodworkers. Before the number of game animals in the region was severely reduced in the 20th cent., the F. had supplemented their food supply by hunting with bow and (poisoned) arrow and with the help of dogs. Some F. groups are engaged as musicians and jesters at burial feasts, where they beat drums and entertain the participants, e.g., by imitating monkeys. F. also work as cirumcizers, but this occupation is also carried out by commoners.

The dominating majority, before the 1975 land reform, did not allow the F. to own land. The F. had to honour the commoners with degrading forms of greeting. They had to eat apart from the commoners and were given the "F.'s share" from slaughtered animals, i.e. the entrails or the lower back and feet, which were considered as impure by the commoners. This, and the consumption of the "polluted" meat of hippopotamus and other animals hunted by the F., as well as their "unclean" occupations as potters and tanners qualified the F. as impure in a ritual sense. Consequently, they were considered to have the "evil eye" (↗*Buda*) and were not allowed to work in the *ənsät* gardens or with the cattle, because they were accused of destroying the fertility of the soil and of the livestock (ShGurage 10).

The F. should not be reduced to their marginalized status. They do have their own history, their own clan system(s) and their own customs, including their own legal code (Braukämper 1983: 188; ShGurage 10). For the commoners and the whole socio-economic system, the F. played an indispensable role and their craft products and technologies were vital. Their despised status did not hinder the F. from participating in the wars of the commoners and to serve as guardians. Additionally important were their ritual and symbolic functions. In the Kambaata kingdom, e.g., F. served as heralds of the king who beat drums and blew bamboo trumpets to announce important events (Braukämper 1983:140, 159, 188).

The F. traditionally shared the religious systems of the societies of which they formed part of, but they also had their own locally diversified cults. In Kambaata and Hadiyya, for instance, the F. followed the possession cults of the spirits/deities *Funna* and *Ğihon* (Braukämper 1983:259). In Gurage a deity called *Kusiye* and in Yäm *Kitnitsi* were venerated. Especially in Gurage, the F. served as ritual experts in the autochtonous folk-religion. Thus, the leader of the *mʷəyät* associations of women connected with the cult of ↗*Dämʷamʷit* was a F. (Freeman – Pankhurst 2004:31; ShGurage 133ff.).

↗Pottery; ↗Handicrafts

Lit.: DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST (eds.), *Peripheral People. The Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia.* London 2003, 28–32 and s. index (Lit.); GEBRU WOLDE, *A Study of Attitudes of Gurage towards Fuga*, Senior essay, Department of Sociology, Addis Ababa University 1973; ShGurage 10ff., 132, 133ff.; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Die Kambata. Geschichte und Gesellschaft eines südäthiopischen Bauernvolkes*, Wiesbaden 1983 (SKK 65), s. index; RAYMOND SILVERMAN, *Ethiopia: Traditions of Creativity*, Seattle 1999.

Dirk Bustorf

Fuguug

According to Haberland (VSAe II), the original home of the ↗Oromo was located in the highlands of Bali. In one Oromo tradition, there is a reference to F. – a far away land, which is consistently claimed as the first home of the Oromo, the birthplace of the nation.

Oromo tradition places F. in the south-eastern region. However neither the eastern or western Oromo remember today the exact whereabouts of the land of F. For the Oromo in the ↗Gibe region, F. was located in the east. For the Oromo in ↗Harärge, it was located in the west in the direction of the administrative region of Bale. Accordingly, Oromo pilgrims from Harärge, chanted F. in their prayers on their way to and from the land of ↗*abbaa muudaa* in Mormor in Bale. As late as 1875, the ↗*abbaa gadaa* of Afran Qallu *Čaffee* Assembly was known as *abbaa fuguug* ('the father of F.'), meaning the defender of the sacred land and the protector of traditional Oromo religion that was centered on *abbaa muudaa*.

Among other Oromo, only two things are remembered about the land of F. The first is that the Oromo had common ancestors who had lived in F., long before they moved to Waallaabu. The second is that if someone stayed away from his or her village for a long time and returned, people ask him or her "Have you been to F.?", meaning that the time the person spent away would be enough to go as far as F. This reflects the belief that F. is a far away land, and, perhaps the time at which the ancestors of Oromo, who were engaged in mixed economy, had lived there. Today we find a land of F. and Mount F. in the northern part of the administrative region of ↗Bale, the heartland of historical Bali.

Lit.: ABBA JOBIR ABBA DULA, *Last King of Jimma*, ms.; MOHAMMED HASSEN, *The Relation between Harar and the Surrounding Oromo, 1800–1887*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, 1963; MHasOr; MARTIAL DE SALVIAC, *Un peuple antique au pays de Ménélik: Les Galla (dits d'origine gauloise), grande nation africaine*, Paris 1905.

Mohammed Hassen

Fukkära

F. (ፉከራ, 'boasting, war song or heroic recital') is one of the most deeply rooted and widely appreciated poetic genres in Amharic oral tradition (for the etymology, s. Leslau 1979:230). Under different names, heroic recitals similar to F. are used in many ethnic groups of the Horn of Africa.

F. is the favourite poetic form for peasants, soldiers, hunters and warriors. The skills of composing, improvizing, singing and reciting F. and ቀረርቶ (*qärärto*, 'war cries', 'war songs' or 'heroic recitals' – a closely related genre) are widespread among adolescents and young men. F. are performed at weddings, harvests, funerals, religious feasts and other important social events. Both *qärärto* and F. are performed inside a house and in front of a gathering after plenty of food and alcoholic drinks have been consumed. In the past, F. and *qärärto* were recited mainly by warriors on the battlefield and by hunters when returning from hunting expeditions. Later, in rural society, these genres of Amharic oral poetry have also been employed as a major medium of protest to mediate in cases of social tension and to debate political issues.

The two poetic forms, F. and *qärärto*, are traditionally performed together, whereas they differ in size (F. are shorter than *qärärto*) and style (rhyme, rhythm and versification). First, *qärärto* poems are recited. Their performer is expected to have a pleasant voice, to walk rhythmically and recite his poems repeatedly in order to rouse the attention of others and inspire them to join in the F. Then the performer of F. appears, looking aggressive, heated and militant. He shivers, turns around and shouts loudly. He repeatedly praises himself, his personality and character, the kinds of weapons he has etc.; he mentions the deeds he has already accomplished or what he intends to do in the future. These "heroic deeds" include burning houses, chasing cattle, or killing enemies or adversaries. He then praises his parents, his wife, his friends, his close relatives and his ancestors; and his oxen, his harvest and his birthplace. He also mentions major historical events, names of renowned persons and their adventures. Importantly, the recital of each verse will be confirmed and approved by his agemates and friends and by the crowd at large.

In Goǧǧam, while reciting F., the performer usually brandishes a hand gun or rifle, a spear, sword and shield or a hand stick (ሽመል, *šəmäl*) and begins by uttering repeatedly the most widely used and established exclamatory expressions, such as እምቢ (*əmbi*!, lit. 'no!' or 'one who refuses'), ዘራፍ (*zärraf*!, lit. 'one who slays with a sword', 'killer', 'combatant') or የኮስትር፡ አሽከር (*yäkostər aškär*!, 'the servant of Kostər [the "horse-name" of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Bälay Zälläqä]) etc.

It has been a common tradition for Ethiopian royalty and nobility to watch *qärärto* and F. performed by their soldiers and followers after lavish banquets, or during war campaigns and other important religious and social events, whereby the performers would receive a variety of rewards. At such occasions, kings or nobles would often join in and perform F. themselves or would give poems to their favourite singers; the reciters of F. would praise the rulers, referring to them by their horse-names. Speedy, a British officer who visited Ethiopia in 1861–62, had the opportunity to hear F. sung by soldiers after victories at the court of *aṣe* TewodrosII: "On such occasions the men would utter war cries calling themselves *yätewodros barya* ['slave of Tewodros'] and would boast of the numbers they had slain. Horsemen who had distinguished themselves in battle would dash up at full gallop before the king's tent, suddenly reining in their horses, while foot-soldiers, brandishing their swords or quivering their lances, would go through a war dance and as each time in a turn recounts his deeds of prowess, his comrades would confirm his boast by crying out *əwnät*, *əwnä* ['(it is) true]" (quoted after Pankhurst 1985:51). One of the most famous F. praising Tewodros is the following recital (*ibid.* 60):

የቴዎድሮስ፡ ፈረስ፡ ትልቁ፡ ታጠቅ፡ ትንሹ፡ ጉሎ፡
ጅራቱ፡ ትግሬ፡ ግምባሩ፡ ወሎ።

'Tewodros's big horse is Taṭäq, the small one Gullo.
Its tail is in Təgre, its forehead in Wällo.'

Another popular F. poem praises *däǧǧazmač* ↗Balča Safo "Abba Näfso", one of the prominent officers of *aṣe* Mənilək II at the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa; it is said to have been recited after *fitawrari* Gäbäyyähu, another prominent commander, died in the fighting (TSTarik IV, 117; Bairu Tafla 1969:15f.; MahZekr 886):

ገበየሁ፡ ቢሞት፡ ተተካ፡ ባልቻ፡
መድፍ፡ አገላባጭ፡ ብቻ፡ ለብቻ።

'At the death of Gäbäyyähu, Balča took his place,
He [who] operates the artillery alone [and alone]'.

A well-known F. is said to have been recited by the Patriot *däǧǧazmač* Bälay Zälläqä, during a military parade in front of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in Däbrä Marqos on 6 April 1941, when the Emperor had just entered Ethiopia on returning from the exile:

ባንዲራው፡ የዘለቀ፡ ልጅ
ጣሊያንን፡ ደምሳሽ፡
የኢትዮጵያ፡ ደም፡ መላሽ።

'The son of Zälläqä, the flag.
He who defeats Italy,
He who avenges Ethiopia.'

F. recitals are colourfully performed by the Ethiopian veterans at important national holidays, such as the commemoration of the victory at ᶜAdwa (2 March) and Independence Day (5 April). Over the past few decades, the government has used *qärärto* and F. on radio and television during times of war as an important medium of propaganda to inspire the people and rouse their courage or to recruit soldiers.

↗Amharic literature; ↗Meritorious complex

Src.: KTMast; KaneDic 2328; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (*Ethiopic*), Wiesbaden 1979, vol. 3, 230; MahHorse; MahZekr 875–86.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Four Ethiopian Biographies: Däjjazmač Gärmamé, Däjjazmač Gäbrä Egziᶜabhér Moroda, Däjjazmač Balča and Käntiba Gäbru Dästa", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 1–31; GETIE GELAYE, "Contemporary Amharic Oral Poetry from Gojjam: Classification and a Sample Analysis", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 124–43; ID., *Amharic Oral Poems of the Peasantry in East Gojjam: Text, Classification, Translation and Commentary*, Hamburg – Münster – London 2001; ID., "Amharic Praise Poems of *Däǧǧazmač* Bälay Zälläqä and the Patriots of Goǧǧam during the Resistance Struggle against the Italian Occupation of Ethiopia, 1936–1941", in: *PICES* 15, in preparation; ID., "Qärärto and Fukkära as Forms of Praise and Protest among the Rural People of Goggam in Ethiopia", paper presented at the 5th *International Society for Oral Literature in Africa Conference*, Banjul, 15–17 July 2004; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music, an Introduction*, London 1968, 75f.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "An Amharic War Song of Emperor Tewodros's Soldiers", *JES* 17, 1985, 51–62; TSTarik IV, 117.

Getie Gelaye

Fulḍo

F. is the commonly used short form for *toola fulḍo* (family/association of the F.), an organization of artisans and merchants in south-western Ethiopia centred in ↗Konso.

Around 1910, in order to resist oppression, some of the pre-existing local craftsmen's associations formed an alliance. Its position was strengthened in the 1940s under the leadership of Kuyo Fulḍo (his lineage-name stands today for

Fulḍo assembly hall; photo courtesy of the author

the whole institution). He introduced several innovations, e.g., promoting interactions across ethnic boundaries and allowing persons who did not belong to the group of hereditary artisans (*ṭawḍa*) to join the association if they were willing to fulfil certain obligations. The primary aim was to assure production and distribution of the products made by artisans, including the procuring of raw materials and of cattle for meat and hides.

Since the death of Kuyo Fulḍo in 1974, elected committees are responsible for the internal and external affairs of this guild-like organization. They create their own laws and structure their organization by themselves.

F. reacted flexibly to recent political and economic changes, albeit by using their own cultural capital and that of their neighbours as well. Outside Konso they interact with local networks of bond-friendships or with local ↗*əqqub*. It is due to the F. associations with their complex network of contacts that peaceful interaction on an inter-ethnic level is possible, even in times of unsafe political conditions. The F. built step by step a new and powerful form of co-operation that controlled craft and trade. Nowadays they are able to guarantee a secure and fair exchange of local and foreign goods in the area between the Omo River in the west, Moyaḷe on the Kenyan border in the south-east and Šašämänne in the north. There are 38 subcommittees in different places and a great number of accredited persons in towns as far as Addis Abäba (2003).

The strength of the *toola fulḍo* is their reliability. Mutual help, confidence and solidarity are its ethical pillars. Persons who violate these principles are summoned to an assembly, where they must then admit their fault, show remorse and agree to the nature of the punishment. Otherwise, they are expelled from the association. The threat of expulsion is the only power the guild has, but it a very effective one. Actual problems are immediately discussed in the committees until they find a consensus. Cases that cannot be solved on a local level, as well as matters concerning the whole guild-network are discussed in the assembly hall (*tiga fulḍo*) in Konso. It is here, at the centre of the organization, that a supra-regional committee consisting of a limited number of elected representatives meets.

The F. organization was able, without any foreign help or aid from the government, to develop into the most influential indigenous co-operation system in southern Ethiopia.

↗Ǝddər

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, *Differenzierung und Integration. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Handwerkern und Spezialisten in südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990, ch. 4, 2; ID., "Mobility, Knowledge and Power: Craftsmen in the Borderland", in: GÜNTHER SCHLEE — ELIZABETH WATSON, *Changing Identifications and Alliances in North-East Africa*, Oxford, vol. 1, in preparation; ID., "Gaining Power through Ethos: Fuldʾo, a South-Ethiopian Guild", in: *PICES* 15, in preparation; TADESSE WOLDE, "Entering Cattle Gates – Trade, Bond Friendship and Group Interdependence", in: JON ABBINK (ed.), *Cultural Variation and Social Change in Southern Ethiopia: Comparative Approaches*, Michigan 2000 (NEASt 7, 3), 119–62.

Hermann Amborn

Fumagalli, Giuseppe

F. (b. 1863, Florence, d. 1939, Florence) worked as a librarian since 1880 (Florence, Lucca, Padua and, since 1884, at the National Library in Rome) and promptly acquired an extraordinary competence in the cataloguing of printed books and in all aspects of bibliography and library science. Soon he reached positions of high responsibility (despite the lack of a university degree, due to family reasons): assistant director of the National Library of Brera, Milan, then in Rome (Biblioteca Alessandrina), Naples (University Library) and in 1896 again in Milan as director till 1910, then in Modena and in 1913 at the University Library of Bologna. F. retired in 1921 in Florence. His ideas, clearly exposed in a series of frequently reprinted handbooks and other contributions (cf. Vian 1940), were to shape the organization of Italian libraries for decades. F.'s bibliographical masterpiece is the *Lexicon typographicum Italiae* (Florence 1905). In 1893 (but actually in 1892) F. published his main contribution to ↗Ethiopian Studies, the famous *Bibliografia etiopica* (later resumed by Silvio ↗Zanutto; for some corrections and additions cf. Stella 1984), a comprehensive survey and catalogue of all printed works on Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia up to 1891 (2,722 and 36 additional entries). Also a writer, F. was influential on various aspects of the cultural life of his time: a member of the "Dante Alighieri" Society and a fervent nationalist, F. belonged since 1888 to the "Società Coloniale Italiana"; in 1906, on the occasion of the exhibition on communications, travels and transportation (Milan), F. sponsored the Eritrean section and, in 1931, organized an exhibition of the colonial book at the first Conference of Colonial Studies (Florence).

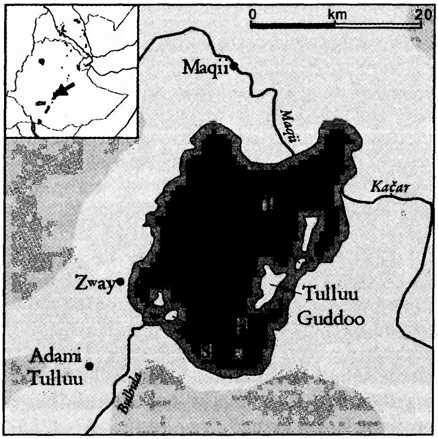
Src.: GIUSEPPE FUMAGALLI, *Bibliografia etiopica. Catalogo descrittivo e ragionato degli scritti pubblicati dalla invenzione della stampa fino a tutto il 1891 intorno alla Etiopia e regioni limitrofe*, Milano 1893.

Lit.: GUIDO FAGIOLI VERCELLONE, "Fumagalli, Giuseppe", in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 50, Roma 1998, 723–26 (Lit.); JOHANNES KAROLUS STELLA, *Bibliographia Habessinica, sive librorum de rebus Aethiopicis Catalogus, editorum usque ad annum 1799...*, Ravenna 1984; N. VIAN, *Giuseppe Fumagalli, bibliografia 1880–1939 ...*, Firenze 1940 (complete list of F.'s publications).

Alessandro Bausi

Funduroo

F. (Oromo lit. 'close-in', Amh. ፉንዱሮ, Funduro, also Fulduro) is the smallest of the five inhabited islands in Lake ↗Zʷay. Its ancient name, still used by the ↗Zay, is Famat. It lies close to the Arsi shore on the east side of the lake at the east end of the channel separating ↗Tulluu Guddoo from Ṭädačča. F. has been inhabited since at least the 13th cent. and as of 2002 retains a small population of weavers and fishermen. The northern half of the island is occupied by cotton and grain fields and house sites; the southern half is a papyrus swamp. Its modest church is Arbaᶜətu Ənsəsa, dedicated to the Four Living Beings of the Revelation of St. John. According to tradition, it was founded in the 13th cent., the same time as the other Zʷay island churches.



Lit.: PAUL B. HENZE, "Lake Zway and its Islands", *EthObs* 16, 2, 1973, 76–88; ID., *Ethiopian Journeys*, London 1977, 109–12; ID., "Lake Zway – Southern Christian Outpost and Repository of Medieval Art", in: *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Ethiopian Art*, London 1989, 30–40; VSAe II, 647–77 ["Die Zay"].

Paul B. Henze

Funduroo island; photo courtesy of the author

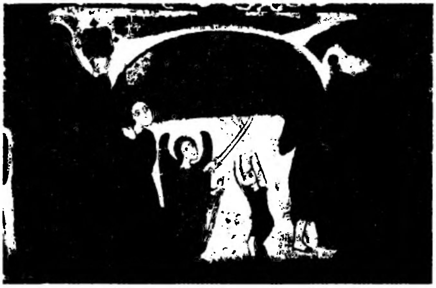
Funerals

In the Christian part of Ethiopia (for ceremonies related to mourning in other regions of Ethiopia s. also ↗Burials) F. were governed, through the Orthodox Church, by the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät* which comprised prayers, sermons and benedictions. The dead, according to the early 16th-cent. author Alvares (BeckHuntAlvar 111), were first washed with water, and then wrapped in a shroud. They were buried the day they expired, with incense and holy water, and with the priests reciting from the Gospel of St. John. Mourners would shave their heads, allow their beards to grow and dress in black.

Mourning for the dead took place, according to the 17th-cent. Jesuit observer de Almeida (BeckHuntAlm 66f.), for several days. Lament started during night and lasted well into daylight. All the deceased's relatives and friends assembled with professional female mourners. The latter to the sound of the drum, clapped their palms together, beat their breasts and uttered "heart-breaking lamentations".

Another Portuguese Jesuit, Barradas, writing on Təgray in 1634, describes a variety of ways of mourning - far wider than earlier authorities suggest. The "chief expression of sorrow" was for mourners to shave their heads. Persons of low rank wishing to show their deep grief went "unclothed above the waist". Close relatives, when learning of a death, hurled themselves to the ground, even if on horseback.

Many women mourners wore leather skirts, and played small drums as they made their way to the church. A widespread sign of mourning was the wearing of "black" clothes. These were so coloured with clay or earth, or dirtied by excessive use (later observers hold that clothes were covered with earth to emulate the corpse which was so covered in the grave). Yet another practice mentioned by Barradas, but by no other observer, was for men and women mourners to tie ribbons of white cloth round their heads, the points hanging down the back of the head. These ribbons, a finger wide, were allegedly worn on the F. day and for several days thereafter.



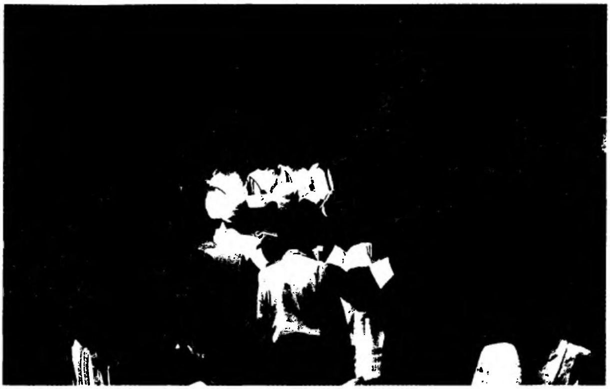
Funerary procession with the remains of St. Mary; cloth mural; Amanuʾel Church, Balči, Sankora, eastern Šäwa; *mäqdäs* south wall; second half of the 19th cent.; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Barradas reports that it was customary to display such personal possessions as the deceased held in highest esteem: his horse and mule, as well as sword, shield and spear. Once the body was placed in the ground, friends and relatives would sit in a circle around the grave, after which professional women mourners would perform their lamentations (Barradas 1996:65, 87-90).

Further precision on early F. was provided by *abba* Gorgoryos (Ludolf 1693:441), who explained that the dead were buried in the church or in its precinct. Hymns and prayers were read and when the corpse is carried out, a cross is borne in front. It was also customary at an early time to bury ↗magical scrolls with the deceased (Parkyns 1853, vol. 1, 52; Walker 1933: 53; Mercier 1997:44–61).

Confirmation of most of the above reports was provided by Poncet. Reporting on the death of the *abun*, in 1699, he states that *aṣe* Iyasu I was "inconsolable", bewailed twice a day for two weeks, and put on purple clothes of mourning for six weeks (Foster 1948:124). The death of Iyasu I's son Fasilädas in the following year likewise led to great mourning. Poncet, then in the country of the *baḥr nägaš*, states that the news was "made public with the sound of trumpet". People shaved their heads and women with tabors, and men without, then placed themselves in the middle of the hall, and began to sing songs in honour of the deceased. Many people in the hall displayed their sorrow by tearing their faces, till they were covered in blood, or burnt their temples with flaming candles, while the common people outside uttered moving lamentations (Poncet in Foster 1948:149f.). The tearing of people's temples was confirmed in the 18th cent. by Bruce (BruNile, vol. 3, 350), who tells of women leaving their index fingers for that purpose uncut.

The mourning ceremony, according to Poncet, lasted for three full days. In the house of the deceased all neighbours gathered and joined the kindred in their bewailing. The washed and wrapped corpse is placed in a coffin in the middle of the hall with flambeaux of wax. After this the weeping and crying increases and little tabors are beaten. Some of the participants pray for the soul of the deceased while others recite praising, tear



Reburial of Ḫaylä Śəllase I, 5 November 2000, courtyard of the Holy Trinity Cathedral in Addis Abäba; photo courtesy of Thomas Rave

their hair, scratch their faces or burn their flesh with flambeaus. This ceremony is followed by the procession to take away the corpse. It starts with the singing of psalms and the burning of incense. The head of the procession holds an iron cross and a prayer book, then the body is carried while psalms are sung. The body is followed by relatives and friends of the deceased who continue their cries and use the tabors. At the place of burial the oblations of incense are renewed and psalms are sung while the body is put into the ground. Poncet reports that prestigious persons have their graves in the church while the others are buried in the common churchyards. After the burial the participants return to the house of the deceased. There, for a period of three days, night and morning, they stay and wail. State mourning was also extensive, for, when a prince or person of eminence died, the emperor withdrew himself from business unless it was very pressing (Foster 1948:150f.).

The establishment of Gondär, in the 17th cent., was followed by the erection of a **ቤተ፡ ተዝካሮ** (*betä täzkaro*), building allocated for F. celebrations (GuiIyas 224 [tr.]). That of *aṣe* Bäkaffa in 1730 was not equalled, the royal chronicle claims, by that of Josef for his son Yaᶜəqob (GuiIyas 33). It was by then customary at Gondär royal F. to parade not only the deceased's mules and horses, but also an effigy of the deceased (GuiIyas 32, 162f., 178f. [tr.]). Several royal mausolea were likewise constructed in late 18th- and early 19th-cent. Šäwa, notably at Ankobär by *märədazmač* ↗Ammǝḫa Iyäsus and *ras* ↗Wäsän Sägäd (Pankhurst 1982:188–91).

On the death of the *nəburä əd*, the governor of Aksum, in 1811, Pearce (1831, vol. 1, 85) reports that there was "great crying" throughout Təgray, and that its governor, *ras* Wäldä Śəllase, gave the priests the 100 Maria Theresia thalers' worth of cloth. The priests, Pearce comments, "always get well paid when any great man dies, and from the poor they get part of what property they may leave behind". On the subsequent death of the *ras's* brother, Däbäb, the mourners scratched their faces, with the result that "there was not an individual to be seen but with his face torn, and scratched, and covered with blood" (Pearce 1831, vol. 1, 264). The death in battle of *däǧǧazmač* Säbägadis of Təgray in 1831 likewise moved the populace to such sadness that they sung a dirge (quoted by Gobat 1847:250f.), "every evening, weeping, in all the Amhara country". Such songs were traditional (Plowden 1847:54f.; for other dirges s. De Castro 1915:314–18).

F. in early 19th-cent. Gondär were no less extensive. Gobat (1847:155), reporting the death of the Emperor's wife there in 1830, states that there was a "great crowd of people around the palace, who wept, singing to the doleful sound of the tabor", and that on the previous day nearly all inhabitants of the city assembled round the palace to mourn.

Gobat describes a mourning period of eight days, where all friends of the deceased's nearest relatives come to his family's home to sit there for a while to console and for condolence. The mourners stay in silence, some weep or pretend to weep and when one of them stands up to leave he says in low voice: **እግዚአብሔር፡ የጥናህ** (*Əgziʾabəḥer yäṭnah*!, 'God comfort you!'). The presence at such occasions is obligatory for nearly the whole social network of the deceased.

F. at ᶜAdwa were at that time mainly carried out in the large market place. Mourners seated themselves, according to Parkyns (1853, vol. 2, 63ff.), near a couch, on which was laid "an artificial figure, to represent a corpse, frequently made of cushions and covered with a white garment".

According to Parkyns the custom of scratching the temples was typical only for Təgre while it was considered unlawful by the Amhara. He also reports of professional mourning women at F. of important persons. Turn by turn praises are improvized. They include details of the deceased's ancestry, his deeds, his personality and even his property. At the end of each verse the mourners start sobbing lamentation again. Parkyns gives also an example of exclamations made by a son or daughter of a deceased: "Oh father, who fed and clothed me, whom have I now to supply your place!"

The price for a 40 days' F. mass had to be bargained with the priests. According to the wealth of a family the costs could be six to twelve Maria Theresia thalers or more. Additionally the priests and *däbtära* expected a provision, including a sheep, on the 30th day, the donation of two cows and other items on the 40th day, and on the 80th day they feast and perform a mass at night (Parkyns 1853, vol. 1, 65f.).

The large number of people attending F. was thus an historically on-going aspect of Ethiopian life. To mourn alone was considered a disgrace, and great importance was attached to the መርዶ *(märdo)*, or tidings of death. These could not, however, be imparted freely, for relatives of the deceased had always to be delicately informed, and with extreme caution, prepared for such news (Walker 1933:59–62).

Notwithstanding the importance of F. ceremonies the deaths of important political figures were sometimes kept secret for political reasons, with the result that the F. ceremonial was restricted. When *ras* Wäldä Śəllase died in 1816, the news was thus kept secret, in the interests of public order (Pearce 1831, vol. 2, 83ff.). The deceased body of *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa in 1847 was likewise transported in the hidden for burial (CecZeila vol. 1, 248).

Despite the fact that wars of later times often interfered with F., ceremonies on traditional lines continued to be held. Though *aṣe* Tewodros II's suicide at Mäqdäla in 1868, and the British seizure of the citadel, resulted in a restricted F. ceremony, that of his widow Ṭərunäš at Č̣äläqot later in the year was a major event. Presided over by priests with processional crosses and ceremonial umbrellas, it was the subject of an engraving published in the *Illustrated London News* (Simpson 1868:119–23). Though Yoḥannəs IV's body was captured by the dervishes at Mätämma in 1889, and beheaded, a traditional-style F. was held for him. It is the subject of an Ethiopian popular painting, depicting *ras* Alula leading the Emperor's favourite horse in a F. procession (BudHist vol. 2, 524). *Aṣe* Mənilək's death in 1913, like that of some earlier rulers, was, on the other hand, kept strictly secret for political reasons, with the result that no public F. for the founder of modern Ethiopia took place until over three years after his death. His bones were, however, moved from his palace to a fine new mausoleum, erected by his daughter Empress Zäwditu in 1928 (Marcus 1975:250, 261; Berhanou Abebe 1998:142; GebMolIyas 343, 388f., 402–19). Impressive F. were later staged for *abunä* Matewos in 1926 and Zäwditu in 1930 (GebMolIyas 493–96, 546–49). *Ləǧ* Iyasu was on the other hand afforded no known F. at all.

Traditional F. customs over the centuries were modified as a result of technological innovation. The advent of ↗fire-arms led to the popularization of fusillades, which, by the mid-19th cent., were fired at many F., a practice which was, however, later abandoned (Pearce 1831, vol. 2, 264; Parkyns 1853, vol. 2, 63; Walker 1933:53). The coming of photography was likewise significant. Photographic portraits, often displayed in tents, replaced the effigies of earlier times, as noted at *ras* Mäkʷännən's F. in 1906, and *ətege* Ṭaytu's in 1918 (GueCopMen 521f.; GebMolIyas 547). The improvement of the roads in the early 20th cent. led to the increasing importance of the old monasteries of Däbrä Libanos and Zəqʷäla as burial sites for Addis Abäba residents. *Ras* Täsämma Nadäw was one of the first nobles to be buried at the former site, in 1911. The place grew further in importance after the establishment of hostel facilities in 1925. Persons of substance were interred near the monastery in private mausolea built of stone, while the poor were crammed into caves (GueCopMen 524, 564, 523f.; GebMolIyas 394, 479f.; Walker 1933:58, 63). Tomb-stones, which had scarcely been produced prior to the World War II, likewise began to be introduced. Though most people continued to be buried within a few hours of death some F. of the nobility tended to be delayed, though still effected within the day (Rey 1923:79f.).

Early 20th-cent. evidence tells of other, not previously recorded, aspects of mourning. People might thus be summoned to a F. by the ringing of a large bell, or in lieu thereof the beating of a piece of iron. Probably influenced by the European practice of wearing black the usage of black cloth increased around this time. A more widespread F. dress reported prior to the Fascist invasion included the *šämma* or wrap, trousers and shirt in a single colour, black, yellow, red or blue; and the inversion of the barnos, or cloak, with the red leather part exposed (Walker 1933: 55, 58, 60). After 1941 it likewise became common also for women mourners to invert their *näṭäla*, or wrap, thus raising the *ṭäbäb*, or border, round the neck. The use of black European-style mourning clothes became increasingly widespread after the Liberation, when the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral in Addis Abäba was designated as the burial site of both the Emperor's family and of the Ethiopian Patriots of the occupation period.

↗Burials; ↗Ǝngʷərgʷərro; ↗Fukkära; ↗Graves; ↗Stelae; ↗Täzkar

Src.: WrBriMus 97-102; BeckHuntAlvar 111, 405, 511; BeckHuntAlm 66f.; MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geografici (1634)*, tr. by ELIZABET FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43); HIOB LUDOLF, *Commentarius ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1693, 411; BruNile; GuiIohan; GuiIyas; SalTrav; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *Life and Adventures in Abyssinia*, London 1831, vol. 1, 85, 98, 125f., 196f., 225, 264; vol. 2, 46, 83ff., 168, 216; EDMONDE COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, Paris 1838; SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia*, London 1847, 155, 223f., 250f.; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*, London 1853, vol. 1, 60–69; AbbSéjour, vol. 1, 134; vol. 2, 284–93; vol. 3, 78-85; WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia*, London 1868; WILLIAM SIMPSON, *Diary of a Journey to Abyssinia, 1968*, Hollywood, CA 2002; CecZeila; HarAeth vol. 3, 366ff.; GebMolIyas; GueCopMen.

Lit.: JACQUES MERCIER, *Art that Heals: the Image of Medicine in Ethiopia*, New York 1997; WILLIAM FOSTER, *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Sevententh Century*, London 1948; LINCOLN DE CASTRO, *Nella terra dei Negus*, Milano 1915; BERHANOU ABEBE, *Histoire de l'Ethiopie d'Axoum à la révolution*, Paris 1998; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*, Oxford 1975; CHARLES FERNAND REY, *Unconquered Abyssinia*, London 1923; CRAVEN HOWELL WALKER, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933, 49–63, 206; PankSoc 46, 97f., 196–99; PankHist I; FASSIKA BELLETE, "The Death Customs among the Amharas of Šäwa", in: ALULA PANKHURST (ed.), *Addis Ababa University College Ethnological Society Bulletin Reprint*, Addis Ababa 2002, 204–11; NEGGA TESSEMA, "The Death Customs in the Province of Tigre", *ibid.* 108–15; ANDARGACHEW TESFAYE, "The Funeral Customs of the Kottu of Harar", *ibid.* 216–24; DEBEBEW ZELLELIE, "Täskar or Kurban", *ibid.* 212–25.

Richard Pankhurst

Funǧ

The F. were nomadic pastoralists from southern ↗Nubia who, in a longer process, migrated to ↗Sinnār. Led by ᶜAmāra Dūnqas in the early 16th cent. they entered the area. After defeating the Arabs of the ᶜAbdallāb dynasty at Arbaǧī they established the sultanate of Sinnār. The ᶜAbdallāb *šayḫ* was integrated by accepting his authority over the northern part of the territory.

The F. dynasty of Sinnār dominated the northern Nile-valley in the Sudan from about 1500 to 1821; for Ethiopia, the rise of this powerful new Islamic neighbour presented both opportunities and problems. For example, a strong lowland government could facilitate the overland passage of emissaries and traders to the Mediterranean world via the Nile route, yet the same government could also, and sometimes did, block the passage of travellers to Ethiopia. But the two lands shared a north-east African tradition of statecraft which assured that although they did not always agree, they understood each other well.

During most of the 16th cent. the two African kingdoms cooperated cautiously in resisting the ambitions of the Ottoman Turks. But as the inability of the Turks to sustain their advance inland from the Red Sea coast (↗Habeš) gradually became apparent, *sulṭān* Dakīn b. Nāyil (r. ca. 1568/9–85/6) and his successors sought to fill the vacuum by extending F. authority over the Islamic lowland peoples of Eritrea. As the 17th cent. dawned, a serious revolt within Sinnār brought armies of the powerful northern conqueror ᶜAǧīb "the Great" into the Ethiopian borderlands between the Atbara and the Blue Nile. *Aṣe* ↗Susənyos moved to restore Ethiopian authority over the lowlands by launching a sustained series of campaigns that escalated to major warfare in 1618–19. Thereafter, rivalry between the two kingdoms shifted south and west as they struggled for half a century to dominate the gold-producing realm of Fazuġli, centred in the ↗Bärta country west of the Blue Nile; there the F. enjoyed rather greater success. Relations between Ethiopia and Sinnār stabilized after about 1675, except for *aṣe* Iyasu II's unexpected and unsuccessful invasion of the Sudan in 1744. Thereafter, official relations became ever more tenuous as both lands entered a time of troubles.

At the end of the 17th cent. the unity of the F. kingdom was increasingly challenged by different competing groups. Under *sulṭān* Bādī b. Nūl (r. 1724–62) the dynasty lost its power to the non-F. Abū Liyalik while the hereditary line continued till 1762.

Lit.: Rex S. O'Fahey – Jay L. Spaulding, *Kingdoms of the Sudan*, London 1974, 24, 31ff., 59ff., 94, 137 and passim (Lit.); Jay L. Spaulding, *The Heroic Age in Sinnār*, East Lansing, MI 1985, 21–38 and s. index (Lit.); Manfred Kropp, "Äthiopisch-sudanesische Kriege im 17. Jhdt. 'Someone had blundered!'", in: Rolf Gundlach – Manfred Kropp – Annalis Leibundgut (eds.), *Der Sudan in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (*Sudan Past and Present*), Frankfurt am Main – New York 1996 (Nordostafrikanisch/Westasiatische Studien 1), 111–31; Osbert Guy Stanhope Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar, with a Geographical Account of the Middle Nile Region*, Gloucester 1951; Ṣalāḥaddīn al-Malik, *Šuʿarāʾ al-waṭaniya fī s-Sūdān min ʿahd al-Funǧ ilā ʿām 1970* ('Poets of Patriotism in the Sudan from the Epoch of Funǧ till the Year 1970'), al-Ḫarṭūm 1975; P.M. Holt, "Fundj", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 2, 943–44 (Lit.).

Jay L. Spaulding

Furra

The origin of F., the legendary queen of the ↗Sidaama, is not clear. According to Gasparini (1983:v), she was the wife of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ", known as Diingamo Koyya among the Sidaama). Others claim that F.'s father was an honourable clan-leader during the 14th or 15th cent. and when he passed away, people made her a queen because she was the eldest daughter.

According to some legends, F. was a brutal ruler who, in particular, harshly repressed the men. Thus the males were required to do all household jobs which were customarily done by women. These included preparing food, scraping the *ənsät*, fetching water, cleaning the house etc. Women, on the other hand, seemed to have fared better. F. is said to have advised them not to show the amount of butter which they collect after shaking the milk and never openly to express an affection for men.

F. made some impossible demands, such as bringing fresh milk from Aläta Wändo to her palace in Malgä Wändo (a distance of ca. 80 km), slaughtering for her a bull without chyme, building her a house between the sky and the earth.

A wise old man, *hayyičča*, who escaped F.'s murder of all elder Sidaama, provided ingenious solutions to her challenges. F.'s death was hastened when she demanded a faster means of transport. Thus, according to the ploy of the wise old man, she was put on a hartebeest, to which her legs and hands were tightly bound. Her body-parts started to disintegrate when the hartebeest started to gallop. It is claimed that some present-day place names in Sidaama refer to the body-parts of F. which disintegrated and fell off during her final fatal ride. Thus we have: Dase (*dasa*, 'forearm'), Qege (*qeho*, 'shoulder blade'), Hallo (*hallo*, 'hip'), Qubbe (*qubbe*, 'fingers') etc. Sidaama women have a fond memory of her and she still is mentioned in their lullabies.

A non-governmental institution established in ↗Yərga ʿAläm, Sidaama, in 1997 – the Furra Institute of Development Studies – bears the queen's name.

Src.: Beetana Hotteesso, ሲዳማ፤ ሕዝብና፡ ባህሉ (*Sidama ḥəzbənna bahlu*, 'Sidaama, People and their Culture'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; Armido Gasparini, *Sidamo–English Dictionary*, Bologna 1983, v; Sileshi Worqineh, *Furra*, Sidaama Development Programme, Awasa 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.].

Anbessa Teferra

Fusella, Luigi

F. (b. 16 March 1914, Naples, d. 12 July 1992, Naples), son of a renowned musician and an acclaimed violinist, was a professional lawyer and followed his legal career until the end of his life. Besides this commitment, he was passionately devoted to Amharic language and literature, a branch of Oriental studies in which he achieved a deepened proficiency at the school of Francesco ↗Gallina, then teaching in the ↗Istituto Orientale of Naples, where F., too, was later to hold a chair of ↗Gəʿəz language and literature.

F. was widely reputed on account of his noteworthy literary production on the Amharic language and literature. Among his many essays, memorable are his edition and Italian translation, with a commentary, of an unedited, historically remarkable, Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II of Ethiopia, his abstract and commentary of *Ləbb wälläd tarik*, the first novel in Amharic by ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus, and his commented translation of the vivid, politically minded, biographical narration on *aṣe* Mənilək II by the same author (↗*Dagmawi Mənilək*).

F.'s translations remain a scholarly and effective western contribution to the knowledge and evaluation of the historical trends that marked the flourishing of modern Ethiopia's literature.

Src.: Luigi Fusella, “Il *Dāgmāwi Mĕnilĕk* di Afawårq Gabra Iyasus”, part 1, *RSE* 17, 1961, 11–44; part 2, *ibid.* 19, 1963, 119–49; Id., “Abissinia e Metemma in uno scritto di Bĕlāttā Ḫĕruy”, *ibid.* 3, 2, 1943, 200–13; Id., “Lo statuto del Barequà”, *ibid.* 6, 1, 1947, 46–61; Id., “L'ambasciata francese a Nĕgusē”, *ibid.* 7, 2, 1948, 176–91; Id., “Il Lĕbb wållad tārik”, *ibid.* 10, 1951, 56–70; Id., “Il nuovo codice penale etiopico”, in: *PICES* 2, 212–19; Id. (tr.), “Libro dei giubilei, Libro di Enoc”, in: *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento*, Torino 1981, 181–667; Id., “Il Mangada Samāy”, in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 254–58; Id., “Una poesia amarica di Aqqā Gabru sulla battaglia di Sagalē”, in: *PICES* 6, 133–92; Id., “The Draft Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia”, in: *PICES* 9, vol. 5, 45–57; Id., “Introduction au መጽሐፈ፡ ትዝታ Maṣḥafa tezzetā”, in: Alain Rouaud (ed.), *Les orientalistes sont des aventuriers. Guirlande offerte à Joseph Tubiana par ses élèves et ses amis*, Saint-Maur 1999, 157–60; FusTeod.

Lit.: Lanfranco Ricci, “Luigi Fusella”, *RSE* 34, 1992 [1994, but 1995], 229–32 (Lit.).

Lanfranco Ricci

Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša

The chronicle F.Ḥ. (فتوح الحبشة, ‘the Conquests of Ethiopia’) is a detailed account of the Muslim conquests made in southern, central and northern Ethiopia by the army commanded by *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (“Grañ”), in the second third of the 16th cent. It was compiled by an eye-witness, Šihābaddīn Aḥmad b. ᶜAbdalqādir b. Sālim b. ᶜUṯmān (“ᶜArabfaqīh”, the ‘Arab doctor’; d. after 1559; s. Brockelmann 1944:539f. and 1938:569). He was a Yemeni volunteer who joined the army of the *imām* some time after 1530. The Arabic text of the F.Ḥ. begins with a prolegomenon on the Muslim rule of the progenies of ↗Saᶜdaddīn Abu l-Barakāt in Ethiopia and then proceeds to record the events of the rise of Aḥmad Grañ as *imām*, who swept across Ethiopia in successive battles and campaigns and subjected large parts to fire and sword. The Muslim occupation of Ethiopia and the highlands ended in disaster with heavy losses of manpower and with the death of Aḥmad Grañ himself at Zäntära, near Lake Ṭana (↗Wäyna Däga) on 22 February 1543. The chronicler of Grañ's deeds, ᶜArabfaqīh, relies on various traditions that circulated in Ethiopia. The sources for his detailed, although not entirely systematically arranged, reports are eye-witnesses, e.g. Aḥmad Grañ, *amīr* Ḥusayn b. Abī Bakr al-Ǧātirī and Aḥmaddīn b. Ḫālid b. Muḥammad b. Ḫayraddīn; the author also relies on his own observations and, for the events concerning the Christian armies, on the accounts of various renegades. The detailed narration usually consists of a series of short, detached statements, mostly not preceded by an *isnād*, or chain of authority.

Besides the Ethiopian chronicles, that often pay less attention to the events, the F.Ḥ. represents the only Arabic source of Grañ's campaigns. The Arabic chronicle, covering about two-thirds of the conquest of Ethiopia and ending with the burning of the convent of ↗Gälila in Lake Ṭana invaded with rafts on 18 May 1537, is not extant in full, only the first part being preserved in manuscripts. The concluding part was probably never written, since the author, who had the intention to add a second part, died shortly after 1559 in the Yemenite town of Ǧīzān before he could realize his plan.

The text of the F.Ḥ. is preserved in several manuscripts. One of the oldest, dating from the end of the 17th cent., and also being one of the most valuable, is no. 1628 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Algiers. René ↗Basset used this manuscript along with a later copy (no. 1629, dated 1883) for his edition and annotated French translation, which appeared in Paris 1897–1911 (s. BassHist). He also consulted the partial edition of the first 40 pages issued by Arthur Strong, according to the ms. BritLib Orient. 2409 (19th cent.; Strong 1894). Further, one should consult mss. in Paris: BN, no. 6118 (Collection Mondon-Vidailhet, dated 1193 H. [1779 A.D.]), no. 6628 (ibid., dated 1310 H. [1892 A.D]) and no. 104 (Collection Antoine d'Abbadie, dated 19th cent.), as well as a shortened version kept now in Addis Abäba, IES, no. 2069.

The F.Ḥ. was to some extent summarized in the Arabic Chronicle of Gujarat *Ẓafar al-wālih bi-muẓaffar wa-ālihī fī taʾrīḫ Kuǧarāt*, written by al-Uluġḫānī (d. after 1620/1611; Brockelmann 1938:599f.).

↗Historiography

Src.: Šihābaddīn Aḥmad b. ᶜAbdalqādir ᶜArabfaqīh, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha, or, the Conquest of Abyssinia*, ed. by Arthur Strong, part 1, London 1894; Id., *Tuḥfat az-zamān as Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, ed. by Fahīm Muḥammad Šaltūt, Cairo 1304 H. [1974 A.D.] (review by Georges Chehata Anawati, *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales* 13, 1977, 104–06); BassHist; Edward Denison Ross, *An Arabic History of Gujarat, Ẓafar ul-wálih bi Muẓaffar wa álih*, 3 vols., London 1910–28 (repr. Frankfurt/Main 1417 H. [1997 A.D.]), vol. 2, 578f., 584–99, chs. 21 and 22; Muhammad Fateh Lokhandwala, *Zafar ul-Wālih bi Muzaffar wa Ālihi, an Arabic History of Gujarat* (English tr.), 2 vols. Baroda 1970–74 (Gaekwad's Oriental series 152, 157), vol. 1, 468ff., vol. 2, 475–87; BassEt; ConzGal; BegCron; Man-

FRED KROPP, *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]); CESARE NERAZZINI (ed.), *La conquista mussulmana dell'Etiopia nel secolo XVI, traduzione d'un manoscritto arabo, con prefazione e note … e una carta geografica del 1636*, Roma 1891 [Italian paraphrase, less reliable than BassHist]; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE – PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Futūḥ el-Habacha. Des conquêtes faites en Abyssinie au XVI^e^ siècle par l'Imam Muhammed Ahmed dit Gragne, vers. franç. de la chronique arabe du Chahab ad-Din*, Paris 1898; ABDŪLKARĪM AḤMAD YŪSUF, *Warêg zamān, Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša, ʿArabfaqīh-bê, zītāwaqa Šahābeddīn Abdūlqādirbê zītekataba*, Harar 1995 [Harari tr.].

Lit.: HuntGeogr 120f., 133f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Postille al 'Futūḥ al-Ḥabašah'", *Le Muséon* 59, 1946, 173–82; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Peace Negotiations in the Land of Däwaro in 1531: a Page in the History of Ahmäd Grañ", *Ethnology Sociology Bulletin* 1, 2, 1992, 61–64; AMĪN TAWFĪQ AṬ-ṬĪBI, "Ǧihād al-Imām aṣ–Ṣūmālī Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm min ḫilāl 'Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša'", *Al-Ḥayāt* 11945, 5 November 1995 [1416 H.], 22; HUSSEIN AHMED, "The Historiography of Islam in Ethiopia", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 3, 1, 1992, 15–46, here 23ff; CARL BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 2, 1944, 539f., Suppl. 2, 1938, 569, 599f.; FRANZ-CHRISTOPH MUTH, "Allahs Netze: ʿArabfaqīhs '*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*' als Quelle für Netzwerkanalysen", *AE* 17, 2001, 113–25.

Franz-Christoph Muth

G

Ǧaarso

Ǧ. is one of the ↗Oromo clan segments with several settlement areas in Ethiopia. The most notable Ǧ. segments reside in northern Šäwa and southern Wällo, eastern Wälläga and in eastern Harärge. Huntingford (HuntGal 1955: 13, 15) notes Ǧ. as part of the eastern branch of the Oromo, the ↗Baarentuu branch, although there are also Ǧ. groups amongst the ↗Tuulama in Wälläga. Arnesen (1996:218, 222) also notes that there are Baarentuu (or "Wällo") Ǧ., as well as Tuulama Ǧ. The precise description of Ǧ. segments in eastern Wälläga, northern Šäwa and southern Wällo is complicated by the long history of migrations and assimilation of populations in the region (Arnesen 1996; EgeClass 47f., 71).

All of the three main Ǧ. segments are settled agricultural peoples and the characteristic Oromo ↗*gadaa* system is considerably modified to accommodate forms of "chiefship" (Arnesen 1996:224). In eastern Wälläga, northern Šäwa and southern Wällo, the Ǧ. groups are Christian and Muslim, but the Ǧ. of eastern Harärge are wholly Islamic in their faith.

The Ǧ. Oromo of eastern Harärge are descended from the Baarentuu branch and are described as part of the confederacy known as the Afran Qallu (↗Qottu). The Afran Qallu segment itself is made up of six Oromo segments: the Ǧ., Noole, Humme (who, counted together, are known as the Daga), Oborra, Baabbiilee, and Alo (Badri Kabir Mohammed 1995; Burton 1987). The Ǧ. of Harärge, however, are connected with the Gerr, a Somali (Daarood) clan who "hosted" the Ǧ. (and also the Baabbiilee Oromo) as these groups expanded eastwards in the 16th and 17th cent. (Lewis 1994:23). Thus, in Harärge Ǧ. are often known as Garre-Ǧ., indicating the "hosting" relationship known as *sadqo*, although it was the ↗Garre Somalis who became the traditional leaders or *garaad*. After the Ethiopian conquest, a policy of divide and rule developed which favoured the Ǧ. to the detriment of the Garre. According to the local tradition, the Garre-Ǧ. rebelled against Ethiopian rule in 1942 and 1951/52 due to the return of "Amhara" settlers and the re-imposition of taxation. In recent years, due to the rise of the politics of ethnicity, there have been tensions between the Garre and Ǧ. sections.

Src.: interviews with oral informants of Garre-Ǧaarso, Ǧiǧǧiga, 1998.

Lit.: BTafA, s. index; HuntGal 13, 15; ODD ERIK ARNESEN, "The Becoming of Place: a Tulama Oromo Region in Northern Shoa", in: PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – JAN HULTIN – ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (eds.), *Being and Becoming Oromo*, Uppsala 1996, 210–38, here 218, 222; EgeClass 47f., 71; BADRI KABIR MOHAMED, *The Afran Qallo Oromo: a History*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1995; RICHARD BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa*, London 1856, New York 1987, 192; LewPeople 23.

Cedric Barnes

Ǧaarso ↗Qottu

Ǧaawee Ončo

Ǧ.O. (r. 1840–54; b. 1820?) was King of ↗Gomma. His father, Ončo Ǧilča, the second king of Gomma, completed the process of the formation of the state of Gomma around 1810, having conducted numerous wars against his neighbours for political, economic and strategic motives. A leader with a vigorous mind and an agile body and a reputation of a cruel tyrant in the ↗Gibe region (Beke 1843:259; CecZeila vol. 2, 541f.), he infused his people, including his son and successor Ǧ.O., with his own intrepid spirit (MHasOr 109), earning them renown as famous warriors (CerFolk 18f., 40, 154). Ǧ.O. gained considerable experience in wars beside his father. He became himself a brave warrior and showed military abilities by resisting ↗Abbaa Bagiboo, the King of ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya, who had the ambition of expanding his kingdom at the expense of Gomma. He also displayed political wisdom, ruling by his head and patience rather than by his hand and passion, unlike his father, who had killed or enslaved people for minor offences (Beke 1843:259; Guidi 1907:181). Ǧ.O., thus, profitably replaced his father's image of cruelty with that of a caring king who left his name to posterity as the first Muslim king of Gomma.

It was during the reign of Ǧ.O. that Islam consolidated itself in his state, the first in the ↗Gibe region to have declared a ↗*ǧihād* in the name of Islam. Ǧ.O. abolished the ↗Buttaa festival lying at the heart of the traditional Oromo religion that each clan should celebrate every eight years (CerFolk 61, 154; MHasOr 159) and thus created a favorable climate for the spread of ↗Islam among his people and, more importantly, showed both to the nobility and the common people that the traditional religion lacked the literate class, organized body of preachers and ideological strength of Islam. In the struggle between the traditional Oromo religion and Islam in Gomma, Ǧ.O. placed the full support of the state behind Islam. It was in this spirit that Ǧ.O. encouraged the *Qādirīya* order to spread Islam in Gomma. The order established schools and mosques, completing the process of proselytization.

Ǧ.O.'s son and successor, Abbaa Dulaa (r. 1845–79), was the most fervent Muslim king of Gomma. He received a letter from the custodian of the tomb of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad at Medina in 1866 urging upon all believers that the "end" of the world was coming and that they should fortify themselves in their faith (CecZeila, vol. 2, 268f.; TrIslam 202). Perhaps as a response to this letter, Abbaa Dulaa and his successor declared a *ǧihād* in the Gibe region.

Lit.: CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, "On the Countries South of Abessinia", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 13, 1843, 254–69, here 259; CecZeila vol. 2, 268f., 541f.; CerFolk 18f., 40, 61, 154; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Stori e brevi testi amarici", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 40, 1907, 167–84, here 181; MHasOr 109, 159; TrIslam 202.

Mohammed Hassen

Gäb

The name G. (ገብ) is first mentioned in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob in connection with the traditional ↗Hadiyya title *garaad* (↗*gärad*; PerrZarY 18). By then Hadiyya was a member-state of the Muslim-dominated ↗ʿAdal federation and, at the same time, tributary to the Christian empire. One of the Hadiyya leaders, Mahiko, son of Mehmad *garaad* (Bimaddo in the oral tradition), led a conspiracy against the Emperor and was supported by a number of the Hadiyya leaders, including *Gab garaad*. According to the Chronicle, the revolt was revealed by another Hadiyya leader, Gadayto *garaad*, who advised Zärʾa Yaʿəqob to hand over the command in Hadiyya to Bamo *garaad* (Boyaamo of the oral tradition), Mehmad's brother, who had instead proved to be loyal. Bamo, supported by troops from ↗Damot province, defeated the rebellious Hadiyya, including *Gab garaad*.

From the oral traditions of the Hadiyya, G. can be identified as ↗Gädäb, a region on the upper Wabi Šäbälle river in the ↗Arsi and northern ↗Bale provinces (particularly the district of Asasa). It was kept as a historical denomination by those groups that either had been driven out from this region or incorporated by the Arsi Oromo during the 18th cent.

The present Hadiyya subgroups of the Sooro, the Šaašoogo and the Urusso claim to be *Gadabiččo* (i.e. of G. descent) and still use the designation *gadab garaad* as an honorary title. Until the beginning of the 20th cent. the G. Hadiyya preserved the custom of surrounding the graves of their chiefs with a wall of earth called *gadab garaadella*. This name also refers to a natural formation caused by a meteorite in the Asasa region which is associated with legends concerning G.

Lit.: PerrZarY 16–23; BrHad 51, 85, 217.

Ulrich Braukämper

Gaba ↗Dullay

Ǧabal aṭ-Ṭayr ↗Ḥaniš Islands

Gäbäre ↗Peasants

Gabaro

The ↗Mäččᶜa Oromo gave the general name G. (in contemporary Oromo 'commoner', 'plebean') to the different peoples they overran during the second half of the 16th cent. It has been assumed that the name derives from ↗*gäbbar*, meaning tribute-paying peasant (BeckHuntAlm 116). G. were allowed to keep their land and livestock, adopted into the Mäčča clan and ↗*gadaa* system and required to perform military service. Some known as *yäḥabäta* served as feared self-mounted cavalry. Nevertheless, the rights of the G. were not always respected and in the first quarter of the 17th cent. some, probably led by the *yäḥabäta*, revolted. When the ↗Mäčča and Tulama united against them, the G. allied themselves with the Christian governor of Goǧǧam. Later, *aṣe* ↗Susənyos settled them across the Abbay to serve there as defensive shields against a likely resurgent Oromo alliance. Some G. later returned to Mäčča.

G. was probably never a self-appellation, and no single group by such name exists, though Knutsson (1967:181) noted the "existence today of numerous *gabaro* clans". Tablino (1999:299) notes that "the word [...] in one sense or another, is the most probable origin of the name Gabra".

↗Boorana; ↗Gabra

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 116; P. MARIO BORELLO, *Dizionario oromo-italiano*, Hamburg 1995; TilDic 230.

Lit.: BTafA, s. index; KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change: a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Goteborg 1967, passim; MHasOr 63–69; PAUL TABLINO, *The Gabra: Camel Nomads of Northern Kenya*, Limuru 1999, passim.

Paul T.W. Baxter

Ǧäbärti

In its wider sense the term Ǧ. (ጀበርቲ) refers to all Muslim people living in Eritrea and Ethiopia or the Horn of Africa in general. By the Christian highlanders the term was even used for the Muslims of the Arabian peninsula (Ullendorff in EI^2; Muḥammad Sa^{c}īd Nawed 1991:98). In a narrow sense it is used to indicate the Muslims living in small groups which descend from different ethnic and linguistic groups (e.g., ↗Agäw, ↗Saho, ↗Oromo, ↗Təgre and ↗Təgreñña-speakers) and are scattered throughout the Eritrean and Ethiopian Christian highland provinces. The Ǧ. live among different ethnic and linguistic groups sharing their language and most of their culture with the surrounding Christian population.

There is a number of (folk-)etymologies to explain the name Ǧ. E.g., it is said to be the corruption of the Arab word *ǧabbār*, 'strong' or 'strong warrior'. Another explanation says that it originates in a sentence of the Prophet: after one of the victorious battles against the Qurayš in which the Abyssinian volunteers had particularly distinguished themselves, Muḥammad supposedly exclaimed, *Ḥabaša ǧabaranī* 'Abyssinia strengthened me' (Pollera 1999:90). A tradition says that the name Ǧ. comes from Gə^{c}əz አግብርት (*agbərt*, 'servants [of God]'), while another explains it as a corruption of the Təgrəñña word *gäbari* (pl. *gäbärti*) meaning 'tenants' or 'servants' and referring to the socio-economical limited status they had in the Christian environment. In the derogatory sense of 'serfs' the term Ǧ. is sometimes used by the Christian highlanders.

Muslim historians and geographers generally used the term Ǧ. to distinguish the Muslims of Abyssinia from the Christians, while they used terms such as *al-Ḥabaša* for all people of the Horn, regardless of whether they were Christian, Muslim or "pagan". However, the term was extended to all Muslim kingdoms of Southern Ethiopia and, finally, to Ethiopian and Eritrean Muslims in general (TrIslam 58, 60, 150f.).

Most of the Ǧ. claim descent from ^{c}Uṯmān b. ^{c}Affān, the third caliph, and his wife Ruqayya, who were amongst the refugees to Abyssinia during the first ↗*hiǧra*. Their son remained with his mother in Abyssinia. The Ǧ. refer to the founder of the ↗Ifat sultanate ^{c}Umar b. Walašma^c al-Ǧabartī as an important common ancestor (s. TrIslam 58f.). The ↗Walašma^c dynasty claimed an Arab ancestry from ↗Ḥiǧāz and settled in the "land of Ǧabarta" (Ǧabara, Ǧabart), originally the name of a region in the territories of ↗Zayla^c and Ifat. Many Somali people claim descent from Darood Ismā^{c}īl Ǧabartī and the ↗Zayla^c sultanate, which was called also "land of Ǧabarta" by the Muslim historians.

In the 15th cent. a *riwāq* (a section for scholarly Islamic learning) was established at al-Azhar University in Cairo. At the beginning, the centre was named as Riwāq az-Zayla^c, but later the name was changed into Riwāq al-Ǧabarta to include all Muslim students from Ethiopia and Somalia. In the 18th cent. the centre was chaired by a famous Islamic scholar, ^{c}Abdarraḥmān b. Ḥasan b. ^{c}Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ǧabartī, born in Cairo in 1752, who wrote on Egyptian history; at his death, his family was to chair the Riwāq al-Ǧabarta for almost seven generations. Later the centre was chaired by *Šayḫ* Bušrā ^{c}Abdal-qādir and after him by *Šayḫ* Aḥmaddīn Muḥammad ^{c}Īsā at-Taro^{c}awī, from the tribe of Taro^{c}a-Sāho.

The Ǧ., as Muslims in general, had a somehow discriminated status in the Christian state, e.g., they were excluded from the possibility to gain hereditary land-rights (↗*rəst*; s. TrIslam; Cerulli 1925; Nadel 1946). Moreover, the Ǧ. were subject, like other ethnic groups, to persecutions. For instance, during the time of *aṣe* ↗Yohannəs IV the Muslims were forced, under menace of serious punishment, to accept baptism (Nadel 1946:15ff.; Pollera 1999:90). Due to prevention of land-rights the highland Muslims held their land as tenants and had to engage in different economical niches. They mostly dwelled in market centres, were active as traders and earned their living through artisan occupations, particularly weaving. Still today the Ǧ. are mostly active in commercial and artisanal sectors.

Src.: interview with *šayḫ* Sālim Ibrahīm Muḫtār, general secretary of the Eritrean Dār-al-Iftā᾽.

Lit.: M.H. ABDULKADER HAGOS, *Al-Ǧabartī wal-Ǧabartīyīn* ('Ǧäbärti and the "Ǧäbärtians"'), Jedda 1991; ENRICO CERULLI [review VON TILING 1921–22], *Oriente Moderno* 5, 1925, 614–20; ID., "Giabarti", in: *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. 16, Roma 1932, 931; MUḤAMMAD SAᶜĪD NAWED, *Al-ᶜUrūba wal-Islām bil-Qarn al-Ifrīqī* ('Arabism and the Horn of Africa'), Jedda 1991, 98; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1943; ID., "Land Tenure on the Eritrean Plateau", *Africa* 16, 1, 1946, 3–22, 99–109, here 15ff.; MuhTarih; ALBERTO POLLERA, *The Native Peoples of Eritrea*, Lawrenceville 1999, 90 [tr. of PollEr]; MARIA VON TILING, "Die Sprache der Jabárti", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 12, 1921–22, 17–52, 97–162; GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS TREVASKIS, *Eritrea: A Colony in Transition, 1941–52*, Westport, Conn. ^{2}1977; TrIslam 58ff., 150ff.; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Djabart", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 2, 355.

Abdulkader Saleh

Ǧäbärti

The name Ǧ. was reportedly used in Aden also as a collective designation for the ↗Digil, the ↗Raḥanween and the ↗Hawiye Somali during the second half of the 19th cent., especially for those occupied in the humblest jobs (von Tiling 1921-22:20f.). The German ethnologist and Arabist Wilhelm Hein used it for the southern variety of Somali that he heard during his journey to Aden and Šayḫ ᶜOsmān in 1901–02, and Reinisch (1904) retained it when he published Hein's data after his death. Maria von Tiling, too, used the name Ǧ. for the quite different language of her informant Osman Abdi, with whom she worked in Hamburg in 1919 (von Tiling 1921–22, 1924–25). Yet she stated clearly that this designation was not used in the country where that language was spoken.

Hein, and Reinisch's dialect is a variety of Benaadir Somali that preserves *ḥ* and *ᶜ*, has 3rd pers. pl. *uyyunka*, "they" and the indefinite article *-koo*/*-too*. But it also has many features of ↗May Somali such as the interrogative *may*, 'what?', the 2nd pers. sg./3rd pers. sg. fem. ending *-aasa* and 1st pers. pl. *-aana* in the present continuous tense, and the verbs *aam-*, 'to eat', and *koy-*, 'to come'. It also has some features of more northern dialects, such as the infinitive in *-in* from causative verbs. What von Tiling described is instead definitely a variety of May spoken by the Elaay in the area of Buur Hakaba, with *l* + *t* > *ll*, *h* + *t* > *tt*, the 2nd pers. sg./3rd pers. sg. fem. ending *-aasə* and 1st pers. pl. *-aanə* in the present continuous tense and *šeen-*, "to bring".

Src.: LEO REINISCH, *Der Dschäbärtidialekt der Somalisprache*, Wien 1904 (Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philologisch-historische Klasse 148); MARIA VON TILING, "Die Sprache der Jabárti", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* **12**, 1921–22, 17–52, 97–162; EAD., "Jabárti-Texte", *ibid.* **15**, 1924–25, 50–64, 139–58.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI [review of VON TILING 1921–22], *Oriente moderno* 5, 1925, 614-20.

Giorgio Banti

Gäbäṭa

G. (ገበጣ) is the Amharic and Təgrəñña name for Ethiopia's principal board-game. Played, with regional variations, throughout the country, as well as in other parts of Africa and Asia, it has different local names, including its Oromo designation *saddeeqa*, widely used in southern Ethiopia. Foreign scholars, however, often refer to the game by its Arabic name *manqala*.

Ethiopian G., one variant of which has similarities with a version played in India, is undoubtedly of great antiquity. A board-game of this kind was known to the ancient Egyptians. Rocks carved with holes for playing G. have been found at a site at ↗Mäṭära dating from around the 7th cent. A.D. and the game is mentioned in a 14th-cent. Gəᶜəz text (Perruchon 1903:23; cp. Pankhurst 1971:154).

G. in the Ethiopian region was traditionally played by persons of all ages and classes, including the nobility, who had their own special

Playing *gäbäṭa*; photo 1950/52 by W. Schulz-Weidner, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23–Wd082–02) three-row version of the game. It is generally conceived of as a game played by two opponents dropping and picking up pebbles from holes carved in a board or in the ground. The game is, however, subject to many regional variations. These are seen in relation to 1) the number of rows of holes, which may consist of two, three or even four rows; 2) the number of holes per row, usually six, but in some cases as few as four or as many as ten, twelve or, rarely, even 24; 3) the number of balls per hole, generally three or four, but sometimes one, two or five. There are also major differences in the methods of play. In some games the objective is primarily the capture of balls in a series of unconnected moves. In others, the emphasis is mainly on the capture of holes and the almost incidental capture of balls.

↗Games

Src.: JULES PERRUCHON, *Le livre des mystères du ciel et de la terre*, Paris 1903, 23.

Lit.: BERTRAND HIRSCH – BERTRAND POISSONNIER, "Recherches historiques et archéologiques à Meshalä Maryam (Mänz, Éthiopie)", *AE* 16, 2000, 70, fig. 4; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Gabata, and Related Board-Games of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa", *EthObs* 14, 1971, 154–206; ID., "Gabata and Other Board-Games of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa", *Azania* 17, 1982, 27–42.

Richard Pankhurst

Gäbäyyähu Gora

Fitawrari G.G. (**ገበየሁ፡ ጎራ**; d. 1 March 1896) was an intrepid warrior in *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's army. He won lasting fame through his exploits at the battle of ↗Ambalage (7 December 1895).

As befitted his title, *fitawrari*, G.G. was in the vanguard of the Ethiopian forces that had proceeded to Təgray in the wake of Mənilək's mobilization edict of September 1895. Although G. was technically under the command of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən, he appears to have acted unilaterally when he stormed with his troops the apparently impregnable fortress of Ambalage. Heeding local advice about the futility of such an assault, G.G. was going to be left to his own devices. But two other valiant commanders in Mäkʷännən's contingent, *qäññazmač* Taffäsä Abaynäh and *fitawrari* Täkle, rushed to G.G.'s assistance, shouting that they would not leave the imperial commander alone and thereby precipitated a general engagement by Mäkʷännən's troops.

The Italian vanguard force, led by the equally irrepressible Major Pietro Toselli, had ensconced itself on top of Ambalage. Against all odds, G.G.'s force was able to defeat the Italians, resulting in the death of many of them, including Toselli, and precipitating an Italian retreat to Mäqälä, which became the next theatre of war. G.G. was reportedly censured or even briefly detained for what was regarded as a reckless act.

G.G. was also one of the Ethiopian commanders at the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa on 1 March 1896. His force engaged at the Abba Gärima front, facing the Italian brigade led by General ↗Albertone. Despite his illness, G.G. sought to inspire his troops by heading into the fray, courting death with the words: "Those who return to Šäwa, let them tell how the victor of Ambalage died!" As he fell, the whole Ethiopian line reportedly wavered and Albertone thought that victory was in sight. Mənilək was deeply moved by G.G.'s death, breaking into tears when he saw his riderless horse paraded after victory.

Src.: GSMen 239ff., 266; MahHorse 280; *aläqa* TÄKLÄ IYÄSUS, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäᵓityopya tarik*, 'The History of Ethiopia'), ms. IES 24, n.d., 100f.

Lit.: RICHARD CAULK, "*Between the Jaws of Hyenas*": *a Diplomatic History of Ethiopia* (*1876–1896*), ed. by BAHRU ZEWDE, Wiesbaden 2002 (AeF 60), 503–06, 553.

Bahru Zewde

Gäbäz

The term G. (**ገበዝ**) seems to be connected to the Gəᶜəz word *gäbäz*, 'riverbank' (cp. **ገበዘ፡ ተከዚ**, *gäbäzä täkkäzi* in Ex 7:15) and means 'guard, protector, tutor, custodian, keeper' (DillmLex 1174; LesCDic 180; KWK 296), in both secular and religious contexts.

As an ecclesiastical term, G. already appears in the 6th-cent. royal inscription of the Aksumite king ↗Kaleb (RIE no. 191.36f.). It possibly refers to the ancient cathedral of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon, Kaleb's sanctuary (MHAksum 9, 209; MHAlex 98f.; Fiaccadori 2003:204), Gäbäzä Aksum being one of its designations in later times (CRAxum 3). The element G. in the name of Princess ↗Tərdaᵓ Gäbäz, traditionally responsible for handing over the authority to the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, could have the same implication if interpreted as 'May the cathedral [of Aksum] help' (Conti Rossini 1923:374f.). Besides, one should recall King Zägäbäzä Aksum (or ↗Ǝllä Gäbäz), appearing in the ancient hagiographic tradition of *abba* ↗Libanos (Bausi 2003:15; Getatchew Haile 1990:38f.) and many of the "king lists". The term G. was later applied to other churches as well: e.g., Gäbäzä Taᶜəka and Gäbäzä Mäsqäl (s. CRAxum 3; CRStor 158; Monneret de Villard

1938:40, 42). By extension, the name G. passed on to the person/priest in charge of these (important) churches and, later on, of a church in general. It was also employed to designate the clergyman entrusted with the administration of the cathedral at Aksum, upon whom the title of *gäbäzä Aksum* (administrator [sacristan], treasurer of the same cathedral) was bestowed.

Currently, the G. is the officer who (a) manages the internal affairs of the church and is custodian of vestments and vessels for church ceremonies, of what is useful for the eucharistic celebration; (b) takes care of the weekly celebrants of the divine liturgy; (c) controls the offerings and alms of the church; (d) ensures the celebration of the divine liturgy, the Liturgy of the Hours, the incense office and other religious functions carried out in the church (↗Churches and church administration).

The G. used to be second rank to the ↗*aläqa*, except in some churches where he acted as superior. Being normally a priest, the G. was called **ቀይስ፡ ገበዝ** (*qäysä gäbäz*) or **ቄስ፡ ገበዝ** (*qesä gäbäz*). In principle, anyone wishing to attain the office of G. must have been a native of the place where he was to serve in order to gain access to the ↗*gʷəlt* given by rulers over the centuries for the office maintenance. The situation changed with *aṣe* Mənilək II's decree of 2 August 1892, chiefly aimed at reorganizing the churches of Šäwa: instituting the office of G. (*gäbäzənna*), he gave it the central place in the church administration. Mənilək invested members of the noble families and his relatives with the *gäbäzənna* of some important churches, entrusting them also with special *gäbäzənna* estates (Haile Gabriel Dagne 1972). The office was downgraded by Ḫaylä Śəllase I with the 1942 Regulations for the Administration of all Church Land (↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church).

Nowadays, still if the G. is a layman, he delegates a priest called **ውስጠ፡ ገበዝ** (*wəsṭä gäbäz*, lit. 'inner G.') to tend to the needs of the innermost part of the church (↗*Mäqdäs*). The G. is rewarded either in natural produces or in money. In the event that he performs his duty, with payment, in a church not in his native place, but is dwelling there permanently, he is called **አዳሪ፡ ገበዝ** (*adari gäbäz*, 'resident G.', Tgn. **ኅዱር፡ ገበዝ**, *ḫədur gäbäz*). After the creation of the Parish Council system, in many parishes it is preferred that the *qesä gäbäz* have two lay co-operators, so as to give them the opportunity, not only of participating in parish life, but also of exerting control over the latter's financial aspects.

↗Gäbäz(a)

Src.: Alessandro Bausi, *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 295, 296 [SAe 105, 106]), 15 (text) = 15 (tr.), s. index; DTWDic 219; DillmLex 1174; CRList; Getatchew Haile, "The Homily of Abba Eləyas, Bishop of Aksum on Mäṭṭa'", *ABoll* 180, 1990, 29–47, here 32, 38f.; GuiVoc 746; KWKDic 296; LesCDic 180; THMDic 1177; CRAxum 3 (text) = 3 (tr.); CRStor 158; CrumLand 216–19, 240; RIE no. 191; Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Aksum. Ricerche di topografia generale*, Roma 1938, 40, 42.

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Aethiopica. I.", *RSO* 9, 1923, 365–468, here 374f. [§ 8. "Sul nome proprio di donna *Terdā' Gabaz*"]; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Πρόσοψις, non πρόοψις: Efeso, Gerusalemme, Aquileia (Nota a *IEph* 495, 1 s.)", *La Parola del Passato* 58, 2003 [2004], 182–249, here 204; *liqä səlṭanat* Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh, **ጥንታዊ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ትምህርት** (*Ṭəntawi yäʾityopya śərʿatä təmhərt*, 'The Ancient Order of Ethiopian Learning'), Addis Ababa 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.], 300; Haile Gabriel Dagne, "The Gebzenna Charter 1894", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 67–80; MHAlex 98f.; MHAksum 9, 209; Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Note linguistiche per la storia dell'Etiopia antica", in: *StudAeth* 67–77, here 68, n. 8.

Habtemichael Kidane – Red.

Gäbäz(a)

The name G. seems to refer to two things: 1) a historical customs-post or shore station directly on the coast of the gulf of Adulis near the Aksumite port-city of ↗Adulis itself; 2) a kingdom that became one of the sub-kingdoms tributary to ↗Aksum and may be identical with the area assigned by ancient authors to the "Adulites".

1. Already in the 1st cent. A.D., the ↗*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* notes that the anchorage for Adulis was subject to raids by "Barbarians dwelling roundabout", the ships having therefore to moore at Oreinē Island (§ 4, Frisk 1927: 2; Casson 1989:52f., cp. *ibid.* 102f.). This secure anchorage was, perhaps, the future G. Neither the *Periplus* nor Procopius of Caesarea in the 6th cent. name G., but mention that from the harbour to Adulis was a distance of 20 stades (Procopius, *Bella* I, 19, 22, in: Haury 1905 [1965], vol. 1, 103; Dewing 1914, vol. 1, 182). ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes situates Adulis two miles from the coast (Wolska-Conus 1968, vol. 1, 364f.), and in one of the most authoritative manuscripts of his work, the *Christian Topography*, with a more detailed map, "the custom of G." (ΤΕΛѠΝΙΟΝ ΓΑΒΑΖΑC) and the place called "Samidi" are indicated south and, respectively, north of Adulis

by the coast. The name G. (Γαβαζά) also occurs, for the naval station of Adulis, in the 6th-cent. Greek Martyrdom of ↗Arethas of Nağrān (ch. VII [§ 29], in Carpentier 1861:747).

2. In an Aksumite inscription to be perhaps attributed to King ↗Ousanas, Bisi Gisene, the monarch, is recorded as receiving submission from SWŚWT "king of the Ag^{w}ezat" and SBL "king of GBZ" (Gäbäz, Gäbäza/Gäbäzä?), and then at ḤMŚ he met "all the tribes of M(e)ṭ(i)n" (RIE no. 186.13f.). If the same place as the aforesaid coastal installation, GBZ seems then to be identifiable with the area of the "Adulites" referred to in classical texts from the 1st cent. A.D. onwards and apparently differentiated from the Aksumites themselves up to the 6th cent.

In the late 4th cent., ↗Epiphanius listed "nine kingdoms of the Indians", among which the Coptic version of the lost Greek original text has the "Aksumites (and) Adoulites", the latter being, however, subsumed with the former in the Latin version: "Aksumites with Adulites" (s. Epiphanius, *De XII gemmis* 20, in Blake 1924: 242f.; Guenther 1898:748f.; cp. Cerulli in PICES 1, 16f.). In the 6th cent., ↗Nonnosus, discussing climatic zones, wrote that between Aue and Aksum there was one sort of climate, while "from the Adulitae to Aue" there was another (s. Photius, *Bibliotheca* [III 2a], in: Henry 1959.4ff.; Freese 1920:17ff.). Procopius, too, notes the five days and nights were needed to cross the Red Sea from a place called Boulikas in Ḥimyar: "... and at the end of the sail across the sea they [i.e., the Ḥimyarites] always put in at the harbour of the Adulites" (Procopius, *Bella* I, 19, 21, in Haury 1905 [1962], vol. 1, 103; Dewing 1914, vol. 1, 182).

As a part of a toponym, the word *gäbäz* appears also in Ḥamäd Gäbäz (**ሐመድ፡ ገበዝ**), which applies to an archaeological site and possibly an ancient settlement near ↗Aksum (Fattovich 2000:63), but ↗*gäbäz* here is most probably an ecclesiastical term and may be linked to St. Mary Cathedral of Aksum (↗Aksum Ṣəyon).

Src.: RIE no. 186; HJALMAR FRISK (ed.), *Périple de la mer Érythrée*, Göteborg 1927, 2; LIONEL CASSON (tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton 1989, 52, 102f.; WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès, La topographie chrétienne*, vol. 1, Paris 1968 (Sources chrétiennes 141), 364f., 372–78; EPIPHANIUS, *De Gemmis: the Old Georgian Version and the Fragments of the Armenian Version*, ed., tr. by ROBERT PIERPONT BLAKE, and *The Coptic-Sahidic Fragments*, by HENRI DE VIS, London 1934, 242f.; OTTO GUENTHER, *Epistulae imperatorum, pontificum aliorum inde ab a.* CCCLXVII *usque ad a.* DLIII *datae, Avellana quae dicitur collectio*, II, Pragae – Vindobonae – Lipsiae 1898 (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 35, 2), 743–72 [*Ep.* 244], here 748f.; PHOTIUS, *Bibliothèque*, ed., tr. by ROBERT HENRY, Paris 1959, vol. 1, 4ff.; *The Library of Photius*, tr. by JOHN HENRY FREESE, London 1920, vol. 1, 17ff.; PROCOPIUS CAESARIENSIS, *Opera omnia*, ed., tr. by J. HAURY, Leipzig 1905 [rev. by G. WIRTH, 1962], vol. 1, 103; ID., *The History of the Wars*, ed., tr. by HENRY BRONSON DEWING, London – New York 1914, vol. 1, 182f.; EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON (ed., tr.), *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, New York 1932, IV, 7, 107f.; EDUARD CARPENTIER (ed., tr.), "Acta Santorum Arethae et Rumae et sociorum martyrum Negranae in Arabia Felice", in: *Acta Sanctorum*, Octobris tomus 10, Bruxellis 1861, 721–59, here 747.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Punti di vista sulla storia dell'Etiopia", in: *PICES* 1, 5–27, here 16f.; RODOLFO FATTOVICH (ed.), *The Aksum Archaeological Area: a Preliminary Assessment*, Napoli 2000, 63; STUART MUNRO-HAY, "The Foreign Trade of the Aksumite Port of Adulis", *Azania* 17, 1982, 107–25; MHAksum 30, 45f., 175, 220; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992, XXVII and n. 17, 17f. and n. 52; ID., "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 137f.

Stuart Munro-Hay – Red.

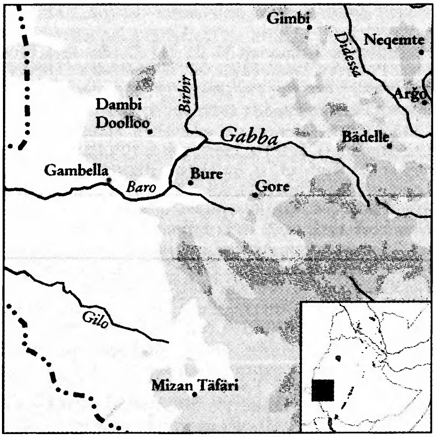
Gäbäzä Aksum ↗Aksum Ṣəyon

Gabba

The G. (Gaba, Geba) is a river (35' 18° N, 8' 5° E) that forms the border between Wälläga and ↗Illubabor. Rising west of the town of Bädelle, it runs westwards and is joined by the Birbir, combining finally with the Baro into the Akobo of Gambella. During the 19th cent., G. was also the name for a region and an Oromo polity (also Gabba Illuu) between the rivers G. and Baro.

G. is related to the Oromo peopling of the region since the 18th cent., which marginalized other inhabitants, such as the ↗Šakačo and ↗Mağangir. Populated by the Tuume-Illuu clans, at that time it was considered a fertile but lawless periphery of Wälläga. The Oromo have a saying: *Baaroo nama boreečisa, Gabba nama gabbisa* ('The Baro makes a man beautiful, the G. makes a man fat'); fatness alluded to trophy-hunting (buffalos, elephants) in the river lowlands towards the "Yambo" (↗Añwaa). The successful hunter was anointed with butter (AbbGeogr 88). Metaphoric use of "fatness" related also to the abundance of wild ↗coffee (*coffea arabica L.*) in G. (CerFolk 26).

From the middle of the 19th cent., a centralized policy among the Illuu is attributed to Čali Šone, popularly known as Abbaa Boora ('Lord



of the light-bay'; hence Illuu Abbaa Booraa = Illubabor). The *gadaa* system of the Illuu shifted to kingship (Oromo: *mootii*; Yasin Mohammed 1990:111–15). Political centralization of G. Illuu, with Gečinai-Gomboči as the capital, fostered security for traders (in ivory, cotton and honey), but contributed also to internal and external conflict.

Internally, Abbaa Boora's attempt to form a dynasty was successfully challenged by one of his warriors, ↗Fatansa Illuu (Yasin Mohammed 1990:116). The capital of G. shifted to Bure. Externally, G. was threatened from the south-east by the Muslim Oromo kingdom of ↗Guummaa.

From 1882–83 onwards, Mənilək's troops under *ras* ↗Gobäna Dač̣i and *ras* ↗Täsämma Asmärom occupied G. (s. Bulatovich 2000). To keep G. Illuu autonomous, direct confrontation was avoided (CerFolk 77). The town of Gore became the seat for the Ethiopian administration of Illubabor, whilst Bure and its vicinity maintained a distinctive self-rule until the late days of *aṣe* Mənilək (Pick 1909:73).

Src.: AbbGeogr 88, 106, 188 and passim; ALEXANDER BULATOVICH, *Ethiopia Through Russian Eyes: Country in Transition, 1896–1898*, tr. by RICHARD SELTZER, Lawrenceville, NJ 2000, part I, passim.; CerFolk 14, 26, 27, 44, 75f; EMIL PICK, *Reisebriefe eines österreichischen Industriellen aus Abessinien, Indien und Ostasien*, Wien 1909, 65–75.

Lit.: YASIN MOHAMMED, "The Peopling of Highland Illubabor", in: *Proceedings of the Fifth Seminar of the Department of History (Debre Zeit, 30 June–3 July 1989)*, Addis Ababa 1990, 105–24.

Thomas Zitelmann

Gäbbar

The term G. (**ገባር**, 'tributary') is derived from the Gəʿəz root *gäbrä*, the primary meaning of which is 'to work' or 'to serve' (DillmLex 1159ff.). In Amharic, whence its broad application throughout Ethiopia from the late 19th through much of the 20th cent., the root *gäbbärä* means 'to pay tribute' (d'Abbadie 1881:846; Isenberg 1841:174; GuiVoc 742f.; BaetDic 986f.; Amsalu Aklilu 1979 A.M.:275; THMDic 1175). G., then, is a tax- or tribute-payer. Closely related words in Amharic, derived from the same root, are ↗*gəbər*, *gäbbäre* (**ገበሬ**, 'farmer'), the latter taking its sense from the fact that most forms of tax and tribute derived from agricultural lands; and, with meaning extended from the previous, *gəbərənna* (**ግብርና**, 'agriculture', s. Amsalu Aklilu 1979 A.M.:276). This closely associated complex of meanings defies the fact that pastoralists, as well as farmers, were assigned this status by Ethiopian state authorities. In 20th-cent. usage the term frequently had a pejorative connotation of social subjugation and was often rendered "serf", but this meaning covered only a portion of G.'s full semantic range and reflected, however imperfectly, social conditions imposed in southern Ethiopia in the later 19th and early 20th cent.

Historically, the term appears in a famous aphorism or proverb, **ሰብእ፡ ሐራ፡ ወገባር፡ ምድር** (*säbʾa ḥara wägäbbar mədər*, 'Man is free [or soldier] and land is tributary'), for the first time early in the 17th cent. (Perruchon 1896:359, 361; Conti Rossini 1893:807, 811; BegCron 1901:41). The aphorism recurs during the latter part of the century and at several points in the 19th cent. (CrummLand 62-67; GuiVoc 190, 201; Conti Rossini 1917:714; Nadel 1946:11). Its meaning has been much, although inconclusively, debated, from Conti Rossini (1893:807, 811) and Merid Wolde Aregay (1971:376ff.) to Toubkis (2004: 589-601), the sources agreeing that G. means 'tributary', but disagreeing as to whether its primary reference is to the relationship between the farmer and the land or between a social superior and inferior with further disagreement about the relationship between land and military service. Prominent amongst the 20th-cent. sources on G. are the contributions of *blatta* Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl (1957:284, 287f., 290, 293, 299f.) and by Gäbrä Wäld Ǝngəda Wärq (1962:306f., 316, 323ff.), who provide numerous examples of the differing usages of the term and obligations to which G. might be subject. Both works underpin the subsequent analysis by Mantel-Niecko (1980:82–85).

One definition of G. that reflects common usage, but which can be rejected as incomplete and misleading, is provided by Amsalu Aklilu (1979 A.M.:275): 'tenant farmer'. On the contrary, G. were frequently claimants of land in their own right. Hoben (1973) has provided the classical exploration of the ↗*rəst* system of inherited access to agricultural land, on the basis of field research carried out in Goǧǧam province in the 1960s. This system prevailed throughout much of the Amharic and Təgrəñña-speaking regions of Ethiopia. Farmers holding their land as *rəst* claimed inalienable rights to farm it and in no sense could be construed as tenants. However, at the same time as they viewed themselves as *rəstäñña*, and fiercely asserted their independence, they also perceived themselves as G., or tribute payers, the two identities being closely linked in that farmers recognized their rights were inalienable only so long as they paid tribute or tax on it, the former more appropriately describing payments to social overlords, the latter more appropriately describing payments directly to the government. The distinction became of importance only in the 1950s and 1960s (Hoben 1973:4 n. 14, 77). Hoben's perception of the relationship between *rəst* land-holding and G. status is seconded by Berhanou Abbebe (1971:94f.) in his study of land tenure in Šäwa province during the reign of *aṣe* Mənilək II (r. 1889-1913).

The pejorative view of G. as denoting a status of social subordination analogous to that of 'serf' derives from common perceptions of arrangements instituted in southern Ethiopia following the region's subordination, or re-subordination, to the Ethiopian state during the reign of Mənilək II. The term typically appears as part of the couple ↗*näfṭäñña*-G., where the *näfṭäñña* is the social superior. The most detailed study of this system has been carried out by McClellan (1988:57–79), who, with reference to the ↗Gideʾo of Sidamo region, confirms the general understanding that, following the conquest of differing parts of southern Ethiopia, Mənilək's government required the local population to support the conquering garrisons by providing their individual members with labour and tribute. These tributaries became G. attached to individual *näfṭäñña*. They viewed their obligations as onerous and resented their status. Their obligations entailed payment of land tax or rent, payment of tithe, the provisioning of government officials and government-recognized travellers, supplying firewood to their overlord, "gifts" on various occasions, working on land of the state or lord for as much as 1/3 of their total working time, grinding grain and construction of granaries and fences for overlords, and providing transport for their overlord (BZHist 87–92). However, McClellan also makes clear that, for some time, the G. retained their pre-conquest rights to farming and grazing land, *näfṭäñña*, for the most part, lacking such rights. So, as part of this relationship, the G. were not tenants. Nevertheless, the conspicuous degree of social subordination led contemporary European observers, as cited by McClellan, to describe the status as one equivalent to slavery, and Ethiopian intellectuals of the 1920s to deplore the pitiful state of the G. (Bahru Zewde 2002:124f.). McClellan (1988:73) concludes that this system "kept the Gedeo economically impoverished". Many of these same G., following the measurement of land in Gideʾo, which began in 1917, and the alienation of extensive tracts of it, lost their pre-conquest rights to land and did, indeed, become tenants, but not necessarily to the *näfṭäñña*, whom previously they had served, but, more frequently, to a later wave of government servants and settlers.

The apparently divergent understandings of G. may be reconciled by noting that the G. is a tributary, frequently a land-holder by right, but subject to widely varying tributary conditions and relationships.

↗Feudalism; ↗Gʷəlt

Src.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *Dictionnaire de la langue amareñña*, Paris 1881, 846; BaetDic 968f.; AMSALU AKLILU, አማርኛ፡ እንግሊዝኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት / *Amharic–English Dictionary*, Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.], 275; BegCron, 41; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Due squarci inediti di cronaca etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 2, 1893, 804-18, here 806, 810; ID., "Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissini dell'ecciagghié Filpos," *ibid.* ser. 5^{a}, 24, 1917, 699-717, here 714; ID., "Su due frasi della cronaca abbreviata dei re d'Etiopia", *Annali IUO* 2, 3, 1949, 283-90, here 286f.; DillmLex 1159ff.; GÄBRÄ WÄLD ENGEDA WÄRQ, "Ethiopia's Traditional System of Land Tenure and Taxation", *EthObs* 5, 4, 1962, 302–39, here 306f., 316, 323ff.; GuiVoc 190, 201, 742f.; CARL WILHELM ISENBERG, *Dictionary of the Amharic Language*, London 1841; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie: Régnes de Yaʿqob et Za-Dengel (1597–1607)", *RevSem* 4, 1896, 177–85, 273–78, here 359, 361; THMDic 1175.

Lit.: GummLand 62–67; MAHTEME SELLASIE WOLDE MASKAL, "The Land System of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 1, 9, 1957, 283–301; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, "Land Tenure on the Eritrean Plateau", *Africa* 16, 1946, 1–14, here 11; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *Southern Ethiopia and the*

Christian Kingdom, 1508–1708, with Special Reference to the Galla Migrations and Their Consequences, Ph.D. thesis, London University 1971, 376ff.; BZHist 87–92; BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford 2002, 124f.; BERHANOU ABBEBE, *Évolution de la propriété foncière au Choa (Éthiopie) du règne de Ménélik a la constitution de 1931*, Paris 1971; ALLAN HOBEN, *Land Tenure Among the Amhara of Ethiopia. The Dynamics of Cognatic Descent*, Chicago, IL 1973; CHARLES W. MCCLELLAN, *State Transformation and National Integration: Gedeo and the Ethiopian Empire, 1895–1935*, East Lansing, MI 1988, 57–79; DIMITRI TOUBKIS, *'Je deviendrai roi sur tout le pays d'Éthiopie' Royauté et écriture de l'histoire dans l'Éthiopie chrétienne (XVI^e^-XVIII^e^ siécles)*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne 2004, 589–601; JOANNA MANTEL-NIECKO, *The Role of Land Tenure in the System of Ethiopian Imperial Government in Modern Times*, Warsaw 1980, 82–85, passim.

Donald Crummey

Gabra

The G. (also Gabbra) are an Oromo group, speaking the ↗Boorana dialect, who probably number about 50,000. The great majority still subsist as nomadic pastoralists in the vast, arid borderlands of Ethiopia and Kenya: in harsh times they and their camels and smallstock may range as far as Agärä Maryam in the north, the Uaso Nyiro River in the south, Lake Turkana in the west and Wajir in the east. Insecurity and loss of stock have forced some to settle around relief and trade centres, but even the most impoverished G. still strive to maintain active pastoral connections. The G. consist of two distinct clusters known as the Miigo and the Malbe. The less numerous Miigo profess ↗Islam, but, away from the towns, maintain traditional ways and values. The Malbe, though some have converted to Islam or to ↗Christianity, mostly follow their traditional religion. Miigo data are sparse (but see the many scattered references in Schlee 1989), whereas the Malbe data, on which this entry is based, are plentiful.

Schlee (1989) argues that the distant ancestors of the G. were members of a proto-Rendille-Somali (PRS) culture who acquired the Boorana language as, from the 16th cent. onwards, they became incorporated into the Boorana hegemony. Aneesa Kassam (1986) argues that the G. were Boorana who adopted some Rendille-Somali cultural elements when they took to camel pastoralism. Either way, ethnic identities, especially among pastoralists who must either maintain continuous access to grazing, browsing and water or perish, are often mutable and multiple. Identity-switching is a characteristic of the region, as is the adoption of cultural items singly or in sets; names of descent groups, styles of house-building, items of material culture and stock-markings often span ethnic groups (Schlee 1989; Prussin 1989). The G. and Boraana certainly share deep ritual and cultural bonds as well as their language, but the G. also have their own distinctive rituals, prayers, sacred sites and calendars (Tablino 1999, ch. 2). The G. appear to see themselves as "at once distinct from their neighbours and yet also related to them" and to use "the cultural means at hand to play up different or common origins as the need arises" (Wood 1999:64). In recent years, as ethnic allegiances have become national issues, attempts have been made by politicians and religious proselytizers to bind the G. exclusively to either the Ethiopian or the Somali or the ↗Oromo nationalist causes; some bloody, and sometimes deathly, affrays have ensued (Tablino 1999, ch. 8; Arero 2002, chs. 6–8).

The G. form a cultural unity, but are not a centrally organized political unit. An individual is born into one of five effectively autonomous sets of associated patriclans or phratries (↗*gosa*), named Algaana, Gaara, Galbo, Šaarbana and Odoola. Each phratry has its own distinctive history and customary grazing area. Clans (*balbala*) are made up of patrilineages (*miilo*), the members of which recognize and share the obligations of close agnatic kinship. A phratry has its own hereditary bestowers of blessings (↗*qaallu*), and own traditional holy sites (except the small Šaarbana, which shares with the much larger Algaana) to which a pilgrimage is made every seventh year. Each phratry also has its own nomadic "ritual capital" (*yaa*) in which the sacred objects integral to its well-being, a drum, ivory trumpet and fire-sticks, are each cared for by their resident custodians. Members of each *yaa* are also responsible for the maintenance of its *naabo*, an enclosure of thorn-branches, in which a sacred fire must be kindled and kept alight during important phratry rituals. The *yaa* is the source of moral authority for its phratry and all major decisions and judgements should be made there. A binary division underlies the five phratries, in each of which the clans are grouped into the exogamous moieties – Čilbo and Lossa – (except for the atypical Odoola, among whom they have the names Guba Dera and Guba Gababa). Moieties stand in opposition to each other in some contexts, but are united in others. Moiety affiliation is most obvious in religious contexts: the custodian of the sacred drum must belong to one moiety and the custodian of the horn to its opposite; one moiety sacrifices goats and the other sheep; moieties use separate gateways to the *naabo* and perform their ceremonies on different days (Schlee 1989; Tablino 1999).

The G., like the Boorana, have a great wealth of memorized imaginative and poetic blessings, hymns, prayers, songs, histories, fables, myths and legends, in which traditional modes of thought are elaborated and explored (Tablino 1998, chs. 5–6; Aneesa Kassam 1984, 1986). The ambivalences and ambiguities of life are expressed in the language and imagery used, which often abounds with "binary oppositions" that complement each other and are combined and recombined to form conceptual "unities". The list of possible oppositions is almost endless, but frequent pairs are: Earth and Sky, mundane and sacred, masculine and feminine, the division of families between main and satellite camps, right and left. "They say binaries make unities: *Lammi tokko*, 'Two are one'" (Wood 1999:15); as occurs, to take simple examples, when marriage partners from opposite moieties are joined, though retaining their identities, or when revered and sacred ritual elders (*ḍabeela*) appear to behave like women.

Tablino (1999, ch. 9) suggests that there are "six basic concepts" in G. culture. These are: 1. ↗*aadaa*, custom and tradition as learned by experience and participation: 2. *luba*, the cyclical system of generation-sets and grades which regulate the flow of each man's life, ensure that elders enter the sacred grade of *ḍabeela* at the proper time and are bulwarks of the social, ritual and moral orders; 3. *ğüla*, festivals, feasts, ceremonies "of an incomparable richness" that are performed with appropriate rituals and sacrifice; 4. *nagaya*, the peace, harmony and order of both the G. as a whole and of its components. Peace is God's great gift, the most "common formula of prayer" and an essential part of every ↗greeting and blessing; 5. *rooba*, rain which brings abundance and is crucial for life in the desert; 6. ↗*Waaqa*, which means both the Sky and God, on which the other five must all depend. Similar basic concepts are held by the ↗Boorana, but there are significant differences in the details of their application. For example, the G. generally use *luba* as the general descriptive term for their systems of generation-sets, whereas the Boraana use ↗*gadaa*. The Boraana have a general system with regular eight-year intervals between transition ceremonies, whereas the G. systems differ between phratries, and the intervals between sets may be 14 or 21 years. The Boraana have an interval of five sets between those of father and son, but the G. may have an interval of one or two or three sets. Whatever their ages, all the sons of a Boraana belong to the same set, but the sons of a G. may belong to different sets (Tablino 1999, appendix 1h; Torry 1978). There are also considerable differences in ritual, regalia and symbolism (Wood 1999).

Gabra dance: the sticks are used to beat the rhythm; photo 1986, courtesy of Günther Schlee

Lit.: HASSAN GURACHA WARRIO ARERO, *Keeping the Peace of the Borana: Aspects of Peace and Conflict in Shifting Indigenous Systems of Northern Kenya*, Ph.D. thesis, University of East Anglia 2002; ANEESA KASSAM, *La geste de Renard: variations sur un conte Gabbra*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris III – Sorbonne Nouvelle 1984; ID., "The Fertile Past: the Gabra Concept of Oral Tradition", *Africa* 56, 2, 1986, 193–209; LABELLE PRUSSIN, *African Nomadic Architecture: Space, Place and Gender*, Washington – London 1995; GÜNTHER SCHLEE, "Interethnic Clan Identities among Cushitic-Speaking Pastoralists of Northern Kenya", *Africa* 55, 1, 1985, 17–38; ID., *Identities on the Move: Clanship and Pastoralism in Northern Kenya*, Manchester 1989; ID., "Ethnicity Emblems, Diacritical Features, Identity Markers: Some East African Examples", in: DAVID BROKENSHA (ed.), *A River of Blessings*, Syracuse 1994, 129–47; ID., "Gada Systems on the Meta Ethnic Level: Gabbra/Boran/Garre Interactions in the Kenya/Ethiopian Borderlands", in: EISEI KURIMOTO – SIMON SIMONSE (eds.), *Conflict, Age*

and Power in Northeast Africa, Oxford 1998, 121–46; Paul Tablino, *The Gabra. Camel Nomads of Northern Kenya*, Nairobi 1999; William Torry, "Gabra Age Organisation and Ecology", in: Paul Trevor William Baxter – Uri Almagor (eds.), *Age, Generation and Time: Some Features of East African Age Organizations*, London 1978, 183–206; John C. Wood, *When Men are Women: Manhood among Gabra Nomads of East Africa*, Wisconsin 1999.

Paul T.W. Baxter

Gäbrä Amlak

G.A. (**ገብረ፡ አምላክ**), a holy monk and one of the *Šäwᶜattä däqiqä Ewosṭatewos* (↗Ewosṭateans), lived in the 14th cent. The only available information about him is a short hint in the Vita of his master ↗Ewosṭatewos of Däbrä Ṣärabi (Turaiev 1905:80). G.A. was probably the eponymous founder of Ǝndä Abba Gäramlak (i.e. Ǝndä Abba Gäbrä Amlak; "End'Abba Gheramlàch" in the 20th-cent. Italian sources) at Qʷäyaṣa, a nowadays completely ruined monastery of Šire. A few local reflections of his cult can be detected in the onomastics: an Ayte Gäbrä Amlak of ↗ᶜAddi K̠ʷala (between ᶜAdwa and Asmära) is mentioned, for instance, in the so-called *Liber gentium* of Təgrəñña-speaking Eritrea (Conti Rossini 1942:171f., § XXIIf.).

Src.: Boris Turaiev (ed.), *Monumenta Aethiopiae hagiologica*, vol. 3. *Vita et Miracula Eustathii, ad fidem codd. Or. 704 et Or. 705 Musei Britannici edita*, Petropoli 1905, 1–132 [Gädl], here 80; Id. (tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta s. Eustathii*, Parisiis 1906 (CSCO 32 [SAe 15]), 41; TurIz 295–373, here 326; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbania 1942, 171f. (text) = 208f. (tr.).

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Un santo eritreo: Buruk Amlak", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 14, 1938, 3–50, here 4.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

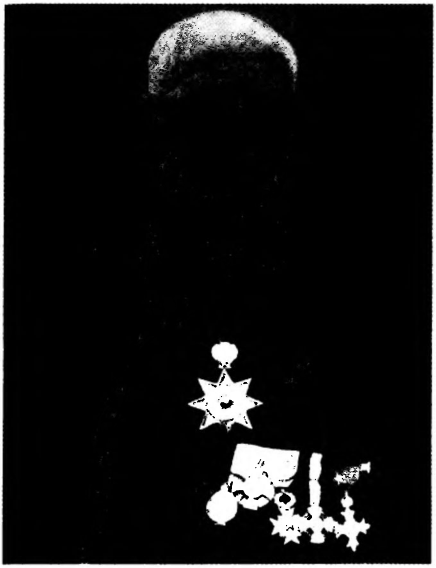
Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Dästa

Käntiba G.Ǝ.D. (**ገብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ደስታ**, in earlier records called **ጎበው፡ ደስታ**, Gobbäw Dästa, later widely known as Gäbru Dästa; b. ca. 1855, Gäžge, Aläfa Ṭaqussa; d. 1950, Addis Abäba) was a versatile intellectual who acted as an educator, administrator and interpreter within and outside Ethiopia in the late 19th and first half of the 20th cent. His father appears to have died while G.Ǝ.D. was still a child; but his mother, whose name has not been recorded in the available sources, and his sister, Dästa, survived at least to the last decade of the 19th cent.

G.Ǝ.D. was taken in by the Chrischona missionaries in the 1860s and, starting from 1868, was educated in Gobat's School in Jerusalem and, subsequently, at the ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission near Basel, where he arrived in 1872. From 1874 to 1877 he followed theological and missionary courses. He also helped in the translation and publication of the Amharic Bible in Korntal near Stuttgart. On the initiative of ↗Flad, he was sent to Ethiopia as a Protestant missionary by the ↗London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews in 1878, to teach and preach among the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, at the missionary station of ↗Ǧända directed by ↗Mikaʾel Arägawi. In 1883 he was sent to the Oromo of Šäwa and worked as a teacher at the new missionary school of Bali together with Greiner and Johannes ↗Mayer until the expulsion of the missionaries in 1886. He then left Ethiopia and entered into the services of the Berliner Ostafrikanische Missionsgesellschaft. First he was sent to Aden and later to German East-Africa to teach slaves rescued by the British from Arab boats and entrusted to the Protestant and Catholic missions in the region. In 1888 he married the daughter of a former colleague, Marta Bender, in Jerusalem (d. 1889).

In 1889 G.Ǝ.D. entered the service of the Ethiopian government and was assigned to Harär where he is said to have attempted to modernize the customs and the police. After the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa (1896), G.Ǝ.D. was appointed mayor of Gondär, and received the title ↗*käntiba*. But he did not hold this office long, as he was sent to Khartoum to the Mahdīya state on a diplomatic mission and was kept in custody upon his return for some obscure reason. This was probably due to demands of the British fearing a secret alliance of Ethiopia with the ↗Mahdists. Being one of the very few Ethiopians who had a good command of English, German and Arabic, his services were always needed; he was appointed the court's interpreter. He thus accompanied high delegations to England (participating in the coronation of King Edward VII), Germany and the United States in 1902, 1919 and 1930 respectively. He also acted as an interpreter of diverse German travellers and envoys in Ethiopia.

When *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II restructured the administration of his ministries in 1907, G.Ǝ.D. was appointed Director in the Ministry of the Interior. Shortly thereafter he was employed as an interpreter at the new German Legation. In the 1920s he worked as a teacher in the newly



Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Dästa; from Huyn – Kalmer 1935:96

established school which bore the name of the Crown Prince. It was at this time that he published the first Amharic grammar with his *Short Guide for Practical Amharic Grammar.*

In 1927 he gave his land at Ayra in Wälläga, with the consent of Empress ↗Zäwditu, to the newly arrived ↗Hermannsburger Mission. In 1931–35 G.Ǝ.D. was a member of the Senate, and again after 1941, becoming its President. After the ↗Graziani incident of 1937, he was imprisoned on the island of Asinara, Italy, where he wrote his autobiography, which remained unpublished. He died of illness at the beginning of 1950. G.Ǝ.D. was survived by three daughters and a son. They played significant roles in the social, cultural and educational areas.

Src.: FELIX ROSEN, *Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft in Abessinien*, Leipzig 1907; BAIRU TAFLA (ed.), *Ethiopian Records of the Menilek Era: Selected Amharic Documents from the Nachlaß of Alfred Ilg, 1884–1900*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 54), document 023; GABRU DASTA, *Short Guide for Practical Amharic Grammar*, Addis Ababa 1921.

Lit.: HerTar 94; BAIRU TAFLA, "Four Ethiopian Biographies: Däjjazmač Gärmame, Däjjazmač Gabra Egzi'abeher Moroda, Däjjazmač Balča and Käntiba Gäbru Dästa", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 1–31, here 22–31; MahHorse 284; DAWIT GÄBRU, ከንቲባ፡ ገብሩ፡ ደስታ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ቅርስ (*Käntiba Gäbru Dästa*, *Yäʾiṭyopya Qərs*, '*Käntiba* G.D., Ethiopian Heritage'), Addis Abäba, *Mäskäräm* 1985 A.M. [September–October 1992 A.D.] 100–384; BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia. The Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford – Athens, Ohio – Addis Ababa 2002, 36, 42–48, 52, passim; WOLBERT SMIDT, "'Schwarze Missionare' im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts", in: MARIANNE BECHHAUS-GERST – REINHARD KLEIN-ARENDT (eds.), *AfrikanerInnen in Deutschland und schwarze Deutsche – Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Münster 2004, 41-56, here 46, 49–52; LUDWIG HUYN – JOSEF KALMER, *Abessinien: Afrikas Unruhe-Herd*, Salzburg – Graz – Wien 1935, 96 (ill.).

Bairu Tafla

Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Elyas

G.Ǝ. (ገብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ኤልያስ; b. 12 February 1892, Ǝnṭoṭṭo, d. 6 October 1969, Nazret) was a painter, poet, polemicist and historian. He was a son of the well-known painter *aläqa* Elyas Ḫaylu and ʿAmätä Mikaʾel.

G.Ǝ. started his ↗traditional church education at the age of five at ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel church, learning the *fidäl* and the Psalms of David. Then he studied royal etiquette, painting and book-illumination (ሐረግ, *ḥaräg*), calligraphy (ቁም፡ ጽሕፈት, *qum ṣəḥfät*) and book-making (ድጕሰት, *dəgʷəsät*). At the age of 20 he went to study *qəne* at ↗Sälla Dəngay (Šäwa), ↗Däbrä Marqos and ↗Bəčäna (Goǧǧam) and was qualified as a *qəne* teacher. He studied the Old Testament for some time at ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon.

Upon returning to Addis Abäba, G.Ǝ. worked as assistant head in the customs and later as calligrapher and illustrator at the Ministry of the Pen. He was also the principal secretary of a committee for a translation of the New Testament from Gəʿəz into Amharic.

On a special order of *ətege* ↗Zäwditu, G.Ǝ. prepared in 1917 A.M. [1924/25 A.D.] an edition of the ↗*Haymanotä abäw* for the scriptorium of Kidanä Məḥrät (the chapel in the palace compound) on fine parchment (vellum) with illuminations, finely bound.

In the course of the dispute about the Monophysite faith (↗*Täwaḥədo*), G.Ǝ. became front figure for one of the parties, writing poems and making cartoons of the opponents. For this he was brought before the Regent Täfäri Mäkʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), who passed the matter to *abunä* ↗Matewos. However, after much discussion, G.Ǝ.'s party came out victorious and he was given praise and honour and a high position in the church (s. GebMolIyas ch. 62).

In 1921 G.Ǝ. involved himself by writing in the press in the cause of securing for the Ethiopian Church the right of having Ethiopian bishops (↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church; cf. GebMolIyas chs. 81, 94). Thereupon, he was appointed court historian and wrote the royal chronicle for the period 1908/09 to 1931/32, covering the rules of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu and *ətege* Zäwditu. After that, he worked at the Ministry of Education from 1931/32 to 1935/36 on the expansion of education in Wälläga.

When Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, G.Ǝ. wrote many patriotic poems and a play to encourage the resistance. As the Italians came to Wälläga, he put on a monk's habit and lived among the tombs for six months, until his godfather *mämhər* Akalu Kidanä Maryam, recently appointed bishop of Wälläga with headquarters at Neqemte, called him to be his deputy (**እንደራሴ**, *əndärase*). For his activities and cooperation with the freedom fighters, G.Ǝ.E. was honoured upon the return of the Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

After the occupation, G.Ǝ. returned to his task of teaching and establishing new schools. He also rewrote in 1944 the chronicle about Iyasu and Zäwditu, which had been destroyed by the Italians. This work, published in Germany in 1994, marks the end of over six centuries of Ethiopian royal chronicle writing.

G.Ǝ. was pensioned in 1965 and lived for some years at (Ambo) Hagärä Ḥəywät, west of the capital. He died at the age of 78. He had married three times and was survived by 11 children.

Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Elyas; photo courtesy of the IES (no. 14G4)

Lit.: GebMolIyas 16–21, chs. 62, 81, 94; ANONYMOUS, **የአለቃ፡ ገብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ኤልያስ፡ አጭር፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ፡ ኅዳር፡ ፲፱፻፷፪፡ ዓ.ም.፡ ለዓርባኛው፡ ቀን፡ የሞት፡ መታሰቢያ፡ ታተመ** (*Yäʾaläqa Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Elyas aččər yäḥəywät tarik Ḫədar 1962 A.M. läʿarbaññaw qän yämot mättasäbiya tattäma*, 'A Short Biography of *aläqa* Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Elyas, Printed in his Memory in Ḫədar 1962 A.M., 40 Days after his Death'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.]

Reidulf K. Molvaer

Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Moroda

G.Ǝ. (**ገብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሞሮዳ**, originally Kumsaa Moroda; b. 1871, Neqemte, d. 1923) was a direct descendant of the Oromo ruling house of Neqemte. His father, Moroda Bakaree, submitted at first to the rule of ↗Goǧǧam and was Christened by its army commander *ras* ↗Däräso in the late 1870s. Later he acquiesced in Šäwan rule over the Leeqaa region in exchange for local autonomy and a direct link with the Šäwan court. Moroda was granted the title of *däǧǧazmač* by *nəguś* Mənilək (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) in recompense for his not joining the forces of the army of *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam during the battle of Ǝmbabo (1882). Kumsaa was raised in Neqemte where he received a church education; he was Christened as G.Ǝ. by *aṣe* Mənilək II and confirmed Governor of ↗Wälläga on the death of his father in 1889.

Under his governorate, Wälläga flourished both economically and politically. G.Ǝ. stayed aloof from national politics and remained loyal to his sovereign throughout, although he defended his own vested interests and those of the region he ruled with shrewd and subtle diplomacy. He was rewarded with political consideration from the centre and respect from his subjects. He was open to innovations and took an active part in the economic development of his region. He welcomed foreign traders and missionaries.

In 1898 G.Ǝ. accompanied *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən to ↗Beni Šangul, which he helped to subdue, and was later (1903–08) entrusted with its administration. He introduced the planting of coffee in Wälläga, ordered the building of a bridge over the Didessa River and facilitated trade and communications with the outside world. By favouring trade and commerce, by encouraging his subjects to grow coffee and by extending his own possession, particularly over the Sibuu lands across the Didessa River, he derived considerable wealth

Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Moroda; estate of Maurice de Coppet, Finland, Helsinki National Library, no. 110

through taxes and other dues, which the central government coveted and in turn tried to tax. The country was subjected to a yearly tribute of 500 *wäqet* of gold and 500 *färäsulla* of ivory, later converted to 1,000 *wäqet* of gold when ivory became scarce. A further tribute of 17,000 Maria Theresia thalers was imposed on the Wälläga ruler to feed the Gondärine troops of *ras* Dämisäw, who were then stationed at Arǧo but in fact to keep them away from Neqemte. The feud with the central government over taxation rights within his domains remained a source of friction till G.Ǝ. died of diabetes. He was succeeded by his son, ↗Habtä Maryam, who governed the region till the Italian occupation.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Four Ethiopian Biographies: Däjjazmač Gärmame, Däjjazmač Gabra Egzi'abeher Moroda, Däjjazmač Balča and Käntiba Gäbru Dästa", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 1–31, here 11ff.; TESEMA TAʾA, *The Administration of Leqa Neqemte*, 4th year essay, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1976; GueCopMen 110 (ill.).

Alessandro Triulzi

Gäbrä Ǝndrəyas

G.Ǝ. (ገብረ፡ እንድርያስ), a late 13th–14th cent. saintly monk, was abbot of ↗Däbrä Qozät, a monastery in Ç̣aqata (historical Amhara, later Wällo). The main source on G.Ǝ.'s life appears in his comparatively short Vita (↗*Gädl*), known so far in only two manuscripts (18th-cent. BritLib Orient. 702, the recent EMML 654); there is also a collection of ↗*mälkəʾ* in honour of G.Ǝ. According to the *Gädlä Gäbrä Ǝndrəyas* (s. Turaiev 1902, cp. Derat 2001:251f.), his father was Tənśaʾe Krəstos from Dämbəge, and his mother, Arsima. The saint's baptismal name was Nəftalem. G.Ǝ. was sent to learn under a certain *abba* Sälama, but, following his father's will, he got married and had five children. However, after a vision, he left his family and went to *abba* Gäbrä Krəstos, who gave him the monastic habit (↗*Askema*) and a new name: G.Ǝ. As Gäbrä Krəstos, the head of the community, was dying, he appointed G.Ǝ. his successor. In the rest of the Vita, other episodes, typical for this kind of source, are reported: the Virgin Mary visits G.Ǝ. and gives him "three chalices of the water of life", he heals the sick and vanquishes a demon, he is suddenly lifted to heaven by the angels and prophets, to see "the throne of the Trinity" etc. His commemoration day is on 4 *Taḫśaś*. The partition of the known text of his Vita into several miracles (all of which were completed during the Saint's life) may be the result of later reworking into a coherent original narrative.

The *Gädl* stresses the connection of the Saint to the somewhat remote Lake ↗Ḥayq: the text describes twice how the saint prayed standing in its waters; on another occasion, the lake blames G.Ǝ. because he baptized in its waters a certain "woman from the land of Sen", not knowing that she was in the midst of her menses. However, most of the other places where the activities of G.Ǝ. took place can be located around Däbrä Qozät: Däbrä Sina, (Däbrä) Qʷəsqʷam, Däbrä Zämogä/Zämosa, Bäsəqa, Bäqʷəlo Säbbärä, Däbrä Aläskur and Däbrä Ḥagʷa (Derat 2001:244f.).

Yoḥannəs of Dämbəge, who visited G.Ǝ., is mentioned in the spiritual genealogy of the followers of *abba* Täklä Haymanot (Getatchew Haile 1982–83:34); the same source indicates that Gäbrä Krəstos of Dəmbi was one of twelve "teachers" appointed by the 14th-cent. metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yaʿəqob (*ibid.* 29).

In spite of the local scale of his cult, G.Ǝ. appears in hagiographies of some other saints: he visits *abba* ↗Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi before his death; he witnesses the death of the great *abba* ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus (according to the Vita of the latter), this motif being also present in the Vita of G.Ǝ. himself, for he attends there the deaths of a certain *abba* Mikyas and *abba* Fiqtor. The Vita of *abba* ↗Iyasus Moʾa argues that he was the spiritual father of G.Ǝ., a claim that may reflect the fall of Däbrä Qozät into the sphere of influence of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos.

Src.: EMML 654; BORIS TURAIEV (ed.), *Monumenta Aethiopiae hagiologica*, Petropoli 1902, fasc. 2, 80–91 ["Vita et Miracula Gabra-Endreyas"]; KurMoa 35, 38 (text), s. index; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Täklä Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 7–38, here 29, 34; PAOLO MARRASSINI (ed.), *"Vita", "Omelia", "Miracoli" del santo Gabra Manfas Qeddus*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 597, 598 [SAe 107, 108]), s. index; ID. (ed.), *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi. Vita di Yohannes l'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 [1982] (Quaderni di Semitistica 10).

Lit.: MARIE-LAURE DERAT, "Gäbrä 'Endreyas de Däbrä Qozät et les généalogies monastiques du XVe au XIXe siècle: réécritures et réemplois", *AE* 17, 2001, 229–55; KapMon, s. index.

Denis Nosnitsin

Gäbra Giyorgis Wäldä Ṣadəq ↗Basəlyos

Gäbrä Ḥanna

Aläqa G.Ḥ. (ገብረ፡ ሐና; fl. 19th cent) was a traditional scholar, the popular hero of innumerable Amharic jokes and humorous stories. In his biography, legend and historical data have merged. Oral tradition reports that he was a native of the province of Gondär, born in a place named Nabäga Giyorgis in ↗Fogära, Bägemdər. The data on the years of his birth and death differ considerably: according to Arräfä ᶜAyne Ḥagos (1979:9, 81) G.Ḥ. was born in 1814 A.M. [1821/22 A.D.] and died at the age of 84, i.e. in 1898 A.M.; Elsabeṭ Gässäsä (1974:1, 13) gives the same year of birth but has 1908 A.M. as the year of his death. According to Molvaer (MolLit 167, 172) G.Ḥ. lived from 1797 A.M. to 1894 A.M. The information on his father's name also varies: Gäbrä Maryam according to Molvaer, Dästa Tägäññä according to Arräfä ᶜAyne Ḥagos and Elsabeṭ Gässäsä. G.Ḥ. had two daughters and one son by his wife Mazängiya. It is not sure, when and whether he received the title *aläqa*.

As far as is known, G.Ḥ. received a thorough church ↗education, partly at the Bäᶜata church in Gondär. Subsequently he held different positions as church administrator, expert in ↗chronology and traditional law (↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt*), teacher and adviser. He spent several years in the service of *aṣe* Tewodros II, but he was to reach his greatest fame at the court of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II.

G.Ḥ. is said to have penned several religious books; however, none of them has ever been published. Tradition claims that his best-known contribution to church culture was the invention of a new style of liturgical dance (↗*Aq^{w}aq^{w}am*; ↗*Däbtära*), for which he took inspiration from the waves on Lake Ṭana and the sideways movement of the bamboo reed. This style of dance was strongly disapproved of and rejected by the clergy. However, G.Ḥ.'s son Täkle continued to teach it, with it eventually spreading over the country and being called የተክሌ፡ አቋቋም, *yätäkle aq^{w}aq^{w}am*, 'the [liturgical] dance of Täkle' (or, popularly, ዕብድ፡ ተክሌ, *ᶜəbd Täkle*, 'crazy Täkle', probably hinting at the clergy's perception).

Despite a lack of documents on his life, G.Ḥ.'s name and stories around him are well remembered by all social groups. The fictional hero G.Ḥ. combines the proverbial pride and wit of the traditional "Gondäre", having the status of a religious scholar with a certain amount of native slyness, impudence and a special weakness for "carnal pleasures". Many jokes and puns ascribed to him are of a sexual or scatological nature (cp. Pankhurst – Pankhurst 1982), newly invented ones often being set in the context of modern Ethiopia. Many stories and anecdotes reflect issues of everyday life in his rural neighbourhood or at the court of Mənilək, where G.Ḥ. is found teasing the Emperor and his wife by subtle remarks, or annoying the nobility by quick-witted verbal attacks. But he is neither a court jester nor a rebel against the established social order. Rather he mocks petrified forms and human weaknesses. Permanently suffering from homesickness and often falling into temporary disgrace, he repeatedly returns to his beloved native Gondär until things have calmed down, playing tricks on robbing outlaws (↗*Šəfta*). Back home he is found cheating on his wife and ridiculing his neighbours in hidden allusions.

One of the best-known stories about G.Ḥ. tells that one morning he met a peasant with his donkey and greeted him: እንደምን፡ አደራችሁ (*əndämən addäraččəhu*?, 'How did you (pl.) spend the night?'). The peasant, boasting of being politely greeted by the famous man, only later realizes the veiled insult: G.H. used the plural form in his greeting, thus putting him and his donkey on the same level or implying that the poor peasant has spent the night with his donkey (s. Messing 1957:70; LevWax 250; Molvaer 1995:302; Amharic text s. Abbäbä Ayəččeh 1948 A.M.:101).

G.Ḥ.'s reputation is based on his verbal dexterity and subtle wit, his mastery of Amharic and Gəᶜəz grammar in using words with hidden or double meanings and different forms of the traditional poetic device "wax and gold" (↗*Sämənna wärq*). Due to the ambiguity and volatility of the spoken word, the hearer has to listen carefully in order not to miss some slight shift in the pronunciation, otherwise he may fail to grasp the deeper sense and become himself the object of ridicule and amusement. G.Ḥ.'s verbal ability is still greatly admired and a great number of newly invented witticisms, *qəne* epigrams and humorous remarks are ascribed to him.

↗Folktales

Lit.: ABBÄBÄ AYƎČČEH, ቢልጮ (*Bilčo/Billəčo*, 'The Wit/The Bald One'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.], 95–105; AmhChurchD vol. 5, 143ff.; ARRÄFÄ ᶜAYNE ḤAGOS, አለቃ፡ ገብረ፡ ሐና፡ እና፡ አስቂኝ፡ ቀልዶቻቸው (*Aläqa Gäbrä Ḥanna ənna assəqiññ qäldoččaččäw*, '*Aläqa* Gäbrä Hanna and his Amusing Jokes'), Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.]; ELSABEṬ GÄSSÄSÄ, በአለቃ፡ ገብረሃና፡ የሚነገሩ፡ ቀልዶች (*Bäᵓaläqa Gäbrähanna yämminnäggäru qäldočč*, 'Jokes Told by *aläqa* Gäbrähanna'), B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1974 A.M. [1981/82 A.D.]; HerTar 69; LevWax 250, s. index; SIMON D. MESSING, "Ethiopian Folktales Ascribed to the Late Nineteenth Century Amhara Wit Aläqa Gäbrä-Hanna", *Journal of American Folklore* 70, 1957, 69–72; REIDULF KURT MOLVAER, *Socialization and Social Control in Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1995 (AeF 44), 158, 302; MolLit 167–73; MÄNGƎŚTU LÄMMA, መጽሐፈ፡ ትዝታ። ዘአለቃ፡ ለማ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ወልደ፡ ታሪክ (*Mäṣḥafä təzzəta. Zäᵓaläqa Lämma Ḫaylu Wäldä Tarik*, 'The Book of the Recollection: of *aläqa* Lämma Ḫaylu Wäldä Tarik'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.M.], 137f.; BIRGIT MATTAUSCH, *Die Kunst der Ambiguität. Indirekte Kommunikation im historischen Äthiopien und ihre Reflektion in den Aläqa-Gäbrä-Hanna-Geschichten*, Ph.D. thesis, Hamburg University 2004; RICHARD PANKHURST – ALULA PANKHURST, "Ethiopian Children's Folktales Attributed to Alaqa Gabra Hanna", *QSE* 3–4, 1982–83, 95–105.

Birgit Mattausch

Gäbrä Ḥanna Ǧimma

G.Ḥ. (ገብረ፡ ሐና፡ ጂማ, b. 1889 or 1895, Harär, d. 7 *Taḫśaś* 1953 A.M. [16 December 1960 A.D.], Addis Abäba), generally known as *abba* Ḥanna, was the son of an Amhara woman from Goǧǧam and an Oromo father from Sälale who became *fitawrari* and was posted to Harär. After some preliminary church education, at the age of eleven G.Ḥ. was sent to the court of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. In 1916, he was sent to the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa for further education. He became a monk, spent twelve years in the monastery and was ordained priest.

In 1928, G.Ḥ. returned to Addis Abäba. He became eventually Palace Chaplain, private confessor to Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I (cp. ↗*Näfs abbat*), and also holder of the Emperor's privy purse. This latter position should contribute to his unpopularity and bad reputation among Ethiopians, as he was suspected of putting some of the money meant for charity into his own pockets. This harmed not only his, but also the Church's reputation.

G.Ḥ. was also put in charge of the deposed *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu during his imprisonment in the village of Grawa in ↗Gara Mulläta in Harärge. He served as the link between Iyasu and the Emperor and assisted in bringing Iyasu to the capital late in 1936. Iyasu was murdered there in November, when *däǧǧazmač* Yəggäzu Bähabte was in charge of him. Some put the blame for the murder on G.Ḥ., others on his brother Gässäsä. The latter was shot (probably by an Ethiopian) when he was riding beside the Emperor after the battle of ↗Mayčäw. Many think that the bullet was meant for Ḫaylä Śəllase and that Gässäsä was shot by mistake.

Ḫaylä Śəllase took G.Ḥ. with him almost everywhere he went, to Däse in 1936 and then to England the same year (where he also witnessed the death of *blatten geta* ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase in 1938). G.Ḥ. accompanied him to the League of Nations' 17th session in September 1936, where the Emperor gave his famous speech. Later G.Ḥ. was with the Emperor when he met President Roosevelt and then Winston Churchill in February 1945. G.Ḥ.'s power gradually increased and many considered him scheming and too much in the Emperor's confidence, ascribing this to his knowledge of state secrets the Emperor did not want divulged (perhaps related to the fate of Iyasu). When Ḫaylä Śəllase was abroad in December 1960, on the day the Imperial Bodyguard staged a ↗Coup d'etat G.Ḥ. was dining with the royal family and high officials when the coup leader, Brigadier-General ↗Mängəśtu Nəway, set a trap for him and others to put them in detention. G.Ḥ. was shot, together with a number of high officials, on 7 *Taḫśaś* at the age of either 65 or 71.

Lit.: RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia. A New Political History*, London 1965 (Lit.); KÄBBÄDÄ TÄSÄMMA, የታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ (*Yätarik mastawäša*, 'Historical Memoirs'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.].

Reidulf K. Molvaer

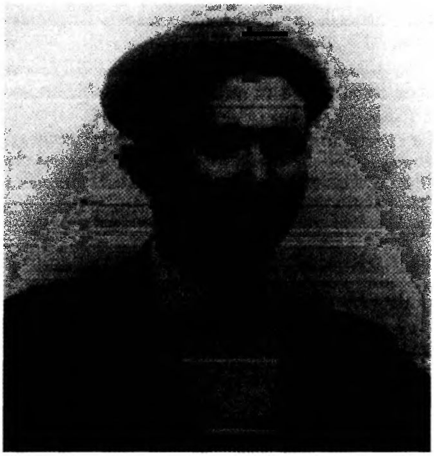
Gäbrä Ḥəywät Baykädañ

Näggadras G.Ḥ.B. (ገብረ፡ ሕይወት፡ ባይከዳኝ; b. 30 July 1886, ᶜAdwa district, d. 1 July 1919) was quite clearly the most incisive and profound of the Ethiopian reformist intellectuals of the early 20th cent. He fled to Eritrea at the age of seven to escape the depredations of post-Mätämma Təgray. He then stowed away on a ship that had anchored at Massawa and found himself in Austria, where he was adopted by a family and got medical education in Germany.

Returning to Ethiopia, he served as interpreter, in which capacity he accompanied the Ethiopian mission to Germany in 1907, led by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Mäšäša Wärqe, and physician to the ailing *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. Running foul of *ətege* Ṭaytu, he sought asylum in the neighbouring Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. He could not fail to be struck by the contrast between the progress achieved in British-ruled Sudan (as well as Italian-ruled Eritrea) and the backwardness of independent Ethiopia. This contrast became a central theme of his later writings.

Unimpressed by the general adulation of Mənilək in post-ᶜAdwa Ethiopia, G.Ḥ.B. pinned his hopes for Ethiopia's progress rather on the heir to the throne, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, and his powerful tract, **አጤ፡ ምኒልክና፡ ኢትዮጵያ** (*Aṭe Məniləkənna Ityoṗya*, 'Emperor Mənilək and Ethiopia'), was partly intended as a recipe for reform that the young prince would adopt. Disappointed by Iyasu's lack of constancy, G.Ḥ.B., like many other fellow intellectuals, shifted his allegiance to Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), who, after he rose to power in 1916, made him successively inspector of the Addis Abäba-Djibouti railway (1916) and ↗*näggadras* of Dərre Dawa.

G.Ḥ.B.'s second major work, **መንግሥትና፡ የሕዝብ፡ አስተዳደር** (*Mängəśtənna yäḥəzb astädadär*, 'Government and Public Administration'), was published posthumously. A treatise on the political economy of Ethiopia, adapting liberal economic theory to the Ethiopian reality, it was anchored in the labour theory of value and underscored agriculture as the foundation of Ethiopia's prosperity. At the same time, it contained a scathing critique of the sort of monopoly enjoyed by the Bank of Abyssinia and an exposé of the unequal commercial exchange between the industrialized and non-industralized world.



Gäbrä-Ḥəywät Baykädañ, photo courtesy of the IES (no. 9 G4, 704)

Src.: Gäbrä Ḥəywät Baykädañ, **መንግሥትና፡ የሕዝብ፡ አስተዳደር** (*Mängəśtənna yäḥəzb astädadär*, 'Government and Public Administration'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960 A.D.]; Id., "**አጤ፡ ምኒልክና፡ ኢትዮጵያ**" (*Aṭe Məniləkənna Ityoṗya*, 'Emperor Mənilək and Ethiopia'), in: Olof Eriksson (ed.), *Bərhan yəkun* (*Sia la Luce*!), Asmara 1912; Tenkir Bonger (tr.), *The Political Economy of Ethiopia c. 1910*, London 1992.

Lit.: Bahru Zewde, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford – Athens – Addis Ababa 2002; Richard Caulk, "Dependency, Gebre Heywet Baykedagn, and the Birth of Ethiopian Reformism", in: *PICES* 5b, 569–81; MahHorse 85; Shiferaw Bekele, "Gäbrä-Heywät Baykädañ and the Emergence of a Modern Intellectual Discourse", *Sociology Ethnology Bulletin* 1, 3, 1994, 106–20; Tägabä Asräs, **የነጋድራስ፡ ገብረ፡ ሕይወት፡ ባይከዳኝ፡ አጭር፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ** (*Yänäggadras Gäbrä Ḥəywät Baykädañ ač̣č̣ər yäḥəywät tarik*, 'A Short Biography of Näggadras Gäbrä Ḥəywät Baykädañ'), B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1962 A.M. [1969 A.D.].

Bahru Zewde

Gäbrä Ḥəywät Goššu

Fitawrari G.Ḥ. (**ገብረ፡ ሕይወት፡ ጎሹ**, also known as **ገብርዬ**, Gäbrəyye; d. 10 April 1868, Aroge) was one of the closest friends and comrades-in-arms of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, beginning with the latter's time as *ləǧ* Kaśa Ḫaylu. A *balabbat* of Gayənt, he is first mentioned successfully fighting together with Kaśa in 1855 against Agäw Nəguśe (↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel; FusTeod 26).

His most notable appearance was, however, during the battle of Aroge (↗Fala), one of the decisive battles between the troops of *aṣe* Tewodros and those of the ↗Napier expedition. In this clash, the Ethiopian army was led by G.Ḥ. – a sign of trust imposed upon him by the Emperor, who during the battle remained in his headquarters at Fala, superintending the artillery. Even though the manpower of the two armies was nearly equal (Markham 1869:315), the English had a huge advantage in terms of ↗firearms and in spite of G.Ḥ.'s bravery, commented on even by the antagonists (s. Markham 1869:324: "the bravest and most trusted of the King's generals"), the Ethiopians had little chance to resist.

G.Ḥ. was mortally wounded in the battle. His death had a considerable effect on the morale of the army (MonVidTheo 55f.) and upon that of the Emperor himself, who wept on hearing the news of his closest comrade's death.

Src.: FusTeod 26, 42f., 46 (text) = 94f., 111ff., 115 (tr.); MonVidTheo 55f. (text) = 68f. (tr.); CLEMENTS ROBERT MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 315-25.
Lit.: BTafA 916; RubTew 88.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Gäbrä Ḥəywät Mäšäša

Däğğazmač G.Ḥ. (ገብረ፡ ሕይወት፡ መሸሻ; b. Ḥaḥayle, ᶜAdwa, d. February 1964, ᶜAdwa) was an important political and military figure in recent Ethiopian history.

The beginning of G.Ḥ.'s military career coincided with Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 (↗Italian war 1935–36). By then he was a district governor with the title of *däğğazmač*. In October 1935, G.Ḥ. was one of the lieutenants of ↗Śəyyum Mängäša, the commander of the Təgrayan army. *Aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I issued orders not to start fighting, but to retreat towards the rugged mountainous terrains in the interior and to wait for further instructions from the centre. Accordingly, G.Ḥ. and his peasant warriors moved south of ᶜAdwa and camped in the territories adjacent to the Tämben massifs. When Italian forces pushed inland and reached the Wärʾe valley, G.Ḥ. opened fire and inflicted casualties on the enemy. Śəyyum Mängäša pardoned this violation of the order, since that action slowed down the movement of the enemy to the interior.

In the meantime G.Ḥ. joined forces with Śəyyum Mängäša and *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu, the commander-in-chief of the Ethiopian forces in the northern front. G.H. fought bravely at the battles of Tämben (February 1936) and ↗Mayč̣äw (March 1936).

From 1936 to 1941 G.Ḥ. emerged as the most distinguished Təgrayan patriotic leader and fighter. Soon after the battle of Mayč̣äw, Śəyyum Mängäša entered the Täkkäze forests and formed resistance formations of his own, threatening Italian movements, particularly along the eastern and southern parts of Təgray. G.Ḥ. took an active part in the guerrilla war until Ethiopia was liberated in 1941. He was awarded several medals by the Emperor for his patriotic deeds and loyalty.

In the post-liberation period, G.Ḥ. worked in various capacities. While he was the governor of ↗ᶜAdwa district from 1956 to 1964, he marked his tenure with remarkable achievements, giving to the town its modern urban features: a new town plan was prepared, new buildings, roads and pedestrian roads were constructed and an enterprise for the processing of incense was established. He also laid the foundation stone for the construction of a high school in ᶜAdwa, now called the Queen of Sheba Secondary School.

G.Ḥ. died of illness and was buried in Aksum. He remained in the memory of people as a patriot and is commonly called Abba Fänqəl Gäbrä, thus compared to *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV (whose horse name was Abba Fänqəl) for his determination and courage.

Src.: GOVERNO GENERALE, AFRICA ORIENTALE ITALIANA, STATO MAGGIORE, *Il 1° Anno dell'Impero*, vol. 1, Addis Ababa 1939; *Addis Zämän*, 14 *Ḥamle* 1948 A.M. [1956 A.D.]; 30 *Ḫədar* 1953 A.M. [1960 A.D.]; 23 *Ḥamle* 1954 A.M. [1962 A.D.]; 9 *Gənbot* 1955 A.M. [1963 A.D.]; *Yäkkatit* 1956 A.M. [1964 A.D.].
Lit.: SELTENE SEYOUM, *A History of Resistance in Gojjam (Ethiopia)*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1999, 59ff.

Seltene Seyoum

Gäbrä Ḥəywät Mikaʾel

Ras G.Ḥ. (ገብረ፡ ሕይወት፡ ሚካኤል; b. 1868, Amba Mäqdäla, Wärrä Himäno, d. 28 March 1963, Addis Abäba) was a high dignitary at the court of Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. As the elder brother of *ləğ* ↗Iyasu, the deposed ruler of Ethiopia, and uncle of the later Empress ↗Mänän Asfaw, his submission to *ras* Täfäri after the coup d'état of 1916 had been of great symbolic importance for the reorganization of the power structure within the Empire.

His parents were the ruler of Wällo, *nəguś* ↗Mikaʾel Ali, recently converted to Christianity, and *wäyzäro* Ağäbä Wärqe, according to court tradition a direct descendant of the 14th-cent. *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I. After receiving a traditional education in Gəᶜəz and having been trained in warfare, G.Ḥ. was made *däğğazmač* by his father in the 1880s and received the government of the ↗Dälanta, ↗Wadla and Mäkyät subprovinces, under his father's rule. Later he was raised to the rank of *wag šum* and then, *ras*. Tradition considers him as an important factor in the stability of these regions, whose government he kept for decades, including under the rule of his brother *ləğ* Iyasu starting from 1910/11. Together with his father, he participated in the 1916 battle of ↗Sägäle to defend his brother's rule. Defeated, however, he submitted to the new government. Unlike his father, who was imprisoned, G.Ḥ. got a new province and became governor of Wärrä Himäno in Wällo. During the 1935 Italian invasion, his troops fought in the ranks of the Minister of War *ras* ↗Mulugeta Yəggäzu. Under the command of both, the troops fought in the battle of ↗Čäläqot, which for some time stopped the advance of the Italian troops. Arrested by the Italians, G.M. was deported to the island of Asinara, Italy, where he stayed imprisoned for two years.

As the heir of his father, after the liberation of 1941 G.Ḥ. was nominated governor per interim of Wällo. In his later years – though with reduced influence – he was made a member of the ↗Crown Council and of the Senate and took up permanent residence in Addis Abäba. He died at the age of 95 in the Military Hospital of the capital. His body was transferred to Däse and buried in the church of Mädḫane ᶜAläm, attended by the highest dignitaries of the state, including the Emperor and his family.

Lit.: "Le Ras Bitwoded Mekonnen Endalkatchew–Le Ras Guebre-Hiwot Mikael", የዛሬዪቱ፡ ኢትዮጵያ። *L'Ethiopie d'Aujourd'hui, Revue Mensuelle en Langue Française* 10, 11, 12, mars, avril, mai 1963, 17–21.

Wolbert Smidt – Woldeyohannes Workneh

Gäbrä Iyäsus

G.I. (**ገብረ፡ ኢየሱስ**) was a 14th-cent. holy monk belonging to the ↗Ewosṭateans. He lived under the reigns of *aṣe* Säyfä Arᶜad (1344–72) and his successor *aṣe* ↗Dawit II. G.I.'s Vita, still unpublished, has nothing about his childhood, apart from the fact that he was a native of ↗Wag. It seems that G.I. devoted himself to studies and meditation; when he learned about the fame of *abba* ↗Ewosṭatewos, he went to see him, thus receiving the monastic habit (yet, in the beginning of the Vita a certain Arsanyos is mentioned as G.I.'s spiritual father). He also followed him to Egypt (ca. 1338), where they met Patriarch Benjamin (1327–39) in Alexandria and visited the monasteries of Scetis; later, they left for the Holy Land and Armenia, all in all spending some 14 years out of Ethiopia. Before dying, Ewosṭatewos gave him both the ↗*tabot* consecrated in the name of Our Lady Mary and his own chair and sent him to ↗Ǝnfraz, where he arrived after a period of wandering. There he founded the monastery of ↗Däbrä San (Däbsan or Dəbsan) to house his disciples and built the church of Ṣäwänä Maryam. He successfully converted many people and baptized many ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel, the first of whom was a dignitary Zane Gabo, renamed Habtä Ǝgziᵓ: his daughter, first healed and then baptized by G.I., was named Ṣäbälä Ewosṭatewos. As his Vita reports further on, on hearing the story of this young girl, the king fell in love with her and married her; several of their sons became priests in the church of Däbrä San (which may conceal an allusion to *aṣe* ↗Yaᶜəqob, who married a woman from Səmen and stayed in Ǝnfraz).

When he felt his death approach, he gathered his disciples and confirmed them in faith, bestowing special distinctions on three of them who had been with him since their childhood: to Matewos he gave his cross and his chair; Ǝndrəyas he sent to another region to preach the Gospel; and Fiqṭor was ordered to lead a hermitic life in Gäda[mä] Bäres. After making his last will, G.I. died at an advanced age on 20 *Ḥamle* (the day of his commemoration in the ↗*Sənkəssar*) and was buried in the church he had built and dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

Src.: BudSaint 1138; GuiSyn II, 369f. [353f.]; KinBibl 73, no. 61; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note di agiografia etiopica ('Abiya-Egzi', 'Arkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus)", *RSO* 17, 1938, 409–52, here 439-52; **መጽሐፈ፡ ስንክሳር** (*Mäṣḥafä sənkəssar*, 'The Book of the Synaxarion'), Aśmära 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.], 903.

Lit.: TadTChurch 197f., 208, 217; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "Saints of Medieval Ethiopia", *Abba Salama* 10, 1979, 257–340, here 330; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Gabra Iyasus", in: *EncSan*, vol. 1, 939-40; KapMon, s. index; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia*, New York 1992, s. index; LusStud 115ff. s. index.

Osvaldo Raineri

Gäbrä Iyäsus

G.I. (**ገብረ፡ ኢየሱስ**; second half of the 15th cent.) was *bale gärad* (governor of the ↗Bale region) and ↗*bitwäddäd* during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam I. G.I. probably succeeded *gärad* Žan Zəg, who was killed in a military campaign in Gam, in the office of governor of Bale after the region, a former Islamic state, was conquered by the Christian ruler.

The Chronicle of Bäᵓədä Maryam mentions G.I. three times. In the first passage, the *bale gärad* took part in a plot against the Emperor by allying with groups of Šäwans quartered in Bale and called Tänač. Bäᵓədä Maryam repressed the attempt at revolt.

In the second passage, G.I., who is given the two titles of *bale gärad* and *bitwäddäd* (here *bəḥtwäddäd*), was sent by Bäʾədä Maryam to ʿAdal with a group from Šäwa, Däwaro and Bale to fight the Muslims there. According to the text, the Muslims were preparing an invasion of the Christian state, but they were overwhelmingly defeated by Bäʾədä Maryam's troops, who took many prisoners, among them many high-ranking persons.

In the third and last mention of the governor, the Chronicle tells us that G.I. and Māḥari Krəstos unwillingly went once again to ʿAdal at the head of an army to make war. However, as their military morale was at its lowest, they were compelled to make a rapid withdrawal by the inhabitants of ʿAdal and eventually killed in battle. It is said that Bäʾədä Maryam was very sad at the news of his governors' deaths.

Lit.: CerStud II, 27f.; PerrZarY 140f., 157f., 165f., 180f.

Alessandro Gori

Gäbrä Krəstos

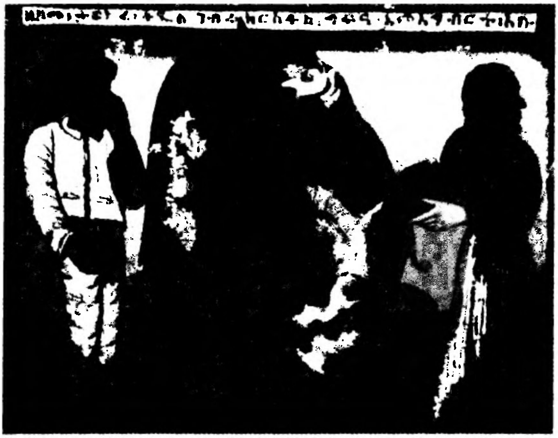
G.K. (ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ, lit. 'The Servant of Christ'), commemorated on the 14th of *Ṭəqəmt*, is the Ethiopic name of the Saint widely renowned in the Christian hagiographical tradition as "St. Alexis" or "the Man of God" (cf. Storey 1987). The first, quasi-historical, nucleus of Alexis's legend dates to the 6th cent. at last and is attested in Syriac (Amiaud 1889). A later, more developed form of the legend is found, along with in Ethiopic and Syriac, in Greek (cf. Esteves Pereira 1900; Halkin 1980), Armenian (BHO 10f., nos. 36–44) and Arabic (early and modern tr., cf. GrafLit vol. 1, 497f., and vol. 5, 10 *sub voce* "Alexius, hl."); it is also widely spread in all the Romance, German and Slavonic literatures (on the Latin traditions, and for general information on the subject, cf. Josi 1961).

The legend (probably influenced by that of John "the Calybite") tells how St. Alexis, the long-awaited son of a Roman nobleman, abandoned his wife on the wedding night in order to lead an ascetic life (a very well-known hagiographical motif, cf. de Gaiffier 1947), sold his luxurious vestments and, after a short stay in ↗Edessa, went back to Rome, where he spent the rest of his life as a beggar at the door of his father's palace; it is only after his death, that thanks to a document found in his hand, he is recognized and venerated as a saint (cf. Cerulli 1968:31ff.). In the Ethiopic version of the longer legend, the scene moves to Constantinople and the Saint, known only as G.K., becomes the son of Emperor Theodosius II.

All the motifs of the story of G.K. find a strong echo in Ethiopic ↗hagiography (cp. Marrassini 1981:lxxxviiff.). In the first edition of the Ethiopic text by Budge (1898:110–44 [tr.], 35–63 [text], criticized by Charles 1899), both Nöldeke (1899: 256) and an anonymous reviewer (1899:178) recognized a version of St. Alexis's legend. This edition, also including a hymn in honour of Gäbrä Krəstos from the ↗*Mäwaśəʾt* (Budge 1898:64f.), was based on both the no-longer-available ms. Lady Meux 1 (cf. ZanBibl 73, no. 141*A*; Cerulli 1965:290f.) and a ms. from the British Library. In his critical edition of the Acts, Cerulli (1969) has considered the testimonies of the longer version (in several recensions, and even in some copies of the ↗*Gädlä sämaʿətat*), the narratives in the ↗*Sənkəssar*, and some related tales of the *Miracles of Mary* (↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*).

As far as the Acts are concerned, besides the 15 mss. used by Cerulli (1969:iif. [text]; cf. also StrANL 18; Raineri 1986:176), additional mss. may now be listed. First and foremost, three *Gädlä sämaʿətat* mss. are by far older than the oldest ms. (16th cent.) used by him: EMML 2796 (14th cent.), fol. 52va–b, 54ra–58vb, 62ra–63vb, 66ra–71vb, 64ra–65vb and 72va–74va; 7602, fol. 90ra–95va (1382–1413, with a miniature of G.K. on fol. 89vb–c; cf. Bausi 2002:6, n. 13); and a *Gädlä sämaʿətat* from ↗Däbrä Maryam, Qʷäḥayn, Eritrea (1453, with a miniature of G.K.; cf. Bausi 1994:58, 65f., pl. VI). Other mss.: ANLin Conti Rossini 84 (20th cent.), fols. 40r–55v and 134 (16th cent., fragment), fol. 1 (cf. StrANL 220, 330); Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orient. oct. 1270 (14th cent.?), fols. 2ra–16vb and 19ra–24va, and Orient. oct. 1305 (18th cent.?), fols. 66ra–102va (cf. HamSixBerl 109, 163); Kloster Andechs, Kodex Rehm 87 (now lost, cf. SixDeu 62); Ṭānāsee 164 [= Dāgā Esṭifānos 53] (18th cent.), fol. 2ra–18vb, which is a copy of Ṭānāsee 170 [= Dāgā Esṭifānos 59] (15th–16th cent.), fols. 1ra–17ra, and Witzenhausen, Völkerkundliches Museum 1219, 1244 (17th cent.?), fols. 116ra–33vb and 136ra–vb (cp. SixTana III, 208, 220, 410); EMML 208 (20th cent.), fols. 45v–73v; 4002 (18th–19th cent.), fols. 26r–46r; 4280 (19th cent.), fols. 150r–164r.

As to the *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic Acts, Nöldeke (1899:257) plead for an Arabic one,



St. Alexis (Gäbrä Krəstos) recognized by his father's dogs only; cloth mural by *aläqa* Əsṭäzya; early 20th cent.; Ruba Kʷəsa, church of St. George, western wall of the *mäqdäs*; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

whereas Cerulli (1969:iiiff. [tr.]) noticed that the form ᶜAbdal Masiḥ (from Ar. ᶜAbd al-Masīḥ) for the Saint's name occurs only in the later Ethiopic manuscript tradition; nor does he exclude a direct translation from Greek into Ethiopic of a Byzantine text in which Rome and Edessa (the first dwelling-place of the Saint after his flight) had been replaced by Constantinople and Armenia respectively – also a clue for a post-639 dating of this form of the legend. On the other side, the year 1425 had already been set as a *terminus ante quem* by Cerulli (1969:i [text]) on account of a doted list of manuscripts (cf. Bausi 2002:2, n. 2) with the Acts of G.K. Owing to the different recensions of the same Alexis's legend, in the *Sənkəssar* two saints with similar stories are commemorated on 14 *Ṭəqəmt*: "Muse, the Man of God" and G.K. (also called ᶜAbdal Masiḥ; cf. BudSaint 148–55; ColSyn VII, 72–85). There may be Islamic parallels to the legend of Alexis (cf. Nöldeke 1899:258; Cerulli 1968:34f. and 1969:vi, n. 14 [tr.]).

Src.: ARTHUR AMIAUD, *La légende syriaque de Saint Alexis l'Homme de Dieu*, Paris 1889 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 69) [review by THEODOR NÖLDEKE, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 4, 1890, 251–54] (Lit.); ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea [I]", *RSE* 38, 1994 [1996], 13–69; ID., *La versione etiopica degli* Acta Phileae *nel* Gadla samāᶜtāt, Napoli 2002 (Annali IUO. Supplemento 92); BudSaint 148–55; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *Lady Meux Manuscript No. 1. The Lives of Mabâ' Ṣĕyôn and Gabra Krĕstôs*, London 1898 [reviews: in *ABoll* 18, 1899, 177–78, THEODOR NÖLDEKE, "Zur Alexiuslegende", *ZDMG* 53, 1899, 256–58]; ENRICO CERULLI, "I manoscritti etiopici della Chester Beatty Library in Dublino", *RRALm* ser. 8ª, 11, 1965, 277–324; ID., "Leggende medievali romane in Oriente e leggende orientali nella Roma medievale", *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 79, 1968, 13–36, here 31–36 [III. «S. Alessio»]; ID., *Les vies éthiopiennes de Saint Alexis l'Homme de Dieu*, Louvain 1969 (CSCO 298, 299 [SAe 59, 60]) [review by EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *BSOAS* 34, 1971, 400–02]; ROBERT HENRY CHARLES, "Mr. E.A.W. Budge's Edition of the Lives of Mabâ's Ṣĕyôn and Gabra Krĕstôs", *Hermathena* 10, 1899, 397–406; ColSyn VII, 72–85; EMML I, 219 [no. 208], VII, 138 [no. 2796], X, 4, 98 [nos. 4002, 4280]; HamSixBerl 109, 163 [nos. 42, 77]; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Libri di uso prevalentemente liturgico tra i mss. 'Cerulli Etiopici' della Vaticana", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 12, 1986, 171–85; SixDeu 62, no. 1; SixTana III, 208, 220, 410 [nos. 53, 59, 182]; StrANL 18, 220, 330 [nos. 5, 84, 134]; ZanBibl 73.

Lit.: CerLett 48ff.; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, "Légende grecque de l'homme de Dieu Saint Alexis", *ABoll* 19, 1900, 241–53 (Lit.); BAUDOUIN DE GAIFFIER, "Intactam sponsam relinquens. À propos de la vie de St. Alexis", *ibid.* 65, 1947, 157–95; GrafLit vol. 1, 497f., vol. 5, 10; FRANÇOIS HALKIN, "Une légende grecque de saint Alexis (*BHG* 56d)", *ABoll* 98, 1980, 5–16; ENRICO JOSI, "Alessio", in: *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 1, Roma 1961, 814–23 (Lit.); PAOLO MARRASSINI, *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi. Vita di Yohannes l'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 [1982] (Quaderni di Semitistica 10); BHO 10f., nos. 36–44; CHRISTOPHER STOREY, *An Annotated Bibliography and Guide to Alexis Studies* (*La vie de Saint Alexis*), Genève 1987 (Histoire des idées et critique littéraire 251).

Alessandro Bausi

Gäbrä Krəstos

G.K. (ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ) was a monk and a disciple of ↗Zena Marqos. According to the Acts of the latter, he sent G.K. to preach in ↗Damot; yet one spiritual genealogy of Zena Marqos's disciples, attached to his *Acts* in a 19th-cent. manuscript, reports that Zena Marqos appointed a certain G.K. "of (the country) of Wahəya" head of ↗Däbrä Bəśrat. Since G.K. lived in the first half of the 14th cent., he may also be the same G.K. appointed ↗*nəburä əd* of Dəmbi by the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob, at the same time as he appointed eleven other monks to other districts. The location of Dəmbi is not certain, although it probably lay south of Šäwa. At least one copy of the *Acts* of G.K. is known to exist, but it has not been published yet.

Src.: BORIS TURAIEV (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum* II. *Acta ss. Aaronis et Philippi*, Louvain 1905 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 198 (text); GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Täklä Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 14 (text) = 28 (tr.); EMML 3987, fol. 140; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli atti di Zēnā Mārkos, monaco etiope del sec. XIV", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, vol. 1, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e testi 219), 191–212, here 198.
Lit.: TadTChurch 177, n. 1; KinBibl 72f., n. 60.

Sevir Chernetsov

Gäbrä Krəstos

G.K. (ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ; d. 1594) was the seventh leader of the Stephanite monastery of ↗Gundä Gunde. He assumed that position in September 1572 following the death of his predecessor ↗Isayəyyas. G.K. led the monastery until he died and was succeeded by ↗Yəsḥaq. At least one manuscript (tentatively dated to the 18th cent.) containing his *gädl* is known to exist, but it has not been published.

Src.: ms. Mordini 112; Institute of Archaeology, Addis Abäba (I.A.A.) 48.
Lit.: ANTONIO MORDINI, "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *RSE* 12, 1953 [1954], 29–63, here 59; ALEKSANDER FERENC, "Les Actes d'Isaïe de Gunde-Gundē", *AE* 10, 1976, 243–94, here 243; KinBibl 73, no. 61.

Steven Kaplan

Gäbrä Krəstos

G.K. (ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ; d. 3 July 1832) was one of several Ethiopian puppet-kings created by the mighty Yäǧǧu ruler ↗Ali Alula, who dominated central Ethiopia during 1830–53. In March 1832, Ali Alula visited the island of Məṣraḥa in Lake Ṭana, where G.K. lived in a small monastery, the burial-vault of Ethiopian emprerors. There, Ali Alula made G.K. king on the fifth Saturday of Lent. Shortly afterwards G.K. died, poisoned by ↗Gigar, and was buried in Täklä Haymanot Cathedral at Adäbabay square in Gondär.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Fonti storiche etiopiche per il secolo XIX, II. La cronaca reale abissina dall'anno 1800 all'anno 1840", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916 [1917], 779–921, here 856; BTafA 915; BlunChr 486, 510.
Lit.: EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, Frankfurt 1838–40, vol. 2, 402.

Sevir Chernetsov

Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa

G.K. (ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ደስታ; b. 1932, Harär, d. 1981, Lawton OK), a painter and poet, received his training as an artist at the Academy of Arts in Cologne, Germany, from 1958 to 1961 where he became interested in abstract and expressionistic painting.

G.K. returned to Ethiopia in 1962 and one year later held his first independent exhibition in Addis Abäba. His non-figurative art was met with criticism, the artist being accused of distancing himself from the tradition and experience of his people and of not speaking their language any more. Nevertheless, G.K. was awarded the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Prize Trust Award for Fine Arts, because he was largely responsible for introducing non-figurative art into his country and for his outstanding contribution to the growth and evolution of Ethiopian art.

As a poet, G.K. also broke with the tradition of Amharic poems (↗Poetry) and his critics questioned whether his poems were poems at all. As an admired and a much-appreciated teacher, G.K. taught at the School of Fine Arts from 1962 to 1974, when the revolution erupted. In 1976 he was invited by the Municipality of Addis Abäba to start the first National Gallery of Ethopia; he became the founder and director of what became known as the City Hall Gallery. In 1978 he left

Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa at work in his atelier; photo courtesy of the IES (no. 23 G2/G3)

Ethiopia and lived at first in Germany. In 1980 he went to Lawton, Oklahoma, in the USA. About 30 of his works had been deposited in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich; they were moved to Ethiopia in 2005 to form part of the permanent exhibition of his German paintings in the newly inaugurated "Gebre Kristos Desta Centre". The Centre, housed in the former palace of *alga wäraš* ↗Asfa Wäsän (in the Səddəst Kilo compound of ↗Addis Abäba University) is now the seat of the German Cultural Institute (Goethe-Institut).

Lit.: ACHAMYELEH DEBELA, "A Pioneer in Spite of the Odds: Gabre Kristos Desta of Ethiopia (1932–1981)", *Paper for the Third International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*, Addis Ababa, in reparation; ID., "Gebre Kristos Desta: the Artist/Teacher", in: CLÉMENTINE DELISS (ed.), *Seven Stories about Modern Art in Africa*, New York 1995, 248–49; SALAH M. HASSAN – ACHAMYELEH DEBELA, "Addis Connections: the Making of the Modern Ethiopian Art Movement", *ibid.* 131–32; OKEKE CHIKA, "Modern African Art", in: OKWUI ENWEZOR (ed.), *The Short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa 1945–1994*, München 2001, 29–36, here 33 and 70 (ill.); ELISABETH BIASIO, *Die verborgene Wirklichkeit: Drei äthiopische Maler der Gegenwart/The Hidden Reality: three Contemporary Ethiopian Artists*, Zürich 1989, 70–73; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "The Art of Gebre Christos Desta", *EthObs* 7, 2, 1963, 103–14; ID., "Gebre Kristos Desta Four Years later", *ibid.* 11, 3, 1968, 176–77; ID., "Gabre Kristos Desta: Impressions of his Recent Exhibition", *ibid.* 14, 1, 1971, 10–24; ID., "A Survey of Modern Ethiopian Art", *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, Sonderausgabe Äthiopien, Stuttgart 1973, 87–88; SYDNEY W. HEAD, "Art Exhibition of 40 Paintings by Gabre Kristos", *EthObs* 9, 4, 1966, 285–86; ID., "A Conversation with Gebre Kristos Desta", *African Art* 2, 4, 1969, 20–25; JEAN KENNEDY, *New Currents, Ancient Rivers: Contemporary African Artists in a Generation of Change*, Washington, DC 1992, 127–28; SOLOMON DERESSA, "Sombre Colours and Incantatory Words", *EthObs* 11, 3, 1968, 162–73; DAVID TALBOT, "The Art of Gabre Kristos Desta", *ibid.* 9, 4, 1966, 271–85; SEYOUM WOLDE, "Gebre Kristos Desta: Painter and Poet", in: PAUL B. HENZE (ed.), *Aspects of Ethiopian Art from Ancient Axum to the Twentieth Century*, London 1993, 134–40.

Elisabeth Biasio

Gäbrä Krəstos Habśəllus

Däǧǧazmač G.K. (ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሃብሥሉስ, also *däggəyat* Gäräk̲əstos; d. 8 November 1713) was a late 17th-cent. ↗Ḥamasen ruler who was invested into this role as a co-governor and successor of his father, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Hab Śəllus of ↗Märäb Məllaš, by *aṣe* Iyasu I. G.K. was the second son of his father's legitimate wife Əḫtä Mälaʾəkt (KolTrad III, A67) from Aräza.

When his elder brother, according to oral tradition, refused to represent his father at the Emperor's court in Gondär, the younger G.K. went in his stead to deliver the tribute of the ↗Märäb Məllaš. Using this chance, he became the Emperor's guardian (ሸቃ, *šäqa*) and was finally, after years of service, enhanced in rank to *däǧǧazmač*. In about 1675, the Emperor gave him his relative *əmmäbet* Säbänä Giyorgis (KolTrad II, 54) as his wife, in view of the power and the merits of his father (she was not the Emperor's daughter, as suggested by Hamasen oral tradition; this was already questioned in KolTrad I, A18, cp. also the oral tradition of ʿAgamä and Əndärta). She was a descendant of *aṣe* Fasilädäs through a female line and "sister" of Krəstosawit, the wife of the governor of Təgray, *däggəyat* ↗Kəflä Waḥid of ʿAgamä. He was additionally made governor of the ↗Bambolo Məllaš, which meant that he was set over all governors of the northern provinces (probably excluding Wälqayt) and thus also became the co-governor of his father over the Märäb Məllaš. He assumed his government at the side of his father (d. 1704), according to tradition, sitting at his feet while rendering justice or receiving officials. The greatest achievement of their government was the creation of a lawcode for Ḥamasen, the ↗*Ḥəggi Hab Səllus Gärä K̲əstos*, issued by them on the basis of consultation of the assembly of the elders of Ḥamasen.

Tradition reports that the Emperor had declared that all territories where Säbänä Giyorgis would spend her night would be given to him as ↗*gʷəlt*. For several generations the "family of the *däggəyat*" thus possessed a number of territories as additional sources of income between Gondär and Ṣäʿazzäga and in the latter's environs (KolTrad II, 55; for the so-called *gʷəlti Säbänä Giyorgis*, s. KolTrad I, 72). He and his royal wife were the most important donors of books, some of them most elegant and luxurious, to the church of Qəddus Giyorgis of Ṣäʿazzäga, at least a dozen of them containing their names (KolTrad III, A66). The church's መንበረ፡ ታቦት (*mänbärä tabot*, meaning 'covered altar in which the *tabot* is kept'), made of ivory, is attributed to G.K.

The government of G.K. is known in tradition as a period of enhancement of trade, with new regular markets appearing in his time in Ḥamasen, e.g., in ↗Dəbarwa.

G.K.'s legitimite children were *däǧǧazmač* Täsfa Ṣəyon (Täsfa Ṣen), *däǧǧazmač* Mammo (who in his father's lifetime got a governorate in Oromo territories at the borders of the Emperor's realm), *däǧǧazmač* Rəʾəsä Haymanot, *däǧǧazmač* ↗ʿAndä Haymanot and *wäyzäro* Muzit (wife of *aytä* Kəflet of ʿAddi K̠ʷala); several of his sons of a second, illegitimate, wife received the minor title of ↗*baḥər nägaš*, together with *gʷəlti*–possessions of their father's family.

G.K. was suceeded in the office of governor of the Bambolo Məllaš by his son Mammo. Mammo's representative while he was absent in Oromo territories was Rəʾəsä Haymanot. The governor's office was occupied later by another of G.K.'s sons, ʿAndä Haymanot. The first son, Täsfa Ṣəyon, had governed at the side of his father, but usurped his power, until dying about a month before G.K. In order to save Täsfa Ṣəyon, a magical human sacrifice had been carried out on the initiative of his mother, which, however, did not prevent his death. A heriditary disease regularly breaking out among the male descendants of the "family of the *däggəyat*" is explained in oral tradition as the revenge of the sacrificed person (KolTrad II, 57f.).

Src.: interview with Bärhe Gäbrä Mikaʾel Gäbrä Ab, 72 years, Ṣäʿazzäga, March 2000; and with *fitawrari* Iyasu Aṣbəḥa, 86 years, Mäqälä, June 2004; BegCron 64.

Lit.: KolTrad I, 72;KolTrad II, 54f., 57f., index; KolTrad III, AXIII, A18f., A38, A66ff., A69, A85; RUFFILLO PERINI, *Di qua dal Marèb* (*Marèb-mellàsc`*), Firenze 1905 [tr. as ID. - GÄBRÄ NƎGUŚ, መረብ፡ ምላሽ (*Märäb Məllaš*), Roma – Asmära 1995, 123]; YƎSḤAQ YOSEF, ንግስነት፡ ሃገረ፡ ምድሪ፡ ባሕሪ፡ (ኤርትራ፡) ታሪኽ፡ ደጊያት፡ ሃይሉ፡ "አባ፡ ጋላ" (*Nəgsənnät hagärä Mədri Baḥri* [*Erətra*], *tarik̠ däggiyat Haylu "Abba Galla"*, 'The Rule of the Land of Mədri Baḥri [Eritrea], the History of *däǧǧač* Haylu "Abba Galla"'), Asmära 2000, 55.

Wolbert Smidt

Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən

G.M. (ገብረ፡ መድኅን, *wag šum*. ca. 1840s–58), a grandson of *wag šum* ↗Kənfu, came to power in ca. 1842 by overthrowing and imprisoning his nephew *wag šum* ↗Täfäri Wäsän, who began his office whilst still young.

G.M. was a supporter of *ras* ↗Ali Alula (Ali II), the Yäǧǧu kingmaker in Gondär, when he fought against *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Ḫaylu (later *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II) at the battle of ↗Ayšal in 1853. Though G.M. was captured on the battlefield, Kaśa Ḫaylu pardoned him and sent him back to his region. Relations between G.M. and *aṣe* Tewodros, however, were strained because of G.M.'s support of ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel from Səmen, who had rebelled against Tewodros. The Emperor led a campaign into Wag with a vanguard led by *wag šum* Täfäri Wäsän, who had earlier escaped from prison in Wag and submitted to Tewodros. Täfäri captured and presented G.M. to the Emperor and allowed Gobäze (later *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II), G.M.'s son, to escape. The Emperor took his captive to the region of Mäqet with eight other local rebels, cut off their hands and legs, and hanged them in May 1858.

Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən with attendants; cloth mural; Säqoṭa, church of Michael and Gabriel, eastern wall of the *mäqdäs*, plinth; second half of the 19th cent.; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

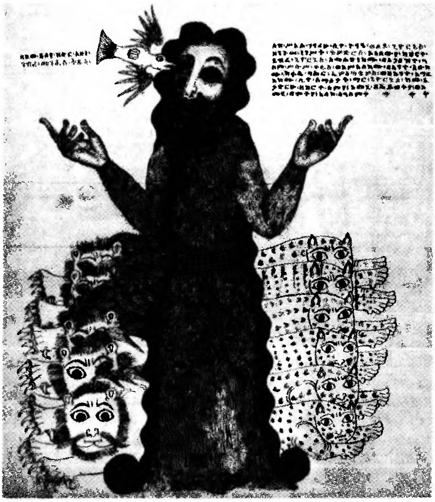
Lit.: BTafA 454ff.; ZanLitTheo 33f.; RubTew 75f.; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄKʷƎRIYA, አጼ፡ ምኒልክና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ አንድነት (*Aṣe Məniləkənna yäʾityopya andənnät*, '*Aṣe* Mənilək and Ethiopia's Unity'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, c. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 124–27.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus

G.M.Q. (ገብረ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ) is one of the most venerated Saints in Ethiopia, beside ↗Täklä Haymanot. Although the centre of his cult is at mount ↗Zəqʷala, south of Addis Abäba, he is venerated throughout the country, sometimes under the names of Abbo or Gabər. The short summary by Bezold (1916), the miracles published by Nollet (1931–35) and the long excerpt in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 30 *Mäggabit* do not give a clear idea of his Vita, and are based on too few and recent manuscripts. The edition (Gəʿəz text with parallel Amharic translation) printed in 1954 in Addis Abäba by Täsfa Gäbrä Səllase has no critical value. A critical edition based on the existing collection of 15 pre–18th cent. manuscripts has been recently published (Marrassini 2003).

The Acts (↗*Gädl*) of G.M.Q. have at least two versions, with many parts in common, but



Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, coloured drawing by Wäldä Giyorgis; second half of the 19th cent.; Oxford, Bodleian Library; Ms. Aeth. b. 2; courtesy of the Bodleian Library

also with other passages peculiar to every version. The first (A in the edition), most widely known (it is the same version that appears in the *Sənkəssar* and in the Addis Abäba edition), is rich in fabulous hagiographical motifs, including the classical one of the 60 lions and 60 leopards. The second one (B) is completely devoid of these motifs, and essentially based on reflections on monasticism and theology. The third version (C) is a simple conflation of the preceding two, with no independent value. Because of its very character, and because of a series of contradictions in version A, it seems that the original version is B.

The date of composition of the *Gädl* (normally examined by scholars in its A version) is uncertain; the various dates proposed the reign of *aṣe* ↗Dawit I, 14th cent. and 15th cent., are without foundation in the text (Conti Rossini 1900:215; Guidi 1832:39; RicLett 820; Cerulli 1961:100).

To the *Gädl* of the Saint (in each of the versions) 13 miracles are usually added, clearly posterior in language and style. They present always the same form, but some kind of disturbed tradition must be supposed with miracle no. 8 (performed "at the time of King Naᶜod"), since some manuscripts place it at the end, others eliminate it. The stemma of these miracles is different according to various groups of them; in its turn, the stemma of each group is different from that of the *Gädl*.

In addition to the *Gädl* and the usual miracles, some manuscripts contain a ↗*Dərsan* on the early childhood of the saint and his escape into the desert, where he meets Jesus and Mary, composed by a certain Zena Gäbrəᵓel as well as four miracles accomplished immediately after. 1st miracle: Satan, disguised as a monk, tries to convince the child to go back home; 2nd miracle: first education of G.M.Q., still in Nehisa, and the first of his frequent trips to Jerusalem; 3rd miracle: God orders G.M.Q., still in Jerusalem, to go and convert the inhabitants of Gäbaᶜon, but on his way there he is attacked by the animals of the desert, as in the *Gädl* of Yoḥannəs Məsraqawi (John the Oriental); the Gäbaᶜonites treat him very badly, but part of them are nevertheless forgiven; then G.M.Q. goes to the "Country of the Blessed", whose inhabitants are already Christian, although in origin they were a tribe of Israel; 4th miracle: at his arrival in Ethiopia G.M.Q. meets ↗Gärima and ↗Guba, who consider him as their relative, and ↗Lalibäla, who declares to prefer a heavenly kingdom to a worldly one. These miracles "in life" form a clear unity with the *Dərsan* because they explicitly refer to many situations of the former. In the codices they are united to it and clearly separated from the *Gädl* and the usual 13 miracles after death. The manuscripts with the *Dərsan* and the four miracles are different from those used for the edition of the *Gädl* and the 13 miracles since they are more recent (18th–19th cent.), except the Vatican ms. aeth. 232 (16th cent., used for both purposes) and the BN ms. eth. 116 (which contains only the *Dərsan* and the four miracles and of which all the others are a simple summary without significant variants).

All these texts are devoid even of the slightest reference to historically relevant facts. The story is very simple: G.M.Q. was born in Nehisa, in Lower Egypt (Coptic Nahsi in the nome [Province] of Nimesoti, today Bahbit al-Hagara, and therefore not in Behnesa, Coptic Pemg [= Oxyrinchus], as it is usually thought). This was also the place of origin of *abba* Nob, in the *Dərsan* a future brother of G.M.Q., who will console his parents for his loss. After 300 years of anachoresis in Egypt (where he receives his education and the monastic habit by a certain Zämädä Bərhan, unknown to the date, and the priesthood by the Bishop Abraham, maybe Abraham Bishop of Manuf in the *Acts* of Julius of Aqfahs), and after saving from damnation the people of Gabota, God orders him to go to Ethiopia, where he arrives on a chariot of wind and lives in the neighbourhood of Zəqʷala and Käbd for 262 years more, always as a hermit (a total of 562 years is already indicated at the beginning of his *Gädl*).

The most relevant elements in the life of G.M.Q. are the following. His parents, as usual in a *gädl*, were noble and very pious; his mother Aqlesya came from the tribe of Benjamin. This makes of G.M.Q. a descendant not only of Israel (cp., e.g., Täklä Haymanot, ↗ʿƎzra, John the Oriental, ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa), but also of St. Paul; this is one of the reasons for him being called by the apostles in many passages "their relative" and for his hability with Hebrew. According to the Homily his father, Səmʿon, was "of roman origin" (like ↗Gäbrä Krəstos [Alexis], the ↗Nine Saints, ↗Buruk Amlak and others) and a counsellor of the king (cp. ↗Päntälewon). Only the version A and the *Dərsan* refer to a long period of sterility; in the *Dərsan* Aqlesya, the Saint's mother, whilst on her way to the church, encounters a dove and a snake with their young, as in the Life of John the Oriental, where also the great banquet (in which the king of Rome takes part) after the birth is found. The baby does not take the milk of his mother, a typical premise for chastity in Ethiopian hagiography; in the Homily it is Mary herself who suckles him.

For G.M.Q.'s adult life only a selection of motifs can be given here. Common to all versions and frequently repeated is the motif, rare in Ethiopian hagiography, of the hair which grows on his face and on his whole body, as requested by the saint himself, because of his nudity (already in his childhood in the *Dərsan*, in the 1st and in the 2nd miracle). This is connected with the life in the desert (very characteristic of G.M.Q. as well as of other Egyptian saints and devoid of any form of coenobitism) as well as with his rule over the wild beasts. What also frequently appears is the intercession for Ethiopia, mainly as **ዐሥራተ፡ ምሕረት** (*ʿaśratä məḥrät* 'tithes of mercy'), which God grants him, and his visits to different unnamed hermits, in particular to one who in two manuscripts is regularly named Yoḥannəs of Däbrä Wifat. The three annual trips to Jerusalem are also described. Starting from the staircase of Jacob on Gen 28:12 (quoted only in the B version), the purity of G.M.Q. is compared to a staircase which from Käbd reaches heaven, bringing his prayers above and the angels down. This in turn brings in version B a comparison with the Tower of Babel, enriched with quotations from the Book of ↗Jubilees, and, in both versions, an important *excursus* on the linguistic capacities of G.M.Q.

The last parts of his life are more or less common to both versions: after the mass, on Thursday before Easter, in which the saint himself is the celebrating priest, with the help of two personages, Fəre Qəddus who previously had accompanied G.M.Q. to Arabia together with Bənyam and Zärʾa Buruk, an unknown figure, G.M.Q. goes and visits many times the "Country of the Living", where Enoch and Elijah stay. After the usual pact, on Friday 3 *Mäggabit*, the saint falls ill. He was then assisted by monks already mentioned and two other persons, Yaʿəqob and Yosef. The former is probably the same quoted in the 2nd miracle as a member of the community in which G.M.Q. is educated; the second is Yosef of Saf Amba, quoted together with Bənyam in the list of disciples of Täklä Haymanot and blessed by ↗Iyäsus Moʾa. On Saturday they call for help from another saint, Gäbrä Ǝndrəyas, but G.M.Q. dies on Sunday, at night on the seventh hour. He is taken into heaven, whereas his body is buried in Jerusalem by the 30 "hidden" and 30 anchorites, coming from Ethiopia, Egypt, and Scetis.

Other motifs are found only in version A of the *Gädl*: his retinue of 60 lions and 60 leopards; Satan with the appearance of a raven which picks his eyes out; three old men (who afterwards prove to be the Trinity) whom he carries for one mile; the visit of three saints, ↗Samuʾel of Waldebba, ↗Anbäs of Hazalo, and Bənyam of the Lower Bägemdər (quoted in the *Gädl* of ↗Zena Marqos, in a list of disciples of *abba* Täklä Haymanot blessed by Iyäsus Moʾa, and in this latter's *Gädl* as his successor), whose lions are devoured and successively resuscitated by those of G.M.Q.; God's mercy for Ethiopia obtained by weighting her sins, represented by straw and weed, and her penances, represented by honey, milk, and wheat; a picturesque story of G.M.Q. in Arabia ("Persia", which existed only in one of his recent mss., in the summary by Bezold; Conti Rossini 1926:345 also proposed the islamicized region near Zəqʷala, and Cerulli 1941:41, n. 3, a part of the Šäwa sultanate; but the text clearly says that G.M.Q. goes back from there to Ethiopia and vice versa), where after being persecuted by its wicked king he obtains forgiveness for those people by suspending himself on a precipice, and leaving his flesh to be devoured by the birds for 30 years. Even after the saint's death and before his assumption into heaven, in A he has a long excursus on his encounter with seven "spiritual kings": four "Egyptian" (David, Solomon, Constantine, Onorius) and three Ethiopians (Kaleb, Gäbrä Mäsqäl, Lalibäla).

Src.: CARL BEZOLD, "Gabra Manfas Qeddus", *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft zu Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse 1916, 58–68; BudSaint 755–72; ColSyn XI, 145–71; PAOLO MARRASSINI, *"Vita", "Omelia", "Miracoli" del Santo Gabra Manfas Qeddus*, Louvain 2003 (CSCO 597, 598 [SAe 107, 108]); GENEVIÈVE NOLLET, "Les Miracles de Gabra Manfas Qeddus", *Aethiops* 4, 1931, 33–36, 39; *Aethiopica. Revue philologique* 1, 1933, 41–47, 64–73; *ibid.* 2, 1934, 37–43, 70–81; *ibid.* 3, 1935, 109–14, 162–70.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1900, 197–285, here 215; ID., [Review of A. KAMMERER, *Essai sur l'histoire ancienne de l'Abyssinie*, Parigi 1926], *Oriente Moderno* 6, 1926, 342-46, here345; GuiLett 39; CerLett 100; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1, 1941, 5–42, here 41 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 207–43]; RUDOLF KRISS – HUBERT KRISS-HEINRICH, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, 9–29; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "La 'Vie' de Gabra Manfas Qeddus. Hypothèse pour un stemma codicum", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 6, 135–48; ID., "Some Philological Problems in the 'Miracles' of Gabra Manfas Qeddus", *Aethiopica* 3, 2000, 45–78; DENIS NOSNITSIN, [review of Marrassini 2003], *OrChrP* 71, 2005, 173–77; RicLett 820.

Paolo Marrassini

Gäbrä Maryam

Baḥər nägaš G.M. (ገብረ፡ ማርያም) was a prominent nobleman of ↗Təgray province at the turn of the 17th cent. His name is mentioned for the first time in *aṣe* ↗Susənyos's chronicle for 1608, when the Emperor's step-brother ↗Səᶜəlä Krestos was *təgre mäkʷännən* and *baḥər nägaš* "up to the Eritrean Sea". The latter was a cruel and clumsy administrator. The people of Təgray rebelled, and G.M. was among the few who maintained loyalty both to Səᶜəlä Krestos and Susənyos (PerChron ch. 35). The Emperor considered it better to dismiss Səᶜəlä Krestos from his office in Təgray and to appoint G.M. as *baḥər nägaš*. It was in this function that G.M. was ordered in 1619 to go to the "country of Arom" in the southern Sudan and to bring to submission the local Queen Fāṭima. He did this and served his overlord loyally (PerChron ch. 55), in spite of the fact that Susənyos embraced the Catholic faith and appointed his son-in-law ↗Täklä Giyorgis as *baḥər nägaš* instead of G.M. However, in September 1628 Täklä Giyorgis rebelled against Susənyos, relying, according to the report of Bruce (BruNile vol. 3, 376ff.), on local noblemen, including G.M. The rebel not only proclaimed himself a champion of the national ("Alexandian") faith and Church, but killed the Jesuit missionary who had been assigned as his chaplain. It was too much for G.M., who withdrew his support for fear of royal revenge. It followed indeed, and Täklä Giyorgis was captured and executed, but nothing is known about the later fate of G.M.

Src.: PerChron 114ff. (text) = 89f. (tr.), 211–14 (text) = 163f. (tr.); BruNile vol. 3, 376ff.

Sevir Chernetsov

Gäbrä Maryam

G.M. (ገብረ፡ ማርያም), the 49th *əč̣č̣äge* of Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, in office from the late 1830s to 1842, was a native of Šäwa (or of Gonğ, in Goğğam, according to *blatta* ↗Märsəᶜe Ḥazän Wäldä Qirqos [1951 A.M.:131]). In the history of Ethiopian foreign relations G.M. is remembered as a pilgrim to ↗Jerusalem and a messenger who brought in 1848 a letter from a ruler of Bägemdər *ras* ↗Ali Alula to Samuel ↗Gobat, at that time Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, with a request to protect Ethiopian pilgrims there (RubActa I, 153).

Rubenson (ibid. 194) believes that G.M. was also responsible for the delivery in 1852 of another letter of Ali Alula addressed to Queen Victoria and pleading with her to protect Ethiopian interests in Palestine and to return Ethiopian landed property there, taken away by local authorities. The letter reveals the attitude which was typical and characteristic for all Ethiopian rulers concerning Ethiopian rights in Palestine: "I have been uprooted from my land, the portion belonging to Abyssinia. To be uprooted from one's inherited land is a serious matter. Because inheritance on earth is like inheritance in heaven".

Src.: RubActa I, 86, 153, 194; ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, የኢትዮጵያ፡ ነገሥታት፡ ታሪክ (*Yäʾityopya nägäśtat tarik*, 'History of Ethiopian Sovereigns'), Addis Abäba 1928 A.M. [1935/36 A.D.], 113; MÄRSƎᶜE ḤAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, የመጀመሪያው፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ፡ ፓትርያርክ (*Yämäğämmäriyaw ityopyawi patrəyark*, 'The First Ethiopian Patriarch'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.], 131.

Lit.: AmhChurchD, vol. 5, 192; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos, capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo le liste recenti (sec. XVII–XX)", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 14, 1945, 143–71; CerPal vol. 2, 208ff.

Sevir Chernetsov

Gäbrä Maryam Gari

Däğğazmač G.M. (ገብረ፡ ማርያም፡ ጋሪ; b. ca. 1875, d. 20 February 1937) was a prominent government official during ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's reign. He originated from the Gurage area. After receiving a church education, G.M. joined the court of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Balča Śafo (Abba Näfso) as a retainer (s. MahHorse).

In 1916, G.M. entered Ḫaylä Śəllase's service and became an ↗*aggafari*. In June 1930, the Emperor promoted G.M. to ↗*däǧǧazmač* and named him ↗*əndarase* of Harär. In September 1931, G.M. departed for the ↗Ogaden in command of a 12,000-man force, while *fitawrari* Šəfärra left Ǧiǧǧiga with 3,000 soldiers. Both armies unsuccessfully sought to reassert Ethiopian authority over Italian-occupied territories in the Ogaden.

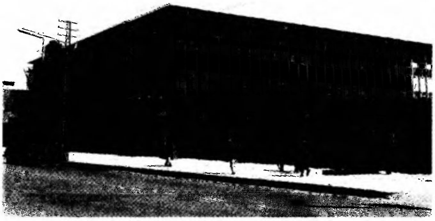
In the aftermath of the ↗Wälwäl incident, Italy demanded that G.M. apologize for Ethiopia's alleged aggression at Wälwäl and pay compensation to the Italian legation in Addis Abäba. The Emperor refused to accede to these demands, thus laying the groundwork for the ↗Italian war (1935–36).

During that war, G.M., who had been appointed Minister of Interior in 1934, was sent to Sidamo as the head of an army, where he was wounded on 20 October 1936. He then sought refuge in the mountains on the Bale border, but continued to resist Italian aggression. On 19 February 1937, when the last remnant of the troops of Bäyyänä Märed and of himself were encircled at Gogiti in Gurageland, they fought bitterly. They were defeated and Gäbrä Maryam was mortally wounded. He asked one of his comrades, an Eritrean, to finish him off so he would not become a prisoner of war. This was done, but Bäyyänä was taken prisoner and shot (MockWar 172).

In 1948 the Emperor honoured G.M.'s memory by authorizing the creation of the Lycée Guebre Mariam, which is managed by the Mission Laïque Française in Addis Abäba.

Lit.: MockWar (2nd ed.) 33, 39, 48, 95, 152, 171ff., 390; CORRADO ZOLI, *Etiopia d'oggi*, Roma 1936, s. index; GEORGE LOWTHER STEER, *Caesar in Abyssinia*, London 1936, 15; HSLife vol. 2, 25; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *Haile Selassie I: the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley 1987, 131f., 134, 144, 158; THOMAS M. COFFEY, *Lion by the Tail*, New York 1974, 15.

Thomas P. Ofcansky



The Lycée Guebre-Mariam in Addis Abäba; photo courtesy of the IES (no. 175 A6, 961)

Gäbrä Mäśiḥ [I]

G.M. (ገብረ፡ መሢሕ; b. ca. 1419, Təgray, d. 1522) was a disciple of *abba* ↗Abäkäräzun, the leader of the ↗Stephanites, whom he succeeded as the head of the monastery of ↗Gundä Gunde on 2 July 1476. He held this position during the reigns of *aṣe* Əskəndər, *aṣe* Naᶜod and *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl and the Metropolitans ↗Yəsḥaq (who ordained him a priest) and ↗Marqos. During a persecution ca. 1482 G.M. fled to the desert where he was saved by a Fälaša man (↗Betä Əsraᵓel). He was succeeded at his death on 3 *Mäskäräm* [13 September] 1522 by *abba* ↗Habtä Śəllase. His Acts (↗*Gädl*) have not yet been published.

Src.: StrANL 235, ms. 89; ms. Addis Abäba, Institute of Archaeology, no. 40; KinBibl 83, no. 108.

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, "Les Actes de Gabra Masiḥ I (ca. 1419–1522), troisième chef du mouvement stéphanite", *RSE* 35, 1991 [1993, but 1994], 5–11; ID., "Sur quelques hétérodoxes éthiopiens. Estifanos, Abakerazun, Gabra Masih, Ezra", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 201, 1, 1984, 25–36; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *RSE* 12, 1953 [1954], 29–70, here 50, n. 7 and fig. 20 (ill.); STEVEN KAPLAN, "The Fälasha and the Stephanite: an Episode from the Life of Abba Gäbrä Mäsih", *BSOAS* 48, 1985, 278–82.

Steven Kaplan

Gäbrä Mäśiḥ [II]

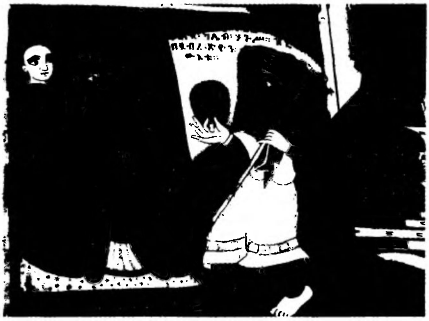
G.M. (ገብረ፡ መሢሕ; d. ca. 1650) was the tenth leader of the Stephanite monastery of ↗Gundä Gunde. He assumed the position about 1644, following the death of his predecessor, *abunä* ↗Yosab. G.M. led the monastery until his death, when he was succeeded by Samuᵓel. At least one manuscript containing his Acts is known to exist, but it has not been published.

Lit.: ANTONIO MORDINI, "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *RSE* 12, 1953 [1954], 29–70, here 50, n. 7; KinBibl 84, no. 109.

Steven Kaplan

Gäbrä Mäsqäl

G.M. (ገብረ፡ መስቀል), the younger son of King ↗Kaleb, was a half-legendary holy king of ↗Aksum (r. ca. 534–48), inscribed as such in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 30 *Ḫədar*. He is presented as Kaleb's successor in the "king lists", sometimes with the throne name of Qʷäsṭanṭinos (CRList, list A), sometimes with Qʷäsṭanṭinos as his successor (CRList, lists A, B, D, G) and sometimes



Gäbrä Mäsqäl and Yared, mural, pronaos of the old Aksum Ṣəyon cathedral (right of the entrance); photo 2004, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

with both (list P). Lists C and E are exceptional: list C has Yaʿəqob, Q^{w}äsṭanṭinos, Betä Əsraʾel and G.M., the latter ruling for 14 years; list E mentions Kaleb and G.M. both on tenure of 40 years, and Yəsḥaq "whose royal name was Q^{w}äsṭanṭinos". List F places G.M. after Sahəl Iyəkalʾ and before Baḥra Iyəkalʾ. In the Acts of ↗Libanos he is instead the successor of Zägäbäzä Aksum or ↗Əllä Gäbäz (Bausi 2003, §§135, 136, 154, 157) – possibly his brother ↗Əsraʾel, with whom he had a long struggle. They are both introduced in the apocalyptic context of ch. 117 of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*: G.M. would openly reign on the earth "with Zion" (the ↗Ark of the Covenant).

G.M.'s life is obscure. He is frequently referred to in oral traditions relating, e.g., that in the seventh year of his reign he went on pilgrimage to ↗Jerusalem, in commemoration of which he built a palace in Samaria at Nablus; and that he was killed while waging war in eastern Təgray: his body, first buried in the nearby church of ↗Däbrä Sälam Mikaʾel in Aṣbi, was later translated to Däbrä Damo, where it is still found (Sergew Hable Selassie 1970:34f.; SerHist 163f.; Fiaccadori 1992:441, 444). He also encouraged the work of ↗Yared, according to the latter's Acts, giving rise to the famous scene where the King gets so enraptured by Yared's singing that drives the spear on which he is leaning into the saint's foot without any of the two noticing (Conti Rossini 1904:11f.; cp. SerHist 166).

A complex stone structure said to be G.M.'s tomb, with that of Kaleb (↗Enda Kaleb), is still visible in Aksum (DAE II, 127-34). Described by the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum* as "treasury" (CRAxum 6), it is loosely connected by ↗Alvares to "the treasure of the Queen of Sheba" (BeckHuntAlvar 158, n.3).

G.M. also appears in many hagiographies of the ↗Nine Saints, as a supporter of their work, sometimes as a patron of secular and religious buildings in and near Aksum. The most famous church attributed to him is the one of ↗Däbrä Damo monastery (Guidi 1895:73f.). G.M.'s land charter to Däbrä Damo is preserved in the Vita of ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi, Däbrä Damo's founder (Guidi 1895:84, 93), and also found in the *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* (s. CRAxum no. 5). He is also said to have endowed the church of abba ↗P̣änṭälewon (Ənda Abba P̣änṭälewon) near Aksum (Villari 1938:14; cp. CRAxum no. 34). A land grant of G.M. to the monastery of ↗Ənda Abba Gärima of Mädära is recorded in the *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* (CRAxum no. 3, cp. no. 31; HuntLand no. 3, 30). Other similar deeds are preserved in the "Golden Gospel" book of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana (CRDLib no. 1-5), founded by *abunä* ↗Mättaʿ.

Neither epigraphic nor numismatic evidence exists for an Aksumite king called G.M., but he can be identified with WʿZB who is "king of Aksum" and "son of Əllä Aṣbəḥa" in an inscription from ↗Aksum Ṣəyon cathedral (RIE 192; for discussion of this matter s. ↗Əsraʾel). The name G.M. was a popular one in mediaeval times as a throne name of emperors Lalibäla (e.g., in the "Golden Gospel" and the colophon of the *Kəbrä nägäśt*), Wədəm Räʿad, ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I and Yəsḥaq – which produced a certain confusion in hagiographical and other traditional sources (cp., e.g., ↗Ənda Maryam), more often inclined toward emphasising the role of the son of Kaleb at the expenses of his more recent namesakes.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 158f., 162ff.; BudSaint 308, 875ff.; Alessandro Bausi (ed., tr.), *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]), 56., 61 (text) = 35, 39f. (tr.); BezKebr 170f. (text) = 136f. (tr.); CRList; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum* I. *Acta Yāred et Panṭalewon*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]), 11f. (text); ColSyn VII, 406f.; CRAxum 5f., 19f., 32f., 34 (text); CRDLib 184–91, no. 1–7; Ignazio Guidi, "Il 'Gadla 'Aragâwî'", *MRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 2–1, 1894, 54–96, here 68, 72ff., 84, 93; HuntLand nos. 3f.; RIE 192; Goffredo Villari, "I 'gultì' della regione di Axum", *Rassegna economica dell'Africa italiana* 2, 9, 1938, 5–19, here 14.

Lit.: DAE II, 127–34, s. index; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Bâlî", *La Parola del Passato* 47, 1992, 439–45, here 441, 444 (Lit.); MHAksum 13f., 22f., 208f.; Sergew Hable Selassie,"Gäbrä Mäsqäl", in: *DicEthBio*, 67 (Lit.); Id., "A History of Axum: the Successors of Kaleb", *Rural Africana* 11, 1970, 30–36, here 33ff.; SerHist 159–66, s. index.

Stuart Munro-Hay – Red.

Gäbrä Mäsqäl of Gutämala

G.M. of Gutämala or Gutəman (ገብረ፡ መስቀል; b. Zoga, Təgray, 14th cent.) founded the hermitage of Gutämala (Ṣəmbəla) at Lägaso in Təgray. He was a disciple of ↗Samu'el of Däbrä Halleluya during the reigns of *aṣe* Nəwayä Maryam (r. 1371–79/80) and Dawit II (1379/80–1412). He is known to have written a letter to Dawit. His Vita (↗*Gädl*) still awaits publication and is followed by a narrative which recounts five of his miracles: 1) an obscure miraculous event which transpired at the Saint's funeral banquet; 2) a jar used to carry water for the celebrations in honour of the Saint, broke and miraculously was put back together; 3) a monk turned robber was wounded and blinded but restored to health by the Saint; 4) the miraculous healing of an infirm monk; 5) a furious storm annihilated a band which had organized an attack on the monastery of Lägaso. The evil-doers wished to force the monks to pay tribute to a warlord of Təgray, who alone was able to save himself by begging the Saint's pardon. G.M. was renowned as a wonder-worker.

Src.: KinBibl 74, no. 65; StrANL ms. 11, 33–36; GÉRARD COLIN, *Vie de Sāmu'ēl de Dabra Hāllēluyā*, Lovanii 1990 (CSCO 520 [SAe 94]), x, 3, 11, 13 (tr.).
Lit.: GIOVANNI ELLERO, "I conventi dello Scirè e le loro leggende", *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 7ª, 4, [76], 1939, 835–53, here 848f. [repr. in: *EllLusAnt* 9–26, here 22]; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Gabra Masqal di Gutämala", in: *EncSan*, vol. 1, 945–46.

Osvaldo Raineri

Gäbrä Mäsqäl Wäldu

Fitawrari G.M. (ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ወልዱ; b. 1907, Aḵrur, d. 1963, Asmära) was one of Eritrea's leading politicians during the 1940s. Born and raised in Aḵrur (Akkälä Guzay), he received his education at Catholic seminaries in Kärän and in the Sudan. After this he worked with the Italian colonial administration in Eritrea. G.M. is said to have held the highest office possible for Eritreans within the administration. He also attained high administrative positions under the British Military Administration in Eritrea as an arbitrator of communal conflicts, an administrator and a judge.

G.M. was known as a diligent worker and persuasive speaker. In the early 1940s, he became one of the founders of the ↗*Maḥbär fəqri hagär Erətra* and served as the organisation's first president. His unanimous re-elections were repeated until 1946 when dissensions among Eritrean politicians prevailed. G.M. was demoralized by his opponents at the Bet Giyorgis convention in November 1946, after which he sunk into obscurity for a number of years. He re-emerged in 1958 when he was appointed president of the High Court in Asmära.

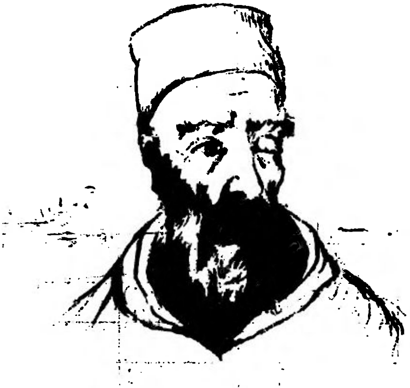
Lit.: ErDizBio 144; KilHDic 228f.; JORDAN GEBRE-MEDHIN, *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea: a Critique of Ethiopian Studies*, Trenton, NJ 1989, 79, 84, 92–96, 117; MIKA'EL HASAMA, ዛንታ፡ ኤርትራ (*Zanta Erətra*, 'History of Eritrea'), Asmära 1992, 145f.

Bairu Tafla

Gäbrä Mika'el

Abba G.M. (ገብረ፡ ሚካኤል; b. 1791, Dibo, Goğğam, d. 29 August 1855, Ligʷama, Wällo) was a renowned church scholar and Catholic convert. At the age of 25 he was professed as a monk in the monastery of ↗Märṭulä Maryam. He was educated there and soon obtained fame as a scholar. As his scholarly reputation spread, he was invited to teach in many monasteries. In 1841 he accompanied Giustino De ↗Jacobis to Cairo as a member of the delegation seeking a patriarch for Ethiopia. Before returning to Ethiopia he visited Rome and Jerusalem. Only in February 1844 did De Jacobis accept G.M.'s repeated requests to become a Catholic. From 1845 to 1851 he taught in the Catholic seminaries of ↗Gʷalᶜa and ↗ᶜAlitena. On 1 January 1851, at the age of 59, he was ordained a priest by de Jacobis at ᶜAlitena.

G.M. was in Gondär when the persecution of the Catholics began in 1854, initiated by the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Sälama. In an attempt to make him renounce his faith G.M. was put in the stocks (*gʷənd*) for 33 days. After that, he was confined



The only authentic portrait of *abba* Gäbrä Mika'el; drawing by Jean-Baptiste Coulbeaux (?), ca. 1875; photo courtesy of the ᶜAddigrat Diocesan Archives to prison. A further attempt to break his spirit was made in March 1855. For two hours, as *abba* G.M. was lying tied to the floor alternating soldiers viciously whipped him. The Orthodox abbot of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Damo, *mämhər* Askal, testified as an eyewitness that when G.M. was allowed to stand up all traces of the lashing had vanished from his body. He was later tied to a post facing a firing squad. Only at the last moment was his life spared owing to the intervention of Walter ↗Plowden, a visiting emissary of Queen Victoria. But G.M. was then condemned to trudge in chains behind the soldiers on the march. During a halt, he announced his forthcoming death to the soldiers. And that night, 29 August, he serenely died at Ligʷama. Altogether he had endured 13 months and 14 days of imprisonment and torture. On 3 October 1926, Pope Pius XI beatified G.M. as martyr of the faith.

Src.: SEVIR ČERNETSOV – VJAČESLAV PLATONOV, "'Kniga uničtoženija lži, vozvedennoj na pravednogo abunu Iakova' Takla Haymanota Takla Egzie – odno iz pervih proizvedenij amharskoj literaturi" ('The Book of Elimination of Lies Cast upon the Righteous *abunä* Jacob' by Täklä Haymanot Täklä Ǝgzi᾿ – One of the First Works of the Amharic Literature'), *Hristianskij Vostok* 3 [9], 2002, 172–268, here 235, 247–54; *Beatificationis seu Declarationis Martyrii Servi Dei Abba Ghebre Michaelis, Sacra Rituum Congregatione*, 4 February 1926.

Lit.: JOHN-BAPTIST COULBEAUX, *Abouna Yacob ou le vénérable de Jacobis. Scènes de sa vie d'Apostolat racontées par un témoin Abba Tékle–Haïmanot*, Paris 1914; ID., *Vers la Lumière: le Bienheureux Abba Ghebre Michael*, Paris 1926; ERNESTO CASSINARI, *Il Beato Ghebre Michael*, Roma 1926; CAIETANUS BISLETI, *Abba Ghebre Michael. Sacra Rituum Congregatione: Positio super Martyrio et Signis*, Roma 1925; YAQOB BEYENE, "Abba Gabra Mika'el, il martire cattolico etiopico", *Vincentiana* 32, 1988, 437; KEVIN O'MAHONEY, *Abba Gebre-Michael. The Life and Death of Blessed Abba Gebre-Michael: Ethiopian Priest and Martyr,* Addis Ababa 2003; OMahPh, vol. 1, 27ff., 37ff., 84ff., 139–48, 162–69; RubTew; RubInd.

Kevin O'Mahoney

Gäbrä Nazrawi

G.N. (**ገብረ፡ ናዝራዊ**) was a late 14th-cent. lesser-known holy monk. His ↗*gädl* has not been yet identified; his life is so far only known from local legends of ↗Wälqayt, collected by Ellero in the late 1930s (who mentions the existence of a ↗*mälkə᾿* in the saint's honour; s. Ellero 1948: 101ff.). G.N. was one of the eight pupils of *abunä* ↗Ewosṭatewos from ↗Ṣällämt who came to Ṣərella, a district of Wälqayt, during the reign of *aṣe* Wədəm Asfäre (↗Wədəm Räʿad). They stayed at Məqram Gobay (Ṣälolo), where they founded the church of Kidanä Məḥrät (identified by tradition with the ruins of Qʷalqʷala Giyorgis), and at Qäbbay. Fearing persecution, they hid themselves in a forest (↗Ewosṭateans), but after some time they separated. G.N. stayed by himself and spent 175 years in prayer. He was accidentally killed by a Fälaša (↗Betä Ǝsra᾿el) from Ṣälolo, whose birth G.N. had foreseen. G.N.'s death was accompanied by miracles: milk and honey poured from his nostrils; vine-plants sprang from the ground where his teeth fell. Later a holy spring appeared at the site, called May Däbri, which exists even now. As local tradition reports, *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl endowed the church of Ǝnda Gäbrä Nazrawi, which was built on the place of G.N.'s death, with numerous villages as *ʿəṭan zore*-lands (s. ↗Land tenure) and granted *ʿaśrat* rights on the lands of Wälqayt. However, the monastery (also said to be the place of G.N.'s tomb) went into decline and in the 1930s it only had a few monks, though it still was considered to be the main cloister (*rə᾿əsä gädam*) of Wälqayt.

There could be other prominent monks bearing the name G.N. It seems that G.N. of Wälqayt was visited by *abunä* ↗Zena Marqos who, according to the latter's Vita, was wandering in northern Ethiopia (s. Cerulli 1962:197). Yet, in a monastic genealogy attached to a manuscript of the *Gädlä Zena Marqos*, a certain G.N. appears as the spiritual son of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot and the spiritual father of Zena Marqos (EMML 3987, fol. 140a; cp. also the tradition of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, EMML 1942, fol 74a). A certain G.N. of Bäläsa is mentioned among the disciples of ↗Iyäsus Moa in the latter's Vita. In the Vita of *abunä* ↗Aron of Däbrä Daret a certain G.N. appears as a disciple of Aron. The Vita of *abba* ↗Bäṣälotä Mika᾿el reports that he visited "his beloved" G.N. at a place called Gäfe near Mäqälä, in Təgray. The historical identity of all these persons is difficult to establish; however, a comprehensive monastic ↗genealogy (**ታሪክ፡ ትውልደ፡ መነኮሳት**, *Tarikä təwləddä mänäkosat* 'The History of the Generations of the Monks') seems to connect the different traditions, making (an Ewosṭatean) Yoḥannəs "brother of ʿƎbnä Sänbät" spiritual father of G.N. of Qäwət (mentioned in the *Sənkəssar* under 10 *Ṭəqəmt* and 29 *Ṭərr*), who appears in turn to be spiritual father of Aron of Däbrä Daret (s. Conti Rossini 1943:339; cp. KinBibl no. 67 [?]).

Src.: BudSaint 137, 563; ColSyn VII, 234f.; IX, 54f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum* I. *Acta s. Baṣalota Mikā᾿ēl, s. Anorewos* (*seu Acta s. Honorii*), Louvain 1905 (CSCO 28, 29 [SAe 11,

12]), 19 (text); Id., "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1901, 61–170, here 155; Id., [Review: Riccardo De Santis, *Il Gadla Tādēwos di Bārtārwā*, Città del Vaticano 1942], *RSE* 3, 1943, 335–40; Enrico Cerulli, "Gli atti di Zēnā Mārkos, monaco etiope del sec. XIV", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi Card. Albareda*, vol. 1, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e testi 219), 191–212, here 197, 210; EMML 1942, 3987; KurMoa 60 (text) = 52 (tr.); Boris Turaiev (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum* II. *Acta ss. Aaronis et Philippi*, Louvain 1905 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 126, 157 (text) = 113f., 142 (tr.).
Lit.: KinBibl 75, no. 67; Giovanni Ellero, "Il Uolcaìt", *RSE* 7, 1948, 89–112, here 100–03 [repr. in: *EllLusAnt* 109–31, here 118–21]; DerDom, s. index.

Denis Nosnitsin

Gäbrä Śəllase

Əč̣č̣äge G.Ś. (ገብረ፡ ሥላሴ, d. 3 November 1906) was a native of ↗Ḥamasen. He took his monastic vow in a monastery in Təgray, and received his theological education and honorific title of ↗*mämhər* probably at ↗Aksum Ṣəyon. In 1841, when the newly consecrated Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Sälama was passing through Təgray on his way to Bägemdər to the court of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, G.Ś. joined the *abun* and remained as his "spiritual son" in his retinue at Gondär during the rest of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II G.Ś. was also with the *abun* and followed him to the place of his detention at the royal fortress (turned into state prison) of ↗Mäqdäla in 1867. There Sälama decided to send with G.Ś. a secret letter to *nəguś* Mənilək, who had previously fled from Mäqdäla to Šäwa. The Metropolitan's secretary *aläqa* ↗Wäldä Maryam advised him to use invisible ink for the sake of security. However, the *abun* refused and G.Ś. was sent with a message written in ordinary black ink (MonVidTheo 41f.).

Abunä Sälama died of illness at Mäqdäla in October 1867 and G.Ś. remained at the court of Mənilək of Šäwa and was made father-confessor (↗*Näfs abbat*) of both Mənilək and his wife ↗Bafäna. Thus, he became a prominent figure at Mənilək's court and as such tried in 1876, with some other dignitaries, to solve the differences between the spouses, but in vain. Finally, Mənilək divorced Bafäna and married ↗Ṭaytu in 1883.

After the death of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV in 1889, Mənilək proclaimed himself Emperor and began to appoint his own men to various offices, secular and ecclesiastical. Thus he made diocesan bishop of Šäwa, *abunä* ↗Matewos, the Metropolitan of Ethiopia and dismissed *əč̣č̣äge* ↗Tewoflos, the favourite of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV. Tewoflos, like Yoḥannəs IV, was an adherent of the *Täwaḥədo* (or ↗*Karra*) doctrine. Therefore, the Emperor had made Tewoflos in 1878 *əč̣č̣äge*, i.e. the head of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, whose monks were for the most part the adherents of the opposite ↗*Ṣägga* or "Grace" doctrine and believed in the doctrine of "Three Births" (↗*Sost lədät*). To strengthen the position of *əč̣č̣äge* Tewoflos as a supervisor over the true faith, *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV had appointed him also ↗*liqä kahənat*.

Əč̣č̣äge Gäbrä Śəllase's seal; from GueCopMen 334, pl. 52

On 9 November 1889, *aṣe* Mənilək dismissed Tewoflos and appointed in his place G.Ś., who was solemnly blessed as *əč̣č̣äge* by *abunä* Matewos. However, Mənilək, true to his idea of centralization of both the state and the Church, bestowed Tewoflos's title of *liqä kahənat* on *abunä* Matewos. G.Ś. considered it as a serious infringement of the age-long rights of the *əč̣č̣äge* (believed to have been established since the 14th cent. *əč̣č̣äge* ↗Filəppos). This darkened G.Ś.'s relations both with Mənilək and *abunä* Matewos. G.Ś. died while still in the office of *əč̣č̣äge* and was buried in Däbrä Libanos.

Src.: GSMen 166, 193, 197; GueCopMen 334 (ill.), s. index; BTafA 694f.; Märsəᶜe Ḥazän Wäldä Qirqos, የመጀመሪያው፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ፡ ፓትሪያርክ (*Yämäǧǧämmäriyaw ityop̣yawi patriyark*, 'The First Ethiopian Patriarch'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.], 131; Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, ዋዜማ። በመንግሥቱ፡ የኢትዮጵያን፡ ነገሥታት፡ የታሪክ፡ በዓል፡ ለማክበር (*Wazema. Bämägəśtu yäʾityop̣yan nägäśtat yätarik bäᶜal lämakbär*, 'The Eve: the Feast of the Ethiopian Kings to be Celebrated Tomorrow'), Addis Abäba 1921 A.M. [1928/29 A.D.], 115; MonVidTheo 42.
Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 5, 196–99; Enrico Cerulli, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos, capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo le liste recenti (sec. xviii–xx)", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 14, 1945, 143–71, here 164–67.

Sevir Chernetsov

Gäbrä Śəllase Anno

G.Ś.A. (ገብረ፡ ሥላሴ፡ አኖ, birth name Biiftuu, locally also known as Abbaa Oboo, after his eldest son, Oboo) was the first *qoroo* (governor) of Wänbära, west of the Šar River, appointed in

1898 by *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam. According to tradition, he was a favourite godson of the *nəguś*.

By origin G.Ś.A. was from western Wälläga. It was his grandfather, Bako, who first settled in Wänbära at a place called Kittar. His son, Anno, later emerged as a strong chief in the area. In the early resistance against the Goǧǧami raiders, Anno was said to have been killed, with his wife and G.Ś.A. taken into captivity to Goǧǧam. There, G.Ś.A. could learn Amharic and get familiar with the Goǧǧam court structure. Even after he returned to Wänbära with his mother, he continued to have close connections with the court at ↗Däbrä Marqos and cultivated friendship with the Goǧǧami settlers in Wänbära.

Täkla Haymänot used G.Ś.A. to convince local people to submit peacefully to his rule, so that when the *nəguś* arrived, he met little or no resistance. G.Ś.A. became his first *qoroo* of Wänbära (region and town, now ↗Däbrä Zäyt) with the title of ↗*fitawrari* and ↗*gäbaz* of the new church.

G.Ś.A.'s power base was in Kittar. All the other *qoroo* in their respective areas where directly responsible to him. He was actually considered as *mooti* (king) in the same way as the rulers of Leeqaa Neqemte, with who he had strong relationships.

Src.: interviews with Dibaba Wanǧo (age 98), Dirirsa Dangalaa (95), Galta Eǧǧata (55), Abäbä Guddata (56), Bultum Obse (95), Atomsa Dibaba (99), Tolosa Nagawo (70) in Wänbära 1996–97.

Lit.: TSEGA ENDALEW, *The Oromo of Wanbara: a Historical Survey to 1941*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1997 (Lit.).

Tsega Endalew

Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gabər

G.Ś. (ገብረ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ጋብር; d. 1931, Mittaq Emanuel) was one of the trusted counsellors of ↗Mənilək II. The son of *däǧǧazmač* Barya Gabər Farus (ca. 1810–89), he was related to Yoḥannəs IV through his mother and, distantly, his father.

G.Ś. went to study at the International Institute in Turin. In 1904, after an earlier failed marriage, he married *wäyzäro* Amarätäčč Walu, daughter of *qäññazmač* Walu and sister of Wäldä Giyorgis, hence the cousin of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel. A political arrangement and a sign of the preference of G.Ś. over the two other Təgrayan chiefs, ras ↗Śəyyum Mängäša Yoḥannəs and ↗Səbḥat Arägawi, with whom he shared the governorship of Təgray since 1902 (G.Ś.'s sphere of influence including ↗Šire and ↗Adyabo), the marriage brought no children. The same year, he was assigned by Mənilək II to visit the Italian authorities in Eritrea on an official visit acknowledging the colony. Later, he was appointed governor of ↗ʿAdwa and, after Mənilək's death, was part of the group supporting ↗Iyasu against ↗Ṭaytu.

On 25 February 1914, G.Ś. fought with *ras* Səbḥat Arägawi, who was bribed by *ras* Mikaʾel and turned against him. In the meantime, G.Ś. was involved in a bloody six-hour battle with *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša, a strong opponent of his power in Təgray. Overwhelmed by the approaching forces of ↗Wäldä Giyorgis and ordered by Iyasu to intervene, he fled to the Danakil desert, where he remained till the latter was deposed. He only made a lasting alliance with Śəyyum by marrying his daughter *wäyzäro* ↗Wälättä Ǝsraʾel, by whom he had a son, *däǧǧazmač* Zäwde. Back in a position of honour under the government of ↗Zäwditu, he supported her struggle in the 1920s against the pressure from *ras* Täfäri (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), who demanded full power. As a result he was banished to Mäčča and prevented form entering the court. Later he was given the position of *nəburä əd* of Aksum and considerable power within Təgray.

Src.: BTafY 129; GueCopMen 496 and n. 6, 506 n. 12, 538 n. 22, 621 and n. 5, 627 and n.1; interviews with *däǧǧazmač* Zäwde Gäbrä Śəllase.

Lit.: Harold G. Marcus, The Life and Times of Menelik II. Ethiopia 1844-1913, Oxford 1975, 217, 240, 248, 262f.; CHRIS PROUTY ROSENFELD, *A Chronology of Menilek II of Ethiopia, 1844–1913*, Michigan State University 1976; CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II, Ethiopia 1883–1910*, Trenton, NJ 1986; TSEHAY HAYLE, *A Short Biography of Gebre Sellase*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1972; HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ethiopia and Eritrea during the Scramble for Africa: a Political Biography of Ras Alula, 1875–1897*, East Lansing, MI – Tel Aviv 1982.

Izabela Orlowska

Gäbrä Śəllase Wäldä Arägay

Ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz G.Ś. (ገብረ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ወልደ፡ አረጋይ; b. ca. 1844, Däbrä Bərhan, d. 1912, Addis Abäba), usually identified by the title of *aläqa*, was *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's private secretary and Minister of the Pen. He also served as the dean of the churches of ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel near Addis Abäba and Däbrä Ṣəyon in Addis ʿAläm.

Both G.Ś.'s parents – *ato* Wäldä Arägay of Wägda and *wäyzäro* Wälättä Giyorgis of Gurage – worked in the royal palace and he received a church education at Näčč Gädäl and Miṭaq (eastern Šäwa). He began his career as a clerk in the court of *wäyzäro* Bafäna, a former wife of *nəguś* Mənilək, and was transferred to the service of the *nəguś* in the late 1870s. In 1889, he was promoted to the position of ↗*ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* and was thereafter regarded as one of the most influential officials of the Mənilək era. He was in charge of all scribes at the royal court and assumed responsibility for state correspondence, including that concerning foreigners and foreign states, in spite of the fact that he could not speak any foreign languages. In 1907, he was appointed Minister of the Pen and three years later was transferred to Addis ʿAläm with the title ↗*nəburä əd*. After his death, he was buried at the church cemetery of Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel, whose patron he had been since the late 1880s.

Src.: GueCopMen; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopian Records of the Menilek Era. Selected Amharic Documents from the Nachlaß of Alfred Ilg 1884-1900*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 54).
Lit.: HerTar 91; BAIRU TAFLA, "Three Portraits: Ato Aṣmä Giyorgis, Ras Gobäna Dači and Ṣäḥafé Tezaz Gäbrä Selassé", *JES* 5, 3, 1967, 133–38; SEVIR ČERNETSOV, "Redkaja fotografija Gebre Sellase (1844-1912), sekretarja i istoriografa efiopskogo imperatora Menelika II" ('A Rare Phototograph of Gäbrä Śəllase (1844-1912), Secretary and Historiographer of the Ethiopian Emperor Mənilək II', *Hristianskij Vostok* 2, 1999, 284-98; MahHorse 283.

Bairu Tafla

Gäbrä Wäld Ǝngəda Wärq

G.W. (**ገብረ፡ ወልድ፡ እንግዳ፡ ወርቅ**; b. 1901, d. 15 December 1960) was born in the vicinity of Addis Abäba. He was sent to a church school, where he learnt the rudiments of rote-reading and recitation of various ↗Gəʿəz religious texts up to the completion of the Psalter, but did not attend any "modern" school (↗Education). As G.W. became versed in reading and writing Amharic, he was employed in the Ministry of the Pen (↗*Ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz*) at a relatively early age for such an important Ministry in that period.

His rise to positions of responsibility was gradual but steady, and by the beginning of the ↗Italian war of 1935 G.W. was Secretary-General of the Ministry of the Pen and became a key link, during that war, in the communication between *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and his front commanders. He went on secret errands for the Emperor, whenever the latter wished to communicate matters of great importance to his senior officers. After the defeat in ↗Mayčäw, G.W. escaped to the rural areas.

Gäbrä Wäld Ǝngəda Wärq; photo courtesy of the IES (no. 19 G4, 21)

He rejoined government service after the war in 1941 and served in the Ministries of Finance and the Interior, before he went back to the Ministry of the Pen as its Director-General in 1947 to remain there for the rest of his life, attaining the title of *məkəttəl* ('deputy') *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* (1955) and the rank of Minister of State in the Ministry of the Pen (July 1960). But, both the title and rank belied his actual influence and authority due to his longstanding proximity to the Emperor.

G.W. published two books that have great importance for students of modern Ethiopian history: *Yämayčäw zämäčanna yäguzow tarik* (1948/49), devoted to the Italian-Ethiopian war of 1936, and *Yäʾityopya märetənna gəbər səm* (1955/56), dealing with the land-tenure system and land taxation based on his first hand experience at the Ministries of Finance (Head of the Land Tax Department) and of the Interior (as *awrağğa* governor and in the Šäwa Regional Head Office). His third work, dealing with the Emperor's second visit to the Gondär Region in 1951, remains unpublished.

G.W. was one of the senior government officials killed in the Green Salon of the Gännätä Ləʿul palace during the abortive ↗Coup d'état of 1960.

Src.: GÄBRÄ WÄLD ƎNGƏDA WÄRQ, **የማይጨው፡ ዘመቻና፡ የጉዞው፡ ታሪክ** (*Yämayčäw zämäčanna yäguzow tarik*, 'The Mayčäw Campaign and the History of the Journey [to the Front]', Addis Abäba 1941 A.M. [1948/49 A.D.]; ID., **የኢትዮጵያ፡ መሬትና፡ ግብር፡ ስም** (*Yäʾityopya märetənna gəbər səm*, 'Designations of the Ethiopian Land Tenure System and [Land] Taxation'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.].
Lit.: MULUGETA GÄBRÄ WÄLD (ed.), **ገብረ፡ ወልድ፡ እንግዳ፡ ወርቅ። አጭር፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ** (*Gäbrä Wäld Ǝngəda Wärq. Aččər yäḥəywät tarik*, 'Gäbrä Wäld Ǝngəda Wärq: a Brief Biography'), Addis Abäba 1954 A.M. [1961/62 A.D.].

Asfaw Damte

Gäbrä Yäsus Ḫaylu

Abba G. (ገብረ፡ የሱስ፡ ኀይሉ; b. 7 June 1906, Afälba, Ǝngana district, Akkälä Guzay, d. 5 July 1993, Addis Abäba) was a prestigious religious scholar and intellectual and author of what is considered to be the first genuine Təgrəñña novel (Ghirmai Negash 1999:132).

G. learnt reading and writing from the parish priest of Afälba, *qäšši* Täsfaṣəyon Fəśśəḥa, managing to memorise the Psalter. Still young, he was selected by the Italian *commissariato* to go to Zəban ᶜUna (Säraye region) to study agriculture. The invitation was not, however, taken up and instead he was sent to San Michele school in Sägänäyti, where he spent the following two years. In 1923 he joined the Catholic Seminary of Kärän, where beside the ordinary studies he learned Təgre.

In 1924 G. was sent to the Ethiopian College in the Vatican (↗Santo Stefano dei Mori) where he obtained the licenza ginnasiale in a record time (three years instead of five). In 1929 he began studies in philosophy, successfully completed three years later by the earning of a degree. The following five years were spent studying theology, crowned with a doctoral dissertation presented at the Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana. Written in Latin with the title *De Maria corredemptrice iuxta documenta aethiopica*, the work was based on a 17th-cent. text. Deacon G. was ordained priest by *abunä* ↗Kidanä Maryam Kaśa, bishop of Asmära, on 1 October 1933. During his stay at the Ethiopian College, he served as dean of the students, helping the newcomers to adjust themselves to their new setting.

Back home, from 1935 to 1942 G. served with generous dedication as secretary to *abunä* Kidanä Maryam Kaśa. In 1941, after the defeat of the Italians, most of the Italian missionaries were forced to leave the country. As a consequence, the See of Rome asked the Catholic clergy from Eritrea to fill the vacancies left by the missionaries. *Abunä* Kidanä Maryam Kaśa led a group of priests, including *abba* G., who were to cover the places left vacant. They reached Addis Abäba in July 1942. From 1944 to 1948 *abba* G. held the rank of Vicarius generalis and was active in reopening churches which had been shut down, in reviving Christian communities and in recovering lost properties. He moved to Jerusalem in April 1950 and remained there until September of that year, from where he continued on to Rome.

In Rome G. was involved in helping to revise Ethiopian liturgical texts. From September 1952, he worked as cultural attaché at the Ethiopian Embassy. In 1960 he was called again to Addis Abäba and was assigned to the Ministry of Information with responsibility in the fields of research and literature. He served in that capacity until his retirement in July 1974. From 1975 onward, he was active in the National Amharic Language Academy, of which he was president for many years.

It was during the Italian years – around 1927 – that G. started composing in Təgrəñña ንዝተዓስከረ፡ ንሐደ፡ መንእሰይ፡ ዚርኢ፡ ሐደ ፡ዛንታ (*Nəzətäᶜaskärä nəḥadä mänʾəsäy zirəʾi ḥadä zanta*, shortened form ሐደ፡ ዛንታ, *Ḥadä zanta*) (Ghirmai Negash 1999:132). The book was, however, only published in the 1940's under the British administration because of his scathing criticism of Italian colonialism and thanks to the funds of the ↗*Maḥbär fəqri hagär*. The narrative depicts a group of Eritrean conscript soldiers who die fighting in 1912 as auxiliaries for the Italians in Libya. Təkkʷabo, the protagonist, however, survives the many skurmishes and dangers. During various military engagements the Eritreans gradually become aware that their support for Italy is at the same time contributing to the consolidation of Italian colonial rule over Eritrea. When after three years Təkkʷabo returns home unhurt to Eritrea he is confronted with the news that his mother has died.

Called by Hailu Habtu (1981:131) the most impressive of all historical novels, it can be viewed in three ways: as a political manifesto intent on strengthening the national feelings of the Eritreans; as an exeptional literary work; and, finally, as an historical document depicting the colonial period with its debasing and ultimately destructive entanglements. The novel found due appreciation and was given extensive and thorough reviewing (Ricci 1951; RicLett 888ff.; Hailu Habtu 1981:131–47; Ghirmai Negash 1999:132–36; a text excerpt is available in Ullendorff 1985:93–103). It was also the only literary work in Təgrəñña to be translated into a Western language, published under the title "The Black Train" (Amanuel Sahle 1988).

G.'s other published work, ናይ፡ ፊደላትና፡ ምርመራን፡ ሐዲስ፡ አመሃህራን፡ ከሎ፡ ንባባትን፡ ጽውጽዋያትን (*Nay fidälatna mərmäran ḥaddis amähahəran källo nəbabatən ṣəwṣəwayatən* (1941 A.M.), deals with the spiritual character and the secret meaning of the letters of the Ethiopic alphabet (s. Ricci 1951). Entangled in endless polemics that drained his time and energy, G. did not produce other comparable literary works. Among his unpublished works there is a youthful text of dramatic poetry, ናይ፡ ሃፀይ፡ ቴድሮስ፡ ትራጀዲ፤ ቅትለት፡ ርእሱ (*Nay haṣ́äy Tedros tragădi – qətlät rəʾsu*, 'The Tragedy of [His Majesty] *aṣe* Tewodros; His Suicide'); a translation from Italian of "Le Glorie di Maria" by St. Alphonsus de Liguori (1696–1787), ናይ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ስብሓታት (*Nay ʾəgzəʾətənä Maryam səbḥatat*, 'The Praise of Our Lady Mary'), consisting of five books with a total of 620 pages and produced during his stay in Rome; and a biography of the Blessed ↗Gäbrä Mikaʾel. These manuscripts are kept in the custody of Brother Ezio Tonini at the Pavoni Centre in Asmära, their publication being a desideratum.

G. was an articulate and outstanding personality, well travelled by the standards of his time, and a vibrant intellectual with a wide range of interests and an amazingly rich culture. With an absolute command of Gəʿəz and Latin, he also spoke a refined Italian and was fluent in French and English. Mainly known for his outspoken stand on his own "Ethiopian identity", he fought for recognition of equal citizenship of the Gəʿəz rite in the Catholic Church, which often put him at loggerheads with missionary followers of the Latin rite. For years he was a fervent unionist and fierce – sometimes aggressive – opponent of "secession", even though it seems that by the time of the Referendum for or against Independence in 1993 he had had a change of heart.

G.'s role in the field of his vernacular literature is pivotal, with his contribution clearly being the mainspring; for whatever other merits he may have, his novel ሓደ፡ ዛንታ (*Ḥadä zanta*) stands out as the starting-point and a lasting inspiration for all subsequent Təgrəñña literature, which has since thrived and greatly expanded.

Src.: GÄBRÄ YÄSUS ḪAYLU, *De Maria corredemptrice iuxta documenta Aethiopica*, Ph.D. thesis, Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, Roma 1937; ID., ናይ፡ ፊደላትና፡ ምርመራን፡ ሓዲስ፡ አመሃህራን፡ ከሎ፡ ንባባትን፡ ጽውጽዋያትን (*Nay fidälatna mərmäran ḥaddis amähahəran källo nəbabatən ṣəwṣəwayatən*, 'Stories for Reading and Stories for Telling together with a New Didactic Method and Research on our Alphabet'), Asmära 1941 A.M. [1948/49 A.D.]; ID., ንዝተዓስከረ፡ ንሓደ፡ መንእሰይ፡ ዚርኢ፡ ሓደ፡ ዛንታ (*Nəzətäʿaskärä nəḥadä mänʾəsäy zirəʾi ḥadä zanta*, 'Story of a Young Conscript'), Asmära 1942 A.M. [= 1949/50 A.D.]; ID., "Spiritualità del popolo etiopico", *Responsabilità del Sapere* 6, 1952, 48-68; ID., "Monachesimo cattolico di rito etiopico in Eritrea", *Africa. Rivista mensile di interessi africani* 7, 5, 6, 1952; ID., "De Maria corredemptrice ex literatura Aethiopica", *Marianum* 14, 1952, 384–412; *ibid.* 15, 1953, 46–55; ID., "Un manoscritto amarico sulle verità della Fede", in: *PICES* 1, 345–52; ID., "Considerations théologiques sur le Melka'a Sellasie de Abba Sebhat le'Ab", in: *PICES* 3, 272–79; ID., ፊደላት (*Fidälat*, 'Alphabet'), *QSE* 3-4, 1982-83, 89-94; AMANUEL SAHLE (tr.), "The Black Train (tr. and adapted from Abba Ghebre Yessus Hailu's *Hade Zanta*)", *Ethiopian Journal of African Studies* 5, 1, 1988, 33-69.

Lit.: GHIRMAI NEGASH, *A History of Tigrinya Literature in Eritrea*, Leiden 1999; HAILU HABTU, *Aspects of Tigrinya literature (until 1974)*, M.A. thesis, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies 1981; RicLett 888ff., 905f., 910; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Review [of *Ḥadä zanta* and *Nay fidälatna* ...]", *RSE* 10, 1951, 136-39; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *A Tigrinya (Təgrəñña) Chrestomathy*, Stuttgart 1985 (AeF 19).

Tedros Abraha – Rainer Voigt

Gäbre Täsfa

Ras G.T. (ገብሬ፡ ተስፋ; d. 10 April 1816) was a hereditary and practically independent ruler of ↗Səmen province. For the first time he was mentioned in Ethiopian annals under the year 1791 (BlunChr 418) as *däǧǧazmač* Gäbre, though the title had been never officially granted to him by any Ethiopian sovereign. However, this became a common practice in the "Era of the Princes" (↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*), when Gondärine rulers were mere puppets in the hands of mighty feudal lords and any provincial ruler was called *däǧǧazmač* without being appointed by the nominal king.

Səmen was not a great province and G.T. was by no means one of those mighty lords, the king-makers, who chose and changed Ethiopian monarchs at will. Paradoxically, precisely this factor made Gondärine rulers, uneasy with their dependent position, seek the support of such minor lords to counterbalance the influence of the mighty ones. Thus, in September 1793 *aṣe* ↗Həzqəyas (1788–94) appointed G.T. *ras*, even in the absence of the nominee, "while he was in his country". In 1795 another ruler, *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis (1779–84, 1789, 1795, 1796, 1799, 1800), who at the moment had been for the third time driven out of the capital city of ↗Gondär, resorted to G.T.'s help and the latter indeed took Täklä Giyorgis' side, fought for him and returned him to the capital. *Aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis, who had been enthroned and deposed many times, indignant with the situation, once even refused to be returned on the throne, saying: መጺእየ፡ እከውንኑ፡ ከም፡ ምስል፡ ወጣዖት? (*mäṣiʾəyä əkäwwənnu kämä məsl wäṭaʿot*?, 'If I come, shall I become an image or figure [of a king]?'; BlunChr 418). But in fact he returned and became precisely this.

Under the circumstances G.T. (like all other provincial rulers) preferred to care not so much for these "images and figures" as for himself and his own local power base (Səmen) and in his everyday politics to mind not impotent kings, but mighty king-makers. So, when in 1796 *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis again appealed to G.T. for military assistance, he preferred to take sides with a new ruler *aṣe* ↗Sälomon II (1796–97, 1799).

G.T. was cautious in his alliances, but his life (like all of his contemporaries) remained stormy and dangerous. Thus, in 1799 he was besieged on his ↗*amba* in Səmen by the mighty *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase and in 1802 *aṣe* ↗Ǝgʷalä Ṣəyon prepared to attack him. His main and most dangerous opponent, however, was *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa (d. in May 1825). Still, G.T. was lucky enough to preserve his authority over Səmen until he died a natural death at the age of 80 and was succeeded by his son *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Gäbre.

Src.: BTafA 915, 928; BlunChr 418, 425, 427, 433–37, 447f., 457–61, 464f., 473.
Lit.: Eduard Rüppell, *Reise in Abyssinien*, Frankfurt 1838–40, vol. 2, 423; Nathaniel Pearce, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce*, London 1831, vol. 2, 46; Andrzej Bartnicki – Joanna Mantel-Niećko, *Historia Etiopii*, Wrocław 1987, 193.

Sevir Chernetsov

Gäbrəʾel and Mikaʾel

In 1438 *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob received for Ethiopia two metropolitans from Egypt, Gäbrəʾel (**ገብርኤል**) and Mikaʾel (**ሚካኤል**). It was the first occasion when two Egyptian bishops were sent at one time. This produced a public effect that was used by the Emperor to his own ends and purposes, i.e. for reforming the Ethiopian Church and establishing his own leading role there.

Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob received both bishops at Aksum and then separated them (thus dividing and diminishing their ecclesiastical authority in the country): he settled *abunä* Mikaʾel in Amhara and *abunä* Gäbrəʾel in Šäwa, while the province of Təgray, always pregnant with dissent, was left under his own vigilant supervision.

This approach brought the desired results. In 1450, at the Council at ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq on the question of the ↗Sabbath, attended by the followers of ↗Ewosṭaṭewos, the abbots of the leading monasteries and the two bishops, the latter meekly accepted Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob's ideas, which obviously contradicted the views of the Patriarchate of Alexandria (↗Alexandrian theology).

On another occasion *abunä* Gäbrəʾel also took the Emperor's side against local rebels (TadTChurch 241). He died, probably, in 1458.

Metropolitans Mikaʾel and Gäbrəʾel became famous in Ethiopia first and foremost due to the fact they had been the first two Metropolitans who arrived in Ethiopia simultaneously.

Src.: CRAxum 67; CerMaria 91; Stanislas Kur, *Actes de Märḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330 [SAe 62]), 85 (text).
Lit.: AmhChurchDic vol. 5, 57ff.; TadTChurch 228ff., 235f., 241, 247; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Sul ms. Parigi, B.n.F. d'Abb. 78 (C.R. 38) e i metropoliti Yesḥaq, Yāᶜqob e Mārqos d'Etiopia (sec. XV-XVI)", *RRALm ser.* 9ª, 15, 2004 [2005], 679-90, here 682f., n. 22 (Lit.).

Sevir Chernetsov

Gäbrəyye ↗Gäbrä Ḫəywät Goššu

Gabriel, João

G. (b. ca. 1554, d. after 1626) was a prominent member of the Luso-Ethiopian community. His mother was an Ethiopian woman converted to Catholicism whose name and ethnic roots have not been recorded, and his father an Italian soldier who went to Ethiopia with Christovão da ↗Gama, presumably the Francisco Jacome (Francesco Giacomo), who for many years (1559–ca. 1577) had been commander of the Portuguese troop.

G. was first educated for three years by the Orthodox monks at ↗Däbrä Libanos (Pais 1945, vol. 2, 229). Later, when he was ca. 12–14 years old, he learnt to read and write in Gəᶜəz, Latin and Portuguese with the Jesuits at ↗Fəremona. He married – probably a Luso-Ethiopian – and had offspring, of whom the sources report a Basílio and a Dionísio. The first died in 1628/29 supporting the viceroy ↗Qəbᶜa Krəstos against the rebel *təgre mäkʷännən* Täklä Giyorgis (BecRASO XIII, 432f.). Dionísio remained in the country and, after the ban of Catholicism, was persecuted because of his faith (BecRASO XIII, 266). An unnamed son of G. acted as an interpreter for the Jesuits at Susənyos' court and became in 1619 commander of the Luso-Ethiopian cavalry, receiving a ↗*gʷəlt*, as his father had before (BecRASO XI, 424).

G. served emperors Śärṣä Dəngəl, Yaᶜəqob, Zädəngəl and Susənyos as captain of the "Portuguese" military corps in Təgray (until ca. 1607–08) and became the head of the Portuguese community in Fəremona. He led a group to welcome the Jesuit fathers, who considered him a "valiant, trustworthy and well learned man" (BecRASO XI, 126), and introduced them to various aspects of nature and social customs in Ethiopia. Besides being a privileged informant, he was able to help the missionaries in translating some Catholic liturgical and catechetic works, such as the *Cartilha* (a catechism booklet) into Gəʿəz or Amharic, and taking part in the theological disputes between Catholics and supporters of Orthodoxy. At the request of the priests, he also translated into Portuguese some doctrinal beliefs of the Ethiopian Church. He is supposed to have written an account entitled *Comentários do Império de Etiópia*, today lost.

Src.: BecRASO XI, 126, 424; XII; XIII, 266, 432f.; PÊRO PAIS, *História da Etiópia*, 3 vols., Porto 1945–46, vol. 2, 229; BALTASAR TELLES, *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, London 1710 [Lisboa ^{1}1660].

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Le sorgenti del Nilo Azzurro e Giovanni Gabriel", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 7^a, 6, 1941, 38–47; HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean*, Paris 2003.

Isabel Boavida

Gäbru

G. (ገብሩ, hypocoristic of Gäbrä Krəstos; ↗*wag šum* in 1877–82, d. 1888) was a Təgrayan, who was appointed by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV over Wag in 1877. He replaced *wagšum* ↗Käbbädä Täfäri, who was removed from office for not accompanying the Emperor in his wars against the Egyptians. This was because Käbbädä Täfäri was so young at the time that his regent did not find it appropriate to take the young *wag šum* to the battlefield. G. did not belong to the legitimate family of the *wag šums* and his appointment soon after the Battle of ↗ʿAsäm, where their kinsmen *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II was defeated by Yoḥannəs IV, angered the people of Wag and Lasta, and they could not accept it with grace.

Shortly after his appointment, there was a rebellion led by the relatives of *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis II. The rebellion occurred in 1878 when *wag šum* G. had accompanied Yoḥannəs IV into Šäwa, but it was easily suppressed. G. was then transferred to Dämbəya in 1882. He fought and defeated the Mahdist forces near ↗Gallabat in July 1885 and died three years later.

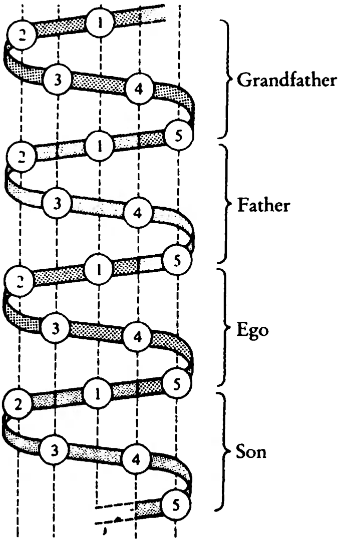
Lit.: BTafY; RubInd; WUDU TAFETE, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, c. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995; ZewYohan.

Wudu Tafete

Gadaa

G., usually accompanied by the word "system", has become the accepted name for the cyclical generation-set systems through which, in traditional ↗Oromo societies, most non-inheritable ritual and social responsibilities were transmitted in an orderly way. Local G. systems have developed varying organizations, but the essential principles and values have remained constant (Hallpike 1976:48). G. has become one of the "key words" of Oromo culture, which, though it "cannot be given a univocal interpretation, [...] stands for several related ideas" and a "whole way of life" (Asmarom Legesse 1973:81). The enduring ubiquity of G. as a "social ideology" (Aguilar 1998:258) is clear from Tamene Bitima's recent definitions: "1) Oromo social system in which the Oromo organized their economic, political, military and spiritual life; 2) democratic system in which the Oromo elected their leaders every eight years" (Tamene Bitima 2000:117). G., with good reasons, has become an emotive and powerful symbol for the Oromo of their democratic heritage, cultural distinctiveness, political aspirations and, especially, their proud, independent past (Asafa Jalata 1998:18–28, 39–50).

↗Bahrey argued that in the 16th cent. the *luuba* (*luba*) organization (which later came to be known as the G. system) provided the organizational and ideological impetus for Oromo military successes. Later both indigenous despots and outside conquerors also perceived G.'s democratic form as a political threat and regularly forbade it to function openly (MHasOr). It was also opposed and often threatened by proselytizing Christians and Muslims. Nevertheless, the values which G. represented continued to be central to Oromo ideas of well-being and of peace (↗*nagaa*). The ↗Mäčča, for example, mourned the apparent disintegration of G. under central domination as marking the end of the natural and social orders: "When G. was destroyed [...] The bull refused to mount the cow, men no longer respected justice [...] There were no longer any real elders, and few children were born. The cows gave birth to deformed calves. [...] everything else was also destroyed" (Knutsson 1967:180). But G., in an "attenuated" form and as "a religious system", has proved resilient at local levels as, for example, among Christian ↗Tuulama settlers in Muslim Bale, a simple version of the "five grade structure and eight year G. period" was still working in the early 1970s



Boorana age sets and generation sets (*gadaa* system), adapted from Baxter – Almagor 1978:157

and great efforts were put into the performance of transition rites. Members of the third grade *folle* had duty to shame, publicly and dramatically, men who breached moral standards and those who had passed through the fifth grade "*huba* or *yuba*" had the duty to work hard at maintaining cooperative relationships within the local community (Blackhurst 1978:245–67). Similarly, Hultin (2003:418) records that "the most exciting moment" at a local political rally during the *Därg* "proved to be its finale, a blessing performed by two […] men who had performed the most important ritual in the [↗]Wälläga version of *gada*". Among the ↗Boorana and ↗Guǧǧi, though sometimes harassed by administrators and the increasing consumption of alcohol by participants, G. continues to be active and adaptive (Aguilar 1998; Aneesa Kassam 1995, 1999; Van de Loo 1991).

G. has caught the attention of almost everyone who has written anything at all about the Oromo, though it has "been especially maltreated by European ethnologists" (CerFolk 167) because they did not grasp its complexity and subtlety. It has also been used as a convenient generic term for all generation-set systems, including those of the neighbouring ↗Sidaama, ↗Diraašša, ↗Burǧi, ↗Gidole and ↗Konso. Jensen's title *Im Lande des Gada* (1936) suggests "that there is a '*gada* country', a continuous geographical area marked by the presence or former presence of *gada* systems" (Schlee 1998:121).

Cyclical generation-set systems are unusual and must be distinguished from the more commonly found age-set systems (↗Age group systems), with which, as in the Boraana ↗*hariyyaa*, they may coexist. Age-systems group men into sets of age peers who advance together through the different stages of life, such as warrior and elder. Age is ignored in generation systems and the set to which an individual must belong is determined by his genealogical generation; all a man's sons must enter the set which follows his in the designated sequence of sets, and so on through successive generations. Each set must pass in succession and at fixed intervals through a designated series of named grades, each with specified rituals, rights and obligations. The rigid rules of generational succession make no allowance for the span of time during which men may father sons, so discrepancies can soon occur between genealogical and biological generations: some men will be born before their set has come into existence and others after their set has completed its course. Different Oromo societies have devised secondary rules, such as abandoning babies whose birth does not synchronise with the system, to manage these problems of "underaging" and "overaging". Nevertheless the number of sets with living members in Boorana well exceeds the number of grades and Asmarom Legesse (1972:129), in a census of 350 males, found representatives of more than 20 sets.

The most fully described G. system is that of the Boorana which is generally regarded as paradigmatic. For centuries a new set has been formed every eight years. In the early 1960s Asmarom Legesse (1973:190f.) was able to compile, with the assistance of expert oral historians, a chronology of G. sets which: 1) accurately forecast the names and order of until 2008; 2) back listed the names and order of succession of sets since 1674; 3) even suggested the possible names and order of 15 sets prior to the date. This chronology, though not identical, is very close to those which Haberland (VSAe II, 189–92) compiled in the mid-fifties and Bassi (1996:59) in the early 90s.

There is general agreement about the adaptability, organisation and ritual purposes of the Boorana G. system but not about why it has survived in such vigour when other systems have not. Baxter (1978:152f.) suggests that it has endured because, over time, it has shed its economic, military and political responsibilities while maintaining its religious obligations. So that while sets and their office holders continue to be honoured, respected and influential they do not wield any exploitable power over political or economic resources. Asmarom Legesse (1972:85–88; 2000:41–45, 66–69, 72–82) argues that Boorana G., in interaction with ↗*qaalluu*, the moiety and clan organisation, age-sets *hariyya* and the general assembly *Gumii Gaayoo*, continues to be essential component of Oromo democracy. But, whatever their current political and economic importance, all observers agree that G., plays "a key role in integrating" clans, promoting ↗*nagaa* and mediating between the human and divine worlds (Bassi 1996:156).

G. is extremely complex and penetrates into almost every aspect of life and must necessarily be presented here in an extremely abridged form (Aguilar 1998; 1998; Bassi 1994; 1996; 1996; Baxter 1978; VSAe II; Hultin 1975; Pecci 1941; Asmarom Legesse 1973; 2000). In the diagram the helical broad band represents the passage of time and each of the circled numbers which lay along it represents a single set *luuba*. Members of the same *luuba* may range from infancy to senility, belong to different moieties and clans and come from different customary grazing areas but they become bonded through their participation in a life long sequence of shared rituals and responsibilities. Members address and speak of each other as *luuba*. Their sense of mutuality is expressed in the proverb "*Luubi luubuu wal ulata*" ('members of the same generation set breathe in each other's breath' [Leus n.d.:204]); that is members of the same generation set form one body and soul. Each word carries poetic resonances: *luubu* ('throat') also has the meaning of 'life spirit' or 'life force' which, as believed, resides in the throat; *wal* or *wol* is the pre-verbal particle used to indicate reciprocal action (as *wal ǧaalaču* 'love one another'); *ulaata* ('to fumigate, make clean') refers to the purifying, aromatic wood smoke used to cleanse and refresh milk pots or to give fragrance to a woman's dress and body. The proverb suggests the warmth of feeling, trust and "belonging" generated by shared hearth, milk and hospitality.

Members of a generation set after a *gadaa* ceremony (sons of *gadaamooǧǧi*) in Boorana; photo 1950/52 by Joy Adamson; courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23–Ad184–09 M–Kat)

Each of the five vertical lines in the diagram of the G. system, that is those which pass through a series of circles containing the same number, represents a patriline of sets *gogeesa* (Asmarom Legesse 1972:131 uses "patriclass") in which the generations of grandfather, father, Ego and son succeed each other at 40 year intervals. These time spans are inflexible. Membership of patriclan ↗*gosa* and patriline *gogeesa* are quite distinct; each *gogeesa* would appear to span all clans and comprise around one fifth of the population. Great efforts are made to ensure that set offices are distributed evenly across clans.

Each newly created set takes the name "Sons of X", "X" being the name of the ↗*abbaa gadaa* of their father's set. Each set, and ideally each individual, passes through a series of grades or stages.

For simplicity of exposition let us follow an individual whose birth coincides with the formation of the set to which he is consigned; so that his individual progress through the life cycle is in harmony with the developmental stages of his generation set. Most transitions from one stage to the next are marked by periods of seclusion and meditation for the initiates, large assemblies of families, lavish sacrifices of stock and coffee beans ↗*buuna qallaa* accompanied by streams of prayers and blessings. A constant theme is the complementary interdependence of men and women and changes in the ritual and social statuses of initiates are often demonstrated by the adoption of hair styles which represent the reversal of sex roles. Progress through the grades, until a set reaches the plateau of retirement, is associated with increasingly mature and responsible ritual and social behaviour. The following summary of the G., cycle and its rituals is based primarily on Asmarom Legesse (1972:50–107); Bassi (1996:56–69) and Leus (1995:81f).

The progress of generation class through the grades "The prevailing model" (according to Bassi 1996:152 figure 1):

8 years	*dabballee*
16 years	*gamme*
8 years	*kuusa*
13 years	*raaba* (bureaucracy)
8 years	*gadaa*= government (juridical, executive, legislative power)
27 years	*yuuba*
8 years	*gadaamoǧǧi*

For simplicity of exposition, while remembering that such individuals are a minority, let us follow an individual whose birth coincides with the formation of the set to which he is consigned. The identity of each grade in the cycle is "relativistic" and only identifiable "in terms of another class", so that the cycle can be seen as a continuity that, "having no beginning", must constantly and regularly repeat itself. Every "grade and every set is moving in relation to the others: the position of each part of the system is only explicable in relation to the position of other parts [...] it is distorting to represent G. on a "flat surface" because in essence it is three dimensional, but there is no alternative" (Baxter 1978:170).

The first grade *dabballe* is made up of the infant sons of the set "in power" (Asmarom Legesse 1972:52). The boys are dressed and addressed as girls; their hair is anointed with butter and cow dung and allowed to grow (VSAe II, table 57, no. 1). The infants are treated with great care because they are mediators between man and God and the unconscious transmitters of blessings. A mother of a *dabballe* is similarly respected and wears a copper or brass cylinder *gulmaha* in her hair as a mark of distinction. *Dabballe* should be fostered by ↗Waaṭa during their infancy.

The second stage, that of childhood, is *gamme didiiqo. Gamme* is a tonsure similar to that which girls keep shaven until they marry and *didiiqo* is small or junior. The transition is marked by two rites at which the boy's hair is shaved by his father and he is given a boy's name and blessed. From then on he is treated as a boy. The third stage *gamme gugurdo* (large or senior) is an extension of the second and is not marked by public rituals. As they grow up the lads join in the normal harsh life of young men herding the dry stock, raiding and hunting for trophy game.

Transition into the fourth stage *kuusa* [*cusa*] (junior warriors) is one of the most important events of the G. system. For the series of transition rituals which Asmarom Legesse (1973: 61–65) witnessed about four hundred families gathered over several weeks to celebrate. The ↗*abbaa gadaa* of the set of the fathers of the participants played a crucial role. The rituals themselves lasted for over two weeks and many families stayed for longer. The fathers shaved the heads of their sons and presented each of them with a cow and calf. After the initiates had spent a period in seclusion together an *abbaa gadaa* and a council of ↗*hayyuu* were elected from amongst them. This marked the formal public recognition of the set. The boys were now recognized as being responsible enough to take lovers and also, in preparation for the next stage when they are not only permitted but encouraged to marry, start the search for a suitable bride. Whenever a group of *kuusa* visit a village a sacrificial ox is slaughtered for them (Leus 1995:627).

The next grade ↗*raaba* lasts 13 years, eight as *raaba didikka* (junior) and five as *raaba gugurda* (senior) and men should spend time as warriors. It is said that all *raaba* who are old enough to marry should do so but in practice very few do, except for office holders whose marriages are perceived as constituting a rite of passage for all the members. Although they are urged to marry *raaba* are not allowed to bring up any children they may have until, during the 40th year of the cycle, they come together to perform the elaborate and exhausting fatherhood ceremony *dannisa* (the name of a tree which provides their ritual staffs). The ceremony "brings to a conclusion forty years of development of the G. class" and the *raaba* undergo "ritual changes suggesting they had momentarily switched sex roles". Initiates must put away their spears and remain in a condition of ritual purity for seven

Generation-set-initiation ceremony: a *gadaamooǧǧi* places a *kalačča* on his son's forehead; photo 1950/52 by Joy Adamson; courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23–Ad184–14 M–Kat)

days, during which they build a ceremonial enclosure in which they reside. Set members, especially the elected officers, spend several days meditating, praying and singing. The rituals conclude with the ↗*abbaa bokkuu* shaving a small tuft of hair from each of the *raaba*. This is followed by "four days of singing and feasting", after which each participant goes through a ritual of simulated (re)-marriage with his wife, followed by further sacrifices (Asmarom Legesse 1972:70–74).

The sixth stage G., from which the system has derived its name, is the most important. Elders in this grade are said to 'have all the laws of the Boorana in their hands' *nama seera Boorana čufa harka gabu* (Leus 1995:320). The transition should take place in the 45th year of the set during the ↗calendar month *Gurrandala*. It centres around the transfer or exchange of ritual authority from the set of the "fathers" to that of the "sons" ; from the *abbaa gadaa* of the retiring set to the *abbaa gadaa* of the *raaba*. Henceforth the new set "imparts its name and its ritual attributes to the period of history when it was G." (Asmarom Legesse 1972:83). The initial rituals are similar to those performed at the transition to the fourth grade *kusa*, but are only the first in a complex and dramatic sequence of ceremonies and sacrifices. Asmarom Legesse (1972:89) lists nine prescribed sets of rituals, i.e. more than one a year, in addition to the rituals at handover and takeover. These rituals have national significance because the G. set represents all Boorana. Most conspicously the *Gumi Gaayoo* ('the crowd at the place Gaayoo'), which is held during the fourth year, is a national assembly which involves the participation of representatives of every segment of Boorana society. It is the forum at which laws ↗*seera* and ↗*aadaa* are formally promulgated (Bassi 1996:153–58). At this stage a man's wife and family actively participate in the rituals which, along with the ritual artifacts of G. have myriad symbolic associations. For example, "they are circumcised and have their ears pierced" (Asmarom Legesse 1973:90), though the operations may be token because the actual operations had been carried out years before. In the fifth year they visit the *qaalluu* and perform the rituals of anointment ↗*muuda*. The *kallaačča* (↗*kallačča*), a phallic shaped metal horn and symbol of activity, which is worn on the forehead, is particularly important (VSAe II, table 77, nos. 1–3) and lies at the core of G. After completing G. the elders start the stage of *yuuba*, partial and progressive retirement, which covers 27 years. The final, culminating stage is the highly honoured "terminal sacred grade" of ↗*gadaamoǧǧi* during which the participants pass through a series of rituals including that of *mata buufata*, when they shave their elaborately decorated *hair*at the same time and again become sources of blessing and mediators between man and God. In 1995 Anessa Kassam (1995:24) reports that around 1400 initiants and their families attended the rituals at the principal sacred site at Mio.

Lit.: MARIO J. AGUILAR, *Being Oromo in Kenya*, Trenton, NJ 1998; ID., "Reinventing *Gada*: Generational Knowledge in Boorana", in: ID. (ed.), *The Politics of Age and Gerontocracy in Africa*, Trenton, NJ 1998, 257–80; HERMANN AMBORN, "Fährten der Erinnerung: Die Verknüpfung von Vergangenheit und Gegenwart in Südwestäthiopien", in: *StudAeth* 383–404, esp. 391 (ill.); ASAFA JALATA, "The Emergence of Oromo Nationalism and the Ethiopian Reaction", in: ID. (ed.), *Oromo Nationalism and the Ethiopian Discourse*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1998, 27–50; ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada. Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York 1973; ID., *Oromo Democracy: an Indigenous African*

Political System, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 2000; Marco Bassi, "*Gada* as an Integrative Factor of Political Organization", in: David Brokensha (ed.), *A River of Blessings,* Syracuse 1994; Id., "Power's Ambiguity or the Political Significance of *Gada*", in: Paul Trevor William Baxter – Jan Hultin – Alessandro Triulzi (eds.), *Being and Becoming Oromo,* Uppsala 1996, 150–61; Id., *I Borana: una società assembleare dell'Etiopia,* Milano 1996, 56–69; Paul Trevor William Baxter, "Boran Age-Sets and Generation Sets: *Gada* a Puzzle or a Maze?", in: Id. – Uri Almagor (eds.), *Age, Generation and Time,* London 1978, 207–45; Hector Blackhurst, "Continuity and Change in the Shoa Galla Gada System", *ibid.* 245–67; CerFolk 167–81; VSAe II, 167–224, 308–22, 380–400, 451–57; Christopher Robert Hallpike, "The Origins of the Borana *Gada* System", *Africa* 46, 1, 1976, 48–56; John Thomas Hinnant, "The Guji: *Gada* as a Ritual System", in: Paul Trevor William Baxter – Uri Almagor (eds.), *Age, Generation and Time. Some Features of East African Age Organisation,* London 1978, 201–45; Jan Hultin, "Social Structure, Ideology and Expansion: the Case of the Oromo of Ethiopia", *Ethnos* 1–4, 1975, 273–84; Id., "Rebounding Nationalism: State and Ethnicity in Wollega 1968–1976", *Africa* 73, 3 2003, 402–26; Adolf Ellegard Jensen, *Im Lande des Gada,* Stuttgart 1936; Aneesa Kassam, "Notes on the Booran Oromo *Gadamojji* Ceremony Held at Sololo, Kenya, June–July 1995", *The Oromo Commentary* 5, 2 1995, 23–34; Id., "Ritual and Classification: a Study of the Booran Oromo Terminal Sacred Grade Rites of Passage", *BSOAS* 62, 3, 1999, 484–50; Karl Eric Knutsson, *Authority and Change; A Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia,* Goteborg 1967, 156–84; MHasOr 9–17, 84, 113; D. Pecci, "Note sul sistema della gada e delle classi di età presso le popolazioni Borana", *RSE* 1, 1941, 305–21; Günther Schlee, "Gada Systems on the Meta-Ethnic Level: Gabbra/Boran/Garre Interactions in the Kenyan/Ethiopian Borderland", in: Eisei Kurimoto – Simon Simonse (eds.), *Conflict, Age and Power in North East Africa,* Oxford 1998, 121–46; Tamene Bitima, *A Dictionary of Oromo Technical Terms,* Köln 2000; Joseph van de Loo, *Guji Oromo Culture in Southern Ethiopia; Religious Capabilities in Rituals and Songs,* Berlin 1991, 23–68.

Paul T.W. Baxter

Gadaamooǧǧi

G. is the eleventh and final grade in the ↗Oromo ↗*gadaa* system of generation-classes and is entered through a formal ritual. The fullest accounts that we have of the system and its rituals and symbolism are drawn from the ↗Boorana. G. also denotes both the ritual condition and title of an elder who, along with the other members of his *luba*, has completed that grade and entered terminal and sacred retirement.

Members of this grade are greatly respected by all members of society, including spiritual leaders. The G. class does not carry arms, they are not permitted to kill any living creatures and are required to use a ritual argot. People seek their blessing and wherever they go they are given food and shelter. Men and women come to them for protection against misfortune, enemies or angry kinsmen. Pledges are made to the G. whereby people promise to anoint them with incense, butter and coffee if their hopes and wishes are fulfilled (Asmarom Legesse 1973:105).

The G. class ends its sacred grade at the retirement ritual, ca. 88 years after the individuals have entered the *gadaa* cycle. The final rite is called *Qumbii wal-irraa-fuudhu*, 'the ritual of exchange of incense'. The exchange of incense occurs between those entering the G. grade and those who leave it to enter into complete retirement, *ǧarsa* (old men). At this ritual the G. stay for two months in a specially constructed house and an interlinked arc of ceremonial houses (*galma*). The doorway of each house faces towards Liiban, the spiritual centre of the Boorana. Each G. is accompanied by his family and sufficient stock to sustain them and provide sacrifices for two months. This period is one of intense ritual activity, prayers and blessings. More people gather for the ceremonies than could be maintained at one site, so *galma* are constructed at several sacred sites. A noticeable feature is the recitation by each G. of his accomplishments as a warrior in front of their sons, peers, well-wishers and visitors, who come from all over the region to participate. The accuracy of the recitations is monitored by their peers and praised by the listeners. This ceremony is accompanied by dancing and singing that lasts throughout the night. Groups of men sing peace- and praise-songs in honour of their clans and the founding fathers of the Oromo nation (Aneesa Kassam 1995:24). The ceremony constitutes the formal end of the *gadaa* life cycle. After the ritual is performed, the elders have no political, economic or ritual authority and all their responsibilities are passed on to their children (Asmarom Legesse 1973: 99–105; Aneesa Kassam 1995:23–34).

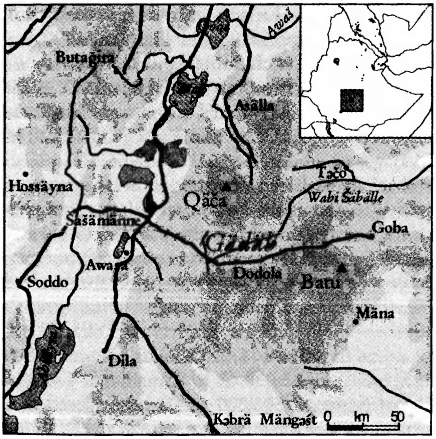
Lit.: Asmarom Legesse, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society,* New York 1973; Id., *Oromo Democracy: an Indigenous African Political System,* Lawrenceville, NJ — Asmara 2000; Alemayehu Kumsa, *The Oromo Political System during their Sovereignty, their Colonization by Abyssinians at the End of the 19th Century, and their Struggle for Emancipation from Alien Rule,* Ph.D thesis, Charles University, Prague 1997; Aneesa Kassam, "Notes on Borana Gadamojjii Ceremony Held at Sololo (Kenya) June–July 1995", *The Oromo Commentary* 5, 2, 1995; Marco Bassi, *I Borana:*

una società assembleare dell'Etiopia, Milano 1996, 56–74; VSAe I, 217–24.

Alemayehu Kumsa

Gädäb

A short distance downstream from its sources, the ↗Wabi Šäbälle river meanders through a high plain which stretches out at an altitude between 2,500 to 2,300 m A.S.L. Bordered to the north by Mount Qäča/Kaka (4,139 m) and to the south by Mount Batu (4,307 m), this depression, called the G. (**ገደብ**), is covered with cereal fields and grazing-land while its surrounding slopes are forested. This region is a part of the Oromiyaa *kəlləl* with the right bank of the Wabi Šäbälle belonging to the ↗Bale Zone and the left bank to the ↗Arsi Zone. The G. remained isolated for a long period, but is now crossed from east to west by the road from ↗Šašämänne, which winds through the Zutän Mälka gorges before it reaches ↗Goba. Adaba (18,616 inhabitants) and Dodola (13,436 inhabitants) at the end of the track from ↗Asälla, which were tiny *kätämas* in 1938, have become sizeable market-towns and administrative centres. The *wärädas* of G. (125 inhabitants/km²), Dodola (94 inhabitants/km²) and Adaba (53.7 inhabitants/km²) are densely populated with Arsi Oromo, who are sedentary farmers.



↗Gäb

Lit.: CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA (ed.), *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*, (scala 1 : 1 000 000), Milano 1938; EMAtlas; GasEth 59, 61; HuntGal; MesfAtlas; MesfGeogr²; *Guida* 463; MHasOr.

Alain Gascon

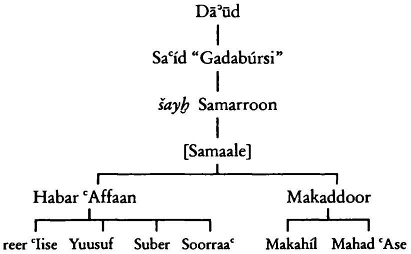
Gadabuursi

Gadabuursi ethnography

G. (Northern Somali: Gadabbuursi) is the nickname of the Samarroon, a Northern Somali tribe, part of the so-called ↗Dir family, which includes the ᶜIise (↗ᶜIssa) tribe. The G. occupy a continuous territory east of Harär, from the well of El-Bahay, east of ↗Ğiğğiga, to Gəbiley, Tog Wağaale (Täfäri Bär) and Boorama, in Somaliland. Numerous toponyms here are of Oromo origin, as Qabri-Nonno, Dudde-Hiddi, Garba-Ğirri. The G. are agriculturalists, a sedentary activity which constitutes an important socio-historical difference with other Northern Somalis. Cultivation of cereals is accompanied by cattle husbandry.

Genealogically, all G. recognize as their ancestor *šayḫ* Samarroon, son of Saᶜid Gadabuursi, son of Dāʾūd, whose grave is at Dirgaaḥ, near Maiḍ, on the northern coast. Ferrand (1903: 102) was the first to suggest a plausible link with *gadāʾ búrti* 'mountain dwellers', which fits the location of this sedentary Somali tribe in the vicinity of Oromo (↗Ğaarso, Akiššo and ↗Garre, now Somalized). All these groups still differentiate their people according to their location 'on the hill' (*búr*) or in the 'plain' (*baanka*). E.g., the Garre are divided between Kabaal ᶜAd (those with white camel-saddle), upwards, and Kabaal Maadoow (those with black camel-saddle) in the plain of ↗Ğiğğiga. As a whole, the two names G. and Samarroon show the "Somalization" of an alleged Arab ancestor, Saᶜid Gadabuursi and of his son, *šayḫ* Samarroon. One should here make a difference between the legendary genealogy in relation with the Arab/Qurayšite claim and the historical (still-living) one, which takes into account the aggregation (mainly through marriages) of neighbouring groups.

The G. are divided into two main sub-clans: Habar ᶜAffaan and Makaddoor, the last being divided into two sub-clans: Makahíl "the one who supported Makka" and Maḥad ᶜAse (for Madaḥ ᶜAse) 'Red Head'. In some genealogies, a "Samaale" generation is given as Samarroon's son. This appears as a parallel to the division (s. before) which opposes Sab and *ilma* Samaale, Samaale's sons, the "noble" Somali. This Somalization of the names has its counterpart in a modern tendency to Arabization (e.g., Maḥad ᶜAse explained as Maḥammad ᶜase). The following table shows the genealogy of the Samarroon (G.): lineage genealogies show that ᶜIise and



Genealogy of the Samarroon (G.). The lineages of Suber are 1. Ḍega-Wéyne, 2. Makahíl, 3. Ḥasan Saʿad, 4. Mūsa "Fín", 5. Ḥamūd, 6. Adan Faroole; the lineages of Soorraaᶜ are 1. Ḥeb Ğire, 2. Gobe, 3. Ğibrayn, 4. Ğibrayn, 5. ᶜAli Gaduun; the lineages of Makahíl are 1. *reer* ʿIye, 2. ʿEli, 3. Bah Habar Ḥasan, 4. Mūsa, 5. ᶜAbdalle; the lineages of Maḥad ᶜAse are 1. Adan, 2. Abbokor, 3. Bah Habar ʿEli, 4. Mūse.

Yuusuf were of the same mother, while Suber and Makaddoor were of a second marriage. But Suber joined his other brothers ᶜIise and Yuusuf. Aggregating foreign "followers" (*soo-[r]raa*ᶜ), their descent was called "Habar ᶜAffaan", 'the sons of [a woman named] ᶜAffaan' (or ᶜArfaan).

The patrilinear representation of the Somali society focuses on male descent and on the clan location according to patrilinearity. A Nuur Yuunis man will mention Dilá or Kallabayḍ as his *degmo*, the ancestral land. But in the context of a sedentary community, the situation appears more complex. If each G. sub-clan and lineage has a fixed territory (*degmo*), in the case of a woman, a subtle relation exists between her paternal *degmo*, her husband's one, and their home (*rug*), which is not necessarily located in the *degmo* of the latter. Thus, an Aden Yuunis woman (*reer* Maḥammūd Ḥasan/*reer* Sáhal) says Ḥaasaadin to be her paternal *degmo* and Muḥuufti her husband's one. But for both of them, and for their children, their *rug* is Ğiğğiga (Morin 1995:140f.). The power among the G. has been traditionally represented by the *ugaas*, chosen for his sense of justice and equilibrium. The appointment was made by one hundred elders, who also decided for the new regulations to be introduced. The ceremony was celebrated in the Harraawe valley (Lewis 1961:211f.), west of Boorama, the G. "capital". The corpus of law was known as *ḥeerka boqorka iyo boqol nin* 'the law of the Sultan and the hundred men'. It is they who dismissed *ugaas* Nuur Rooble for having signed a treaty with the French governor ↗Lagarde. The title of *suldaan* has been divided according to the division of the G. in Ethiopia and in British Somaliland. The last *suldaan* in Ethiopia in the 70s was of Aden Yuunis descent.

Gadabuursi history

Taking into account the location of clan ancestor's graves, one can affirm that the G. are, at least since the 17th cent., in the same area east of Harär. The G. are also scattered among the ᶜIise in the villages along the road to Zaylaᶜ. Historically, the area from ᶜAbdulqādir to Geerisa and Zaylaᶜ was gained by the ᶜIise after decades of fighting. The name of Lafa-ᶜIise, "the bones of the ᶜIise", north of ᶜAbdulqādir, recalls one of these battles. A popular hero for this heroic period is Rooble "Afdeeb" (Ğibrir Yuunis), 'Roble with a mouth like fire', at the beginning of the 20th cent., whose violent *gabay* are still recalled (Morin 1999: 137f.). The coast to the south-east of Zaylaᶜ, from Lughaya to the vicinity of Bullaḥaar is still a G. (Maḥad-ᶜAse) grazing-area in winter.

The G. have been present in ↗Djibouti since the foundation of the town (mainly in the "Quartier 5") and rapidly adapted to town life. The first mosque in Djibouti (Ğāmiᶜ ar-Raḥma, Quartier 2) was built in 1891 by *ḥāğğī* Diideh (Maḥad-ᶜAse, d. 1928), a prosperous merchant of Zaylaᶜ. The name of "Côte française des Somalis" itself is said to have been proposed by *ḥāğğī* Diideh to the French administration in imitation of British Somaliland. During the two World Wars, the French "Bataillon Somali" was mainly composed of G. and Isaaq. The "Milice Indigène" in French Somaliland was also an almost-entirely G. military unit. Many G. went overseas with the colonial troops, as ᶜAli Mūse Hārūn (sub-clan Gobe/Soorraaᶜ), who served in Madagascar under General Galliéni. Many also embarked with the Messageries Maritimes and settled as far afield Nouvelle-Calédonie, Indochina, and Europe (Marseilles). Many G. former civil servants in Djibouti have retired to Boorama, where their pensions are a major income for Northern Somaliland. French administrative sources (1966) indicate 4,500 G. in Djibouti out of a total of around 36,000 Somali. Hunter (1951: 122) mentions 45,000 G. in Somaliland. Today, a global figure of 300,000 can be considered as a realistic, if not scientific, estimate of the G. living in Ethiopia, Somaliland and Djibouti.

In the economic sector, the G. have always been active. The meat supply of Djibouti has been and is still dependent on cattle importation, mainly from the Boorama area. This was of vital importance during the British blockade in Djibouti (1941/43). After the nomination of Ǧããma^c ^{c}Ali, a G., as the Djibouti deputy to the French Conseil de la République (December 1946), then of Said Ali Coubèche (an Arab) as a deputy to the French Assemblée de l'Union française, riots burst out between G. and ^{c}Iise in Djibouti (1949) with nearly 100 dead. The preponderance of G. and of the other "Somalis allogènes" began to decline in the colony. Despite these events, which were largely monitored by the French administration, the G. live together with other Somalis, with whom they frequently marry in the neighbouring towns, mainly in Dərre Däwa, Hargeisa, Zayla^c etc. Also, since the Ethio-Somali war (1977), many impoverished G. have gathered in refugee camps in Täfäri Bär, Ḍeer-Wanaaǧi, Qabri-Bayaaḥ and Harta-Šayḫ on the border with Somaliland.

Due to their geographical location, the G. have been part of the colonial struggle. The French consul Henry signed with *ugaas* Nuur Rooble a Treaty of Friendship (25 March 1885) in Zayla^c, the day before ↗Lagarde signed also with 19 ^{c}Iise chiefs. He was replaced by his tribe soon after for having alienated the ancestral land. After the conquest of Harär, in a letter to the French and British powers (1891), *aṣe* Mənilək II claimed "the province of Ogaden, the ↗Habar Awal, the G. and the ^{c}Issa". In fact, the G. land stayed largely autonomous, most of its inhabitants refusing to pay taxes to the Imperial Government. In 1930 an Ethiopian force raided the Protectorate and seized livestock.

The 1894 Anglo-Italian Protocol discussed a possible surrender of the G. and ^{c}Iise tribes to the Italians, with the port of Zayla^c, in exchange for territories in the Italian protectorate. This project was abandoned and the G. remained divided between Ethiopia and British Somaliland. This led to conflicts among the G. for the nomination of the *sulṭān*. After the Italian withdrawal, under the British Administration, the creation of the "*gulub*" (the Somali Youth Club) in Mogadishu, but also in Hargeisa (1943), exactly under the tree at Geed-Deeble, gave the signal for the emancipation of the Somali. In Ǧiǧǧiga, a Christian G. (of Aden Yuunis lineage), Aḥmed Warsama, known as Aḥmed Kottéli, along with *ḥāǧǧī* Doodi Rooble (G. ^{c}Ali Yuunis) and Ḥuseen Giirre (Akiššo), were the prominent figures. The flag of the Somali Youth League (S.Y.L) was raised during a demonstration (1949) quelled by British troops under Captain MacDonald (personal communication with Kane Spitler, Sudan Interior Mission in Ǧiǧǧiga).

Gadabuursi dialect

The difference drawn by Lamberti (1983:166) between "Northern Somali in the proper sense" (the ^{c}Iise, Isaaq and G. area) and "Western Somali" in the Ǧiǧǧiga area, according to kinship must be reconsidered on strictly linguistic criteria (s. ↗Dir). Ǧiǧǧiga, which is "historically" an Absame (Bartire) land, includes, as said, communities of various (some of them formerly Oromo) origins which all speak the same Northern dialect of "common Somali", like the other Daarood-Absame (Yabarré, Bartíre, Abaskuul, Bursúg) of the Harär-Fiyaambiro area. The differences found are more socio-linguistic than linguistic, as they are shared by the former Oromo-speaking Ǧaarso and Géri-Baabile (s. Morin 1995:129–220; 307–53). Before the adoption of the Somali orthography (1972), a non-alphabetic "G. script", also known as "Boorama script", had been initiated by *šayḫ* ^{c}Abdaraḥmān, *šayḫ* Nur (Lewis 1958). Another prominent literary figure is Ḥassan *šayḫ* Mumin (Ǧibrír Yuunis), playwriter (*Šabeelnaagood*, tr. by Andrzejewski 1974) and oral source of the *Contes de Djibouti* (Morin 1980).

Src.: personal communication with Kane Spitler; Christian Bader, *Le Sang et le lait. Brève histoire des clans Somali*, Paris 1999; Richard Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa*, London 1894; Gabriel Ferrand, *Les Somalis, Matériaux d'études sur les pays musulmans*, Paris 1903; Ioan Myrddin Lewis, *The Somali Lineage and the Total Genealogy*, London 1957, Crown Agents (ms.); Id., "The Gadabursi Somali Script", *BSOAS* 21, 1, 1958, 134–56; Id., *A Pastoral Democracy, a Study of Pastoralism and Politics among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa*, 1961; LewPeople; John A. Hunt, *A General Survey of the Somaliland Protectorate 1944–1950, Final Report on "An Economic Survey and Reconnaissance of the British Somaliland Protectorate 1944–1950"*, Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme D. 484, Crown Agents for the Colonies, London 1951; Marcello Lamberti, *Map of Somali Dialects in the Somali Republic*, Hamburg 1986; Didier Morin, *Des paroles douces comme la soie: introduction aux contes dans l'aire couchitique (bedja, afar, saho, somali)*, Paris 1995 (Langues et cultures africaines 19); Map of the Gulf of Aden, 1/4M., Geographical Section, General Staff, no. 2957, War Officer 1934.

Didier Morin

Gädam

G. (**ገዳም**, pl. *gädamat*) means literally a wilderness, plain, desert or other uninhabited place, and by association a ↗monastery. Although the

G., like a ↗*däbr*, usually had close ties to the emperor and his representatives, it was at the same time more autonomous. Imperial control over the selection of the abbot of a G. was usually limited to confirming a candidate elected by the monastic community itself. While the G. was usually located in a comparatively isolated area, it often had major influence within its region. G. were often endowed with large tracts of land. While they did not always have the imposing buildings or reputation for learning which characterized the *däbr*, they provided the clergy who filled ranks of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church.

Lit.: LesCDic 183; HAILE MARIAM LAREBO, "The Ethiopian Orthodox Church and Politics in the Twentieth Century", *NEASt* 9, 3 1987, 1–17, here 11ff.

Steven Kaplan

Gadarif ↗Qadarif

Gädl

G. (**ገድል**, pl. *gädlat*) literally means 'contending, [spiritual] struggle'; it corresponds to Greek ἀγών, ἀθλησις, but comprises also the meaning of βίος – 'Vita, biography [of a holy person]'. G. is the most popular genre of Ethiopian ↗hagiography, which is, in turn, one of the most important constituents of ↗Gəᶜəz literature.

The known G. can be divided into two major categories: (1) the translated passions of the martyrs and lives of ↗saints of other, particularly Eastern, Churches (↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat*); (2) lives of local saints. Some of the translations were made from Greek in the Aksumite period, many more from Arabic in later periods, and obtained wide circulation in Ethiopia. It is presumed that these works exercised strong influence on the works of the second category, yet the issue has never been systematically studied. As to the second category, a preliminary bibliography lists almost two hundred indigenous works – G. of Ethiopian saints (KinBibl; Huntingford 1979), and there is little doubt that many more as yet uncatalogued G. exist. Though the number of the individual G. is considerable, most of them are presented in a relatively small number of manuscripts, due to the local character of the veneration of most of the saints. Most of the G. remain unpublished, and hence generalisations regarding these works must be made with caution.

The G. of a saint was usually written by a monk from the saint's own monastery, to be read, in the first line, at the commemoration feast of the saint (↗*Täzkar*). His goal was not to write a biography in the historical sense of that word, but rather to produce "hagiobiography", elevating both the saint and his monastery. Accordingly, he weighted his sources to create a work which suited his purposes. The manuscript evidence vindicates such a choice, for when two versions of a hagiography exist, it is usually the more imaginative and elaborate account which is represented in most manuscripts.

Although less sophisticated in language than theological works, hagiographic literature – in the first place G. – was no less central to the mission and purpose of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. In the G. the eternal truths of ↗Christianity were expressed not in the form of abstract discourse or scriptural citations, but through stories in which the saint lived these truths and demonstrated his worthiness by reliving – in the Ethiopian context – the deeds of great Biblical and ecclesiastical figures. Indeed, the invocation of scriptural precedents and of themes and *topoi* found in the lives of other saints is one of the defining characteristics of the G.

Despite its saintly subject matter, hagiographic literature did not partake of the exalted status of canonical literature. The monk writing a G. might shape and supplement his material, whereas the scribe copying a G. manuscript did not necessarily follow the same rules as one copying a canonical text. One may speak of the "perpetual renewal" of hagiographic texts, and as consequence the concept of a G.'s date of composition is imprecise and can refer to either the time it was first committed to writing or to the date at which a particular version was completed. Yet the "perpetual renewal" was not uncontrolled; apart from the textual alterations which emerged in the text of the G. during its circulation, cases of serious changes or complete reshaping of G. – and the saint's biography – are not very frequent. The examples of the Acts of ↗Täklä Haymanot and ↗Ewosṭatewos indicate that behind every such case there was a complex set of religious, political and literary reasons, which led monks to the idea of rewriting the G. of a saint.

Although the archetypal hagiographic work, Athanasius's Vita of St. ↗Anthony was already translated into Gəᶜəz from Greek during the Aksumite period, the indigenous composition of G. did not develop in Ethiopia until much later. The circumstances behind and the catalyst for this development, which apparently took place during the last decades of the 14th cent., are not clear. Yet, given the monastic milieu of the hagiographic literature, one can assume that the composition of the saints's lives was often coincided with the rise of the respective monastic community. E.g., only when ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa assumed major importance during the first half of the 15th cent. were the lives of its leading figures – Täklä Haymanot, ↗Filəppos, ↗Märḥa Krəstos, ↗ᶜƎnbaqom, ↗Yoḥannəs – committed to writing. In some cases the existing G. of a saint may be an evidence of the change of the historical role of the monastery (cp. ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa), or a valuable testimony which persists long after the monastic community has declined or even disappeared (↗Samuᵓel of Däbrä Halleluya).

It is important to note that G. were usually composed many years and even decades or centuries after the death of their saintly protagonists. Thus the G. of ↗Lalibäla, ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, ↗Näᵓakʷəto Läᵓab were composed in the late 14th or 15th cent. long after the time of these rulers of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, who lived in the 12th and 13th cent. Even a greater gap lies between the period of the ↗Nine Saints and the ↗Ṣadqan and the composition of their G. The lives of ↗Libanos (Mäṭṭaᶜ), ↗Gärima (Yəsḥaq) and ↗Päntälewon appear to date to the 15th cent., although some confusion persists regarding the precise date; the G. of ↗Zämikaᵓel Arägawi, as well as those of ↗Afṣe, and ↗ᶜOṣ all appear to have been composed many centuries after the events they recount.

As the examples given above indicate, there is a tendency for some G. to be produced in "clusters" and to share themes. Although not necessarily the product of the same period or authors, such works appear interconnected and it appears probable that later authors were familiar with the works of their predecessors. This is undoubtedly the case with the G. of the saints of the ↗Ewosṭateans and the ↗Stephanites. It also appears to be the case with the G. of the saints led by Filəppos of Däbrä Libanos, such as ↗Qäwəsṭos, ↗Anorewos the Elder, ↗Tadewos of Däbrä Maryam.

Most G. describe the exploits of saintly monks. Generally, some of them are described as leading rather contemplative ascetic life and concentrating more on their own salvation, while some others (this type prevailed in, e.g., in the hagiography of Šäwa, but was presented also elsewhere) tend to perform "active" contending, usually connected with intensive social and missionary activities. Typologically, the biographies of Ethiopian saints are shaped after different "types of sanctity". G. of the "righteous ones" from Baraknaha (Ṣadqan) – presumably an early hagiographic work – describe the deeds of the impersonal groups of saints of non-Ethiopian origin. Most of the G. depict the lives and exploits of the founders of monastic communities – (sometimes half-legendary) charismatic workers of miracles, and their successors – prominent superiors of the monasteries (with the activities pivoting not only on the spiritual and ascetic, but more on the social and political life). Unusually, the G. of the kings from the Zagʷe dynasty (believed to originate from ↗Lasta), while crediting them with many attributes of a monk, describe lives of the saintly rulers from the line that was considered "illegitimate". There are a few examples of G. of saintly persons considered "martyrs" (of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I killed by his political enemies; of ↗Ananya of Däbrä Ṣärabi killed by a pagan ↗Oromo). There are a few G., composed most probably in the court milieu, which describe the life of "court saints" (like ↗Giyorgis of Sägla; ↗Yosṭinos). There is even at least one example of the G. of "repented sinner" – ↗Bäggəᶜu of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos. While the G. of men greatly outnumber those of women, the latter are also subjects of G.; among the prominent ones who are commemorated are ↗Wälättä Peṭros, ↗Krəstos Sämra and the saintly Zagʷe queen ↗Mäsqäl Kəbra.

There was no single standard form for a G., yet every G. begins with an introduction (frequently rhymed or written in an elevated style) and ends with the formalised conclusion. Some G. are divided into chapters. Names of the authors of most G. remain unknown (more usual are indications of those who committed the composition of a G. or the creation of its copy). In many cases, the G. is followed by Miracles of the saint (↗*Täᵓammər*) and ↗*mälkəᵓ* in his honour. A few G. gave subjects for church murals and series of illuminations. Since G. were frequently read aloud in a church, their writers often shaped the material to present the story in as interesting a manner as possible, to instruct and educate their readers, yet G. greatly differ in their language and style; they range from brief and simple works to extensive and elaborate compositions.

Though very different in their literary form, many G. can be said to follow a similar set of common *topoi.* E.g., in case of the G. of a saintly monk, the account begins with the saint's parents, who are often said to have been either ecclesiastics or of noble lineage (sometimes of royal family). Following a period of bareness, his mother conceives (this event being often announced by the appearance of an angel). The saint's birth and ↗baptism are also frequently described against the background of remarkable events. The future saint's holiness usually manifests while still a child as he speaks precociously and even performs miracles. While some saints are given to a monastery to be raised by their parents, others depart against their family's wishes in order to avoid marriage and secular life. After a period as a novice, the saint becomes a monk and in most cases travels to the metropolitan to be consecrated as a priest. Struggles with the forces of evil represented in the first place by ↗demons and magicians are a common theme in the G. as is the conversion of non-believers. G. of many saints recount their battles with secular rulers, in particular Ethiopian emperors (e.g. ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I), in great details, while others stress their warm relations with the court. G. frequently report of saint's pilgrimages to ↗Jerusalem, the Scetis and holy sites and prominent monasteries in Ethiopia; another common place is encounter with other saints and holy monks.

Whatever its circumstances, the death of the saint is depicted as a blessed event. One of the distinctive elements in a G. is the "covenant" or "pact" between the saint and Christ, or ↗*kidan*. In the *kidan*, the Lord promises to forgive the sins of those who pray or give charity in the name of the saint. The *kidan* usually appears in a G. shortly before the saint's death. The saint's burial is often accompanied by miracles, which are also related in the G.; in many cases, the initial site of a saint's burial differs from his final resting-place and the subsequent translation of his remains could become the subject of another account, incorporated into his G. (in a few cases, such accounts became independent works).

Episodes and stories related in the G. of some Oriental and the most known Ethiopian saints (e.g., the martyrdom of the people of ↗Naǧrān; the conversion of ↗Motäläme by Täklä Haymanot; the ascension of Zämikaᵓel Arägawi on ↗Däbrä Dammo) were widely known and vividly remembered; they circulated in the form of oral legends and exercised a strong influence, reaching as far as the works of the modern Ethiopian writers.

To this day, published editions of G. (not all of them following the criteria of the textual criticism, aimed at the reconstruction of the archetype of the whole tradition) have continued to outnumber greatly critical studies or attempts at synthesis; there is still no general scholarly overview of this literature. As yet, we are unable to reconstruct in full the history behind the composition of a G., lacking a systematic chronological survey of the genre.

Src.: DillmLex 1201f.; BHO; EncSan.

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "L'agiografia etiopica e gli Atti del santo Yâfqeranna-Egzi' (Secolo XIV)", *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 96, 2, 1936–37, 403–33; Bertrand Hirsch – Manfred Kropp (eds.), *Saints, Biographies and History in Africa*, Frankfurt am Main 2003; George Wynn Brereton Huntingford, "Saints of Mediaeval Ethiopia", *Abba Salama* 10, 1979, 257–341; Paolo Marrassini, *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi. Vita di Yohannes l'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 [1982] (Istituto di Linguistica e di Lingue Orientali Università di Firenze, Quaderni di Semitistica 10) [Lit.], xix–cix; Aleksander Ferenc, "Writing and Literature in Classical Ethiopic (Giiz)", in: Bogumił Witalis Andrzejewski – Stanisław Piłaszewicz, *Literatures in African Languages: Theoretical Issues and Sample Surveys*, Cambridge 1985, 255–300 (Lit.); KapMon (Lit.); Rudolf Kriss – Hubert Kriss-Heinrich, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975; Friedrich Heyer, *Die Heiligen der äthiopischen Erde*, Erlangen 1998 (Oikonomia 37); KinBibl (Lit.); Stanisław Kur, "Le pacte du Christ avec le Saint dans l'hagiographie éthiopienne", in: *PICES 7*, 125–29; Samuel Walda Yohannes, *Il fondo umanistico dei modelli e degli ideali dei gadl: ricerca linguistico-filosofica su alcuni testi del XV secolo etiopico*, Roma 1996; Taddesse Tamrat, "Hagiographies and the Reconstruction of Medieval Ethiopian History", *Rural Africana. Current Research in the Social Sciences* 2, 1970, 12–20; Tesfaye Gebre Maryam, "A Structural Analysis of Gädlä Täklä Haymanot", *African Languages and Cultures* 10, 2, 1997, 181–98; TurIz.

Steven Kaplan

Gädlä NN ↗NN: Gädlä NN

Gädlä sämaᶜətat

G.s. (**ገድለ፡ ሰማዕታት**, '[Spiritual] Contendings of the Martyrs') is a traditional title for different collections – virtually, taken together, the main extant *corpus* in Gəᶜəz – of the Acts of the non-Ethiopian martyrs and saints venerated by the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. The name G.s. is found as early as in a book-list from ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos dating to 1292 (cf. Sergew Hable-Selassie in OrbAethChoj 246f.), although it is difficult to know exactly what sort of work is meant there. On the whole, the Acts of the extant collections amount to 140, less than one third of which have been edited or studied, and belong to various hagiographic genres: *acta* (↗*Gädl*), *confessio*, *martyrium* or *passio*, *epistula*, as well as dialogue, homily (↗*Dərsan*), miracles (↗*Täᵓammər*) etc. They mostly concern Egyptian martyrs, but also saints venerated in both eastern and western Christian traditions: e.g., legendary figures and historical personalities, such as Phileas, Bishop of Thmuis in the early 4th cent. (the majority of the saints of the G.s. are to be found in the *Bibliotheca sanctorum* 1961–70, and *Bibliotheca sanctorum orientalium* [= EncSan]; for the Oriental tradition cf. BHO, though now outdated). So far, there is no complete bibliography on all the texts of the G.s.

In the manuscripts of the G.s. the individual texts are usually distributed according to the commemoration days of the saints, but neither the occurrence nor the sequence of the pieces is fixed. The result is that the title G.s. can refer to manuscripts very different in arrangement and contents and easily overlap with such other titles as that of the *Gädlä qəddusan* ('[Spiritual] Contendings of the Saints'). In fact, a comprehensive work by the name G.s. can hardly be said to have ever existed, nor can it be identified with the few, though important, Gəᶜəz texts published as *Acta martyrum* by Esteves Pereira (1907). Yet, the Acts of Fasilädäs (*ibid.*, 3–64 [text]) are one of the most famous pieces of the G.s., their authorship being attributed to "Kələstyanos [Celestin] Pope of Rome"; and Fasilädäs appears in turn as the central character of a hagiographical cycle of its own, based upon his fabulous relations with other martyrs and emperors: Yosṭos, Aboli and Tawkəlya; Tewodros, Bänadəlewos, Theodore "the Oriental", Abadir, ↗Gälawdewos, Fiqṭor, ↗Susənyos.

The texts found in the G.s. were chiefly translated from the Arabic, starting at least from the second half of the 13th cent., as can be argued on the basis of both the aforesaid inventory from Däbrä Ḥayq, listing a number of texts later included in the G.s. manuscripts (on Aron; Bärbara and Yolyana; Martyrs of ↗Nağrān; Qirqos; Giyorgis; Ṗänṭälewon "the magician", not one of the ↗Nine Saints), and of a colophon dating to 1292 as well. This could also be the *terminus ante quem* for some other texts in the G.s. (on Ewosṭatewos; Qozmos and Dəmyanos; Märqorewos; Minas; Yaᶜəqob "who was cut to pieces", cf. Bausi 2002:7ff.). A number of scribal subscriptions from the 14th cent. attribute a more or less explicit role in the translation to ↗Sälama "the Translator", Metropolitan of Ethiopia in ca. 1348–86 (texts on Abäkəräzun; Abuqer and Yoḥannəs; Arsanyos; Gälawdewos; Nob; Yəsḥaq of Difra; Yosṭos, Aboli and Tawkəlya; Miracles of Tewodros of Awqiṭos; Orni; Abraham "the stone-cutter", cf. *ibid.*, 10f.). The possibility of a direct Coptic *Vorlage*, explicitly stated for Fasilädäs's hagiography (cf. Esteves Pereira 1907:3–64 [text]), allegedly translated into Gəᶜəz in 1396/97 by the Egyptian monk Səmᶜon of the monastery of St. Anthony (↗*Sənkəssar*), has not yet been critically evaluated. A certain number of texts translated from the Greek, probably in the Aksumite age, are likely to represent an older layer of the Gəᶜəz literary tradition (e.g., on Arsenofis; Euphemia; Tewoflos, Ṗaṭroqya and Dämalis; Filəyas, "Phileas" Bishop of Thmuis; possibly Ǝmrayəs, and ↗Cyprian and Justa; cf. Conti Rossini 1938; Ricci 1947; Bausi 2002: 15ff.).

In a number of cases the Gəᶜəz version of a G.s. text is the only extant, or the most important witness of texts otherwise lost or only fragmentarily preserved in the languages of the Christian Egyptian tradition: Greek, Coptic and Arabic (cf. Conti Rossini 1899:210 on the hagiography of Julius of Aqfahs, the pretended author of a number of texts in the G.s.; cf. Cerulli 1959).

Great collections of Acts of the Martyrs must have emerged little by little, while in the manuscript tradition many of the individual texts, having entered homogeneous selections of hagiographic materials, can also appear isolated or within books which are of not purely hagiographic content. Among the manuscripts with a more or less fixed collection and readings for a number of months variable from two up to twelve (which should properly be styled as *Menologion*), one can mention mss. BritLib Orient. 686–90; BN Éth. 131 and d'Abbadie 110 and 179; VatLib Et. 264 and Comboni et. 202 and 212; EMML 1479, 1766, 1824, 1826, 1827, 2514, 2796, 6244, 6694, 6834, 6903, 6951; Ṭānāsee 121 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 10, Ṭānāsee 122 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 11. Other manuscript collections of hagiographic interest focusing on monastic personalities could better be termed *Gädlä qəddusan*, but are indeed comparable with that of the G.s.: e.g., mss. EMML 141, 1834, 1844, 1939, 7602, and also 1763, a very peculiar archaic collection, the importance of which goes far beyond its importance for the hagiographic genre (cf. Bausi in PICES 14, with further references).

Some manuscripts offer several readings for the same month, among which hagiographic texts are otherwise frequent in the general G.s. collections: e.g., ms. BritLib Orient. 691, 692; BN d'Abbadie 92; EMML 1840, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. fol. 117.

The chronological distribution of the G.s. manuscripts (to a greater extent dating to the 14th–15th cent.) is a clear mark both of the importance of the collection before the emergence of the "first recension" of the Gəᶜəz *Sənkəssar* at the dawn of the 15th cent., which in turn absorbed short texts from the G.s. in the course of time (cf. Colin 1988:311f.), on the one hand, and of the composition of hagiographies concerning Ethiopian saints, on the other. In a different perspective, the hagiographic literary tradition collected and expressed in the texts of the G.s. had a pivotal role in the development of both the indigenous Ethiopian ↗hagiography and its iconographic patterns (cf., e.g., Balicka-Witakowska 1996; ↗Equestrian Saints). For Ethiopian Christians it was also one of the main opportunities to have a share in a heritage common to other Churches of the Christian Orient.

Src.: AbbCat 102f., 124–27 and 183f. [nos. 92, 110, 179]; ChAbb 59f., 68–71 and 107–10 [nos. 92, 110, 179]; CrAbb 150f., 173–77 [nos. 129, 163, 164]; DillmBerl 56f. [no. 66]; EMML I, 143 [no. 141]; IV, 593–98 [no. 1479]; V, 218–31, 235f., 267–70, 273–84, 306–17, 344–47, 357–60, 429–33 [nos. 1766, 1824, 1826, 1827, 1834, 1840, 1844, 1939]; VII, 6–14, 138f. [nos. 2514, 2796]; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, *Acta martyrum*, Romae 1907 [repr. Louvain 1962] (CSCO 37, 38 [SAe 20, 21]); ARNOLD VAN LANTSCHOOT, "Inventaire sommaire des mss. Vaticans éthiopiens 251–299", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, vol. 1, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e testi 219), 453–512, here 465ff., no. 264; OSVALDO RAINERI, *Codices Comboniani Aethiopici*, Città del Vaticano 2000 (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti 47), 193–96, 210ff. [nos. 202, 212]; SixTana III, 86–104 [nos. 121, 122]; WrBriMus 159–70 [nos. 253–58]; ZotBNat 196ff. [no. 131].

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "Mamas: a Cappadocian Saint in Ethiopian Tradition", in: JAN OLOF ROSENQVIST (ed.), *Λειμών. Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Uppsala 1996 (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 6), 211–56; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La versione etiopica degli* Acta Phileae *nel* Gadla samāᶜtāt, Napoli 2002 (Annali IUO. Supplemento 92) [Lit.]; ID., "The Aksumite Background of the Ethiopic 'Corpus canonum'", in: *PICES* 15; *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, 12 vols., Roma 1961–70; CerLett 55f.; ENRICO CERULLI, *Atti di Giulio di Aqfahs*, Louvain 1959 (CSCO 190, 191 [SAe 37, 38]); GÉRARD COLIN, "Le synaxaire éthiopien. État actuel de la question", *ABoll* 106, 1988, 273–317; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1899, 197–220, 263–85, here 209ff., 215; ID., "La Passione del martire Arsenofis e dei suoi compagni nella versione etiopica", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 3, 1938, 193–214, 319–32; EncSan; GuiSLett 30–34; BHO; DELIO VANIA PROVERBIO, "Le recensioni etiopiche della *Passio Mercurii*", *Studi Classici e Orientali* 43, 1993, 453–66; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Studi di letteratura etiopica ed amarica, I. Gli *Atti* di Tēwoflos, Pāṭriqā e Damālis; II. Le Divagazioni di Zanab etiopico", *RSE* 6, 2, 1947, 162–88; RicLett 813, 818f.; SERGEW HABLE-SELASSIE, "The Monastic Library of Däbrä Hayq", in: *OrbAethChoj* vol. 1, 243–58.

Alessandro Bausi

Gaᶜəwa

G. (ጋዕዋ) was a 16th-cent. female ruler in northern Ethiopia. In the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* she appears as a sister of Makattar (Mäkättər), *sulṭān* of Mazağa (↗Mäzäga). During the *ğihād* of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"), Makattar, eager to rid himself of his dependence upon the Christian monarch, allied with the *imām*, but died only three days after he was personally visited by Aḥmad Grañ – who was thereby able to reach the northernmost point in his Ethiopian campaign. G. kept the death of Makattar secret for three days.

After the defeat of Grañ's army, G. seems to have continued to resist; the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos reports that there was fighting between G. and the *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq. According to the autobiographical sketch by the monk ↗Ṗawlos, it took place in 1557, but nothing is said about the outcome of this clash. In fact, it seems to have followed the Turkish landing at ↗Massawa in March 1557 (a few days after the new Catholic "patriarch" Andrés de ↗Oviedo), occupied ↗Ḥərgigo and seized ↗Dəbarwa. G.'s nephew, Habem [Ibn] Dilado, collaborating with the Turks, invaded the territory of *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq, but was defeated and captured (Couto 1777–88; cp. Conti Rossini 1918:292, no. 2). As the Turks tried to penetrate further inland, Yəsḥaq beat them back to Dəbarwa. Then he returned to Mäzäga, fighting G., and defeated her. She fled to Dəbarwa and stayed there. After a short period of Turkish military successes (the seizure of ↗Däbrä Damo in 1558), ↗Özdemir *paša*, seeking territorial gains, allied with G., who had offered help in exchange for Turkish support. He left a garrison in Dəbarwa (G.'s soldiers are reported to have joined it, guarding G.'s property) and headed to Mäzäga with a large detachment. But, many of the Turks, including Özdemir, fell ill due to the bad climate there. In the meantime, Dəbarwa's garrison was in difficulty. The Turks, together with G., decided to flee to Massawa, but on their way they were attacked and massacred by the locals, who captured G. and all her possessions. According to Ṗawlos, G. died in 1559 (elsewhere her death is placed in the same year as *aṣe* ↗Minas – 1562/63, s. Ellero 1948:114). Nothing is reported about her successors.

The Chronicle of Gälawdewos calls G. "the queen of Säläwa", but the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* reports that, after Makattar's death, G. became his son Nāfiʿ's regent and ruled over Mäzäga and the neighbouring areas. These regions, later to form ↗Wälqayt, and Mäzäga in particular, were predominantly Muslim. The change in the distribution of the population in favour of Christian Təgrəñña- and Amharic-speakers took place long after Aḥmad Grañ's wars. It is remarkable that Portuguese sources (Barros 1563) refer to G. as "the queen of the Nubians" (the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* also reports that Makattar had 15,000 "Nubians" under his command), whereas the traditions of Wälqayt record that she was of ↗Bäläw origin.

G. is vividly remembered as an invincible and powerful queen. The Wälqayt tradition speaks of her coming from ↗Arabia, as well as of the places where she "stayed", fought etc. Her name is preserved in a number of local toponyms (ʿAddi Gaʿəwa, Qəṣri Gaʿəwa, Məʿəraf Gaʿəwa, s. Ellero 1948:114). Other traditions have it that she was much feared in the neighbouring regions (e.g., in ↗Ǝndärta), point to her "death place" (↗Ǝnč̣ät Käb) and even make her a wife of *imām* Aḥmad Grañ (Ellero 1941:68, no. 7).

Src.: BassHist 431, no.2; ConzGal 77f.; Guida, map 4; Carlo Conti Rossini, "L'autobiografia di Pawlos, monaco abissino del secolo XVI", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 27, 1918, 279–96, here 285f., 292; BassHist, s. index; João de Barros, *Terceira decada da Ásia de Ioam de Barros: Dos feytos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente*, Lisboa 1563 [repr. Lisboa 1992], décade III, lib. IV, ch. 1; Diogo de Couto, *Da Asia. Dos feitos, que os Portuguezes fizeram na conquista, e descubrimento das terras, e mares do Oriente. Decadas IV–XII*, 13 vols., Lisboa 1777–88, décade VII, lib. VII, chs. 4-5, 91–96; Paolo Marrassini, "Il Gadla Mâtyâs", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 6, 1983, 247–307, here 268.

Lit.: Sevir B. Chernetsov, *Efiopskaja feodalnaja monarhija v XIII–XVI vv.* ('The Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 13th–16th Centuries'), Moskva 1982, 246–49; Giovanni Ellero, "Il Uolcaìt", *RSE* 7, 1948, 89–112 [repr. in: *EllLusAnt* 109–31] (Lit.); Id., "Note sull'Endertà", *RSE* 1, 1941, 146–72 [repr. in: *ibid.*, 65–92] (Lit.).

Denis Nosnitsin

Ǧaʿfar Bukko

Šayḫ Ǧ. (جعفر بكو, b. 1793, d. 1860) was a renowned Muslim mystic, preacher and reformer from Gattira in Laga Gora, a chiefdom in the western highlands of ↗Wällo. He inherited the "tradition of sanctity" from his father, Ṣiddīq (d. 1800/01). According to both oral traditions and written sources, Ǧ.'s birth and future greatness were revealed to Ṣiddīq by al-Ḫiḍr, an enigmatic figure in popular *Ṣūfī* lore.

Like his father, Ǧ. had an encounter with al-Ḫiḍr, who subsequently granted him the authority to propagate Islam. After acquiring an Islamic education in various parts of Wällo under the supervision of the prominent scholars of his time, he taught and preached in many centres of Islamic learning in the region.

Ǧ. is particularly remembered for the vigour with which he fought against corrupt Islamic institutions, offices and practices. He insisted on the abolition of rituals associated with the consumption of ↗*č̣at* (Arab. *qāt*) and condemned the activities of the officiators of *č̣at* ceremonies (the *abba gar*). He perceived their practices as being incompatible with Islam, especially their claim to be intermediaries between God and the faithful. He was vehemently opposed to the idea that *abba gars* were capable of foretelling the future. Not only did Ǧ. reject these claims, but he also took practical steps to stop their activity by destroying the centres for their ritual ceremonies.

The traditional *ʿulamāʾ* were another target of Ǧ.'s attacks because they turned a blind eye to the transgressions committed by the local chiefs. With respect to funerals, the chiefs would appropriate the alms and contributions made by the relatives of the deceased and use them to prepare a feast for those attending the funeral, instead of distributing the funds among the poor. Ǧ. additionally waged a perpetual struggle against Muslim traditional office-holders who failed to govern in accordance with Islamic law. This brought him into direct confrontation with rulers like ↗Adära Bille, the hereditary chief of ↗Laga Gora.

In addition to his reputation for condemning evil practices, Ǧ. was also known as a peacemaker. His reputation as an arbitrator in local conflicts is exemplified by his successful efforts to bring about a reconciliation between *al-Ḥāǧǧī* ↗Bušrā āy Muḥammad and Madanī. His commitment to, and upholding of, justice earned him the sobriquet of *sayf al-ḥaqq* ('the sword of truth'), which was given to him by Bušrā.

Src.: *faqīh* Muḥammad [b. Ǧaʿfar], *al-Misk al-aḏfar fī manāqib sayf al-ḥaqq aš-šayḫ Ǧaʿfar* ('The Pungent Musk on the Virtues of the 'Sword of Truth', *šayḫ* Ǧaʿfar'), ms, ca. 1885; *šayḫ* al-Ḥāǧǧ Muḥammad Tāǧaddīn

AḤMAD, *Iᶜlām al-aġbiyāʾ bi-ḥayāt ᶜuẓamāʾ Ityūbiyā min al-ᶜulamāʾ wal-awliyāʾ wa-salāṭīn al-islām wal-aṣfiyāʾ* ('Teaching those who do not Know about the Important Personalities of Ethiopia: the Learned Men, Saints, Muslim Rulers and the Faithful'), ms.

Lit.: HUSSEIN AHMED, "Introducing an Arabic Hagiography from Wallo", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 185–97; ID., *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia: Revival, Reform and Reaction*, Leiden – Köln – Boston 2001, 101–04, 111, 136f., 194–97.

Hussein Ahmed

Ǧaᶜfar b. Abī Ṭālib

Ǧ., the Prophet ↗Muḥammad's cousin, was the third son of Abū Ṭālib, the uncle of the Prophet. He was ten years older than his brother ᶜAlī who was to become the fourth Caliph. Since Abū Ṭālib was very poor, he grew up with his uncle, al-ᶜAbbās. Ǧ. was among the very first inhabitants of ↗Mecca to believe in the prophethood of Muḥammad and to embrace ↗Islam. He took part in the ↗*hiǧra* to al-Ḥabaša (↗Abyssinia). Ǧ. and his wife, Asmāʾ bint ᶜUmays, left ↗Mecca for Ethiopia in the second group of Muslims, who sought refuge in the country of the Christian ↗*nəguś* (Arab.: *naǧāšī*) from the persecution of the pagan Arabs.

According to Islamic tradition, when a delegation of Meccan polytheists led by ᶜAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīᶜa and ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ came to the King of Ethiopia to claim the emigrants back, he stood up as the leader of the Muslim refugees and spoke on their behalf in the presence of the *nəguś*, the Christian Ethiopian clergy and the two pagan emissaries. In a first audience, he recited some verses of the 19th *sūra* of the ↗Qurʾān (*sūrat Maryam*), which mention the reverence to the Virgin ↗Mary. On a second occasion, when ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ told the *naǧāšī* that Muslims blaspheme Christ by calling him a slave, Ǧ. successfully rebutted the charge with a quotation from the fourth *sūra* (*sūrat an-nisāʾ*), that explain the Islamic views about Jesus. The Ethiopian king was so favourably impressed by the content of these passages of the Islamic holy book that he decided to grant the Muslim refugees a secure shelter in his land and to reject the request of the Arab pagans to expel them back to the Arabian Peninsula. Islamic tradition further maintains that the *naǧāšī* converted to Islam, thanks to the preaching of Ǧ.

During his stay in Abyssinia, Ǧ. begot from his wife a son, called ᶜAbdallāh, who was the first Muslim born in Abyssinia. Sources are not unanimous about the other sons of Ǧ.: al-Nawawī speaks of three sons (ᶜAbdallāh, Muḥammad and ᶜAwn), Ibn ᶜInaba gives the names of eight sons (ᶜAbdallāh, ᶜAwn, Muḥammad al-Akbar, Muḥammad al-Aṣġar, Ḥamīd Ḥusayn, ᶜAbdallāh al-Akbar, ᶜAbdallāh al-Aṣġar), all born from Asmāʾ.

Ǧ. came back to ↗Arabia and once again met the Prophet on the day of the conquest of the town of Ḫaybar (A.D. 628). According to Islamic traditional sources, Ǧ. kissed Muḥammad between the eyes, the Prophet embraced him and said: "I do not know what makes me feel happier, the conquest of Ḫaybar or the arrival of Ǧaᶜfar?"

In September 629 A.D. (*ǧumādā al-ūlā* of the year 8 H.) Muḥammad organized a military expedition across the Byzantine (↗Byzantine Empire) border. The Prophet appointed Zayd b. Ḥāriṯa as the first commander of the Islamic troops. In case Zayd should die, Muḥammad ordered that Ǧ. should replace him as the head of the army and, if Ǧ. should fall as well, ᶜAbdallāh b. Rawāḥa should be there to take his post. When Zayd died, Ǧ. took command of the Islamic army and fought bravely. He cut his horse's hocks so that it was impossible for him to turn back and flee from the enemy. It is said that he was the first in the history of Islam to do that. His two hands were cut off but he managed to keep the Islamic flag by clasping it to his breast with the stumps. He finally fell dead as a martyr of the faith, at Muʾta in the Byzantine territory when he was almost 40 years old. His successor as the commander of the Islamic troops, ᶜAbdallāh, also died after him. Ǧ. was buried at Muʾta in a common tomb which he shared with the two other commanders of the Muslim expeditionary force.

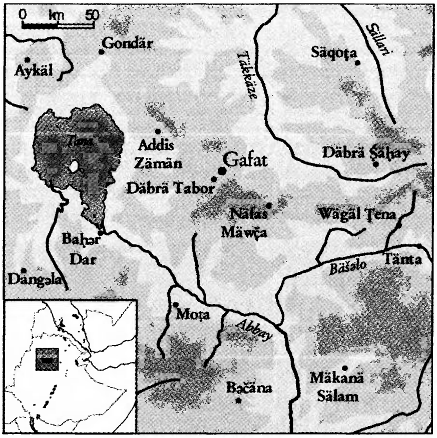
Islamic tradition portrays Ǧ. as being physically and morally similar to his cousin Muḥammad. The Prophet himself said: "You look like me, physically and morally". Thanks to his generosity, he acquired the nickname Abū l-Masākīn ('the father of the poor people'). After G.'s ↗martyrdom, Muḥammad stated that he saw him in a vision while flying in paradise with two bloodstained wings, together with angels: hence he came to be called Ǧaᶜfar ḏū l-Ǧanāḥayn ('G. the one with the two wings') and Ǧaᶜfar aṭ-Ṭayyār ('G. the flyer'). In some Islamic traditional sources Ǧ. is also called "ḏū l-hiǧratayn" ('the one who took part in the two *hiǧras*', i.e. to Abyssinia and to Medina), but this has no historical support.

Src.: IBN HIŠĀM, *as-Sīra al-nabawīya* ('The Life of the Prophet'), Beirut 1987, passim; IBN ᶜINABA, *ʿUmdat aṭ-ṭālib fī ansāb āl Abī Ṭālib* ('Support of the One Searching the Origins of Abī Ṭālib'), Beirut n.d., 53ff.; NAWAWĪ, *Tahḏīb al-asmāʾ wal-luġāt* ('Improvement of Names and Languages'), Beirut n.d., vol. 1, 148ff.
Lit.: LAURA VECCIA VAGLIERI, "D̲ja ᶜfar b. Abī Ṭālib", in: *EI²*, vol. 2, 372f.; JOSEPH CUOQ, *L'Islam en Éthiopie, des origines au XVIᵉ siecle*, Paris 1981, 27–32.

Alessandro Gori

Gafat

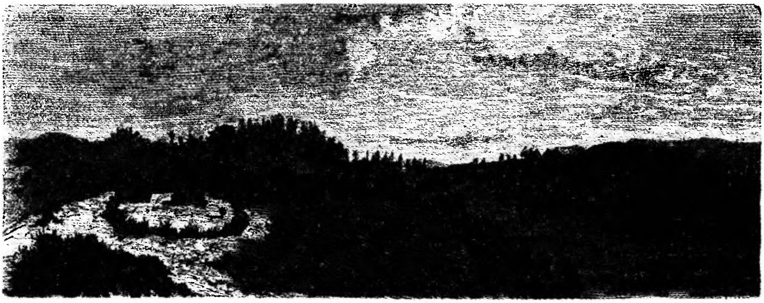
G. (ጋፋት, in European sources Gefat) is a small locale north-east of ↗Däbrä Tabor, in historic Bägemdər, near ↗Ǧan Meda. In June 1860 *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II designated it a permanent settlement for a group of Protestant missionary artisans – Theophil ↗Waldmeier and Karl ↗Saalmüller among others – who were associated with the ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission Institute at Basle, Switzerland. A number of other Europeans, who were not associated with the mission, also joined the community. At G. the artisans built a number of European-style houses, a large workshop and a school, which taught both literacy and technical skills. The workshop included a foundry where the craftsmen repaired muskets and manufactured light weaponry. At the beginning of 1861, the workers began making mortars, an activity which increasingly dominated their time and efforts as Tewodros's desire for bigger and more powerful weaponry increased. In 1863 Protestant missions to the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, who had been active in Dämbəya, were suspended and their agents sent to G. The community grew again in 1864 when, following a crisis with the British consul, Charles Duncan ↗Cameron, Tewodros sent the Germans detained in the royal camp to G. In addition to the Europeans who settled there, ca. 1,000 Ethiopians also came to the settlement to work and learn technical gun-making skills.



Aṣe Tewodros was deeply committed to military reform. Consequently, he tried to accrue as much weaponry and artillery as possible – rifles, guns, cannons etc. More importantly, he also sought to acquire knowledge about weapons and artillery production and pass this skill on to his people. In the course of time, G. became the principal site at which Tewodros's desire for military reform came into being and, according to Bahru Zewde (BZHist 34), "... more than any other place, [G.] symbolised Tewodros's modernizing drive".

In April 1867, the G. workshops and houses were destroyed by royal order and its resident European colony was moved to Däbrä Tabor, and then to ↗Mäqdäla the following October, where they were freed by the British expeditionary force of 1868.

Src.: THEOPHILUS WALDMEIER, *Erlebnisse in Abessinien in den Jahren 1858–1868*, Basel 1869, passim; ID., *The Autobiography of Theophilus Waldmeier, Missionary: being an Account of Ten Years' Life in Abyssinia and Sixteen Years in Syria*, London 1886, passim; HENRY DUFTON, *Narrative*



Landscape of Gafat; from Andree 1869: 279

of a Journey through Abyssinia in 1862–3: with an Appendix on "The Abyssinian Captives Question", London 1867, 83–86; JOHANNES MARTIN FLAD, *Zwölf Jahre in Abessinien, oder Geschichte des Königs Theodoros II und der Mission unter seiner Regierung*, Basel 1869, 55, 67f.; RICHARD ANDREE, *Abessinien, das Alpenland unter den Tropen und seine Grenzländer*, Leipzig 1869, 279, Abb. 3 (ill.).
Lit.: CrumMiss 128, 132, 137, 140; ArEvang 93f.; BZHist 34, 40, 103.

Donald Crummey

Gafat

Gafat language

G., a South ↗Ethio-Semitic language, was formerly spoken in the district of Wämbärma, south-west of ↗Goğğam in the region of the Blue Nile (↗Abbay), west of ↗Däbrä Marqos.

G. was already mentioned in three short sentences by Hiob ↗Ludolf in his *Historia Aethiopica* (1681, vol. 1, chs. 10, 60), where he compared it with Gə^{c}əz and Amharic. An 18th-cent. translation of the Song of Songs (*yäsälomon əğäwat əğä-əğä*) in G. (on the suggestion of James ↗Bruce) was published and annotated by Leslau (1945). In 1845 Beke noticed the decline of the language and spoke about its imminent disappearance. Nevertheless, a hundred years later (in 1947) Leslau was able to produce a comprehensive description of the language (published in 1956). It shows the G. language already partly Amharicized, and probably all former G. speakers now speak Amharic. Even as late as in the 1980s a few words were still remembered by an informant (Taddesse Tamrat 1988:152).

The G. are occasionally mentioned in Ethiopian chronicles and remembered by local traditions (Leslau 1966); Taddesse Tamrat (1988) provides a useful overview of available historical information (s. also the sub-entry on G. history). Their language shows links to the Northern and Western ↗Gurage idioms, dubbed Outer South Ethiopic by Hetzron (1972:8). E.g., the imperfect in a relative clause does not reveal any specific relative morpheme: G. *yəfätər säwwä* 'the man who will die (*yəfätər*)', as in Western Gurage (↗Čaha, ↗Ǝnnämor, ↗Muḫər, ↗Mäsqan, ↗Gogot) and ↗Soddo (Northern Gurage); the infinitive marker is *wä-* (*wa-*) prefixed to the kernel morpheme of the jussive-imperative: (0$_1$) *wäftär*, 'to die' (jussive *yäftär*), (0$_2$) *wäkämmər*, 'to pile' (jussive *yäkämmər*), as in Muḫər, Mäsqan, Gogot and ↗Zay (Eastern Gurage); the B type of the verb has *i* after the first radical: (0$_2$) *kimmärä*, 'he piled', *mizzänä*, 'he weighed', as in Soddo (*mizzäno*) and Zay (*mizänä*, without lengthening) – here all other Ethio-Semitic languages have either *e* (most of Gurage, e.g., *mezzänä*) or *ä* (Amh. *mäzzänä*).

A peculiarity of G. phonology is that labialization (as known from the labiovelars *k*^{w}, *q*^{w}, *g*^{w}, *h*^{w}) is extended to the labials (*b*^{w}, *m*^{w}, *f*^{w}): *rib*^{w}*ä* 'Wednesday', *zaf*^{w}*ä* 'tree', *dəm*^{w}*ä* 'head'.

The personal pronouns in G. are: sg.: 1st pers. *anät*(*ti*), 2nd pers. masc. *ant*, fem. *anči*, 3rd pers. masc. *wət*, fem. *yət* (cp. Gə^{c}əz *wəˀətu*, *yəˀəti*), pl.: 1st pers. *ənni*, 2nd pers. *ənnantum*, 3rd pers. *əlläwm*, *ənnälläwm*. The 3rd pers. sg. suffix pronouns to the noun are also archaic in that they still show an *h* (as in Gə^{c}əz): masc. -(*ə*)*ho*, fem. -(*ə*)*hä*. Unique is the 1st pers. sg. suffix -(*ə*)*ğğä*, e.g., *gäğğ-əğğä*, 'my house (*gäğğä*)'. A 3rd pers. sg. object suffix pronoun to the verb *-i* besides *-ni* is rather rare in Ethio-Semitic: *əb*^{w}*-i*, 'I (will) give him', *wabhu-ni*, 'I gave him'. The copula is based on a morpheme *n-* (as in Ethio-Semitic in general): *-n*, 'he is', -*nähä*, 'you (m. sg.) are', *-näwm* 'they are' (e.g., *əññə əmmuna-n*, 'this is big [*əmmunä*]'), but *-y*, 'she is'. With nouns and pronouns as predicates, another copula with **ttä-* plus object pronoun suffixes is used: sg. 3rd pers. masc. *-tto*, 2nd pers. *-ttähä*, 3rd pers. pl. *-ttäwm*, e.g. *wət al-əğğä-tto*, 'he is my brother (*alä*)'. The definite article is *-š*, e.g., *gäğğə-š*, 'the house (*gäğğä*)', *zafu-š* (*zaf*^{w}*ə-š*), 'the tree (*zaf*^{w}*ä*)'. In general, nouns show a final *-ä* element, but *mossay*, 'child' is an exception.

The 3rd pers. pl. affix in perfect, imperfect, jussive and imperative is *-i*^{w}*m*, e.g., (0$_3$) *dakkäm-i*^{w}*m*, 'they repeated', (0$_1$) *t-ifärk-im*^{w}*-am*, 'they are not (*t-…-am*) able'. The derived verb stems are A, T and At. The At$_3$ stem is the causative of the reflexive (as in Amh.). The At$_2$ stem is the simple causative to 0$_1$ and 0$_2$ (as in Soddo and Zay): (At$_2$) *at-riggäṣä* caus. of (0$_2$) *riggäṣä*, 'he danced'. The weak verb classes are (all 0$_1$): *bällä*, 'he ate' – *yəbälä*, 'he eats' (Amh. *bälla – yəbäla*), *bäššä*, 'he sucked' – *yəbäš* (Amh. *qärrä*, 'he remained' – *yəqär*), *maṣä*, 'he beat' – *yəmiṣ* (Amh. *lakä*, 'he sent' – *yələk*), *qomä*, 'he stood' – *yəq*^{w}*im* (Amh. *qomä – yəqom*), *räṣä*, 'he ran' – *yəriṣ*.

The word order is Subject-Object-Verb. Specifying elements such as adjectives, relative clauses, and adverbs precede the elements to be specified.

G. vocabulary can be illustrated by the following ten-word list: *əğğä* 'one'; *ələttä* 'two'; *sostä* 'three'; *əsatä* 'fire'; *ägä* 'water'; *aymərä*, *ç̣äbärä* 'sun'; *ṣäräqä* 'moon'; *sənä* 'tooth'; *däm*^{w}*ä* 'blood'; *məlasä* 'tongue'.

Lit.: CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, "On the Languages and Dialects of Abyssinia and the Countries in the South", *Proceedings of the Philological Society* 2, 1845, 97–107; ROBERT HETZRON, *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification*, Manchester 1972; WOLF LESLAU, *Étude descriptive et comparative du Gafat*, Paris 1956; ID., "A Short Chronicle on the Gafat", *RSO* 41, 1966, 189–98; ID., *Gafat Documents: Records of a South-Ethiopic Language*, New Haven 1945 (American Oriental Series 28) [cp. review by HANS JACOB POLOTSKY, *Journal of American Oriental Society* 69, 1949, 36–40]; HIOB LUDOLF, *Historia Aethiopica*, Frankfurt am Main 1681, vol. 1, 60; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: the Case of Gafat", *JES* 21, 1988, 121–54 [with map].

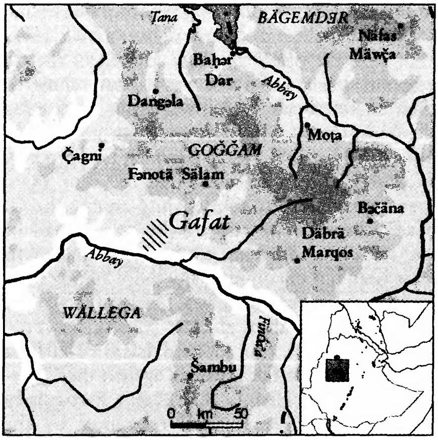
Rainer Voigt

Gafat history

Before the 16th cent., documentation on the G. is scant, being limited to occasional references in the hagiographic literature and in the Old Amharic praise songs for victorious emperors. It is only from the 1520s onward that we possess somewhat richer data: in the accounts of some Portuguese visitors to Ethiopia, on the one hand (↗Alvares, ↗Bermudez, ↗Almeida), in the indigenous chronicles, rapidly evolving in the 16th cent., on the other. The window on G. life and history thus opened is, however, virtually closed again in the early 1600s. At that time the G. began to suffer the full impact of the Oromo expansion and hence ceased to be important partners or adversaries of the Christian empire in their own right. Therefore, they are little mentioned in the later Gəʿəz sources.

In the 16th cent. the G. inhabited a long stretch of territory on the left bank of the ↗Abbay, extending from the Wäläqa river in northern Šäwa well into eastern Wälläga (historical ↗Damot), probably up to the ↗Didessa river, and perhaps even beyond. Southwards their area of settlement extended as far as the headwaters of the ↗Awaš. The few available earlier data indicate that the G. had inhabited at least substantial portions of this territory already in the previous two centuries.

While possessing a sense of ethnic unity, the different G. subgroups apparently never developed a set of common institutions and hence lacked political cohesion. This enabled the Christian monarchs largely to deal with those subgroups separately: an obvious strategic advantage. Despite this, many G. fiercely (though only intermittently) resisted the extension of the Christian empire's control over their ancestral lands, which earned them a solidly bad reputation in the former. Thus, ↗Särṣä Dəngəl's chronicle, e.g., on two occasions, characterizes the G. as insubordinate barbarians, thieves, waylayers, and merciless murderers (CRHist 11, 119f.). This negative Christian attitude influenced the early Portuguese authors, who equally mostly present the G., overwhelmingly based on hearsay, in a somewhat unfavourable light (BeckHuntAlvar 458; Bermudez in Whiteway 1902:217, 232f., 242). Against this background of collective denunciation, it comes as a surprise that the Gəʿəz chronicles on a number of occasions show individual G., or even whole G. groups, acting as loyal supporters of Christian monarchs (CRHist 11, 22 [text]; PerChron 12, 23, 25f. [text]). This clearly demonstrates that the generalizing negative statements to be found in the extant sources are one-sided at best. Moreover, a hostile G. attitude to the Christian kingdom, where it was in fact displayed, likely often stemmed from the experience of being harassed, raided or even killed by its representatives. The sources, at any rate, unabashedly mention quite a few such events (CRHist 119f., 162–65 [text]; PerChron 25ff., 28f., 30 [text]; Bermudez in Whiteway 1902: 233).



With respect to their physical appearance, both Alvares and Almeida independently describe the G. as generally rather tall in build and of a comparably light complexion.

In terms of religious outlook and affiliation, the G. during their observable history present no homogeneous picture. While traditionally, for obvious reasons, they followed their own "indigenous" religion, in the period under observation they were increasingly exposed to influences from Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, on the one hand, and, to a lesser extent, from Islam, on the other. To these influences the G. responded in a variety of ways. Many clung to their ancestral cult, which was again a cause for denunciation in Christian and Muslim sources alike (CRHist 119f. [text]; BassHist I, 304 [text]). However, at least since the mid-15th cent. there were conversions to Christianity among the G. (TadTChurch 237), and by the second half of the 16th cent. adherence to this faith appears to have been not uncommon any more among their eastern and central branches. During the wars of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ), however, some G. groups also adopted Islam or at least fought alongside the Muslims against the Christian state (BassHist I, 185, 304f.). Particularly interesting are some casual references by the early 16th-cent. Portuguese authors to a Jewish identity of some (apparently mostly central and western) G. (BeckHuntAlvar 458; Bermudez in Whiteway 1902:232). Perhaps these intriguing remarks can tentatively be interpreted as evidence of considerable Christian influence on the concerned G., to which, however, they responded, not by an all-out adoption of Christianity, but, due to the existing political antagonism, by opting for a variant within the same overall religious matrix. It is tempting to draw analogies with the emergence of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel from among Agäw populations further north. When the G. later were assimilated into the Amhara of Goǧǧam and Oromo of Šäwa and Wälläga, they shared the religious histories of these peoples.

The G. practised a mixed economy, cultivating the land as well as raising livestock. In Šäwa, outside the traditional area of ↗*ənsät* cultivation, the G. presumably planted the same cereals (mostly *ṭef* and wheat) as their Amhara and Agäw neighbours, but further south and west *ənsät* must have figured prominently in their agriculture, as Śärṣä Dəngəl's chronicle on one occasion characterizes this crop as the staple of the (western) G. (*hənsät zä-wəʾətu sisayomu lä-Gafat*: CRHist I, 140). In the 17th cent. Almeida noted their considerable cattle herds. According to the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, the (western) G. in the 1530s did not possess any horses (BassHist I, 304f.). If they acquired them later in the century, they certainly did not do so in large numbers.

The Gəʿəz sources unambiguously provide the names of quite a few G. subgroups, such as the Abädray, Ašmän, Beräbabo, Dən, Harbakäl, Harbäwaš, Śat, Wänge, Yäsubli and Yäzämbäl. On account of the context in which they occur, as well as their phonotactics, we can further infer that the ethnonyms of Azär, Fätägäm, Mägdämu, Mälägʷ, Yäbadi and Yäqumbäl likely equally refer to G. subgroups, even though this is never explicitly stated in the sources. With regard to the Boṭ and the ↗Gämbo, however, which in the literature are occasionally counted among the G., there is reason for scepticism. A thorough sifting of the sources may well reveal the names of yet more G. subgroups.

From the late 16th cent. onwards the G. were increasingly exposed to the pressure of the northwards-migrating Oromo. Unable to resist their onslaught decisively, large numbers of G. left their ancestral homelands and migrated across the Abbay into Goǧǧam, taking with them many of their old place names (including the term Damot, which now came to designate a region north of the Abbay). Once in Goǧǧam, these G. were no longer capable of challenging the Christian monarchs, but instead looked towards them for protection. Over time they thus became loyal and inconspicuous subjects of the Christian empire. This development culminated in their linguistic and cultural Amharization, which was virtually complete by the mid-20th cent. Those G., on the other hand, who did not take part in the trans-Abbay exodus, but remained in their erstwhile homes and were fortunate enough there to survive the Oromo invasion, were rather quickly assimilated by the latter, thus equally disappearing from history as an independent ethnic group.

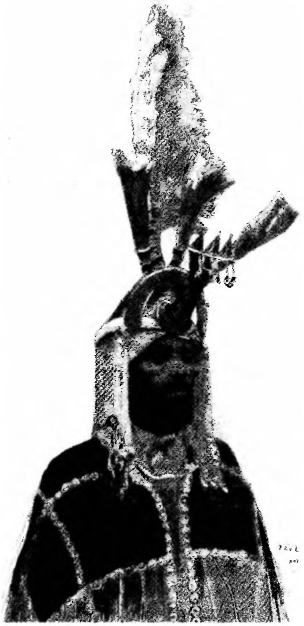
Src.: BassHist, s. index; BeckHuntAlm, s. index; BeckHuntAlvar 458; Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, *The Lives of Maba' Seyon and Gabra Krestos*, London 1898, 2f., 24f.; Carlo Conti Rossini (ed.), *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum*, I. *Acta Yared et Pantalewon*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]), 24 (text); CRHist I, 11, 22, 119f., 138ff., 162–65 (text) = II, 14, 26, 136f., 157–60, 176ff. (tr.); CrawItin, s. index; PerChron, s. index; Ignazio Guidi, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di re Abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4ª, 4, 1889, 53–66; GuiIohan 280 (text) = 299 (tr.); Wolf Leslau, "A Short Chronicle on the Gafat", *RSO* 91, 1966, 189–98; Richard Steven Whiteway (ed.), *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543, as Narrated by Castanhoso, with some Contemporary Letters, the Short Account of Bermudez, and Certain Extracts from Correa*, London 1902 [repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein 1967], 216–19, 232–34, 242, 246 [= Bermudez].

Lit.: BTafA, s. index; HuntGeogr, s. index; Michael Kleiner, "Were the Gämbo a Gafat Group? Deliberations on a Finer Point of Ethiopian Ethnohistory", in: *StudAeth* 151–64; PankBord, s. index; TadTChurch 237; Taddesse Tamrat, "Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: the Case of the Gafat", *JES* 21, 1988, 121–54; *aläqa* Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ታሪክ (*Yäʾityopya ḥəzb tarik*, 'History of the People of Ethiopia'), Aśmära 1914 A.M. [1921/22 A.D.], 33ff.

Michael Kleiner

Gaki Šeročo

G.Š. (ጋኪ፡ ሼሮቾ, also known as Çinito, r. 1890–97), was the last ↗*tato* of the kingdom of ↗Käfa before it was incorporated into *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's empire in 1897. He ascended the Käfa throne after a period of uncertainty on the question of succession to his predecessor, ↗Galli Šeročo (r. 1870–87). G.Š. successfully repulsed incursions from his powerful northern neighbours, Goǧǧam and Šäwa, first in 1890 and then in 1893. But his despotic rule undermined his power and popularity in his kingdom and thus made him vulnerable to the final assault in 1897. *Aṣe* Mənilək's forces opened a five-pronged offensive against the proud ancient kingdom. *Ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyyä, who was in overall command, was assisted by *daǧǧazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Täsämma, *daǧǧazmač* (later *ras*) Dämes, as well as ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar of Ǧimma, who had already submitted to Mənilək. After a nine-month-long resistance, G.Š.'s force was finally defeated on 9 September 1897. The victors returned to Addis Abäba with the subdued king, who was fastened with a silver chain that had been reportedly kept for this purpose. He spent the rest of his life in captivity. *Ras* Wäldä Giyorgis became the governor of Käfa.



Gaki Šeročo in full royal attire; painting by Paul Buffet; reproduction in the collection of Ernst Hammerschmidt, Asien Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg

Src.: GSMen 276f.

Lit.: BZHist 65f.; Amnon Orent, "Refocusing on the History of Kafa prior to 1897: a Discussion of Political Processes", *African Historical Studies* 3, 2, 1970, 263–93, here 282; Friedrich Julius Bieber, *Kaffa: ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, vol. 1, Münster 1920, vol. 2, Wien 1923; Id., "Geschichte der Könige von Kaffa", *Mitteilunges des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* [Berlin] 19, 1916, II, 94–123; Werner J. Lange, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61).

Bahru Zewde

Gäläb ↗Dasänäč

Gälämso

G. (Amh. ገለምሶ, Oromo sp. Galamssoo) is a town in western ↗Harärge with an important symbolic and historical meaning for the birth of Oromo nationalism.

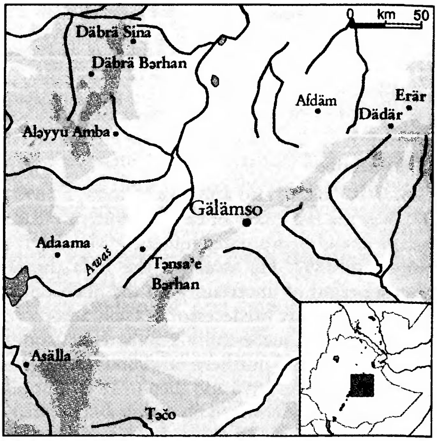
Located at the foot of Aw Šarīf Mountain, which is part of a mountain-chain that extends from ↗Çärçär to Gaara Guguu Mountain in ↗Arsi, G. has a population of around 10,000 inhabitants. Originally part of the Çärçär *awrağğa*, after 1974 it became capital of the Habro *awrağğa*. As resource-base of Habro, G. is an important commercial centre in the region. Habro, with its over 200,000 inhabitants, has a very rich economic base, both actual and potential, ranging from food to cash-crops and to animal-husbandry and is one of the most productive agricultural regions in Harärge. The town has one high school, four elementary schools, one Qurʾānic school, three mosques and one church, a health centre and a hospital. Muslim religious leaders have shown strong resistance against the spread of modern western education – American missions were unsuccessful in educating or converting Muslim Oromo – a factor which delayed the birth of an educated class in G.

According to local tradition, the town received its name from Galama Aw Saiid. The word *galama* has three interconnected meanings in Oromiffa: it can mean the ritual house of a traditional Oromo religious leader, a common word for ritual house in general, or a shrine. In the name Galama Aw Saiid, the term combines all three meanings. *Āw* Saᶜīd ('Father Saᶜīd') is universally regarded as a saint and as the first bearer of Islam among the ↗Ittuu Oromo. In the south-western corner of the town, there is still a mosque, a river and a village bearing his name, reflecting his importance for the history of G. As a historical figure, he probably lived during the second half of the 16th cent., when the Ittuu Oromo settled in Č̣ärč̣är, and, consequently, may not have converted many Oromo to Islam. His shrine appears, however, to have served two purposes. The Oromo may have used it as a neutral ground for settling disputes among themselves and with their enemies – Ittuu Oromo traditions regard him as an Oromo religious leader whose duty was to preach peace among Oromo groups. The shrine also served as a centre for the spread of Islam among the Ittuu Oromo during the 18th and 19th cent. Hence, the Oromo absorbed *āw* Saᶜīd into their cultural heritage and elevated him to the exalted status of a saint.

G.'s pre-eminence for Oromo nationalism came with the Odaa Bultum celebration, General ↗Taddässä Bərru and Ṭiroo. Odaa Bultum, near G., was the central ↗*čaffee* of the Oromo in Harärge. There the traditional ↗*gadaa* government took place, celebrated every eight years with traditional ritual activities and the proclamation of laws. More than three centuries after being abandoned, wealthy citizens of G. revived Odaa Bultum as a symbolic attempt to recover Oromo traditional democracy.

Taddässä Bərru, one of the leaders of the ↗Mäč̣č̣a and Tulama Association, transformed G. into the centre of the Oromo nationalists. Among those who secretly visited him in G. were ↗Baro Tumsa, an intellectual who played a decisive role in the formation of the ↗Oromo Liberation Front in early 1974; Ahmad Taqi, a wealthy businessman who financed Oromo nationalist activities in G. and through whom Taddässä Bərru contacted the Oromo in and beyond G.; and ↗Elemo Qilḥuu, a businessman living in Aden, who, after his visit to Taddässä Bərru in G., organized the first guerrilla army for the liberation of the Oromo nation at Ṭiroo.

Gälämso, cattle market; photo 1972/74, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (no. 1.02.16.03)



Although the three were martyred, they left a lasting legacy in the history of G., etching it in the mind of a new generation of Oromo youth as the birthplace of Oromo nationalism. Today, their memory is well preserved by a beautiful Oromo song first heard in G. glorifying the names of the fallen heroes.

Src.: interview with Dr. Muazem Sheikh Hussein from Gälämso.

Lit.: Ulrich Braukämper, "Notes on the Islamization and the Muslim Shrines of the Harar Plateau", in: Thomas Labahn (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*, Hamburg 1984, 145–74; Badri Kabir Mohammed, *The Afran Qallo Oromo: a History*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995; Olana Zoga, *Gazeṭənna Gəzot: Macha and Tulama Association*, Addis Ababa 1993.

Mohammed Hassen

Gälanäš Ḥaddis

Ǝmmahoy G.Ḥ. (ገላነሽ፡ ሐዲስ; b. 1889 A.M. [1896/97 A.D.], Ṣəlalo Amanuᵓel, Yəlmanna Densa *awrağğa*, Goğğam, d. 12 *Ḥamle* 1978 A.M. [19 July 1986 A.D.], Ṣəlalo Amanuᵓel) was a famous ↗*qəne*-teacher. Her mother, *wäyzäro* Wärqənäš Ǝngəda, was a housewife and her father, *qesä gäbäz* Ḥaddis Kidan, was an outstanding church scholar and a *qəne*-teacher in the local church of Ṣəlalo Amanuᵓel. G.Ḥ. lost her eyesight at the age of eight years after a smallpox infection. Her father, however, provided her with a thorough church ↗education. G.Ḥ. perfectly mastered composition of *qəne*-poetry and studied the interpretation of the Old and the New Testaments (↗*Andəmta*), pursuing her education to the highest level.

Having graduated, G.Ḥ. assisted her father in teaching *qəne*. She married Ṭərunäh Bälay; the couple had two children, Addam and Mäsärät (a third child died at an early age). In 1936, when the Italians invaded Ethiopia, the majority of the population of Ṣəlalo fled. Ḥaddis Kidan and other church scholars and priests and the monks of Ṣəlalo Amanuʾel, who stayed behind to pray and safeguard the church, were executed by the Italians. The blind G.Ḥ. survived and, after the Liberation, she continued teaching.

G.H. became one of the distinguished *qəne*-teachers in Goǧǧam. She taught *qəne* for over 50 years and bestowed titles upon 150 *qəne*-teachers who came to her from different regions of Goǧǧam, Gondär, Təgray, Eritrea, Šäwa, Lasta and Lalibäla. In the 1970s she had over 150 students at a time; it has been reported that, all in all, during her life G.Ḥ. taught over 1,750 students. In the history of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, G.Ḥ. was one of the very few female traditional scholars and the Church considers her one of the most celebrated *qəne* teachers and traditional scholars of the 20th cent.

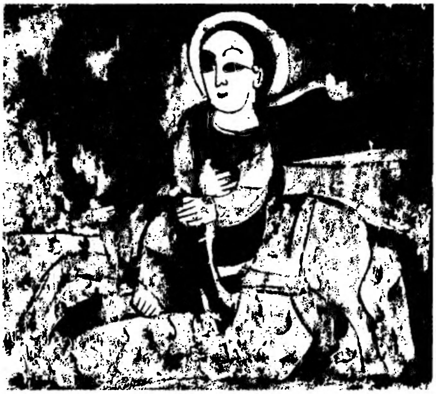
In 1998, on the initiative of G.Ḥ.'s cousin, Täšomä Ḥaddis, the Synod of western Goǧǧam set up a memorial museum in Baḥər Dar, where records of some of her *qəne* are displayed. Only a few of her *qəne* have been collected and published. A scientific study of G.Ḥ.'s biography, her works and a complete collection and analysis of her *qəne* remain a desideratum.

Lit.: KESSIS KEFYALEW MERAHI, *The Spiritual and Social Life of Christian Women*, Addis Ababa 1998, 53–57; *mämhər* KIDANÄ MARYAM GETAHUN, ጥንታዊው፡ የቆሎ፡ ተማሪ (*Ṭəntawiw yäqolo tämari*, 'The Wandering Student of Old Days'), Addis Abäba ³1980 A.M. [1987/88 A.D.], 39f.; ETHIOPIAN LANGUAGE ACADEMY (ed.), የግዕዝ፡ ቅኔያት፡ የሥነ፡ ጥበብ፡ ቅርስ፡ ንባብ፡ ከነትርጓሜው (*Yägəʿəz qəneyat yäśənä ṭəbäb qərs nəbab kännätərgʷamew*, 'The Art of Interpretation of Gəʿəz Qəne, their Reading and Translation'), vol. 2, Addis Abäba 1984 A.M. [1991/92 A.D.], 398; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), 129; እማሆይ፡ ገላነሽ፡ ሐዲስ ('*Əmmahoy Gälanäš Ḥaddis*'), *Addis Zämän*, 29 *Näḥase* 1978, 3–9; SÄLOMON ḤADDIS, የእማሆይ፡ ገላነሽ፡ ሐዲስ፡ ዘጽላሎ፡ አማኑኤል፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክና፡ ሥራዎቻቸው (*Yäʾəmmahoy Gälanäš Ḥaddis Zäṣəlalo Amanuʾel yäḥəywät tarikənna śərawoččaččäw*, 'A Short Biography of *Əmmahoy* Gälanäš Ḥaddis of Ṣəlalo Amanuʾel and her Works'), Addis Abäba 1990 A.M. [1997/98 A.D.]; TÄSFAYE ŠƎBƎRRU, የደብረ፡ ጽላሎዋ፡ የአጥቢያ፡ ኮከብ፡ እማሆይ፡ ገላነሽ፡ ሐዲስ 1898–1978 ዓ.ም. (*Yädäbrä ṣəlalowa yäʾaṭbiya kokäb əmmahoy Gälanäš Ḥaddis 1898–1978 A.M.*, '*Əmmahoy* Gälanäš Ḥaddis [1898–1978], the Star of the Parish of Däbrä Ṣəlalo')", *Səmʿə Ṣədq*, *Taḫśaś* 1996 A.M. [December 2003 A.D.], 3, 14.

Getie Gelaye

Gälawdewos

G. (ገላውዴዎስ) is the Ethiopian form of the name of Claudius, a Roman saint and a martyr during the Diocletian persecution (3rd/4th cent. A.D.). His Vita was first written in Coptic, but only some fragments have been preserved. According to the Ethiopic ms. London, BritLib, Orient. 700 (fol. 60v), the Acts of G. were translated into Arabic by the bishop of Asyūṭ (Likopolis), probably Constantine, in the 7th cent. Later, in the 14th cent., during the tenure of *abunä* ↗Sälama "the Translator", this text was translated into Gəʿəz.



St. Claudius (Gälawdewos) on horseback; detail from a tryptich; early 16th cent.; treasury of Däbrä Mäʿar Giyorgis Church; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Iconographically, G. is usually represented riding a horse. In the Ethiopian calendar he is commemorated on 11 *Säne*; according to the ↗*Sənkəssar*, G. was the son of the brother of the Emperor Numerian and lived in Antioch, where his figure was painted on the gates of the town. With his friend Fiqṭor (Victor), G. opposed the successor of Numerian, Diocletian, regarding his policy towards Christianity. For that reason, Diocletian exiled them to Egypt where both were killed. They are buried in Antioch.

↗Equestrian Saints

Src.: WrBriMus 183f., no. 276 [Orient. 700]; BudSaint 983–86; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, *Acta Mar-*

tyrum, Romae 1907 [repr. Louvain 1962] (CSCO 37, 38 [SAe 20, 21]), 195–216 (text) = 175–94 (tr.); GuiSyn I, 578f. **Lit.:** GÉRARD GORDON, "Textes coptes relatifs à Saint Claude d'Antioche", *PO* 35, 4, 1970, 508–669; JACQUES MERCIER – HENRI MARCHAL (eds.), *Le roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard. Art et médecine en Éthiopie*, Paris 1992, 50f., 170; OSVALDO RAINERI, *Santi guerrieri a cavallo, tele etiopiche*, Clusone 1996, 72–85; CHRISTOPHER WALTER, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*, Aldershot 2003.

Marie-Laure Derat

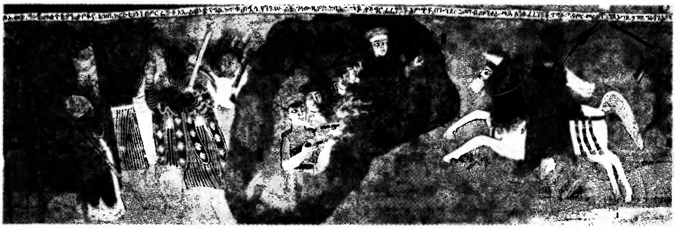
Gälawdewos

Aṣe G. (**ገላውዴዎስ** [after Claudius, the Roman-Antiochian martyr], regnal name **አጽናፍ፡ ሰገድ**, Aṣnaf Sägäd, 'The remotest regions submit [to him]'; b. 1521/22, d. 23 March 1559) ruled Ethiopia from 3 September 1540 until his death. When G. succeeded his father *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl on the throne, the state of which he took charge was on the verge of disappearance: by 1540 *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's (Grañ's) decade-long *ǧihād* against the Christian empire had left little more than highland Eritrea and parts of Təgray under the Emperor's effective control. During the first decade of G.'s rule, however, the Muslim threat was successfully checked, initially with the aid of a Portuguese expeditionary force (Christovão da ↗Gama), and the Christian empire by and large restored territorially. The second half of G.'s reign saw the first stirrings of new challenges which only over the following generations were to reveal their full impact: the ↗Oromo migrations, the Ottoman establishment in parts of Eritrea (↗Ottoman empire) and the ↗Jesuit mission to Ethiopia.

G. was the second son of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl and *ətege* ↗Säblä Wängel. He followed his father on the throne after his elder brother ↗Fiqṭor, the natural successor, had been killed in battle by the Muslims in 1539. Besides Fiqṭor, G.'s known siblings were his younger brothers ↗Minas and Ya^{c}əqob, as well as his sisters Amätä Giyorgis, Säbänä Giyorgis and Wälättä Qəddusan. G. received a good education, which comprised training in martial skills as well as instruction in the literary heritage of Christian Ethiopia.

After G. had been installed as the new monarch in [Däbrä?] Damo (northern Təgray) in 1540, he did not seek to confront the Muslim forces in all-out war, but withdrew with his few remaining troops to the Šäwan hinterland. There, it appears, he wanted to assemble new forces and then harass the Muslims through guerrilla warfare. Since mid-1541, however, the arrival in Eritrea of about 400 Portuguese soldiers equipped with firearms strengthened the Christian side. While the Portuguese, too, suffered painful losses, they were able to inflict heavy casualties on the Muslim enemies. Late in 1542, the surviving Portuguese and G.'s fighters joined forces north of Lake Ṭana and, in February 1543, met Grañ's army in pitched battle at Zäntära (↗Wäyna Däga). The Christians scored a decisive victory and Grañ himself was killed. Without his charismatic leadership, the Muslim troops disbanded and scattered in all directions. At one stroke the Muslim threat to the Christian empire had been effectively averted; the occasional clashes that took place over the following two decades were of no strategic significance.

After the "Great War" G. considered it necessary to reassert the Christian empire's authority in the southern border-regions outside its Semitic-speaking heartland. For this purpose he conducted military campaigns against the ↗Gämbo, ↗Gumär, ↗Hadiyya and Wägäm peoples. On several occasions he already had to contend with Oromo forces. Under G. the Christian empire's centre of gravity moved to the south again. The monarch frequently stayed in ↗Däwaro and ↗Wäǧ, which appears to have been motivated by personal preference as much as by strategic necessity. He even had two permanent residences for himself built there, thereby giving up the old practice of the itinerant court. The last years of his reign, from 1557 onwards, were troubled by the establishment of an Ottoman foothold



Aṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl, his son *aṣe* Gälawdewos, the Portuguese and Ahmad Grañ; cloth mural; 19th cent.; Säqoṭa, church of Mädḫane ^{c}Aläm; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers in Eritrea (↗Özdemir *paša*) and especially by an Ottoman raid on ↗Däbrä Damo where his father lay buried. G. did not, however, deal with that new threat in person, but left this task to the local leaders and even popular resistance.

G. was a pious Christian, even though the attempts of his chronicle to portray him as a virtual (warrior-) saint appear exaggerated. Nonetheless, he found his way into the ↗*Sənkəssar*, where he is commemorated on 27 *Mäggabit*. G.'s faith found its most visible expression in the construction of the richly endowed church of ↗Tädbabä Maryam in Amhara, an enterprise in which he took a strong personal interest. This building-project served also to reaffirm the explicitly Christian character of the state after a time of unprecedented tribulation. Within the Christian sphere, the missionary endeavours of the Jesuits in Ethiopia from 1555 onwards had the potential to disrupt the traditional near-symbiosis of the state and the Orthodox Church. The mostly Portuguese Jesuits could build on the gratitude earned by their fellow-countrymen's crucial support in the fight against Grañ. The sources provide conflicting indications as to whether or not G. personally had sympathies for the Catholic teachings. *Raison d'état*, at any rate, made him firmly reject them and back the indigenous Orthodoxy. This stance is epitomized in the famous confession of faith associated with his name, the *Confessio Claudii* (1555).

Ethiopian and Portuguese sources agree that G. was of an unusually fine character. Even if one discounts the easily discernible panegyric elements, he emerges from the texts as almost a model ruler: a kind, courteous and generous person, endowed with a keen mind, genuinely interested in the welfare of his subjects, inclined toward clemency, but also determined and with a firm sense of purpose. The sources mention no wife of G. Instead, some manuscripts of the "short chronicle" speak of a much-beloved mistress that the Emperor had taken away from her lawful husband (by which his conscience later was deeply troubled). Without (legitimate) sons, we only know of two daughters, Säbänä Giyorgis and Mäsiḥawit. When G. died in battle against ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid in 1559, he was consequently succeeded by his younger brother Minas.

Src.: BassÉt; BudSaint 745f.; ConzGal; Manfred Kropp (ed., tr.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, 2 vols., Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]); Jean Perruchon, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Le règne de Galâwdêwos (Claudius) ou Aṣnâf-Sagad", *RevSem* 2, 1894, 155–66, 263–70; Edward Ullendorff, "The *Confessio Claudii* of King Claudius of Ethiopia", *JSS* 32, 1987, 159–76; Hiob Ludolf, *Glaubensbekenntnis des Königs Claudii von Habessinien*, Halle 1702; Richard Steven Whiteway (ed.), *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543, as Narrated by Castanhoso, with some Contemporary Letters, the Short Account of Bermudez, and Certain Extracts from Correa*, London 1902 [repr. Nendeln/Liechtenstein 1967].

Lit.: Mordechai Abir, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea: the Rise and Decline of the Solomonic Dynasty and Muslim-European Rivalry in the Region*, London 1980; Andrzej Bartnicki – Joanna Mantel-Niećko, *Geschichte Äthiopiens: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 2 vols., Berlin 1978, 128–42; Joseph Cuoq, *L'Islam en Éthiopie, des origines au XVI^{e} siècle*, Paris 1981; DerDomTh 628, 669f.; Eike Haberland, "The Horn of Africa", in: Bethwell A. Ogot (ed.), *General History of Africa*, vol. 5: *Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, Paris – Berkeley 1992, 703–49; MHasOr 24–39; Paul B. Henze, *Layers of Time: a History of Ethiopia*, London 2000, 86–93; TrIslam 84–94.

Michael Kleiner

Gälawdewos

G. (ገላውዴዎስ, b. ca. 1608, d. 1648) was the fourth son of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos and *wäyzäro* ↗Wäld Säᶜala, after Känäfrä Krəstos (d. 1614), *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs and Marqos (d. 1626). During the last years of Susənyos's reign, the royal Chronicle mentions G. fighting aside Fasilädäs to maintain the Emperor's policy throughout the empire and after his death G. was closely associated with his brother's reign. In 1635 he seems to have been *däǧǧäzmač* of Bägemdər and/or of Damo and Səmen. However, sources from the monastery of Qoma Fasilädäs, founded by Wäld Säᶜala, considered him a rebel and according to oral traditions, G. was a challenger to the throne. The "short chronicles" briefly mention that in 1646 he was arrested and killed, together with his son Elfyos, in 1648. This story is also reported by ↗Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī, the Yemenite ambassador present in Gondär at the time. The Jesuits were also aware of the conflict opposing Wäld Säᶜala and G. to Fasilädäs, describing G. as a fierce supporter and a martyr for the Catholic cause. This claim, however, should not be considered real as it served their own purposes. G. may have been a quite powerful figure, since, according to a version of the "short chronicle", of the two metropolitans who arrived in 1649/50, one, Yoḥannəs, had been requested by him. The other, Mikaʾel, Fasilädäs's favourite, was finally accepted.

Src.: SixTana III, 147 [ms. Ṭānāsee 136 = Dāgā 25, fol. 115v–118]; BecRASO VII, liber IX et X, 194, 324; IX, liber III et IV, 286, 375; XII, liber III, 70; 13, 291f.; MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractacus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634): a Seventeenth Century Historical and Geographical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABETH FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 160; BassÉt II, 286, 288, 308; BegCron 49ff.; DombrChr 198, 200f.; PerChron 236, 248, 257; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Le règne de Iyasu (Ier), roi d'Éthiopie de 1682 à 1706", *RevSem* 9, 1901, 71–78, 161–67, 252–59, here 86, 88; DonHaySirat 64ff., 181ff., 187.
Lit.: ANAÏS WION, *Aux confins le feu, au centre le Paradis, Qoma Fasilädäs, un monastère royal dans l'Ethiopie du 17ème siècle*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, Sorbonne, 279–311; EAD., "Why Did King Fasilädäs Kill his Brother? Sharing Power in the Royal Family in Mid-Seventeenth Century Ethiopia", *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, 3–4, 2004, 259–93.

Anaïs Wion

Gälawdewos

Abeto G. (ገላውዴዎስ) was the son of *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis, a prominent figure at the court of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I of Gondär. Sometime before his death in 1706 Wäldä Giyorgis made G. his heir, appointing him as *aläqa* of Wäldä Giyorgis's legacy. G. married *wäyzäro* Wälättä Ṣəyon, granddaughter of *aṣe* Iyasu I's queen, *əmmabet* Wälättä Ṣəyon, after whom she had been named. The young couple had at least one son, whom they named after his paternal grandfather, Wäldä Giyorgis.

During his lifetime, G. appeared as a witness for a number of social transactions. His principal distinction, however, was to become the first holder of what later generations, down into the 19th cent., would refer to as the *aläqənnät* of G., an estate consisting of rights to secular and church lands and entailing military responsibilities. G. last appears in the record bestowing the *aläqənnät* on *däǧǧazmač* Əšäte, the husband of his granddaughter. Əšäte was a prominent member of the court of *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa), of whom he was a first cousin. The *aläqənnät* passed to Əšäte's son, Ḫaylu (*däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Mikaʾel Əšäte) and on to Ḫaylu's daughter, Märṣit, with whom it ended when her descendants divided it among themselves. The story of G. is really the story of an Ethiopian noble family and of how it transmitted its property-holdings over the space of five generations.

Src.: Guilyas 46, 175 (text); BlunChr 70; UNESCO mf. at the IES Dima 10:2.5, Dima 10:2.6; BritLib Orient. 778v, 791, 180v; Illinois/IES mf. 88.XVIII.18.29.
Lit.: CrumLand, s. index.

Donald Crummey

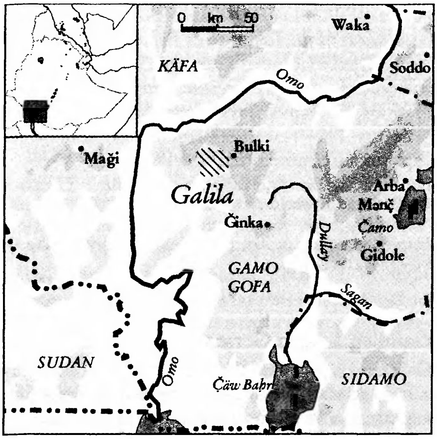
Galila

G. (ጋሊላ) is the name of two groups in southern Ethiopia. The first (also sometimes referred to as Gayla) forms part of the South Ometo-speaking ↗Aari-cluster (within Omotic) in southern Ethiopia. The name "G.", which also designates the main village, here refers to a territorial rather than an ethno-linguistic unit, although a dialectal difference does exist. G. was a "sacred kingdom" with a *bábi* ('king') line. Like its neighbours, G. was conquered in 1894 during Mənilək's military campaign; his imperial troops defeated G.'s *bábi* Ardaro. Due to the isolated and inhospitable terrain of G., however, it was not popular as a settlement-area for the northern conquerors; consequently, they never successfully implemented the ↗*gäbbar* system.

G. is a cold and windy highland area with altitudes of up to 2,500 m A.S.L. Its inhabitants raise sheep and cultivate *ənsät*, taro, beans, vegetables, barley and wheat. The G. also produce craftwork such as pottery, plates made from bamboo, which grows abundantly in the area, and leather-decorated flutes and horns. Such items are sold to neighbouring groups such as the ↗Basketo. Though the area is not conducive to cattle-raising, a small number are kept for ploughing the fields. Similarly to other Ometo groups, the G. used iron bars (*marǧǧo*) as a currency for exchanging goods. As in many other Aari areas, agricultural work is performed with collective work-parties, whose participants are provided with a measure of the local beer.

Like people in other parts of Aari and Basketo, the G. are organized in patrilineal clans – descent groups from the male line – whose members cannot intermarry. Many clan-names are also common among neighbouring groups. The Goirinṣi are the leading clan in the G. area – also related to the Basketo Goirinaa – and from this clan all chiefs and kings are descended.

According to Haberland (VSAe I, 186), the G. religious world-view recognized a pair of gods (the male *Sabi* and the female *Berri*), in addition to a third deity called *Čoiši* (which recalls the Wälaytta and Gamo *Ṭosi*). Sheep were sacrificed for various rituals, including the purification of transgressions (*ébi*). Though the office of *bábi* effectively disappeared after 1894, the G. kept their priests (the *godimi* and *godi*) and some other minor ritual specialists. The G. have undergone a substantial cultural influence from the neighbouring Ometo-speaking peoples, such as the ↗Gofa



(with whom they often fought), ↗Gamo, ↗Oyda and ↗Wälaytta. In recent decades the influence of Basketo on G. has also notably increased.

Another group called G. was first mentioned by Haberland (1960) and consists of a few hundred North Gurage-speaking people, living as cultivators (of *ənsät*, grains, vegetables and potatoes) on an island in the ↗Wänči crater lake, and on the slopes of the mountain located between the towns of Wäliso and Ambo. This Christian population is related to the Aymällal ↗Gurage (↗Soddo) and became isolated from other Gurage-speakers during the Oromo expansion (16th cent. onwards). Information on this group is lacking, but their assimilation of Oromo culture seems to be an ongoing process.

Lit.: EIKE HABERLAND, "Die Gallila", in: *VSAe* I, 184ff.; ID., "Bemerkungen zur Kultur und Sprache der Galila im Wonči-See (Mittel-Äthiopien)", *RSE* 16, 1960, 5–22; ID., "Dreißig Völker und zehn Sprachen (Abbaya-See)", *Merian* 19, 10, 1966, 68–73; EIKE HABERLAND – HELMUT STRAUBE, "Nordost Afrika", in: HERMANN BAUMANN (ed.), *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre traditionellen Kulturen*, Wiesbaden 1979, vol. 2, 93, 95; FRIEDRICH KLAUSBERGER, "Die Galila", in: ID., *Woga – Recht und Gesellschaft in Süd-Äthiopien*, Frankfurt 1981, 163–228.

Jon Abbink

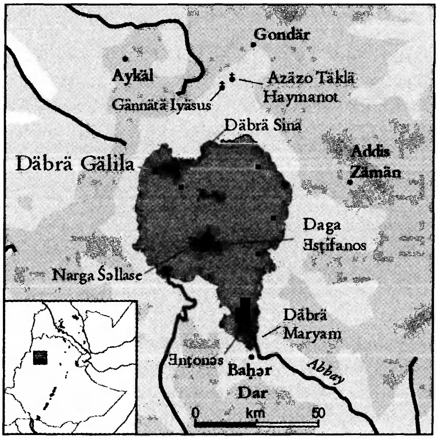
Gälila

G. (ገሊላ) is an island in the northern part of Lake ↗Ṭana, which was uninhabited when the saint ↗Yafqərännä Ǝgzi', founder of the communities of Məṣle and Gʷəgʷəben, spent three years there (Wajnberg 1936:28). This retreat took place before the ↗*nəburä əd* of Ṭana Qirqos was sent by *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I to Egypt to look for a metropolitan, who arrived in Ethiopia in 1337 (Cornuau 1991:13). After this, the monk Zäkaryas founded a monastery there with a church devoted to Christ (Gälila Iyäsus, sometimes called from the name of its founder G. Zäkaryas). Two manuscripts of the *Gädlä Zäkaryas* in Dämbəya's churches have been identified, but are still unpublished (KinBibl no. 191). According to the "short chronicle", the foundation took place during the reign of *aṣe* ʿAmdä Ṣəyon (BassÉt 100) – certainly after 1341–42, when Zäkaryas would have followed *abba* ↗Filəppos into his first exile to Dämbəya (Derat 1993:23).

The church was burnt by the troops of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī between March and May 1537 (with some differences between the chronicles' versions: BassÉt 106; Kropp 1988:15; s. also Perruchon 1893:282) and is said to have been restored by *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl and then rebuilt by *aṣe* Fasilädäs (ChTana 203f.). *Aṣe* Iyasu I also visited the church and, on 13 December 1687, ordered the official celebration of its founder Zäkaryas in Gondär (GuiIohan 114 [tr.]).

The present circular church is built of red square stones (s. the map by Angelini 1971, annex 7, ill. 50) and seems still to be adorned by some murals, painted by a certain Gäbrä Maryam at an unknown time (Yosef Libsekal 1990, vol. 2, 212f.). Some manuscripts and religious items from G. were shown in an exhibition in Essen, Germany, in 1963 (*Koptische Kunst* no. 507, 539, 540, 580, s. also the information, unchecked, in ChTana 205).

Src.: KinBibl no. 191, 100; ISAAC WAJNBERG (ed., tr.), *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerana 'Egzī'*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), 28; BassÉt 100, 106; MANFRED KROPP (ed., tr.),



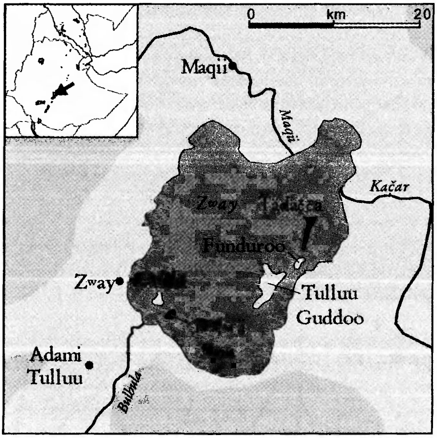
Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās, Louvain 1988 (CSCO 504 [SAe 84]), 15 [n. 8]; JULES PERRUCHON, "Le règne de Lebna Dengel", *RevSem* 1, 1893, 274–86, esp. 282; Guilohan 114 (tr.); SANDRO ANGELINI, *Ethiopia: the Historic Route. A Work-Plan for the Development of the Sites and Monuments*, Paris 1971 (UNESCO, FR/PP/Consultant, serial no. 2468/RMO.RD/CLT), annex 7, ill. 50; *Koptische Kunst: Christentum am Nil. Katalog der Ausstellung in der Villa Hügel*, Essen 1963, no. 507, 539, 540, 580; ChTana 203–06.

Lit.: YOSEF LIBSEKAL, *Les monuments de la région de Gondar et du Godjam au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris I 1990, vol. 2, 212–13; MARIE-LAURE DERAT, *Les enfants de Takla Haymanot, la naissance d'un réseau monastique au Šawa (Ethiopie) du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, M.A. thesis, Université de Paris I 1993, 23; RODOLPHE CORNUAU, *Moines et monastères du Godjam et du lac Tana en Éthiopie aux XIVe et XVe siècles. Évangélisation et intégration dans l'empire salomonide*, M.A. thesis, Université de Paris I 1994, 13; TadTChurch 194.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé

Gälila

G. (ገሊላ) is a long, rocky island lying about 1 km off the western ↗Zʷay shore opposite to the town of Zʷay. Originally fully terraced, cultivated and inhabited by peasants and fisherman until the end of the 19th cent., it is now thickly forested and has only one resident ↗Zay family and a priest. It continued to be inhabited by a few families of fishermen and weavers until the early 1970s when shore areas remained cleared for pasture and a few terraces were used for gardens. Its church, a solid round masonry structure painted in bright green, is dedicated to *abba* Täklä Haymanot and according to tradition was founded in the 13th cent. It occupies a walled compound on the highest section of the island (ca. 50 m) and originally possessed illuminated manuscripts; a few folios in possession of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Abäba are attributed to G. The church is still (2001) served by a resident priest whose celebrations, on festival days, attract large numbers of believers. They reach the island in both traditional papyrus and (more often) steel boats.



Lit.: PAUL B. HENZE, "Lake Zway: Southern Christian Outpost and Repository of Medieval Ethiopian Art", in: *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*, London 1989, 30–40; VSAe II, 647–77 ["Die Zay"].

Paul B. Henze

Galinier, Joseph Germain

Captain G. (b. 1814, Bepech, Aude, d. 1888) was a French staff officer who undertook scientific exploration in Ethiopia in 1840–42. A graduate of the military academy of St. Cyr, he accompanied his friend and fellow officer Captain Pierre Victor ↗Ferret, whose career he mirrored. Co-author with Ferret of a three-volume travel account (s. Ferret – Galinier 1847), G. subsequently fought in Algeria and participated in the Franco-Prussian War, in which he was captured, being later promoted to the rank of general.

Src.: PIERRE VICTOR ADOLPHE FERRET – JOSEPH GERMAIN GALINIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie dans les provinces du Tigre, du Samen et de l'Amhara*, 3 vols., Paris 1847; ID., "Note sur les antiquités de l'Abyssinie", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* ser. 3, 2, 1844, 25–30.

Lit.: GEORGES MALÉCOT, *Les voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie de 1835 à 1870*, Paris 1972.

Richard Pankhurst

Galla

The (outdated) term G. (Amh. ጋላ) appears in many historical texts, both Ethiopian and foreign. Its exact meaning differed depending on context and period. Despite many inconclusive and often fanciful linguistic speculations, such as "shepherds" or "strangers who are guests", its origin remains unknown. It was predominantly used by highlanders for the (semi-)nomadic Cushitic, sometimes including Omotic, peoples in the south and east. It usually stood for the ↗Oromo, but also ʿAfar or even Dinka could be called G. During the 18th cent., the term was often used to refer to non-Christians ("pagan" or Muslims), in contrast to Amara (Shiferaw Bekele 1990:166f.; cp. ↗Amaaro). The Somali and other ethnic groups in the south used the term G. for the Oromo, while *galo* in Somali designates 'infidels' or 'non-Muslims' (Lewis 1966:37). The Añwaa lowlanders still use the term G. for highlanders. ↗Baḥrəy in his *History of the Galla* used the term as the name of the Oromo people who, in the 16th cent., successfully invaded the centralized and monarchic Ethiopian state. Baḥrəy mentioned a river Galanaa from were the G. originated. Aṣmä Giyorgis (BTafA) follows this assumption and the *Tarik zägalla* even states that the name G. derives from the name of a river "G." situated between Dawäro and Kätäta. Others argue, the Oromo group Galaan (↗Gullellee) might have inspired the term, others connect it to *gaalaa* ('camel'), brought by the camel-herding Karrayyuu of the Awaš to Šäwa in the 16th cent. Some early sources (cp. Tutschek 1844) indicate that G. was sometimes used as a term of self-reference but it is not accepted as such nowadays (cp. Zitelmann 1996:106f.).

Later, following the increasing cultural and linguistic dominance of Amharic, the word G. was used widely on the political and scholarly level, often without a negative connotation (cp. VSAe II). It came to be used, by both Ethiopian and European commentators, for both the Oromo people and their language (also Galləñña). The "Vicariate Apostolic of the Galla" (↗Catholicism), created in the 19th cent., encompassed all territories from Šäwa and the Gibe states to Käfa and Anfillo kingdoms. Oromo leaders founded in 1935 the "Western Galla Confederacy", a year later Italy created the province of "Galla e Sidama".

Starting from the mid-18th cent., the term acquired pejorative connotations in the Christian highland discourse (though still not as negative as ↗Šanqəlla or ↗Barya). The G. then came to be represented as a great human "tidal wave" (BZHist 9) and "a nomadic, destructive and purposeless force" (MesfGeogr 17) which had to be contained. The G. became the "outsider", the "stranger" or the "barbarian", the essential "other" against which the heterogeneous Abyssinians could unite. Implicit in this "representation of the G." was the "right of northern settlers to rule over Oromo tenants" (Hultin 1996:82f.). As this was taken over by agents of the central government, in accordance with official policies, the use of ↗Oromiffa was increasingly restricted in courts, schools and publications while Oromo customs (↗*aadaa*) and laws (↗*seera*) were forbidden or threatened. At the same time, education and communications improved, so the schooled and the travelled Oromo learned that they were the most numerous people in Ethiopia. Government policies of incorporation, which required a degree of Amharization, came to be interpreted as colonisation and provoked the very responses which they had been designed to prevent. The word G. itself, as applied to those who did not adopt northern customs, came to be resented as patronising and discriminatory. The success of the Oromo cultural and nationalist movements along with political decisions – the *Därg* forbade its use – has forced the term G. out of current literary and political use.

Src.: Arnold Wienholt Hodson – Craven Howell Walker, *An Elementary and Practical Grammar of the Galla or Oromo Language*, London 1922, 7ff.; *abba* Baḥrəy, "History of the Galla", in: *BeckHuntAlm* 109–29; Id., "Historia gentis Galla", in: *CRHist* 223–32 (text) = 195–208 (tr.), here 195; André Caquot, "Histoire Amharique de Grāñ et des Gallas", [*Tarik zägalla*], *AE* 2, 1957, 133–43, here 125f. (text) = 135 (tr.); .); Karl Tutschek, *Lexicon der Galla Sprache Galla–Englisch–Deutsch*, München 1844.

Lit.: VSAe II; BZHist 9; Jan Hultin, "Perceiving Oromo, 'Galla' in the Great Narrative of Ethiopia", in: Paul Trevor William Baxter – Jan Hultin – Alessandro Triulzi, *Being and Becoming Oromo*, Uppsala 1996, 81–91; Shiferaw Bekele, "Reflections on the Power Elite of the Wärä Seh Mäsfenate (1786–1853)", *AE* 15, 1990, 157–79; Thomas Zitelmann, "Re-Examining the Galla/Oromo Relationship: the Stranger as a Structural Topic", *ibid.* 103–13; MesfGeogr 17; Eloi Ficquet, "La fabrique des origines Oromo", *AE* 18, 2002, 55–71, here 56, 62f., 66; Herbert S. Lewis, "The Origins of the Galla and Somali", *JAH* 7, 1, 1966, 27–46, here 37.

Paul T.W. Baxter

Gallabat ↗Qallabat

Galli Šeročo

G.Š. (b. ca. 1840, d. 1890), also known by the names Galliti or Galli, ruled the Kingdom of ↗Käfa for 22 years from 1868 to 1890. Internal issues and foreign invasions marked G.Š.'s reign.

The main external threat was the expansion of *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa (the future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II). In 1886 Mənilək's general, *däǧǧazmač* Baša Abboye, invaded Käfa and caused significant damage until he was defeated by the Käfa army at Mera.

G.Š. also fought back several invasions by the Ǧimma King ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II, who tried to make up for the losses due to the tax imposed by Mənilək by robbing his neighbours. G.Š. successfully fought Abbaa Ǧifaar's troops, stopping them at the Goǧäb River (Lange 1982).

Internally, this period saw the greatest increase of influence of the "foreign" monotheistic religions, such as Christianity (in the first place Catholicism) and Islam, that came to replace the traditional ↗*eqo* belief-system. G.Š. saw in the conversion the danger of dividing and weakening the country, especially in the face of the Šäwan expansion.

Apart from the internal damage caused by the religious shift, G.Š. saw the security of his kingdom endangered by foreigners – in the first place Catholic missionaries and Muslim merchants – travelling in and out of the country, as they could pass critical security and defence strategy information to his enemies. G.Š. banned European missionaries from entering Käfa (Leon 1903), expelled Muslim merchants and established a close watch over all the converts.

Upon his death G.Š. was succeeded by ↗Gaki Šeročo, who was to become the last king of Käfa.

Lit.: BÄQQÄLÄ WÄLDÄ MARYAM, የከፋ፡ መንግሥትና፡ ሕዝብ፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ፡ (*Yäkäfa mängəśtənna ḥəzb aččər tarik*, 'Short History of the Kingdom and the People of Käfa'), Addis Abäba 2004; WERNER J. LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61) [Lit.]; R.P. LEON, *Novae Persecutiones contra missionarios et neocatholicos in regno Kaffa*, 1903–06; FRIEDRICH JULIUS BIEBER, *Kaffa: ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika ...*, 2 vols., Münster 1920–23.

Amanuel Gano

Gallina, Francesco

G. (b. 25 July 1861, Asti, d. 22 April 1942, Naples) was an Italian Orientalist. He began studying engineering, but shifted soon towards Oriental studies becoming a student of Ignazio ↗Guidi. From 1891 he held the chair of Amharic Language and Literature at the Reale Istituto Orientale di Napoli, where he continued teaching well after his retirement. G. dedicated a great part of his scholarly life to his students, who, often supported economically by him, always remembered him with esteem and affection. Among them there were Enrico ↗Cerulli, Elena Sengal and Luigi ↗Fusella, who was to replace him in the chair of Gəʿəz and Amharic Language and Literature at the ↗Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. In the early 1900s, G. participated in the archaeological Mission to ↗Adulis directed by Roberto ↗Paribeni.

In the course of his long career as a researcher, G. published only a few works (1888, 1890, 1894), but, as was once emphasized by Cerulli (1942), he prepared or participated in the publication of a number of other works, among them: a catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts of the Vatican Library (unpublished, s. ZanBib I, no. 37); an unpublished catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts from minor Italian collections; a collection of proverbs in Amharic (unpublished); and a collection of Təgrəñña texts of popular literature, in particular related to Ḥamasen traditions (1902). It was G. who edited several well-known texts of such Ethiopian authors as ↗Awäfärq Gäbrä Iyäsus and *abba* ↗Täklä Maryam Sämharay.

Src.: FRANCESCO GALLINA, "Iscrizioni etiopiche ed arabe di S. Stefano dei Mori", *Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria* 11, 1888, 281–95; ID., "I Portoghesi a Massaua nei secoli XVI e XVII", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 1890, 223–32; ID., "Indovinelli tigray", *Oriente. Rivista Trimestrale Pubblicata a Cura dei Professori del Regio Istituto Orientale* 1, 1, 1894, 28–33; GHEBRE-MEDHIN DIGHINEI, *Apologhi ed aneddoti in lingua tigriñña*, ed. by FRANCESCO GALLINA, Roma 1902; AFÄWÄRQ GÄBRÄ IYÄSUS, ዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ (*Dagmawi Mənilək nəguśä nägäśt zäʾityopya* 'Mənilək the Second, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), Roma 1901 A.M. [1909 A.D.]; ID., ልብ፡ ወለድ፡ ታሪክ (*Ləbb wälläd tarik*, 'Novel', lit. 'History Born from the Heart'), Roma 1900 A.M. [1908 A.D.]; *abba* TÄKLÄ MARYAM SÄMHARAY, መርሐ፡ ጸሒፈ፡ መላእክት (*Märḥa ṣäḥifä mälaʾəkt*, 'Guide on Writing Letters'), Roma 1901 A.M. [1909 A.D.]; ID., ክፍለ፡ ሰዋስው፡ ሣልስ (*Kəflä säwasəw śaləs*, 'The Third Part of the Grammar'), Roma 1902 A.M. [1910 A.D.]; ID., መምህረ ፡ ልሳነ፡ ግዕዝ (*Mämhərä ləsanä gəʿəz*, 'Teacher of Gəʿəz Language'), Roma 1903 A.M. [1911 A.D.]; ID., ፍጡን፡ መልመዴ፡ ፊደል፡ ወንባብ፡ ዘልሳነ፡ ግዕዝ (*Fəṭun mälmäde fidäl wänəbab zäləsanä gəʿəz*, 'Quick Drilling in the Gəʿəz Syllabary and Reading'), Roma 1903 A.M. [1911 A.D.].

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Francesco Gallina", *RSE* 2, 1942, 347–48; ELENA SENGAL, "In memoria di Francesco Gallina (1861–1942)", *Oriente Moderno* 22, 1942, 301–02; *Scritti dedicati alla memoria di Francesco Gallina*, Roma 1943 (= *Annali IUO*, nuova ser. 2), vff.; ZanBib I, 464, no. 37.

Yaqob Beyene

Gälmo

Bälambaras G. (ገልሞ, also ገልሞ፡ የዘንደር Gälmo Yäzändär) was one of the comrades-in-arms of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. A native of ↗Qəmant, one of the relatively few non-Amhara close to Tewodros, he joined the future Emperor in the early 1850s and remained loyal till the death of his master in 1868.

Upon Tewodros's coronation, G. became *balabbat* of ↗Čəlga and later governor of the ↗Qʷara province. When in the summer of 1864 the rebel Gəmbaro Kaśa from Alläfa (a locality in Čəlga, west of Lake Ṭana) attempted a revolt and attacked G. in Qʷara, he lead a successful counter-attack. According to the chronicler (MonVidTheo 29f.), making use of the fact that Gəmbaro Kaśa's people first attacked the food and drink in G.'s capital and were relaxed, G. easily defeated them. His army made over 500 prisoners, the rest were killed in battle or fled.

According to tradition, G. limped and always fought from horseback.

Src.: MonVidTheo 29f. (text) = 37 (tr.).

Lit.: BTafA 564f., 917 (Lit.).

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Ğalqaba Barsiisaa

Ğ.B. (Orom. *Jalqaba Barsiisaa*, 'The Spelling Book') was the first ↗Oromiffa textbook, compiled by ↗Onesimos Näsib and ↗Aster Ganno and published at the Swedish Evangelical Mission Printing Press at ↗Ǝmkullu in 1894.

The Ğ.B. uses a *fidäl*-based alphabet different from the earlier system used by ↗Krapf for his ↗Bible translation. Onesimos introduced new symbols for the sounds absent in Amharic, e.g., a new letter for the ɗ sound (= *dh* in the current Oromo spelling), by placing a vertical stroke over the ደ. No solution was offered for discrimination between simple and geminated consonants or short and long vowels.

The second part of the book is a dictionary, with ca. 3,000 Oromo words organized typologically, based on the number of syllables and ranging from the two-syllable to the six-syllable pattern (e.g., one type is formed by two-syllabic words like *nama*, 'man', *lafa*, 'earth', another by three-syllabic like *ganama*, 'morning', etc.).

The bulk of the Ğ.B. consists in short tales and anecdotes, partly drawn from oral tradition, partly translated. Among these are *weedduu tiksituu*, 'shepherd songs', *ururuu*, 'nursery rhymes', *weedduu jaalalaa*, 'love songs', *makmaaksa*, 'proverbs', *durii durii* (*fakkeenya*), 'stories, folktales', *hibboo*, 'riddles', *tapha ijoollee*, 'children's plays', *weedduu ateetee*, 'songs of ↗*ateetee*', *sagada oromoo*, 'Oromo prayers', ↗*geerarsa*, 'warrior song', *faaruu gaddaa*, 'lamentations' and *weedduu heerumaa*, 'marriage songs'. The book preserves invaluable material for researchers on Oromo language and literature.

Src.: *Awağ* ONESIMOS — ASTER GANNOO, ጀልቀበ፡ በርሲሳ፡ እንሰ፡ መጪፈ፡ ዱቢሱ፡ በርሲሰኑን፡ አፋን፡ ኦሮሞት (*Jalqaba barsiisaa: innis macafa dubbisuu barsiisanun afaan Oroomotti*), Moncullo 1894.

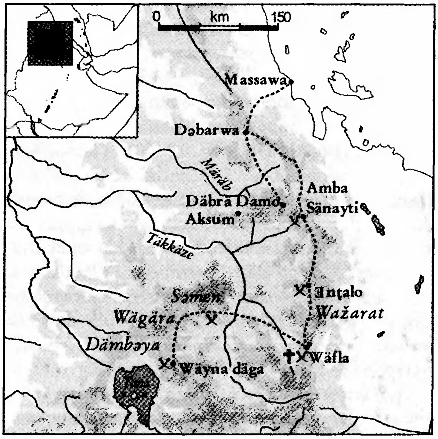
Lit.: ArEvang 398; CerFolk; FRIDE B. HYLANDER, "Onesimos Nesib: some Remarks on Cerulli's: 'The Folk Literature of the Galla'", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 79–87; KEBEDE HORDOFA, "The Contribution of Onesimos Nasib and Aster Gano to the Development of Oromo Literature: an Overview", in: *Missiology and Linguistics* 1998, 57–86; MARTIN NORDFELDT, *A Galla Grammar*, Lund 1947; LEEP̣ISAA TITO, "ኦኔሲሞስ፡ ነሲብ፡ እና፡ ኦሮሞኛ" (*Onesimos Näsib ənna Oromaññа*, 'Onesimos Näsib and the Oromo Language'), *Zena Ləssan* 1, 3, 1973 A.M. [1981 A.D.], 9–12; BOGUMIL W. ANDRZEJEWSKI, "Literatures in Cushitic Languages other than Somali", in: BOGUMIL W. ANDRZEJEWSKI — STANISŁAW PIŁASZEWICZ — WITOLD TYLOCH (eds.), *Literatures in African Languages – Theoretical Issues and Sample Surveys*, Cambridge — Warsaw 1985, 408–25.

Kebede Hordofa Janko

Gama, Christovão da

G. (b. ca. 1516 Evora [?], d. 28 August 1542, Wäfla [?]), fourth son of the discoverer of the sea route to the East Indies Vasco da Gama, was the leader of a Portuguese military expedition that fought against *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ).

G. travelled to India for the first time in 1532. Later, he held the title of captain of Malaca (granted by the Portuguese king to the da Gamas), and participated in military campaigns in the Far East, Cochin and ↗Diu (Costonhoso 1898:vii–xxxiii). In 1541 he took part in the last and most ambitious Portuguese armada into the Red Sea against the Turks. The fleet, headed by his brother Estevão da ↗Gama, then governor of India, was composed of around 75 boats and 2,000 men (Costonhoso 1898:xxii). Having made a halt at Massawa in February 1541 and informed by *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq of ↗Gälawdewos's dramatic situation, a military company was formed in an attempt to rescue what ↗Portugal then considered a strategic ally (*aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl). The company was composed of 400 volunteers, fidalgos (noblemen), soldiers and craftsmen, 150 servants and abundant artillery (more than 1,000 muskets and harquebuses and eight artillery pieces). G., not without some opposition due to his young age, was appointed captain of an expedition that had much of improvised colonial adventure (s. the role played by the pseudo-Patriarch ↗Bermudez). The soldiers were split according to a classic division into groups of 50



Tentative itinerary and battle sites of G.'s expedition and G.'s place of death; after Whiteway 1902 and Littmann 1907 under five captains, and the remaining 150 under the royal flag lead by G. (Castanhoso 1898, ch. 6; s. Bermudez 1875, ch. 10, 15; Correia 1976, 199f.; Couto 1977, dec. V, liv. VII, ch. IX).

In July 1541 the expedition left Massawa and, heading southwards, spent the rainy season (*kərämt*) of 1541 at the town of the *baḥər nägaš*, ↗Dəbarwa. In December, they joined *ətege* ↗Säblä Wängel, encamped at ↗Däbrä Damo (Castanhoso 1898, ch. 3) and spent Christmas time with the queen's retinue in a "serra do *baḥər nägaš*". The first military action of the expedition was a successful siege in February 1542 (25 March in Kropp 1988:24) of Amba Sänayti in central Təgray, where a Muslim garrison was established. In April, a second battle was fought at ↗Anṭalo, Wažarat, where Grañ had come from his base camp at ↗Däräsge (↗Dämbəya), expecting to defeat the determined G. and his men. The *imām* was, however, wounded and his horse killed (Bermudez 1875, ch. 14; Castanhoso 1898, ch. 15).

G. and the major bulk of the expedition, which by then had been split and had also lost between 50 and 100 men (Bermudez 1875, ch. 22), encamped and spent the *kərämt* of 1542 at ↗Wäfla with the Queen (for a problematic appraisal of the forthcoming events s. Beckingham 1959:365–73). From there G. dispatched Ayres ↗Dias to contact Gälawdewos. In August, having crossed the Täkkaze, the Portuguese, lead by G., freed a "serra de judeus" in ↗Səmen, killed the Muslim leader *sidi* Muḥammad and gave the *amba* back to its ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel lords. Shortly after that, a new encounter with a reinforced Muslim army took place. On 28 August G. was wounded and successively captured, tortured and killed (probably back in Wäfla; s. Almeida quoted in Lobo 1971:417 note 1) by Grañ himself, together with 13 other companions (Bermudez 1875, ch. 21; Castanhoso 1898, chs. 19–20). The surviving expedition, however, continued to fight in Dämbəya; allegedly, it was one of G.'s servants, one Pero de Lião, who is credited with mortally wounding the Muslim leader with his musket at Zäntära (↗Wäyna Däga; Bermudez 1875, ch. 34).

G.'s death was later the motif of miraculous stories. Bermudez described in full detail a macabre division of G.'s body by the Muslim troops (1875, ch. 23) – the head being sent to the governor of Cairo (s. *ibid.*; Castanhoso 1898, ch. 20) – and told of a spring with healing water emerging from the site of the "martyrdom" (Bermudez *ibid.*; Castanhoso *ibid.*). ↗Castanhoso, who recorded also the latter story, wrote about a tree turning upside down in a monastery on the day of G.'s death (Castanhoso *ibid.*; s. marvellous visions during G.'s life in Bermudez, ch. 16), something which could hint at local stories of the miracle. These legends were later recovered by the chroniclers ↗Correia (1976: 380) and ↗Couto (dec. VII, liv. I, ch. I), and G.'s fame remained alive well into the 17th cent. through works such as ↗Paez's (Pais 1945–46, book 1, ch. 31–34). The ↗Jesuit missionaries reportedly recovered his bones and took them to India (Castanhoso 1898:xxxiii–xxxvi; BecRASO I, 286f.; Lobo 1971, ch. 19). G.'s fate was novelized in the *Tragicomedia del martir d'Ethiopia* by the captain Botelho de Carvalho (1646) and a few episodes of the military expedition appear in an Ethiopian royal chronicle that refers to G. as "Dongestobu" (Kropp 1988:23).

↗Portugal

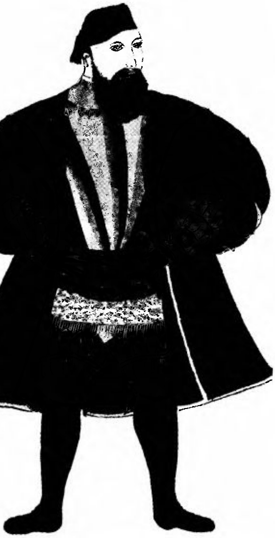
Src.: João Bermudez, *Breve Relação da Embaixada que o Patríarcha D. João Bermudez trouxe do Imperador da Etiopia* …, ^{1}1565, Lisboa ^{2}1875, ch. 10, 14–16, 21–23, 34; Miguel de Castanhoso, *Dos feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia*, ed. by Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, Lisboa ^{3}1898 [^{1}1564], xxxiii–xxxvi (English tr. by Richard Stephen Whiteway, London 1902; German tr. by Enno Littmann, Berlin 1907); Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India*, vol. 4, Lisboa ^{1}1864, Nendeln ^{2}1976, 199f., 380; Diogo do Couto, *Da Asia, Decada V*, Lisboa 1777, dec.V–liv.VII–ch.IX; *ibid. Decada VII*, Lisboa 1782, dec.VII–liv.I–ch.I; BecRASO I, 286f.; Jerónimo Lobo, *Itinerário e outros escritos inéditos*, ed. by P.M. Gonçalves da Costa, Barcelos 1971, ch. 19, 417 note 1; Miguel Botelho de Carvalho, *Rimas varias y tragi-comedia del martir d'Ethiopia*, Ruan 1646; Manfred Kropp (ed.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, Louvain 1988 (CSCO 503, [SAe 83]), 23; Pêro Pais, *História da Etiópia*, ed. by Lopes Teixeira, Porto 1945–46, book 1, ch. 31–34.

Lit.: Girma Beshah – Merid Wolde Aregay, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations (1500–1632)*, Lisboa 1964, ch. 6; Charles Fraser Beckingham, "A Note on the Topography of Ahmad Gran's Campaigns in 1542", *JSS* 4, 1959, 362–73.

Andreu Martínez

Gama, Estevão da

G. (b. ca. 1503–05, d. 1575) was Vasco da Gama's second son and leader of an ambitious expedition into the Red Sea in 1541. G. succeeded his brother Paulo da Gama at his death as captain of Malaca, where he served from 1534 to 1539. On 4 April 1540, at the death of Garcia de Noronha, he became governor of India. In one of his first meetings, according to the orders received from Portugal, he proposed to lead an expedition through the Red Sea. His main goal was to burn the Ottoman



Estevão da Gama; from do Couto 1998, pl. after page 68

fleet stationed at Suez, that between 1538–39 put in jepoardy the precious fortress of ↗Diu.

In May 1541, G. reached the coasts of Massawa. In the Red Sea he burned and destroyed the city of ↗Sawākin, the port of Alcocer and the city of Tor. In Massawa he received some letters through the *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq in which he was informed of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl's death earlier the previous year and the hardships that the Christians in Ethiopia were enduring under the ravages of the Muslim troops. Therefore, he decided to send an expedition of 400 men to Ethiopia, commanded by his younger brother, Cristovão da ↗Gama, to fight against the armies of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī.

G. went back to Portugal in 1542 after finishing his term as governor in 7 May. Unsatisfied with King ↗João III, who wanted to impose on him a marriage of convenience, he settled down in Venice. Years later, he returned to Portugal, where he was offered the position of governor of Lisbon.

Src.: JOÃO BERMUDEZ, *Breve Relação da Embaixada que o Patríarcha D. João Bermudez trouxe do Imperador da Etiopia* ..., Lisboa 1875, 17ff.; MIGUEL DE CASTANHOSO, *História das cousas que o mui esforçado Capitão Dom Cristóvão da Gama fez* ..., ed. NEVES ÁGUAS, Lisboa 1988, 15f., 54; ID., *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543 as Narrated by Castanhoso*, ed., tr. by RICHARD STEPHEN WHITEWAY, London 1902 (Hakluyt Society Papers 2, 10), xxxii, xl–xli, lxxxvi, 3, 37ff., 114, 137, 144, 263–81; GASPAR CORREA, *Lendas da India*, Lisboa 1858-64, vol. 4, 136ff., 178-205; DIOGO DO COUTO, *Tratado dos Feitos de Vasco da Gama e de seu Filhos na Índia*, Lisboa 1998, after p. 68 (ill.); ANTÓNIO DA SILVA REGO (ed.), *Documentação para a história das missões do Padroado Portugues do Oriente. India*, Lisboa 1950, vol. 3, 5, 18f.; ARTUR BASÍLIO DE SÁ, *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Portugues do Oriente. Insulínda*, Lisboa 1954, vol. 1, 351, 357, 363ff.

Lit.: DUARTE LEITE, *História dos descobrimentos*, vol. 2, Lisboa 1960, 180-90; JOSÉ ÁLVES, "Gama, Estevão da", in: LUÍS DE ALBUQUERQUE – FRANCISCO CONTENTE DOMINGUES (eds.), *Dicionário de história dos descobrimentos Portugueses*, vol. 1, Lisboa 1994, 447f.

Leonardo Cohen

Gama Moras

G.M. (ጋማ፡ ሞራስ, b. 1820s, Guduru, d. 1860s) was the founder and ↗*mooti* of the small Oromo kingdom of ↗Guduru (↗Mäčča). He was the son of a trader who migrated from Goǧǧam to the commercial capital of the region, Asändabo (Assandabo).

Guduru was both the name of a very fertile territory in northern Wälläga, which bordered with Goǧǧam, and also the name of the "Seven Houses of Guduru", a powerful Oromo clan-federation that numbered between 100,000 to 120,000 people in 1840. G.M.'s father made a fortune in lucrative trade in Asändabo, which his son inherited. G.M. was a very energetic, dynamic and resourceful man who had strong political ambitions. For this purpose, he became a son of a powerful Guduru nobility through ↗*guddifačaa* (adoption). This provided G.M. with an Oromo clan genealogy and with an opportunity to participate in all the market-centres in Guduru. Despite his adoption and wealth, the Guduru nobility regarded G.M. as a "stranger" and "inferior" because "he had neither wealth in land nor in cattle, the two items which brought honour to a family" (MasMis vol. 3, 52f.). G.M. converted his large inherited treasure into land and cattle, thus elevating his social standing among the Guduru nobility. He also used his wealth for winning friends and spreading the honour of his name and his prestige far and wide. His ambition was to be the *mooti* of all Guduru by breaking the power of the established nobility.

The opposition to G.M.'s ambition was engineered and led by Fufi, a wealthy nobleman from Asändabo. G.M. gathered firearms and trained his soldiers, while cultivating friendly relations with the Guduru nobility. When war broke out between Fufi and G.M., the former was easily defeated by the latter. However, Fufi was saved from general rout by the elders' intervention. Both Fufi and G.M. agreed to take their case to the ↗*čaffee* assembly at Qobo in southern Guduru. By the decision of the assembly, G.M. was left in full control of the market of Asändabo, which marked the beginning of his rapid rise to power. Delighted by a decision that favoured him, G.M. lavishly feasted the Guduru nobility, honouring them with liberal gifts, and immediately implemented the assembly's decision. By doing so, he appealed to the moral influence of the assembly and on that ground he won a decisive victory. Fufi, by refusing to implement the assembly's decision, was questioning its moral influence, and on that ground, he earned public outrage (MHasOr 95).

When hostilities were resumed three months later, G.M. was not again disposed to sacrifice any solid advantage for the elders' call for peace. He successfully defeated and expelled Fufi from the land of Guduru. By a single victory, G.M. achieved the status of the *mooti* of the "Seven Houses of Guduru". From that day onwards, G.M. abandoned his humble speech of "calling every Gudru my Lord" (MasMis, vol. 4, 174). He became their master and the undisputed king and created the small kingdom of Guduru around the 1840s. It was through war that G.M. made himself the *mooti* and he made war the prime business of his administration (ibid., 179, Lewis 2001:31f., 128).

Src.: *The Papers of Antoine and Arnauld d'Abbadie*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, nouv. acq., Iran. no. 21300, fol. 784.

Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, *European Religious Missions in Ethiopia, 1830–1868*, Ph.D. thesis, London University 1967; MHasOr; HERBERT S. LEWIS, *Jimma Abba Jifar: an Oromo Monarchy, Ethiopia, 1830–1932*, Lawrenceville, NJ ²2001; MasMis vols. 3–4; WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Countries*, London 1868.

Mohammed Hassen Ali

Ǧama Raʾuf mosque ↗Harär

Ǧamāladdīn I b. Bazyū

Ğ. (جمال الدين بن بزيو بن عمر ولشمع, Ğamāladdīn I b. Bazyū b. ʿUmar Walašmaᶜ), *sulṭān* of ↗Ifat, was the seventh ruler of the ↗Walašmaᶜ dynasty and ruled over Ifat for seven years. He succeeded his brother, Manṣūr b. Bazyū, in 1318/19 and was followed in 1324 by a group of three short-reigning persons with non-Arabic names. It seems that usurpers interrupted the succession of Walašmaᶜ for some years.

The only source for Ğ. is the Walašmaᶜ chronicle (Cerulli 1931:41, 43f.) which states that he was a wise and pious man and that the genies were at his service. They transported letters from the River Abbay to his residence in one hour. They also brought him water from the River Awaš.

Ğ. should not be confused with ↗Ğamāladdīn II b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr who was installed as ruler of Ifat by ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon in 1332 and deposed in the same year.

Lit.: PHILLIP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 504; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* 328, ser. 6ª, 4, 2, 1931, 39-101, here 41 (text) = 43f. (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 137, 141]; ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272-94 (with table of the family tree of the Wälašmaᶜ dynasty) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257-80]; EWALD WAGNER, "Die Chronologie der frühen muslimischen Herrscher in Äthiopien nach den Harariner Emirslisten", in: BRIGITTA BENZING – OTTO BÖCHER – GÜNTER MAYER (eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit: Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik, Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, Meisenheim 1976, vol. 1, 186–204, table 1.

Ewald Wagner

Ǧamāladdīn II b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr

After deposing ↗Ṣabraddīn b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr in spring 1332, *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon installed Ğ. (جمال الدين بن دلحوي بن منصور), Ṣabraddīn's brother, as ruler of ↗Ifat. Ğ. then asked the victorious Emperor to spare the ruined country. He and his Muslim subjects would remain his "slaves". The Emperor answered that he would spare Ifat but would ravage ↗ᶜAdal. The Muslims of ᶜAdal tried to prevent ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's campaign by attacking his camp in Ifat. They were, however, defeated and in June 1332 ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon left for Təgray.

Shortly afterwards, the *qāḍī* ↗Ṣāliḥ gathered the forces of the Muslim principalities of Ethiopia – among them ᶜAdal and Harär – to fight the Christians. Ğ. informed the sultan of ᶜAdal that he would join the coalition. The latter, along with the other Muslim princes, considered, however, that the assembled troops were already enough. Since they did not want to share with another participant the lands they hoped to conquer, they marched off before the troops from Ifat arrived.

In July 1332 the Muslims were defeated and Ṣāliḥ was killed. In September 1332, at the end of his victorious march through the Muslim countries, ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon camped in Bəqʷəl Zär. He ordered the Muslim king (most probably Ǧ.) to surrender all the Christians who had converted to Islam. In order to avoid the order, Ǧ. tried to prevaricate and in response to that ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon deposed him, had his hands bound with chains of iron, laid waste his country and gave his office to his brother, ↗Naṣraddīn.

This narrative is the common interpretation offered by the only source of the events of September 1332: the Gəᶜəz account of the victories of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon (Dillmann 1884:1036, n. 1; Cerulli 1936:24 [1971:301]; HuntAmd 106f.; MarAmdS 1993:180–83). An alternative interpretation is given by Kropp (KrAmdS tr. XXVI, 70, n. 331). Since the Gəᶜəz text does not mention the name of the Muslim king in connection with the September events, Kropp argues that an unknown king of Bəqʷəl Zär was meant and not Ǧ. The Arabic chronicle of the ↗Walašmaᶜ dynasty does not mention at all either Ǧ. or his brother Naṣraddīn. This might be due to the fact that they were only puppets of the Christian Emperor.

Ǧ. should not be confused with his grand-uncle ↗Ǧamāladdīn b. Bazyū.

Src.: AUGUST DILLMANN, "Die Kriegsthaten des Königs ᶜAmda-Ṣion gegen die Muslim", *Sitzungsberichte der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse* 42, 1884, 1007–38, here 1020f., 1026, 1036; PerrAmdS 301, 304, 323 (text) = 346, 348, 362 (tr.); HuntAmd 65, 67, 80, 106f.; MarAmdS 76f., 80–83, 108–13, 180–83; KrAmdS 16, 18, 31ff., 65f. (text) = 21ff., 37ff., 69f. (tr.).

Lit.: CerStud I, 24 [repr.: CerIslam 301]; EWALD WAGNER, "Die Chronologie der frühen muslimischen Herrscher in Äthiopien nach den Harariner Emirslisten", in: BRIGITTA BENZING – OTTO BÖCHER – GÜNTER MAYER (eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit: Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik, Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 1, Meisenheim 1976, 186–204, here 191, table 1.

Ewald Wagner

Ǧamāladdīn III Muḥammad b. Saᶜdaddīn Muḥammad

Sulṭān Ǧ.M. (جمال الدين محمد بن سعد الدين محمد, d. January 1433) succeeded his brother Manṣūr to the throne of ↗ᶜAdal when the latter was taken prisoner during a lost battle against *aṣe* Yəsḥaq (r. 1414–29).

According to al-Maqrīzī's *Ilmām*, Ǧ.M. was weak at the start of his reign. However, he was much assisted by his general Ḥarb Goš, a former Christian nobleman who, along with many followers, had changed sides at the time of Ǧ.M.'s father, *sulṭān* ↗Saᶜdaddīn Abū l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad. Just at the start of his government, Ǧ.M. was attacked by the "Barābir" (a term designating Berber, here ↗Beğa or people from ↗Berbera?). But Ḥarb Goš managed to push them back and to oblige them to pay the *zakāt* (a Muslim tax, which means that they were Muslims, either originally or by forced conversion). Later, whilst the general was fighting in Bale, *aṣe* Yəsḥaq, camped in ↗Ǧidāya, was attacked and beaten by Ǧ.M. himself, forcing the Amhara to flee. The Emperor gathered a new army and Ǧ.M. needed a three-month campaign to beat him again in a final battle. Ǧ.M. destroyed many churches and houses and enslaved numerous women and children. Meanwhile, Ḥarb Goš had also been successful in Bale. He distributed three slaves to every *faqīr* (poor man or Ṣūfī).

Ǧ.M. continued to fight the Amhara. He pursued them as far as the sources of the Nile, while Ḥarb Goš and Ǧ.M.'s brother, ↗Aḥmad Badlāy, penetrated into Däwaro. All these wars were so successful that the whole Near East, from Egypt to India and from the Yemen to Anatolia, became flooded with Abyssinian slaves. Whilst al-Maqrīzī gives a quite detailed description of these fights, they are not at all mentioned in the "short chronicle".

Ǧ.M. was murdered by one of his envious nephews. The Arabic sources call him a martyr, a title which normally is given only to people who die in the 'holy war' (↗*Ǧihād*). Cerulli (1931: 74, n. 2 [=1971:145, n. 29]) thinks that the title perhaps refers to a connivance between the murderer and the Christians. Ǧ.M. was succeeded by his brother ↗Aḥmad Badlāy who discovered and killed the murderer.

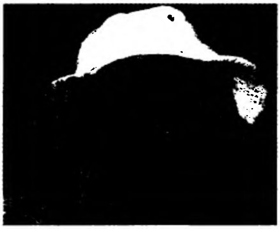
Al-Maqrīzī praises in high tones the piety and justice of Ǧ.M., especially his relation to the theologians, the Ṣūfīs and the pious. Ǧ.M. is one of the few Muslim rulers from Ethiopia who were included in some Arabic biographical works.

Src.: MaqIlmam^2 15–19; AḤMAD B. ᶜALĪ IBN ḤAĞAR AL-ᶜASQALĀNĪ, *Inbāʾ al-ġumr fī abnāʾ al-ᶜumr fī t-taʾrīḫ* ('Information of the Ignorants about Contemporaries in History'), vol. 8, Ḥaydarābād 1395 H. [1975 A.D.], 268f.; MUḤAMMAD B. ᶜABDARRAḤMĀN AS-SAḪĀWĪ, *aḍ-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiᶜ li-ahl al-qarn at-tāsiᶜ* ('The Shining Light about the People of the 9th Cent.'), vol. 7, Bayrūt [1956], 153f.; MUḤAMMAD B. ᶜALĪ AŠ-ŠAWKĀNĪ, *al-Badr aṭ-ṭāliᶜ bi-maḥāsin man baᶜd al-qarn at-tāsiᶜ* ('The Rising Moon about the Merits of those who Lived after the 9th cent.'), vol. 2, Al-Qāhira 1348 H. [1929/30 A.D.], 142 (after Ibn Ḥağar and as-Saḫāwī); ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 2, 1931, 39–101, here 41 (text) = 47 (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 138 (text) = 144f. (tr.)].

Ewald Wagner

Ǧämbäre Ḫaylu

Qäññ geta Ǧ.Ḫ. (ጀምበሬ፡ ኃይሉ, b. 1913, d. 1994) was born in a little village south-west of ↗Däbrä Tabor. He received a traditional church education and was advised in painting by his uncle *aläqa* ʿAlämu Gäbrəʾel, with whom he decorated a number of different churches in the province of Wällo and in Däbrä Tabor. His painting career was temporarily interrupted while he fought as a guerrilla against the Italians (1936–41). In 1943–47 Ǧ.Ḫ. decorated the Gärägära Giyorgis church near Lalibäla. In 1948 he moved to Addis Abäba where he met the famous ↗Bäläččäw Yəmär, who encouraged him to paint for the growing expatriate and tourist market. Ǧ.Ḫ. had a repertoire of religious, historical and secular themes.



Ǧämbäre Ḫaylu, photo Doro Röthlisberger, courtesy of Völkerkundemuseum Zürich

Ǧ.Ḫ.'s paintings can be seen in the Museum of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Abäba, Ethiopia, in the Völkerkundemuseum of the University of Zurich, Switzerland, in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich, Germany, and in the Michigan State University Museum, East Lansing, USA.

Lit.: GIRMA KIDANE, "Four Traditional Ethiopian Painters and their Life Histories", in: RICHARD PANKHURST et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*, London 1989, 73ff.; RAYMOND AARON SILVERMAN – GIRMA FISSEHA, "Jembere and his Son Marcos", in: RAYMOND AARON SILVERMAN (ed.), *Ethiopia: Traditions of Creativity*, Michigan 1999, 158–66.

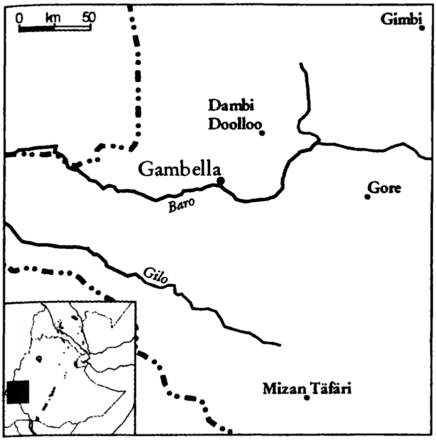
Elisabeth Biasio

Gambella

G. (ጋምቤላ, 526 m A.S.L.) is a town in western Ethiopia and the name of the region where it is located. It was the administrative centre of an *awrağğa* of ↗Illubabor province and is now the centre of Gambella Regional State (former *kəlləl*). According to the Central Statistical Agency its population was 23,955 in 1999. It has a multiethnic composition with the ↗Añwaa (Añuak), the host population of G. town, being most numerous (6,174), followed by the ↗Oromo (4,761), ↗Amhara (2,553) and ↗Nuer (1,903).

Possibly attested already in the ethnicon *Gambelá* ('people [living] beyond the Nile', i.e. the ↗Täkkäze) of a 6th-cent. scholium to the ↗*Monumentum Adulitanum* (Fiaccadori 2004:120f.), the G. region (and town) has been a strategic point in the relations between Ethiopia and the ↗Sudan since the end of the 19th cent. When the international border between Ethiopia and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was drawn in 1902, the present day G. region was confirmed as an Ethiopian territory. But the British kept an interest in the "Baro Salient" (↗Baro) projects in the Sudanese territory and negotiated with *aṣe* Mənilək II to open a trading post in 1904. First it was opened at Itang, but soon it was transferred to a place further upstream of the River Baro. It is located on the right bank of the Baro and divided by the stream of the Ǧabǧabe (Ǧağabe). The western side of the stream was considered as a Sudanese enclave and a British Customs Inspector (after 1919, District Commissioner) was assigned there, while on the eastern side it was occupied by Ethiopian officials.

Although initially there were difficulties, the international ↗trade via G. became prosperous. Coffee, wax and gum from the highlands of Illubabor and ↗Wälläga were brought down by mules and porters and then exported to the Sudan by steamer connecting G. with Malakal-Kosti, which was navigable in the rainy season. From the Sudan, manufactured goods such as cotton-cloth, salt and empty sacks were imported. Greek traders settled on the "British side" of town to engage in the business. In order to secure the trade route, the British opened a consulate at ↗Gore in 1917. The Ethiopian administration of G., which was hardly distinguishable from plunder and looting, was conducted from the two centres on the highlands: Gore and ↗Dambi Doolloo (Sayyoo). A representative at G., *ləğ* Kaśa, was killed in 1913 in a battle against the local Añwaa, and in 1914 the first Ethiopian governor of G. was appointed. In 1915 Maǧīd ʿAbbū, a Syrian Christian, became a resident imperial agent and engaged in military campaigns against local Añwaa and Nuer to plunder, in alliance with some Añwaa leaders, notably Udiel



of Abobo (Abwobo) village. Seen by the British, this state of affairs was their concern because raiding did not stop at the border and a considerable amount of rifles supplied by imperial agents to their local allies were smuggled into the Sudan, where armed resistance by the Nuer was still going on.

The international trade via G. began to decline when the Addis Abäba–Djibouti railroad opened in 1917. Also, the significance of the region for the Ethiopian empire as the supplier of local wealth was lost as resources, especially elephant tusks, were exhausted and exploitive and military ways of administration gradually gave way to more moderate ones. After the 1930s G. became a dormant local town where demoted officials were assigned. When the Sudan became independent in 1956, the office of British District Commissioner was taken over by the Sudanese Consulate. It kept an eye on the movement of south Sudanese refugees and rebels when the first civil war became intensified in the 1960s.

After the ↗Revolution the Sudanese Consulate was closed and the river transportation halted. The strategic importance of G., however, surfaced again as the second civil war in Sudan started in 1983 and the *Därg* commenced various development projects in the region. A bridge over the Baro river, allegedly the longest in Ethiopia, was constructed at the town and a new airport also opened. The population and urban facilities of G. town expanded and still continue to do so as the town has become the capital of a federal state. In 2001, an indication of oil was found (petroleum).

↗Boundaries; ↗Railways

Src.: CSA 2000.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan on the Western Ethiopian Frontier*, Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London 1976; DOUGLAS HAMILTON JOHNSON, "On the Nilotic Frontier: Imperial Ethiopia in the Southern Sudan", in: DONALD LEWIS DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986, 219–45; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 120f.; EISEI KURIMOTO, "Natives and Outsiders: the Historical Experience of the Anywaa of Western Ethiopia", *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 43, 1992, 1–43.

Eisei Kurimoto

Gämbo

The G. (ገምቦ) were an historical ethnic group in north-eastern Wälläga where they inhabited the highlands immediately to the west of the Č̣omän swamps. They are attested to in Gəʿəz sources over some 200 years, from the early 15th cent. (when they appear in a soldiers' song in praise of *aṣe* Yəsḥaq) until around 1600, with most of the information available for the second half of the 16th cent. (chronicles of Gälawdewos, Śärṣä Dəngəl and Susənyos). During the period of their historical visibility, the Christian emperors repeatedly raided the G. lands, capturing much booty as well as slaying and enslaving many of the inhabitants. The Christian monarchs' ultimate goal, of course, was to subject the G. to their rule. The G., on the other hand, tenaciously struggled to preserve their autonomy and never appear to have been fully subjugated.

Having survived two centuries of pressure from the Solomonic monarchy, the G. were, however, unable to resist the onslaught of the ↗Oromo in the first decades of the 17th cent. Sources from this time onwards do not mention them any more. This strongly suggests that the G. at the time had been annihilated, dispersed or absorbed – or a mixture thereof – by the advancing ↗Mäč̣č̣a. A trace of their existence is probably preserved in the name of the town of Šambu, located in the historical G. land. This toponym could well be a reflex of the ethnonym G. (through, essentially, palatalization and devoicing of word-initial /*g*/ to /*š*/).

The sources indicate that the G. had a mixed economy, practising agriculture as well as raising livestock. Within the agricultural sector, they appear to have cultivated *ənsät*, as well as cereals

(Gəᶜəz *əkl*, presumably referring to *ṭef* or related species). They did not possess horses, and their only weapons seem to have been spears and shields.

The Chronicle of Gälawdewos describes the G. and their (unspecified) neighbours as "heathen peoples" (**አሕዛብ፡ ከሓድያን**, *aḥzab käḥadəyan*; ConzGal 51) which hence could be reduced to servitude. About four decades later, however, when a large group of G. were besieged by the troops of Śärṣä Dəngəl, they appealed to a cleric affiliated with Däbrä Libanos, but presumably living in their vicinity, for mediation to save their lives. This, and the fact that Śärṣä Dəngəl forcefully intervened when his soldiers disobediently tried to enslave the surrendering G., could indicate that at least some G. groups had become Christian by the 1590s.

Taddesse Tamrat (1988), on the basis of an allegedly traditional ethno-genealogy transmitted by *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, straightforwardly categorized the G. as a ↗Gafat clan. It can be shown, however, that Tayyä's inclusion of the G. among the Gafat is not "traditional", but a result of his misreading of evidence from the Chronicle of Susənyos (Kleiner in StudAeth). An independent review of the sources yields no data that unambiguously support Tayyä's and Taddesse's claim. Against this background it seems premature to confidently assert a Gafat identity for the G., even if there is no fully conclusive evidence to the contrary, either. Yet the sheer absence of any linkage between the G. and the Gafat in all sources but one (Chronicle of Śärṣä Dəngəl – where, however, the connection is highly indirect) seems to favour the latter view. Undoubtedly, though, the G. lived in close proximity to a number of Gafat groups and in all likelihood shared several cultural traits with them.

Src.: BassHist vol. 1, 303–06, vol. 2, 398–401 (tr.); BassÉt 24, 119; CRHist vol. 1, 137–40, vol. 2, 156–60 (tr.); ConzGal ch. 43, 46; PerChron ch. 11–13; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di re abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4ª, 4, 1889, 53–66, here 63; ID., "Contributi alla storia letteraria di Abissinia. I. Il 'Serᶜata Mangest'", *ibid.* ser. 5ª, 21, 1922, 65–89, here 71.

Lit.: HuntGeogr, s. index; PankBord, s. index; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: the Case of the Gafat", *JES* 21, 1988, 121–54; MICHAEL KLEINER, "Were the Gämbo a Gafat Group? Deliberations on a Finer Point of Ethiopian Ethnohistory", in: *StudAeth*, 151–64 (Lit.); *aläqa* TAYYÄ GÄBRÄ MARYAM, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾityopya ḥəzb tarik*, 'History of the People of Ethiopia'), Aśmära 1914 A.M. [1921/22 A.D.], 33ff.

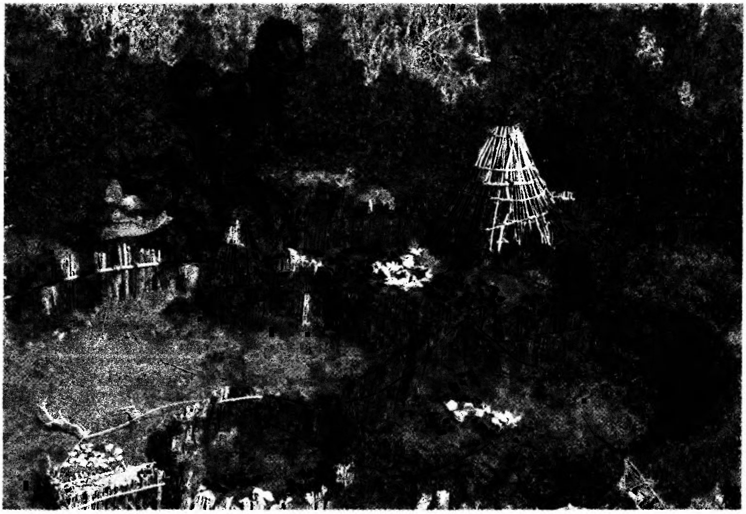
Michael Kleiner

Games

Like rituals and theatre performances, G. can be seen as a chain of action within a specific set of rules separated from the usefulness-oriented course of daily life but reflecting social relationships and cultural norms. The degree in which G. are regulated and organized can differ significantly. Many G. have a narrative structure with a clearly defined beginning and end and a "dramaturgic tension". The main purpose of most G. is recreation or leisure. In addition, G. function as means of exercising cultural behaviour, of education as well as of generating rank or prestige (e.g., in the case of competition G.). Often the distinction between ↗sports and G. involving physical activities cannot easily be drawn. G. in general offer a certain "primary liberty" (Caillois 1958: 52) which makes them more open to improvization and invention than sports.

As fundamental principles Caillois (1958:27ff. 113–20) proposed competition, chance, imitation and temporary social disorganization. Ethiopian and Eritrean G. can also be classified according to 1) the social position of the actors defined by gender, age [-group] and social stratum; 2) the symbolic significance of a G., e.g., shown by connection to a certain religious feast or by the presence of an audience; 3) the position of a G. within the agricultural/seasonal cycle; and 4) the rules of a G., including combinable categories: number of players, number of teams, "goal" of the G., type of G. (types such as competition-, board-, ball- or throw-G., etc.).

An early scholarly collection of Ethiopian G. was published by Mittwoch (1910). His source was *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, who described 13 children's G. The collection includes craps-like G., "trick or treat"-like G., hide and seek G., G. including dancing as well as ball- or throw- G. such as ↗*gänna* and different types of **ኳስ** (*kʷas*, 'ball'). Griaule (1935) compiled a large collection of Ethiopian G. It includes not only G. in the strict sense, but descriptions of children's toys, many of them imitating items of the material culture of the adults, e.g., toy weapons, body decoration, miniature houses, children's musical instruments etc. Other toys were exclusively invented for specific G., e.g., a hoop to roll on the ground and different types of balls and sticks. Griaule also describes oral G. like "narration-G.", children's secret language, play on words, tongue twisters and children songs (s., e.g., ↗*ənqoqəlləš*). He also documents



Hamär children with a toy village, little stones designating livestock; photo 1950/52 by Elisabeth Pauli, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23–Pa046–7a)

playful dances and describes the imitation of different kinds of animals and plants, some of them connected with songs.

Many G. recorded by Griaule have a fairly aggressive character. Such G. include insulting G. and abusive songs, as well as "G." in which children tease others. Fighting-G. including aspects of sports and military training play a prominent role. A good example here is ↗*gugs* and the many variants of wrestling (Amh. ትግል, *təgəl*).

A more sporty competition-G. among Oromo children is *korbo* ('circle'). The G. is named after a circle on the ground which serves as a target. The G. is played by boys, all equipped with sharpened sticks. One of them is the "master". He stands on a higher place and gives the order to throw the "spears" from a defined distance. The boys who miss the circle have to carry the winners. The best becomes the "master" for the next round (personal communication with Kebede Hordofa).

A G. with some similar features is reported from Goǧǧam: two boys fitted with sticks agree upon who should start the G. The first boy throws his stick, then the other tries to throw his stick on to the first. If he succeeds in hitting the first stick, he is to be carried on the shoulders of his fellow up to where the sticks lie. From there the G. can start again (personal communication from Getie Gelaye).

The reflection of adult behaviour in playing terms finds a partly sexual quality in the huge number of G. which perform the interplay of the male and the female. In the G. አውርስ (Tgn. *awərs*, 'inherit') in Təgray documented by Griaule (1935: 246) a young couple dances parallel to each other along the two sides of a line drawn on the ground. They almost touch one another and perform different figures. If by chance the two dancers reach a front-to-front position, the young man is allowed to kiss his female counterpart.

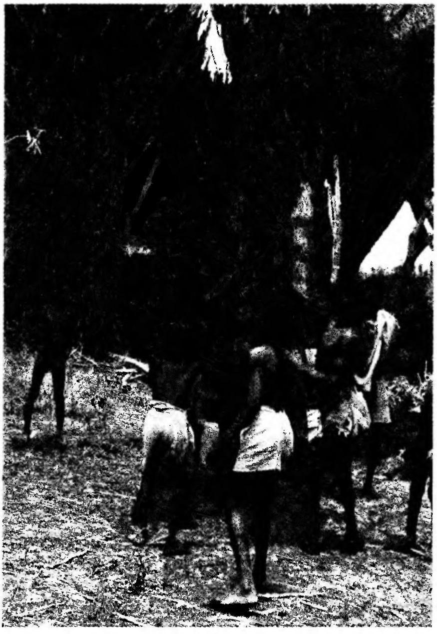
Ethiopian and Eritrean children's G. show a functioning self-organization of the children – sometimes led by older children – and a great creativity in the making of toys, as well as the innovation of new or modified G. Modern schooling supported the practice of Western/ "Olympic" G. and sports, on the one hand, while, on the other, children have less leisure time and are more watched than in the times of Mittwoch and Griaule.

Board-games

The most popular board-G. is ↗*gäbäṭa* (also *mankala*). This G. has many variants but in general is played on a wooden board containing two rows of six or more holes ("houses") and a bigger hole ("bank or storage") at each end. Seeds, pebbles or beans serve as tokens. The two players compete in capturing the tokens until the opponent is unable to make a move (for the rules of capture s. Natsoulas in PICES 11) There also exist various types of board-G. with similarities to draughts (cp., e.g. Griaule 1935:177ff.; Pankhurst 1971:154).

"Ethiopian chess" or ሰንጠረዥ (*sänṭäräž*, according to DillLex 'going back to Sanskrit') was probably introduced into the region by Arabs and shares some rules with Oriental chess. It is reported that *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl (r. 1508–40) already played chess and also cards with a visitor from Venice (Pankhurst 1971: 149). Chess was largely a G. of the royal court and the nobility. For the clergy, however, it was forbidden by the ↗*Fäws mänfäsawi*, while the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* opposes any "amusement" (ቀርቂስ, *qärqis*) to clerics. Chess is documented at the court of *ras* Mikaʾel Səḥul of Təgray in the second half of the 18th cent. From Henry Salt a description of *sänṭäräž* at the courts of *ras* Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray and *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa in the first half of the 19th cent. is extant. It was also played by the courtiers of *aṣe* Mənilək II (Pankhurst 1971:150–58).

Ethiopian chessboards traditionally were made of leather or skin, were coloured in red with black or blue lines of square (ሰር, *sər*, 'vein') and consisted of eight by eight squares. The chessmen, defined by different colours, were made of ivory, horn or wood. While the arrangement of the chessmen was almost as in Europe, their names and the moves of some were different: ንጉሥ (*nəguś*, 'King'); ፍርዝ (*fərz*, 'minister' [from Arab. *firzān*], i.e. 'Queen' – a single diagonal step), *fiʾl* ('elephant' [from Arab. *fīl*] or Amh. ሰበ, *säbä*, i.e, 'Bishop' – two squares diagonally, jumping being possible, moves not more than three steps), ፈረስ (*färäs*, 'horse', i.e. 'Knight'), ድር (*dər*, 'house, castle' [from Arab.], i.e. 'Rook') and ሜዴቅ (*medeq*, 'Pawn' [from Arab.]). The G. starts with a phase of mobilization, during which both players can move freely without waiting for the move of the other. This phase ends with the first capture, after which the moves are carried out alternately (for details s. Pankhurst 1971: 158–70).



Konso, *gureila* ball game; photo by Elisabeth Pauli, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (023-Pa083-22a)

Yäm, initiation game (javelin competition); photo by Helmut Straube, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (027-Str572-12)

Src.: personal communication of Kebede Hordofa, Addis Abäba, and Getie Gelaye, Hamburg; internet sources.

Lit.: Eugen Mittwoch, "Abessinische Kinderspiele", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen [Berlin]* 13, 2, 1910, 107–40; Marcel Griaule, *Jeux et divertissements abyssins*, Paris 1935, passim; Marcel Cohen, "Jeux abyssins", *JA* 1911, 31; Roger Caillois, *Les jeux et les hommes – Le masque et le vertige*, Paris 1958, 14f., 23, 27ff., 52, 113–20; Gundolf Krüger, "Spiel", in: *Wörterbuch der Völkerkunde*, Berlin 1999, 350; Anthula Natsoulas "The Game of Mancala, with Reference to Commodalities among the Peoples of Ethiopia and in Comparison to Other African Peoples: Rules and Strategies", in: *PICES* 11, 653–63 (Lit.); Richard Pankhurst, "History and Principles of Ethiopian Chess", *JES* 9, 2, 1971, 149–72; Harold J. Murray, *A History of Chess*, Oxford 1913, 359, 363.

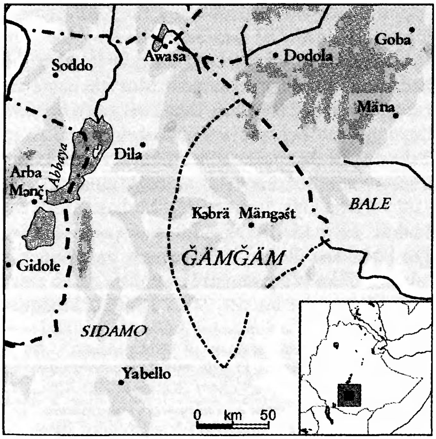
Dirk Bustorf

Ǧämǧäm

Ǧ. (ጀምጀም) is a high mountainous area dominating the basins of the Dawwaa, Gannaalee rivers and Lake Abbayya. It takes its name from the Ǧ., a part of Guǧǧi Oromo, a subdivision of the Arsi Oromo group. Traditionally this was where the ↗*abbaa muudaa* had his residence (HuntGal 83, note 84). Their territory borders to the south with the Gideʾo and to the north with the Sidaama. The Ǧ. were integrated into imperial Ethiopia at the end of the 19th cent. with the conquests of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Balča Safo. The new rulers constrained them to integrate ↗coffee cultivation in a farming system largely dominated by ↗*ənsät* plantations. The increase in the cultivation of this product has been at the expense of forest and grazing land.

After the 1941 Restoration Ǧ. was the central part of Ǧ. *awraǧǧa* which extended to the south over high plates and mountains of low human density. In the north, on the contrary, the densities approached those of the ↗Sidamo *awraǧǧa* (more than 100 and 200 inhabitants/km^2 in 1970 and 1984 respectively). Kəbrä Mängəśt (2,650 m A.S.L.), in the south, was the chief town until the advent of federalism in 1991. According to censuses, the population decreased from 318,000 to 267,886 between 1970 and 1984, probably as a consequence of the disorders affecting the area at the down of Ḥaylä Śəllase I's regime.

Since 1991, the southern part of Ǧ. and Kəbrä Mängəśt have been integrated into the Oromiyaa *kəlləl*. The northern part was annexed to the Sidaama zone, a subdivision of the Southern Peoples and Nationalities region. The population of the Sidaama zone is ca. 2,777,000 (with the density of 406 inhabitants/km^2). The highest concentration of population has been reached in Gideʾo (584 inhabitants/km^2, overall population 774,121 inhabitants). Rural migration affects the northern and western areas: Awasa, in Sidamo, and Dilla, in Gideʾo, reaching 114,127 and 55,657 inhabitants respectively (CSA 2004).



Src.: CSA 1984; CSA 1998; CSA 2000; CSA 2004; EMAtlas; *Guida* 598.

Lit.: ALAIN GASCON, "Le miracle de l'*ensät*. Géographie d'une plante peuplante", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 81–89; GasEth; CHARLES W. MCCLELLAN, *State Transformation and National Integration: Gedeo and the Ethiopian Empire, 1895–1935*, East Lansing, MI 1988; STANISLAW STANLEY, "Ensete in the Ethiopian Economy", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 4, 1, 1966, 30–37; JOSEPH VAN DE LOO, *Guji Oromo Culture in Southern Ethiopia. Religious Capabilities in Rituals and Songs* ..., Berlin 1991; HuntGal 15, 83.

Alain Gascon

Ǧāmiᶜ al-Anwar

The Ǧ.A. (الجامع الأنور) is the largest central mosque in ↗Addis Abäba and the principal site for the performance of daily prayers by the city's Muslim residents and those of its suburbs. For several decades the congregational Friday prayer (*ṣalāt al-ǧumᶜa*) has been held at this mosque. The main office of the Ethiopian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (*al-maǧlis al-aᶜlā liš-šuʾūn al-islāmīya fī Ityūbīyā*) and those of its constituent departments (except the office of the *ḥaǧǧ* and *ᶜumra* committee, which is now near the railway station), were located within the premises of the Ǧ.A. until they were relocated to the former compound of the Royal Embassy of Saudi ↗Arabia.

During the early decades of the 20th cent., the Muslim residents of Addis Abäba, estimated at 5,000, who primarily worked as petty traders, had no mosque. They celebrated the annual Islamic festivals (↗Feasts, Islamic) on the open meadow by the hot springs or Fəlwəha (since 1991 the festivals have been held inside and around the stadium). The two precursors of the Ǧ.A. were the Wale Muḥammad Mosque, located on the low grounds opposite the imperial ↗*Gəbbi*, and the an-Nūr Mosque near the Piazza (popularly known as the Banin *safar* Mosque).

The Ǧ.A. has a long and chequered history characterized by administrative obstacles and financial constraints, not to mention problems with the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church and state officials which delayed the completion of its construction.

It was the Italians who began the Ǧ.A.'s construction on a plot of land belonging to *fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis Dinägde (d. 1926), but they left before completing the work. As a result, the area around the unfinished structure became a refuse site.

As Addis Abäba expanded, the number of Muslims residing in the city also increased. Some of the community's prominent elders took the initiative to erect a large mosque and a school. A committee, named the Islamic Association, was set up to secure the government's permission and the collection of contributions from the prosperous members of the Ethiopian merchant community. A plot of land at the heart of the Märkato (↗Addis Kätäma) was purchased, but it soon became evident that the construction of a new mosque would require more money than was available. It was therefore decided to enlarge and complete the work on the construction of the mosque which the Italians had started. After a formal request for a grant of land had been approved by the government, although not without the usual bureaucratic hurdles and hostility from several quarters, the mosque and the adjoining school (later named after an Ethiopian Somali Muslim patriot, *däǧǧazmač* ᶜUmar Samatar) were constructed.

Among the problems the Ǧ.A. faced during its early history was a debt of 16,000 *bərr* which it owed to the building contractors, which led to the temporary closure of the mosque. Eight individuals eventually contributed between 1,000 and 5,000 *bərr* each; the debt was paid and the mosque reopened. Another problem was that much of the land within the premises of the mosque still belonged to individuals who had not yet received compensation from the government. There was also the additional issue of security, which was solved when money for the construction of a stone wall was obtained from members of the Muslim community. A new well had to be dug to draw water. Toilets and a water-trough were constructed with private financial assistance. Electricity was provided with money secured from *al-ḥāǧǧ* Aḥmad Šāš and his brothers. The monthly salaries of the *imām*, the *muʾaḏḏin* and three guards were covered by individuals from the community. *Al-ḥāǧǧ* Ṣāliḥ ᶜAbdallāh Abba Fogi donated the income of two shops as a regular source of funds for covering the mosque's administrative expenses.

Beginning in 1950, an attempt was made by ↗Mäkʷännən Habtäwäld to bring the Islamic Association, originally set up with the permission of the Ministry of the Interior to oversee the administration of the mosque, under his direct and personal control with the aim of weakening it. This led to a successful opposition organized by *al-ḥāǧǧ* Rahmato Muḫtār, with the mosque administration finally achieving its autonomy.

In 1955/56, a new committee for the administration of the mosque was formed with the responsibility of managing and developing the mosque's property. The members of the committee were elected by major donors. The endowments took the form of a number of shops constructed with the donors' money. The income from the monthly rent was donated as ↗*waqf* to the mosque. A total of 14 shops were constructed between 1953 and 1956. The income from these shops was not only used to cover the mosque's expenses, but also to build 27 additional stores. In 1975 all shops were nationalized by the state, with a monthly financial compensation of 7,688 *bərr* each month paid to the mosque, which allocated the money among the 12 mosques in the city. Later, the shops were restored to the Ǧ.A.

In 1982, a one-storey annex for women with a new minaret was added to the western wing of the main building and in 1990 a large two-storey prayer-hall was constructed, the latter financed by the late Yemeni businessman, *šayḫ* (later *qäññazmač*) Muḥammad Aḥmad Šariyān. The entire mosque is renovated regularly, especially before the approach of ↗*Ramaḍān*, when the site attracts a multitude of the faithful. In the area around the Ǧ.A., stalls selling various commodities are continually being set up.

The first administrator (*nāẓir*) of the Ǧ.A. was *al-ḥāǧǧ* Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm Šarīf, whose appointment was approved by the *Šarīᶜa* court. Upon his death, he was succeeded by his son, ᶜAbdarraḥmān, who served until 1995 when he and about 40 other prominent Muslims were arrested and jailed for more than two years following a violent incident in and around the Ǧ.A. in February of that year. All were later released. The *imāms* were, successively, *al-ḥāǧǧ* ᶜUmar Yūsuf, *šayḫ* ᶜAbdalḥayy and *al-ḥāǧǧ* Muḥammad Ṯānī Ḥabīb Bašīr (d. 1989), who was succeeded by Ḏū l-Makāna Ǧamāl. The current incumbent is *al-ḥāǧǧ* Ṭāhā Muḥammad Hārūn.

↗Islam; ↗Mosques

Lit.: *Aḍwāʾ ʿilmī ʿalā masāǧid Addīs Abābā* ('Lights of Knowledge on the Mosques of Addis Ababa'), Addis Abäba 1414 H. [1993 A.D.]; በኢትዮጵያ፡ የእስልምና፡ ጉዳዮች፡ ከፍተኛ፡ ጉባኤ፤ ህልውና፡ እና፡ አላማ (*Bäʾityopya yäʾəsləmənna gudayočč käftäñña gubaʾe: Həlləwunna ənna Alama*, 'The Ethiopian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs: Status and

Aim'), Addis Abäba 1966 A.M. [1973/74 A.D.]; HUSSEIN AHMED, "Faith and Trade: the Market Stalls around the Anwar Mosque in Addis Ababa during Ramaḍān", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 19, 2, 1999, 261–68.

Hussein Ahmed

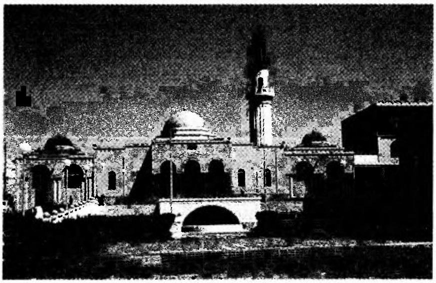
Ğāmiᶜ al-Ḫulafā' ar-Rāšidīn

The Ğ. (جامع الخلفاء الراشدين, 'Great Mosque of the Righteous *Ḫalīfas*') is one of the oldest mosques in ↗Asmära. According to oral tradition, the Ğ. was first built in the 1st cent. H. (7th cent. A.D.), at the time as Islam came to the coastal region (*↗Hiğra*).

During the Italian occupation the colonial administration mobilized the Muslim merchants in Asmära and other Muslims residing there to collect money to reconstruct the mosque in a modern way, as they did with the *cattedrale*, the Catholic church of Asmära. It was first rebuilt in 1900, using material brought from abroad, and was designed to look like the mosques of Cairo. The reconstruction was carried out by the Italian engineers Giuseppe Bruno and Guido Ferrazza, at the cost of 1,5 million *färänka* (Lira). In 1937 and 1940 it was widened and renovated by Yemenite merchants residing in Asmära, including ᶜAbdallāh Bāmušmuš and his brothers, ᶜUmar Bāᶜaqīl and his brothers and *šayḫ* ↗Aḥmad ᶜUbayd Bāḥubayšī, who decorated the inside with a sense of simplicity combined with ornaments of mosaic trim and chandeliers. Inside the mosque there is a collection of *al-Qur'ān* manuscripts on low bookshelves along the wall with stools nearby.

On the eastern side of the mosque there is a school, *Maᶜhad ad-dīn al-islāmī* ('Institute of Islamic Religion'), opened in 1944 and founded by the *muftī* and Aḥmad ᶜUbayd Bāḥubayšī. The school originally was known as *Maᶜhad al-Fārūq al-Awwal* ('Institute of Fārūq I'), named after the King of Egypt in the time of its foundation. The al-Azhar University and the Egyptian government supported the school by sending teachers and teaching material. Although closed several times, following political tensions between Ethiopia and Egypt, it is still in service, albeit dependent on the relations between Asmära and Cairo. Children attend the elementary, middle and (since 2000) secondary school in the morning and evening.

The reference library, which is situated on the other side of the mosque, is a small store with a number of texts, primarily of religious content, in Arabic, Təgrəñña and English. It was established together with the school in 1944 and funded by Aḥmad ᶜUbayd Bāḥubayšī. The *muftī šayḫ* Ibrāhīm donated most of his books to the library. However, many books were later confiscated by the Ḫaylä Śəllase government.



The mosque Ğāmiᶜ al-Ḫulafā' ar-Rāšidīn in Asmära; photo 2001, courtesy of Michael Curtis

The three major religious holidays (*ᶜĪd al-fiṭr*, *ᶜĪd al-aḍḥā*, *ᶜĪd mawlid an-nabī*; ↗Feasts; ↗Mawlūd) are celebrated at the mosque with prayer-services held in the large public area outside the mosque. The *muftī*, head of the Muslims of Eritrea, assigns the *imāms* of the mosques and selects the members of the Islamic *Awqāf Council* (*↗Waqf*), he himself being assigned by the government. He thus had much influence on the development of the Ğ.

Src.: interview with Salem Ibrahim Mukhtar from the family of the former *muftī* of Eritrea (spring 2000).

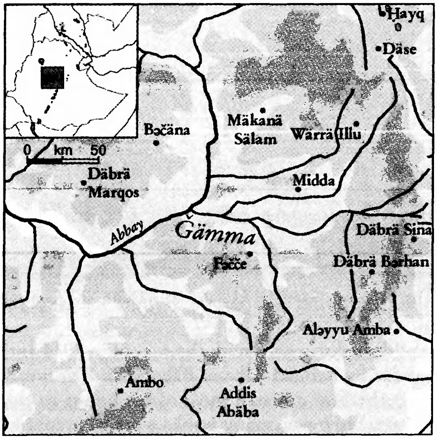
Lit.: GIACINTO FIORE, *200 pagine sull' Eritrea*, Asmara 1950; MINISTRY OF TOURISM [of the State of Eritrea], *Market Research Office Jamie al Khulafae al Rashidin Mosque Asmara – Eritrea*, Asmara 1995; *Guida* 203; EDWARD DENISON et al., *Asmara, Africa's Secret Modernist City*, Asmara 2003, 130–33.

Abdulkader Saleh Mohammed

Ğāmiya ↗Kulub

Ğämma

The Ğ. (ጀማ) is a tributary of the river ↗Abbay. Located in northern Šäwa, it has several tributaries. The Bärissa, flowing westwards from the foothills of the high plateau of Tägulät and the high mountain of Qundi and the Č̣ač̣a, crossing the Abbičuu Oromo settlements, joins their waters and form Ğ.'s upper course, at this stage locally known as Adabay. Other tributaries are the Wančit, collecting waters from the Mänz and Märḥabete mountain ranges, the Wayət and the Zegawadəm, which rises from the uplands of Ṣälale. Thus, Ğ. appears as a collective name



for all these tributaries which become ↗Abbay's main source of waters in northern Šäwa (as the two French travellers Edmond Combes and Maurice Tamisier wrote in 1830s, "Zouma [=Ǧ.] est le rendez-vous général de toutes les eaux qui s'écoulent de Choa"; Combes 1838, vol. 3, 226f.). As many of its tributaries are perennial rivers themselves, they increase its volume mainly during the rainy season.

The Ǧ. valley, with its particular geographic location, has been the stage for historical events. The valley was one of the key areas of Šäwa, protecting those who rebelled against the central Ethiopian state, such as the ↗Gafat people who opposed *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl in the early 16th cent. The valley was also well known for its bandits, who used to waylay and rob travellers and local merchants. The Ǧ. played the role of a strong shield for the Ethiopian patriotic resistance movements during the bloody years of the Italian occupation (1936–41). The importance of the Ǧ., its waters and forests for Ethiopia has remained fresh in the memory of elderly patriots and Ethiopian singers.

Src.: interviews with *ato* Esäte Garrädaw, Šämma Gerdo, January 1993; *fitawrari* Mammo BäŠe, Addis Abäba, February 1995; *qäññazmač* Dənqe Antän Yəsmu, Däbrä Bərhan, January 1993; EDMOND COMBES, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat, précédé d'une excursion dans l'Arabie-heureuse*, vol. 3, Paris 1838, 226f.; JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Years Residence in Eastern Africa*, London 1860, 244; PerChron, vol. 1, 275.
Lit.: EgeClass 46; DTWDic 518; AHMED HASSEN OMER, "Italian Local Politics in Northern Shawa and its Consequences, 1936–1941", *JES* 28, 2, 1995, 1–13.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Gamo

Gamo language

G. (also Gamu, Gemu, self-name: Gamottso) is an Afroasiatic language belonging to the Ometo sub-branch of ↗Omotic. According to the 1994 Ethiopian Census, the number of its speakers is 690,069 (Hudson 1999:91). They live in the highland of the former ↗Gamo Gofa province in the Gamo *awrağğa*, comprising the four districts (*wärädа*) of ↗Çenča, Gulta, Kamba, and Borodda. The G. language territory is geographically delimited in the north by the River ↗Omo, in the east by the ↗Dorze territory and Lake Abbayya, in the south by the Ganta and in the west by the ↗Oyda and the ↗Gofa territories. Within Ometo, G. belongs to the northern branch together with Wälaytta, Zala, Dawro, Konta, Malo, Gofa and ↗Daçe, appearing to be particularly close to the latter.

The prosodic and phonological systems of G. are similar to those of Daçe. G. seems to be a "tonal accent language" and, as Daçe, presents an interaction of accent and tone within the phrase. Tone plays a very important role at the lexical level and especially in the grammar of the language. In G. there are two tones (high and low); the high tone usually also coincides with a prominent stressed syllable. The usual syllable structure of G. is Consonant-Vowel or Consonant-Vowel-Consonant. The vowel system consists of five vowels (*i*, *e* [ɛ], *a*, *o* [ɔ] and *u*). Vowel quantity is phonologically relevant. The vowel phonemes are thus altogether ten. Voiceless vowels, if present at all, are in all probability not phonologically relevant. G. possesses a rich consonant-system, consisting of five points of articulation (labial, coronal, palatal, velar and glottal) and eight manners of articulation (stops, fricatives, affricates, ejectives, nasals, vibrant, lateral and glides). Voiceless stops and voiceless affricates are realized as aspirated. It is still unclear whether [*pʰ*] and [*f*] constitute two allophones of the same phoneme or rather two distinct phonemes. According to the dialect, the ejective *p̣* seems to alternate with the implosive *ɓ* (s. Hompó 1990 and Sottile 1999). Among the ejectives G. also possesses postglottals (*mˀ*, *nˀ* and *lˀ*), but it is uncertain whether they represent monophonematic sounds or rather the realization of the combination *sonorant* + *glottal stop*. The consonant inventory of G. consists thus of the following phonemes:

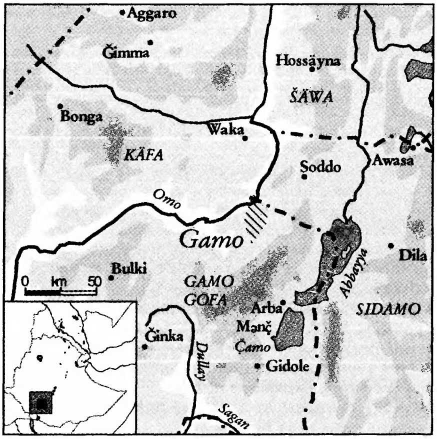
stops:	*b/p, d/t, g/k, ᵓ*;	nasals:	*m, n*;
fricatives:	(*f*), *z/s, š, h*;	liquids:	*r, l*;
affricates:	*ʣ/ʦ*, (*ğ*), *č*;	glides:	*w, y*;
ejectives/ implosives:	*p̣, d/ṣ, ṭ, q*.		

Consonant gemination is phonologically relevant (s. Sottile 1999:442). Consonant clusters are exclusively biconsonantal, syllable final and mostly consist of the combination *sonorant + consonant*.

Word-stems are mostly biradical or triradical (the latter often contain a sonorant as second radical).

G. is predominantly an inflectional language. Nouns have two genders, masculine and feminine. As a rule they are masculine, which can be considered the unmarked gender in the language: only if a noun refers to a female living being, does it require agreement with the feminine gender. Nouns referring to female living beings are often formed by means of the suffix *-iyo*, which changes to *-iya* if the noun acts as subject of the sentence (cf. *naᵓ-a*, 'son' / *naᵓ-iyo*, 'daughter' / *naᵓ-iya*, 'id. (subject case)'). As far as number is concerned, nouns in G. can be singular or plural. In the singular they always end in a vowel, with the exclusion of *-u*. Plural is, as a rule, marked, as is usual in Ometo languages, by the suffix in dental *-ta* (in the absolutive case). The nominal system in G. exhibits nine cases. Case is marked by means of morphemes suffixed to the end of the noun phrase (the head noun has usually the last place in the noun phrase; if not, it appears in its absolutive case). Nouns used as direct object are as usual inflected in the absolutive case, i.e. they thus appear in their citation form. The cases are: absolutive (markers *-a/-e/-i* or *-o*), subject (*-y/-i*), genitive (*-aa/-y*), dative (*-s/-w*), directive (*-kko*), locative (*-n*), instrumental (*-ra*), ablative (*-ppe/-fe*) and vocative (*-oo* [masc.]/*-ey* [fem.]).

The personal pronouns are typical for a *Ta/Ne* language: 1st pers. sg. *ta-*, 2nd pers. sg. *ne-*, 3rd pers. masc. sg. *ᵓizi* , 3rd pers. fem. sg. *ᵓizaa*, 1st pers. pl. *nu-*, 2nd pers. pl. *ᵓintee*, 3rd pers. pl. *ᵓista-*, 2nd pers. polite *ᵓintee*, 3rd pers. polite *ᵓista-* . The demonstratives are *heesi/hiina* ('this', masc./fem.), *seekki/hee* ('that'), *ha* ('this here'). The interrogatives are *ᵓooni* ('who?', inflecting stem *ᵓoona-*), *ᵓay/ᵓaaza* ('what?', subject *ᵓaazi*), *ᵓayi-s* ('why?'), *ᵓaw-de* ('when?'), *ᵓawa-n* ('where?'), *wosta/wosti/ᵓay-mala* ('how?'), *ᵓay-likke* ('how much?'), *ᵓaappun* ('how many?'), *ᵓawa* ('which?').



The G. verb system exhibits a complicated flexion with a great richness of paradigms and forms. The G. verb distinguishes the affirmative conjugation from the interrogative and within these the positive from the negative one. Tenses and modes in general correspond to those of the other ↗Ometo languages (s. Moreno 1938, Lamberti – Sottile 1997). Verb-paradigms usually consist of the three classical persons (1st, 2nd and 3rd pers.) sg. and pl.; a gender contrast is found only for the 3rd pers. sg., with a masc. and a fem. form. In addition, G. makes use of the 2nd pers. pl. and 3rd pers. pl. form to express the polite form in direct speech and in indirect speech respectively. The copula is *-ko* ('is'/'are').

Some forms for the verb-stem *koy-* ('to want'/'ask for') are: affirmative positive present/past: 1st pers. sg. *koy-ays / koy-adis*, 2nd pers. sg. *koy-assa /koy-adassa* etc.; negative: 1st pers. sg. *koy-iikke / koya-beykke*, etc.

Syntactically, G. has a basic Subject-Object-Verb structure. Phrase modifiers in a noun phrase always precede their head noun. The definite article *-za* is suffixed to the noun it refers to. In possessive constructions the genitive always precedes its head noun. Relative clauses usually precede their head noun. In verb phrases auxiliaries follow their main verb.

The Hermann Bell ten-word list for G. is: *ᵓissiinni*, 'one', *namᵓa*, 'two', *heedʣa*, 'three', *haatʦe*, 'water', *tama*, 'fire', *ᵓawa*, 'sun', *ᵓagina*, 'moon', *sutʦi*, 'blood', *ᵓinṣaarsi*, 'tongue' and *ᵓačče*, 'tooth'.

Src.: author's own data.

Lit.: RICHARD J. HAYWARD, "A Preliminary Analysis of the Behaviour of Pitch in Gamo", Paper Offered in Absentia to the *XIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Abäba, 1–6 April 1991*, London 1991, ms.; ÉVA HOMPÓ, "Grammatical Relations in Gamo: a Pilot Sketch", in: RICHARD J. HAYWARD (ed.), *Omotic Language Studies*, London 1990, 356–405; MARCELLO LAMBERTI, "Sulla classificazione dell'"Omotico"", in: VERMONDO BRUGNATELLI (ed.), *Sem Cam Iafet: Atti della 7ª Giornata di Studi Camito-Semitici e Indoeuropei, Milano 1º Giugno 1993*, Milano 1994, 99–126; MARCELLO LAMBERTI – ROBERTO SOTTILE, *The Wolaytta Language* (Studia Linguarum Africae Orientalis 6), Köln 1997; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, *Introduzione alla Lingua Ometo*, Milano 1938; ROBERTO SOTTILE, "The Consonant System of Gamu", in: MARCELLO LAMBERTI – LIVIA TONELLI (eds.), *Afroasiatica Tergestina*, Padova 1999, 427–46; GROVER HUDSON, "Linguistic Analysis of the 1994 Ethiopian Census", *NEASt* 6, 3, 1999, 89–107; MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*, Carbondale IL 2003.

Marcello Lamberti

Gamo ethnography

The term G. (ጋሞ, also Gamu, Gemu, Guemu) is used as a place-name and as an ethnonym for a complex of ethnic (sub-)groups living mainly in the *awrağğas* of G. and Gardula in the former ↗Gamo Gofa province (after 1991 named North Omo; since 9 November 2000 Gamo Gofa Zone). Today the G. can also be found as migrants all over the country, mainly in Addis Abäba. The G. number over a million, but according to the 1994 census, which wrongly puts them as a sub-unit of the ↗Wälaytta, they are reported as numbering 710,055 (CSA 1996). This includes the ↗Dorze and ↗Zayse, which the census considers as separate groups. G. in the literature also refers to a clan-name among the ↗Mäč̣č̣a Oromo (Knutsson 1967) and among the ↗Ittuu (BTafA 917).

The name G. was in use long before the arrival of *aṣe* Mənilək II's forces, who incorporated the region by force in 1894/95 (Getahun Dilebo 1974; Vanderheyn 1896). The first mention of the term G. dates back to a 15th-cent. "Soldier's Song" dedicated to *aṣe* Yəsḥaq (r. 1414–29). The song refers to two entities with the names ሱፍ፡ ገሞ (*Suf Gämo*) and ባሕር፡ ገሞ (*Baḥər Gämo*) which had to pay tribute in horses to the Emperor (Guidi 1889:56; Littmann 1914:14; cp. VSAe III 141f., 164). On a map which accompanies the work of the Portuguese Jesuit de Almeida, both kingdoms are marked in the southern Ethiopian lakes region (BeckHuntAlm 10, map XCVI). Straube wrongly mentions a derogatory meaning attached to the name G. (s. Abélès's critique of Straube). The G., like the Oromo, were referred to as ↗"Galla" or "Gamo Galla" (cp. Harrison 1901; VSAe III 142). G. is also the name of a range of mountains, the Gamo Mountains, inhabited by the G.

The term G. is also used to designate the language of the G. A second language, *Dač̣etso* or *Zegetso* (↗Dač̣e), closely related to the former, is variously named according to the locality it is spoken in and is used side-by-side with *Gamotso* in the central G. areas of Balta, Baza, Bonke, Ganta, Gatse, ↗Gäräse, Algude etc.

Before its incorporation into the Ethiopian empire, G. country comprised of 40 or 55 politically autonomous units (*dere*, pl. *dereta*; Abélès 1981; Olmstead 1975). The *dereta* include territories of confederations such as Qogo and ↗Dokko and of single units such as ↗Dorze, ↗Dita, Bonke, Balta, Guge, Wäyza, Anduro, Goza, Halaha, Zute, Wobbara, Doqama etc. Each *dere* is divided into autonomous neighbourhoods (*guta*) that have their own assembly-places (for the G. political system s. Bureau 1981; Olmstead 1997 [Dita of central G.]; Abélès 1983 [Otčollo]).

Each G. *dere* has a hereditary king, *kao*, a descendant of a hero-founder of the community, or a man of exceptional good character, or a renowned warrior. Thus, Dorze say they are descendants of Sazi Getto's son Tänkälä; Bonke say they are descendants of Dada's son Arše; Ganta say they descend from Tolba Kalsa etc. Each *dere* is attributed to such a fatherly figure whose name appears in songs and proverbs. Parallel to the *kao* in power there is a council or "forum of citizens" (Halparin – Olmstead 1976), or "forums of elders" (Olmstead 1975), who maintain law and order in the *dereta*, the market-place and assembly-grounds and who make peace with other groups (s. Wolde Gossa Tadesse 1991 for the social and ritual function of public places). A number of clans are evenly spread among the *dereta*. Due to the senior position they occupy in relation to other clan-leaders, heads of clans have ritual responsibilities for initiating phases of agricultural work, sacrificing for rain, for human, animal and crop fertility, as well as for mountain pastures and for peace with other groups (for the G. political system s. Bureau 1981).

In G. there used to be a division between "citizens" (mainly farmers and weavers) and craftsmen (potters, smiths and tanners) involving taboos of marriage between the two and prohibition of ploughing land for the latter. In a different context, but without the prohibition of marriage

Gamo village of Dita, houses and *ənsät* fields; photo 1954/55 by Wolfgang Kuls, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (027-Ku069-29)

and sharing of power with a tinge of hierarchy, there existed another form of division between Gamo and Daçe in a few central G. territories.

The G. are connected in a web of markets (Jackson 1971) where local assemblies or forums of citizens take care of law and order. Four major *kaos*, responsible for averting misfortune by prescribing sacrifices and offers for transgression of taboos, give service to G. communities (for the management of misfortune among the G. of Dorze, s. Sperber 1980).

Today the majority of the G. population follows Orthodox Christianity, which dates back to the 16th cent. and developed a kind of syncretism among the G. Members of specific clans, such as Mak, Amara etc., spread over a wide area of G. (e.g., to places like Bərbər, Qogo, Doina, Ele, Halaha, Zala etc.), served as keepers of a blend of the *beni woga* (the traditional socio-religious order) and an ancient form of the Orthodox Christian faith. They are also the keepers of manuscripts, *tabotat* and other ecclesiastical objects of ancient date found in churches, such as ↗Bərbər Maryam, Ele Gabriel, Doina Kidanä Məḥrät, Qogo Mikaʾel and Dorze Giyorgis (s. Caquot 1955; Bureau 1976; Abélès 1981; Jackson et al. 1969).

In addition to the *beni woga* and old Christian practices, many G. followed the prophet Esa of Liša, whose teachings in the late 19th cent. won him a large following from all over G., ↗Gofa, ↗Dawro and ↗Wälaytta and resulted in the prophet's imprisonment and exile in Addis Abäba during the reign of Empress Zawditu. Esa returned and died in G. after being released from exile for his truthfulness, knowledge and charisma, which was said to be acknowledged by his captors. The former house of Esa of Liša till today is a centre of pilgrimage.

Keepers of *tabotat* from Bərbər, Doina, Ele and Dorze and the *tabotat* under their care were taken as prisoners to Šäwa after the incorporation into Mənilək II's empire. The keepers were accused of being heathen and of possessing a *tabot* while being smokers of tobacco. Neither their knowledge of corrupted G.-Gəʿəz prayers nor the display of manuscripts under their care helped to avert imprisonment. They succeeded, however, in not passing the *tabotat* on to the victors. They were allowed to return with the *tabotat* only after an epidemic in Addis Abäba when *däbtära* advised Mənilək to release the *tabotat* (interview with Kasto Kabiso).

The G. practise an intensive agriculture, keeping a tradition of mountain-terracing. They also have a tradition of pastoral mountain-pasture. The G. are exporters of fish, bananas, cotton and handmade cotton products. They play an important role in the production of traditional Ethiopian costumes. Migrant weavers from G. are widely spread throughout the country (for G. economy s. Cartledge; Jackson – Russell 1969).

Src.: interview with Kasto Kabiso 1991; BeckHuntAlm 10, map XCVI; CSA 1996; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di re abissini", *RRALm* 5 (estratto), 1, fasc. 2, 20 gennaio 1889, 56; JAMES J. HARRISON, "A Journey from Zeila to Lake Rudolf", *Geographical Journal* 1901, 258–75; RICHARD THOMAS JACKSON — TIMOTHY PETER JAMES RUSSELL, *Report of the Oxford University Expedition to the Gamu Highlands of Southern Ethiopia*, Oxford 1969; ENNO LITTMANN, *Die Altamharischen Kaiserlieder*, Strassburg 1914; GueCopMen; JEAN-GASTON VANDERHEYN, *Une expedition avec le Negous Menelik: vingt mois en Abyssinie*, Paris 1896; LAMBERTO VANNUTELLI – CARLO CITERNI, *L'Omo: seconda spedizione Bottego, viaggio d'esplorazione nell'Africa Orientale*, Milano 1899; MONTAGU SINCLAIR WELLBY, *Twixt Sirdar and Menelik: an Account of a Year's Expedition from Zeila to Cairo through Unknown Abyssinia*, London — New York 1901.

Lit.: MARC ABÉLÈS, "In Search of the Monarch: Introduction of the State among the Gamo of Ethiopia", in: DONALD CRUMMEY (ed.), *Modes of Production in Africa*, London 1981; ID., *Le Lieu du Politique*, Paris 1983; JACQUES BUREAU, "Note sur les Eglises du Gamo", *AE* 10, 1976, 295–301; ID., *Les Gamo d'Ethiopie: étude du*

system politique, Paris 1981; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Note on Berber Maryam", *AE* I, 1955 (repr. 1975), 109–16; DANIEL M. CARTLEDGE, *Taming the Mountain: Human Ecology, Indigenous Knowledge, and Sustainable Resource Management in the Doko Gamo Society of Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Florida 1995; GETAHUN DILEBO, *Emperor Menelik's Ethiopia, 1865–1916: National Unification or Amhara Communal Domination?*, Ann Arbor 1974 (microform); RHODA HALPERIN – JUDITH V. OLMSTEAD, "To Catch a Feastgiver: Redistribution among the Dorze of Ethiopia", *Africa* 46, 1976, 146–65; RICHARD THOMAS JACKSON, "Periodic Markets in Southern Ethiopia", *Transactions* 3, 1971, 31–41; KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change: a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Göteborg 1967; ID., "Social and Ritual Function of some Gamo and Konso Public Places", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 325–39; JUDITH V. OLMSTEAD, "Agricultural Land and Social Stratification in the Gamu Highland of Southern Ethiopia", in: *USCES* 223–34; ID., *Women between Two Worlds*, Urbana 1997, 85–96; DAN SPERBER, "The Management of Misfortune among the Dorze", in: *PICES* 5, vol. 2, 207–15; VSAe III 141f., 164; BTafA 917; DENA FREEMAN, "From Warrier to Wife: Cultural Transformation in the Gamo Highlands of Ethiopia", *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute* new ser. 8, 23-44; ID., "Who are the Gamo? And who are the Dᵓache?: Confusions of Ethnicity in Ethiopia's Southern Highlands", in: *PICES* 15, in preparation.

Wolde Gossa Tadesse

Gamo Gofa

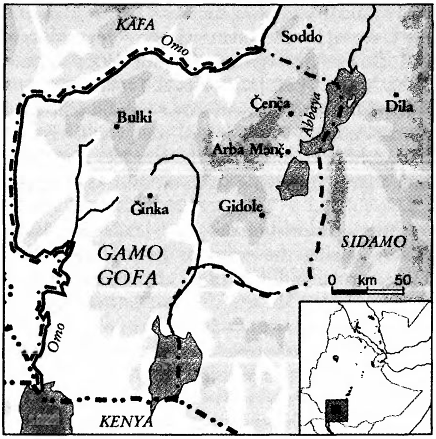
G.G. (ጋሞ፡ ጎፋ, also Gammo Goffa, Gamu Gofa, Gemu Gofa) is located in the south-west of Ethiopia and borders on both the Sudan and Kenya. It was incorporated by conquest into Ethiopia ca. 1894–95 (Lapəso Getahun Dəlebo 1983). Before it was given its name and the status of a province, the region was divided into various domains administered by rulers appointed by the centre. G.G. province (*ṭäqlay gəzat*) was set up immediately after the return of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I from exile in 1941 (Fino 2000; Henze 2000:234). The capital of the administration was for the most part the town of ↗Çenča. Later on, when the district ↗Gardula was added to G.G., the capital of the province was shifted to Gidole by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Gäräsu Duki. The capital was later returned to Çenča, but in 1955 A.M. [1962/63 A.D.] it was moved again to ↗Arba Mənč̣. Early in the 1960s the *awrağğa* Gäläb and ↗Hamär Bakko were added to the province.

The name G.G. remained until, soon after the revolution of 1974, the *Därg* decided that the province be split into two and re-named as North Omo and South Omo, with administrative centres in ↗Arba Mənč̣ and ↗Ǧinka, respectively.

G.G. is home to more than 25 ethnic groups, among which are the ↗Gamo, ↗Gofa, ↗Oyda, ↗Maale, ↗Diraašša, ↗Konso, Gawwada (↗Dullay), ↗Basketo, ↗Dime, ↗Gangule and Marta. Gamo (or Gamottso) is the major language spoken (also Gofa in the Gofa district). This is followed by Basketo, Gangule, ↗Zayse, Oyda and other languages spoken by smaller groups of people residing in the province. Members of groups such as the Konso, Koorete, Wälaytta and Guǧǧi migrate to G.G. to work as manual labourers on plantations in Arba Mənč̣ and along the western shores of the lakes. In the early 1970s, farmers from Šäwa and famine victims from Wällo and Gondär were settled in G.G. in villages between privately owned plantations. Migration slowed down after the nationalization of land, but the presence of migrants and their claims to land have created tension between the Gamo, the state and the migrants (Olmstead 1997:85–96).

Orthodox Christianity, Islam and various brands of Evangelical Christianity, mainly ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Iyesus, are practised in the urban areas. Mekane Iyesus Church has spent over five decades evangelizing and being involved in activities related to health, education and, currently, relief and development. The Catholic Church has been present for over 30 years in urban centres of the province. In its early days it was primarily active as a development non-governmental organization, rather than an agent of conversion.

G.G. is a land of beautiful lakes and scenic mountains. The high mountains are known for their extensive alpine pastures and terraced bar-



ley- and wheat-farms. The highly complex administration of pastures provided a secure source of much-needed manure to the extensive terrace farms. Due to the high population density and resulting pressure on land, people engage in intensive ↗*ənsät*- and cereal-cultivation in the mountains and maize and cash-crops in the lowlands. G.G. produces much cotton in the fields around Arba Mənč̣ and exports bananas, coffee, beeswax, honey, raw cotton, fish, *ənsät* sisals and undyed industrial and hand-woven textiles to markets in central Ethiopia and in neighbouring provinces. In addition, people of the province, mainly the Gamo, engage in weaving and are migrant weavers in most of central and other parts of southern Ethiopia (Karsten 1972). In Addis Abäba Gamo weavers who come from various Gamo localities are referred to as ↗Dorze.

Src.: oral interview with A. Fino, 2000; BeckHuntAlm, s. index; BTafA, s. index.

Lit.: JACQUES BUREAU, "Note sur les églises du Gamo", *AE* 10, 1976, 295–301; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Note on Berber Māryām", *AE* 1, 1955, 109–16; LAP̣ƎSO GETAHUN DƎLEBO, የኢትዮጵያ፡ የገባር፡ ሥርዓትኛ፡ ጅምር፡ ካፒታሊዝም (*Yäʾitioṗiya yägäbbar śərʿatəñña ǧəmmər kapitalizm*, 'The Ethiopian Commenced Capitalism of *Gəbbar*-Workers'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; DONALD LEWIS DONHAM — WENDY JAMES, *Working Papers on Society and History in Imperial Ethiopia: the Southern Periphery from the 1880s to 1974*, Cambridge 1979; PAUL B. HENZE, *Layers of Time: a History of Ethiopia*, London 2000, 23–28; RICHARD THOMAS JACKSON, *Land Use and Settlement in Gamu Gofa, Ethiopia*, Kampala 1970 (Occasional Papers 17); DETLEV KARSTEN, *The Economics of Handicrafts in Traditional Societies: an Investigation in Sidamo and Gemu Goffa Province, Southern Ethiopia*, München 1972; JUDITH V. OLMSTEAD, *Woman between Two Worlds: Portrait of an Ethiopian Rural Leader*, Urbana 1997; DAVID TODD, "Aspects of Chiefship in Dimam, South-West Ethiopia", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 18, 1978, 311–32.

Wolde Gossa Tadesse

Gäñ

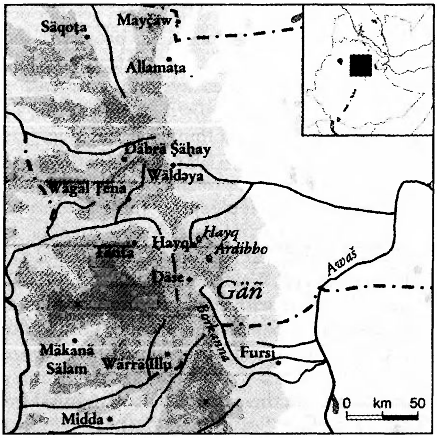
G. (ገኝ, also Gäñi), called in some sources also ምድረ፡ ገኝ (*mədrä Gäñ*, 'the land of G.'), was a historical province in Ethiopia lying between ↗Gədəm and ↗Angot, in what by then could be defined as the eastern Amhara province. Sources roughly identify G. as a locality between ↗Ifat and Amhara, to the south-east of Lakes Ḥayq and Ardibbo, and precise G.'s location as to the east of the river Hanazo (the name by which the Borkanna was locally known at that time) strategically facing the Č̣affa plain of southern ↗Wällo. G. was probably more important as location for military camps rather than as viable administrative unit. Like its northern neighbours of Angot, Qeda and Bugna, G. protected the highland settlements from the lowland nomadic and pastoral communities dwelling eastwards.

The medieval market town of Wasäl, one of the biggest markets in Ethiopia at the time, was apparently located in G. Like its southern neighbour Gədəm, G. was probably inhabited by "a very mixed and, apparently, fully integrated population of Christian and Muslim Amhara, as well as Christian and Muslim ᶜAfar from nearby lowlands" (Merid Wolde Aregay in PICES 4, vol. 1, 622). Together with such provinces as Mäqet, Dälanta, Wadla, Sayənt and Šädäho, G. was the homeland of the ↗Amhara people, at least since the 13th cent. It was from here that the Amhara began to radiate their linguistic and cultural influence over their Semitic and Cushitic-speaking neighbours.

During the 15th cent., *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob appointed his nephew Aṣnaf Sägädu head of G., an indication of the importance the Emperor attached to the province. Another official in charge of G., with the special title of *raq masäre*, witnessed an increase of the area's military importance when the Emperor stationed his ↗*č̣äwa* there. Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob's son and successor, ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam I, continued the same tradition, appointing a ruler of his choice with the title of *nəguś* (PerrZarY 14, 16, 47[?], 112, 137).

When in the 16th cent., during his retreat from the onslaught of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl moved towards Betä Amhara, he reportedly regrouped his forces at G., getting support from local population (BassHist 79, 81). Further on, sources mention a certain Maqarəs, "*mämhər* of Amhara, G. and Gədəm" ("crowned" by *əč̣č̣äge* ↗Yoḥannəs; Ricci 1967-68:92), who most probably died in battle in 1559, together with *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos.

Manoel de ↗Almeida included G. in his list of Ethiopian "kingdoms" – subjects of "Prester John" (BeckHuntAlm 10); yet the status of G. changed during the late 16th and 17th cent. with the coming of the ↗Oromo. The area was devastated, in particular by the *luuba* (leader) Harmufaa (or Dulo; this happened in 1562-70, s. BeckHuntAlm 118, 209), and later strongly "Oromicized". It was then overrun by the Marawwa Oromo and subsequently occupied by the three sub-groups ("three houses") of Sadan Marawwa: Abati, Uru and Anaa. In the early 17th cent. ↗Susənyos and ↗Śəᶜəlä Krəstos undertook



a series of successful military campaigns against the "three houses" of Marawwa, who were completely defeated. However, the region was not regained; the 1696 raid led by *aṣe* Iyasu I was without much success (GuiIohan 180f. [text]).

The Oromo gave new names to G. and its neighbours. The strategic escarpment supposed to have been its nucleus became known as Goñi. Other parts of the former G. were given the names Maqdasaa and Dheraa Kalili Namee. The central hills of the area were called by the Amhara "Galla Godana". Parts of a vast plain below Goñi near the Bọrkanna are known by Oromo names, such as Ç̌afaa Ellemo, Ç̌affaa Ç̌äqorso, Ç̌affa Luṭe and Ellemo Siddan. Some elderly Oromo argue that Goñi must have been a simple corruption of the word G. In any case, local oral Oromo tradition sees Goñi as synonymous with G. Tradition also preserves records of the importance of the area in earlier centuries.

Src.: interviews in January 1994 with ᶜAli Idriṣ (Ç̌affaa Ç̌irratti); Hasan Omer Ḥasan (aged 76, Ç̌affaa Ç̌aqorso); Ğaalallee Saᵓid (aged 115, Ç̌affaa Luṭe); Qaanqee Faris (aged 74, Ç̌affaa Ç̌aqorso); *šayḫ* Saᵓid Husayn Musa (aged 69, Ç̌affaa Luṭe); BeckHuntAlm 10, s. index; GuiIohan 180f. (text) = 180f.; PerrZarY 14, 16, 47, 112, 137; BassHist 79, 81 n. 1 (tr.); PerChron 77, 263 (text) = 60f., 203 (tr.); BTafA 149, 397, 400f., 879, 917, 944; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Le *Vite* di 'Ĕnbāqom e di Yoḥānnĕs, abbati di Dabra Libānos di Scioa", *RSE* 23, 1967–68 [1969], 72–219, here 92, n. 253 (Lit.).

Lit.: CrawItin, s. index; DillmZarY 12; HuntGeog, s. index; HUSSEIN AHMED, *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia*, Leiden – Boston 2001 (Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia 74), s. index; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Political Geography of Ethiopia at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 613–40, here 622.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Ğan Amora

Ğ.A. (ጃን፡ አሞራ, also Žan Amora, Ğanamora and variants) is generally known as a *wäräda*-subdistrict (with Mäkanä Bərhan as its centre), constituting the southern part of Səmen.

The name, which may mean something like 'the vulture of [his] Majesty' (cp. ↗*Žan hoy*), certainly points to its origin as the designation for one of the traditional ↗military units. The policy of building the imperial army of regiments whose members were rewarded with (hereditary) land possessions and other privileges goes back at least to early Solomonic times (cp. ↗*Ç̌äwa*). In fact, Ğ.A. appears in a "Royal Song" in honour of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I in connection with historical ↗Angot (Žan Amora, Guidi 1889: 62): despite the uncertainty of the translation, it is usually interpreted in the sense that the Emperor subjugated Ğ.A. (which, therefore, must have rebelled against him before, s. Littmann 1914:26; Merid Wolde Aregay 1997:39). A land charter ascribed to *aṣe* ↗Dawit II gives "Ad Ğan Amora" as a *gʷəlt* to the monastery of Samuᵓel of Däbrä Qʷäyäsa (CRAxum no. 10).

Later, the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam I reports, that Ğ.A. (Žan Amora, here apparently restituted in its quality and rights of an imperial regiment), according to the Emperor's order, was fighting in the north a certain "Amba Näḥad, *śəyyum* of Ṣällämt"; Ğ.A. soldiers had been previously established (transferred?) there by *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob to check the incursions of the much-feared ↗Dobaᵓa from the deserts bordering the south-eastern Təgray (cp. Merid Wolde Aregay 1997:44). The campaign against Dobaᵓa, undertaken ca. 1471, was a big success and Ğ.A. (along with Žan Qänṭäfa, another regiment) was rewarded with the enemy's cattle. Ğ.A. soldiers' fame as the vanquishers of the Dobaᵓa continued well into the 16th cent. and their *šum* was praised by ↗Alvares, who passed through the area (BeckHuntAlvar 194f.): the region of Ğ.A. (Žan Amora) is reported to be located in Təgray, to the west of Wägära, east of Säläwa and north-east of the historical habitat of the Dobaᵓa.

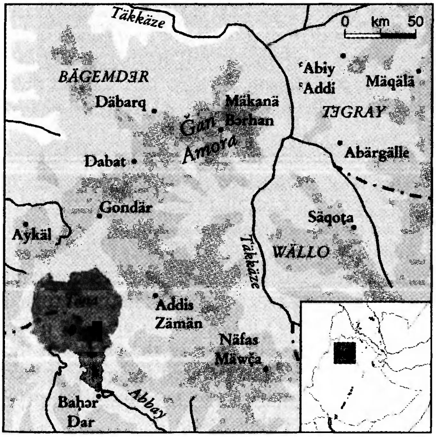
In the 16th cent. Ğ.A. suffered serious losses. During the invasion of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, according to the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, "*batrīq* Qāsim", the commander of Ğ.A., obviously invested with high military authority, fiercely resisted the Muslims, but was captured and killed (BassHist 266). Thereafter, the regiment is reported to have been exterminated by the ↗Oromo during the *gadaa* of Maçallee (some time in 1554–62). It is not clear what happened to Ǧ.A. after this and to what extent its military tradition was preserved; it appears much later in the Chronicle of *aṣe* Susənyos as a place without any particular importance, situated near Ṣällämt (approximately coinciding with the location of the later *wäräda*), i.e. beyond Täkkäze and far to the south-east of the "old Ǧ.A.". The immediate cause of the transfer is not known, but the resettlements of the *čäwa* and their families in a new place by order of the emperor did happen from time to time (it is unclear whether local traditions of the "old" and "new" Ǧ.A. preserve any remembrance of the past). In any case, during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* Ǧ.A. in Səmen obtained some importance due to the fact that *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam established his capital in ↗Däräsge and built the church of Däräsge Maryam there.

The historical traces of Ǧ.A. – reflected in areas called by its name – still remain in Təgray and even in northern Šäwa (in Efräta; s. Merid Wolde Aregay 1997:44, n. 52 and 53, n. 61); to one of them (and probably not to Ǧ.A. of Səmen) there is a reference in the monastic genealogy of *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot (Getatchew Haile 1982–83: 24, no. 11).

Src.: GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Täklä Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 7–38; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di re abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4ª, 5, 1889, 55–66, here 62; HuntAmdS 128; ENNO LITTMANN, *Die altamharischen Kaiserlieder*, Straßburg 1914, 26; PerrZarY 143, 148; BeckHuntAlvar 194ff., s. index; CrawItin 74f., 94, 184f.; BassHist 266; BTafA 143; CRHist 225 (text); PerChron I, 151, II, 115, 438; *Guida* 304 [map 6]; FESSEHA GIYORGIS, *Storia d'Etiopia*, ed. by YAQOB BEYENE, Napoli 1987, 80, 210; CRNuov, s. index.

Lit.: MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Military Elites in Medieval Ethiopia", *JES* 30, 1, 1997, 31–73.

Denis Nosnitsin



Ǧan Bädəl

Ǧ.B. (ጃን፡ በድል, also Žan Bädəl) was a locality near the Bərr river (a tributary of the Abbay) in ↗Damot (later *awraǧǧa* Qʷälla Däga Damot), Goǧǧam. The name itself reveals the military origin of the settlement: its structure is patterned after royal regiments' names, like ↗Ǧan Amora, Ǧan Gädäb, ᶜAdal Mäbräq, Badəl Amba etc. (↗Military units). These regiments were granted lands in hereditary and collective (regimental) ownership, either near the winter residence of the emperor, or along the frontier in the most-endangered areas. It was a practical system, where soldiers could live on the resources of their land during peacetime and on the enemy's resources (booty) during wartime. It is only natural that usually these regimental lands were called after the name of the regiment. The origin of the regiment Ǧ.B. remains obscure. Probably, it was established among other regiments by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, when his previous regiment Ǧan Haṣana had deserted to ↗ᶜAdal. In the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, Ǧ.B. is mentioned under the year 1608 only as the name of the place where the Emperor defeated the Liiban ↗Oromo.

Src.: PerChron I, 105 [ch. 33], 120 [ch. 36]; BTafA 307, 321, 996.

Sevir Chernetsov

Ǧan Bet

The term Ǧ.B. (ጃን፡ ቤት, lit. 'house of the emperor' [cp. ↗*Žan hoy*]) seems to be already lying behind the name *Gunbayta* by which the Arab geographers of the 12th-13th cent. designated the capital city of the country of al-Ḥabasa (↗Abysinnia; s. CRStor 324ff.). Much later, in ↗Gondär, the 17th–18th cent. capital of Ethiopia, it had at least three different meanings. Firstly, it denoted a building in the Gondär palace compound which was alternatively mentioned in the royal chronicles as *žan/ǧan täkäl*. It was a tower inside the palace compound, opposite the palace of *aṣe* ↗Fäsilidäs, not far from the main gate (Fit Bär). One of the gates of the compound, which was in front of the tower, was also called

Žan Täkäl (possibly, a correlation to the መርዕድ፡ ደጅ, *märʿəd däǧǧ*, 'majesty's gate' of the medieval Ethiopian moving royal camp [↗*Kätäma*], TadTChurch 270). The tower and the gate were badly damaged by a tornado on 9 September 1704, but were still of strategic importance during the unrests of the last days of *aṣe* ↗Yosṭos and the events which led to *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa's ascension to power. Later, the tower was completely destroyed. It was set on fire during 1732, when rebels, who wanted to enthrone Həzqəyas, fought followers of *ətege* ↗Məntäwwab and *aṣe* Iyasu II, and burnt down again in 1794, when retainers of *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot fought against *balambaras* ↗ʿAśrat.

Secondly, Ğ.B. designated the ceremony of the royal trial, which usually took place in the Addäbabay square in Gondär in front of the main palace of Fasilädäs and the Žan Täkäl tower. The emperor would be sitting on a platform within the walls of the palace compound to the left of the Žan Täkäl gate, while the Metropolitan and the other prominent ecclesiastics were on a tower called Awağ Mängärya (i.e. the place for announcing ↗*ʿawağ*), where all the learned men were seated beneath them according to their rank.

Thirdly, Ğ.B. was the name of a body of the royal guards (attested already in the pre-Gondärine time, s. Varenbergh 1915–16:40), who guarded the Žan Täkäl tower and escorted the accused to the place of trial. Their reputation was rather bad among the citizens, because immediately after the trial they acted also as executioners at the Addäbabay square before the crowd of spectators.

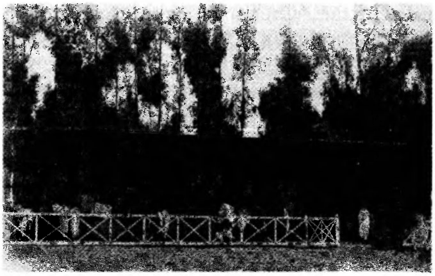
Src.: BassÉt 76; BlunChr 431 (tr.); DombrChron 202 and n. 365, 234, 270; GuiVoc 759; GuiIohan 64, 224, 227 (text) = 68 (tr.), 238, 241 (tr.), 346 (tr.); KaneDic 1867; BeckHuntAlvar 153; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (*Šerʿata Mangešt*)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45, here 24, 25 (text) = 40, 42 (tr.).

Lit.: CRStor 324ff.; PankHist I, 134f., 145, 147, 150, 177; TadTChurch 270; GHIYORGHIS MELLESSA, "Gondar Yesterday and Today", *EthObs* 12, 3, 1969, 164–76, here 167f., 171.

Sevir Chernetsov – Red.

Ğan Meda

The plain of Ğ.M. (ጃን፡ ሜዳ, loosely translated as 'field of the emperor' [cp. ↗*Žan hoy*]) became a major public space in ↗Addis Abäba associated with the name of *aṣe* Mənilək II after the foundation of the capital. There is evidence that previous emperors had imperial spaces similarly named. It first came to prominence when the cannons captured from the Italians at the 1896 battle of ↗ʿAdwa were displayed on its broad, flat and grassy surface. Within a few years the impact of Western influence could be seen when foreign diplomatic representatives organized polo matches there. It also became a race-course where horses were entered with great enthusiasm by the Emperor, the Ethiopian nobility, foreign diplomats and others. After the turn of the 19th cent., some large and substantial homes were built on its periphery. Some of the earliest aeroplanes to Ethiopia also landed at Ğ.M.



The tribune of the regent *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən during a horse race at Ğan Meda, 1927; from ms. of Ambassador Fechter, Politisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin

Nevertheless, it remained essentially a gathering point for traditional ceremonies: the ↗*dämära* of ↗*Mäsqäl*, the cutting of hay in the spring, ↗*Ṭəmqät*, as well as games of ↗*gugs* and military reviews. Significant military reviews were held there in 1903 (honouring the dead of the Italian War 1895–96, with a 300,000-men military review), in 1909 (to declare *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu heir) and in 1916 after the battle of ↗Sägäle. Ğ.M. also played a significant role in the coronations of Täfäri Mäkʷännən as *nəguś* in 1928 and then emperor under the name of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1930.

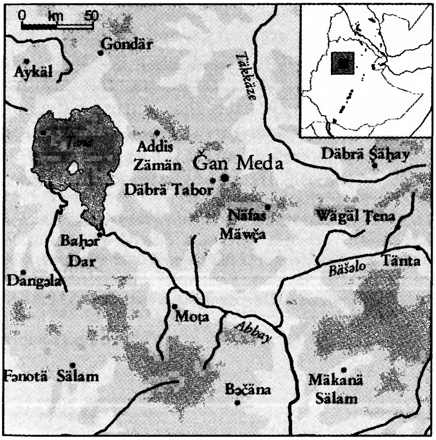
Ğ.M.'s role was played down by the Italians during their occupation when they renamed it the Hippodrome on their maps. After the Liberation in 1941, it regained its stature as a major public space for *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I and where national religious festivals were celebrated and also military reviews were held. It also continued to be the country's major race-course and polo-ground. Throughout most of the period of the *Därg*, it continued to be used for major public celebrations, but began to encounter competition from other public spaces.

Src.: GueCopMen 454, 541, 620; *Guida* 489; HSLife 49, 56.
Lit.: HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *Haile Sellassie I: the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley 1987, 24, 113.

Peter Garretson

Ğan Meda

Ğ.M. (ጃን፡ ሜዳ, 'field of the emperor') was the name of a plain just to the east of ↗Däbrä Tabor. It was here in April 1855, that the missionary Johannes ↗Krapf met newly-crowned *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. Krapf was accompanied by Johannes ↗Flad and ↗Maḫdärä Qal, an Ethiopian who had received European education. Krapf received the encouragement of the Emperor and the acquiescence of the bishop, *abunä* ↗Sälama, to the commencement of a new Protestant mission, this one to be staffed by lay artisans. A year later the artisans arrived and the Emperor settled them close to Ğ.M., at ↗Gafat, where they established a workshop. At the end of 1859 it was here that Tewodros received a visit from the Coptic Patriarch Qerəllos. The original emperor with whom it was associated is unknown. However, given its centrality at a commanding place in the highlands east of Lake ↗Ṭana, and the space which it provided for a military camp, it must have served as a military mustering point for quite some time, not least in the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, who succeeded Tewodros in 1871 and who based himself for some years at Samara, close by.


0 km 50
Gondär
Aykäl
Täkkäze
Ṭana
Addis Zämän
Ğan Meda
Däbrä Tabor
Däbrä Ṣäḥay
Näfas Mäwča
Wägäl Ṭena
Baḥər Dar
Dangəla
Bäšəlo
Tänta
Moṭa
Abbay
Fənotä Sälam
Bəčäna
Mäkanä Sälam

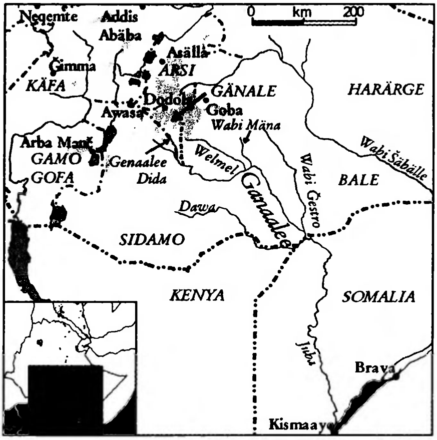
↗Missions; ↗Protestantism

Src.: JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa*, London 1860, 451ff.; ZanLitTheo 29.

Donald Crummey

Ganaalee

The G. (Amh. ገናሌ Gänale; also Genaalee Doriya) is one of the major arteries of south-eastern Ethiopia. The Italian explorer Vittorio ↗Bottego added "Doria" to the name of the river in order to honour Marchese Giacomo Doria, the then president of the Reale Società Geografica. After merging with the Dawa at Luuq Gaanaane in Somalia, it becomes the Juba river, which flows further into the Indian Ocean near Kismaayo. The G. originates from the confluence, in ↗Bale *kəflä hagär*, of two rivers, the Genaalee Guddo and the Genaalee Gambello, which come from Mount Gurumba in the Southern Nations', Nationalities' and Peoples' Regional State (the former Sidamo province). The ↗Wabi Šäbälle, which also originates from this mountain, flows northwards, whereas the G. runs southwards into Oromiyaa. The river bends its course progressively to the south and runs deeply into the plateaux built upstream of Precambrian volcanic rocks and downstream of Mesozoic sedimentary strata. Its canyons are interrupted by numerous falls, including the Baratieri and the Del Verme falls. On its left bank the G. collects numerous tributaries originating from the very wet high mountains of Bale; among these rivers are the Genaalee Dida, the Welmel, the Wabi Mäna and finally the Wabi Ğestro (Wäyb) at Dolo in the Somali *kəlləl*, near the Ethiopian-Somali border. It was on the shores of the G. that, from October 1935 to January 1936, *ras* ↗Dästa Damṭäw resisted ↗Graziani, who came from Dolo/Doolow, trying to reach Nagallee following the valley.


Negemte
Addis Abäba
0 km 200
Asälla
ARSI
Ğimma
KÄFA
GÄNALE
HARÄRGE
Dodola
Awasa
Goba
Wabi Mäna
Arba Mənč
GAMO GOFA
Genaalee Dida
Welmel
Ganaalee
Wabi Ğestro
Wabi Šäbälle
BALE
Dawa
SIDAMO
KENYA
SOMALIA
Juba
Brava
Kismaayo

↗Gänale

Src.: CSA 2000; CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA, *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana, scala 1: 1000000*, Milano 1937(?); ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY, *Ethiopia, scale 1:2000000*, Addis Ababa 1986; EMAtlas; *Guida* 463, 485, 597; MesfAtlas; MesfGeogr 46.

Alain Gascon

Gänale

The G. (**ገናሌ**) *awrağğa* takes its name from the ↗Ganaalee River (s. map for the river). It occupied the right bank of the ↗Wabi Šäbälle, the left bank forming, to the north, the border with the ↗Çəlalo *awrağğa* (Arsi region) and, to the west, that with the ↗Gämğäm *awrağğa* (Sidamo region). Before the *awrağğa* disappeared with the administrative reform of 1991, its capital city was Dodola, located over the road coming from the Rift.

The censuses of 1970 and 1984 gave for G. 120,300 (14,8 inhabitants/km^2) and 223,691 inhabitants (21,6 inhabitants/km^2), respectively. The low numbers of 1970 reflect in all probability the effects of the agrarian crisis which devastated highland Bale between 1963–67. In 1984, the urban population was remarkably low: 17,926 inhabitants, including 8,287 in Dodola. In 2000, Dodola and Adäbba reached 18,616 and 13,436 inhabitants, respectively (CSA 2000), over a total population of more than 40,000, comprised in the four *wäräda* which formed part of the old G. *awrağğa*. The *wäräda* of Kokossa (164,5 inhabitants/km^2), Dodola (94 inhabitants/km^2), Adäbba (57,3 inhabitants/km^2) and Nänsäbo (33,7 inhabitants/km^2) have nearly 300,000 inhabitants. The western part, near Ğämğäm, is more densely populated than the eastern, which has higher elevations. The territory has now become the Bale National Park. It was affected by fires in spring 2000.

The high population densities in Kokosa and Dodola recall the nearby mountainous regions of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (*kəlləl*), where the cultivation of *ənsät* and coffee are dominant. On the other hand, the densities of the other *wäräda* are comparable to those of Bale, a subdivision of the Oromiyaa Region. The area is populated mostly by Oromo farmers, joined by new settlers, being neighboured to the west by the ↗Gide'o and the ↗Sidaama.

Lit.: CSA 1984; CSA 1998; CSA 2000; EMAtlas; GasEth; GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest. Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 1991; *Guida*; MesfGeogr.

Alain Gascon

Gänäzo

The name G. (**ገንዞ** Gänzo, also **ገንዝ** Gänz) is first mentioned in the "Soldiers' Songs" in honour of *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon (r. 1314–44), in which it is stated that the Emperor defeated numerous enemies, including the "Ṭäṭa of Ganz" (HuntAmd 129). Whether "Ṭäṭa" is a title of the ruler of this territory or a personal name cannot be established. In the Chronicle of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob (r. 1434–68), the ↗*gärad* of G. is quoted in a list as a member of an alliance of enemies that was beaten by the Emperor (PerrZarY 17f.). During the time of his successor, *aṣe* Bäʾədä Maryam (r. 1468–78), G. must have lived under the strict control of the Christian state. The Emperor entrusted his sons to the leader of G., *zändäraba* (or *gäräd*) Matewos, to take care of their education and they grew up in his country (ibid. 155f.; PerrEsk 345ff.). In 1532 G. was invaded by ↗ᶜAbdannāṣir, a general of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhim al-Ġāzī from the Hadiyya. He defeated the Christian troops that were under the command of the governor Aiker, converted the remaining population by force to Islam and adopted the title *Ganz gärad* (BassHist 392ff.). After the wars of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhim al-Ġāzī G. does not seem to have persisted as an important territorial and/or ethnic entity.

It is difficult to identify the precise location of G. It was presumably situated in the Rift Valley between ↗Wäğ to the east and Kämbata to the west. Clans called G. or Gänz still exist among the Qabeena, Gurage, Yäm and Kambaata. Besides other similarities, all share the taboo on khaki-coloured cattle, explaining this custom by a legend which states that, during a time of starvation, their ancestors mistook a donkey for a cow, slaughtered it and ate the impure meat.

Src.: BassHist 392ff.; HuntAmd 129; PerrZarY 17f., 155f.; PerrEsk 345ff. (text) = 362 (tr.).

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia. Collected Essays*, Münster 2004 (Göttinger Studien zur Ethnologie 9), 47-55 (Lit.), 104 (map); ID., *Die Kambata: Geschichte und Gesellschaft eines südäthiopischen Bauernvolkes*, Wiesbaden 1983 (SKK 65), 18f., 22f., 192.

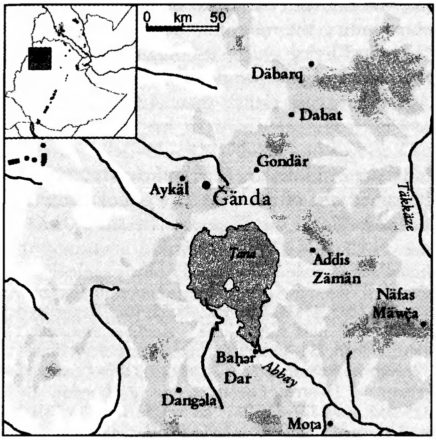
Ulrich Braukämper

Ğända

Ğ. (**ጀንዳ**) in ↗Dämbəya was the country seat of the Ethiopian bishops, possibly from as early as the 1630s through into the 1860s. There the bishops had tributary lands and a palace and were buried. Of the palace nothing remains. The

French traveller Charles Jacques ↗Poncet may have visited *abunä* ↗Marqos there in 1699.

In 1860, with the permission of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II and the support of his bishop, *abunä* ↗Sälama, protestant missionaries led by Johannes Martin ↗Flad and supported by the ↗London Society for Promoting of Christianity among the Jews, established a station there, directed to the conversion of the local ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel population. In 1862 a controversy between the missionaries and the Betä Ǝsraʾel broke out at Ǧ. The missionaries left Ethiopia in 1868 with the withdrawal of the troops of General ↗Napier. However, in 1874 Ethiopian converts took over the staffing of the mission, which remained a centre of the Betä Ǝsraʾel.

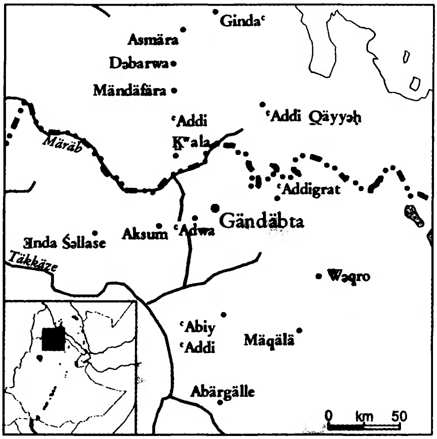


Src.: CHARLES JACQUES PONCET, *A Voyage to Ethiopia in the Years 1698, 1699, and 1700*, London 1709 [repr. in: WILLIAM FOSTER (ed.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century …*, London 1949 (Hakluyt Society, ser. 2, no. 100), 89–165, here 123]; HENRY AARON STERN, *Wanderings among the Falashas in Abyssinia together with a Description of the Country and its Various Inhabitants*, London 1862, 253–55.
Lit.: JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews. A History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia 1992, 154ff., 178, 181ff., 194.

Donald Crummey

Gändäbta

G. (ገንዳብታ) is a village to the north of ↗ᶜAdwa on an ancient trade route to ↗Massawa. This settlement always existed in a shadow cast by the nearby ᶜ↗Adwa as the main commercial and administrative centre in the region.



This area acquired a short-lived political and military significance on 1 February 1896, when *aṣe* Mənilək II occupied it before taking ᶜAdwa, which had been previously occupied by the Italian General Oreste ↗Baratieri on 28 December 1895 and evacuated six days later on 2 January 1896.

Lit.: GEORGE FITZHARDINGE BERKELEY, *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik*, London 1935, 67, 238; AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYLDE, *Modern Abyssinia*, London 1901, 174.

Sevir Chernetsov

Gandolfi, Primizio Remigio

G. (b. 11 July 1865, Bagnolo San Vito, Mantova, d. 24 November 1939, Asmära) was an Italian industrialist who worked as a mason in France and Germany before he arrived in Eritrea in 1887. He came as part of the military expedition headed by General ↗San Marzano and established himself in Massawa. There he began his building activities, being engaged in the construction of the Massawa–Asmära railway line in the areas of Massawa, Säʾaṭi, Gindaᶜ and ᶜArborobuᶜ. After the completion of the construction of the Sabarguma – May Aṭal road, G. moved in 1898 to Asmära, where he received agricultural concessions and constructed major water-supply systems. As part of his work, in 1905 he was engaged in the construction of the governor's palace and the May Čehot water-wells as sources of water-supply for the city of Asmära. He planted the telegraphic lines linking Massawa to Asmära, Märäb and Addis Abäba. In 1912 G. was transferred to Libya, where he continued construction work. After 1922 he returned to Eritrea where he created further agricultural concessions.

Lit.: GIUSEPPE PUGLISI, *Chi è? dell'Eritrea: dizionario biografico. Con una cronologia*, Asmara 1952, ad nomen.

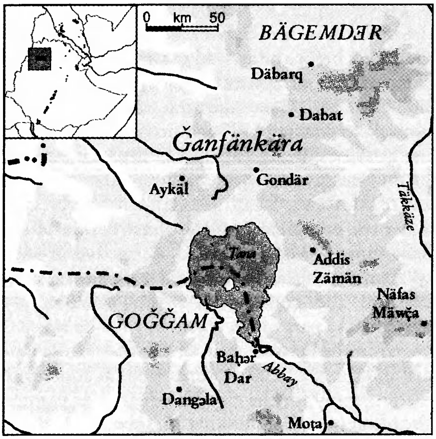
Giancarlo Stella

Ǧanfänkära

Ǧ. (**ጃንፈንከራ**) is a district in the eastern part of the region of ↗Armač̣əho. Located north-west of Gondär and south-west of Dabat, down the escarpment toward the west, Ǧ. was historically a principal settlement-area of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. According to tradition, Mount Hohwara in the Ǧ. district was the site of a Betä Ǝsraʾel monastery, said to have been established by *abba* ↗Sabra in the 15th cent. (Quirin 1992:66f.; 1988; d'Abbadie 1845:49, 72; Leslau 1974:625f.).

In the 17th cent., *aṣe* ↗Susənyos fought several battles against the Betä Ǝsraʾel and their leader, ↗Gedewon. After one of these conflicts in 1617, the Emperor ordered the Betä Ǝsraʾel in several districts, including Ǧ., to be killed (PerChron vol. 1, 155f.; Quirin 1992:83f., 247, n. 238).

In the 19th cent., one of the leading Betä Ǝsraʾel religious officials was *abba* Yəsḥaq from Hohwara in Ǧ. He was evidently a monk, but was also considered one of the four "high priests", or principal Betä Ǝsraʾel leaders. *Abba* Yəsḥaq was a main source of information on the Betä Ǝsraʾel for the French traveller and scholar Antoine ↗d'Abbadie in the 1840s; d'Abbadie indicated that he was also well-respected by Ethiopian Christian scholars. D'Abbadie noted there were 15 Betä Ǝsraʾel households in Ǧ. and 20 priests on the mountain of Hohwara (d'Abbadie 1845: 45f.; 1851:261f.). ↗Flad, the Protestant missionary to the Betä Ǝsraʾel, noted Hohwara was an important place of pilgrimage and that 200 monks lived there (Flad 1869:29).



Several 19th-cent. travellers to north-western Ethiopia mentioned either Ǧ. or the mountain of Hohwara, or included the locations on their maps, but few seem to have actually visited the place. These include Ferret and Galinier, Samuel Baker, and Guillaume Lejean (Ferret — Galinier 1847, atlas; Baker 1870:131; Lejean 1867:364).

In the 1860s, the Jewish scholar Halévy visited Ǧ. He counted eight Betä Ǝsraʾel villages surrounding the mountain of Hohwara and 15 "hermits" living on the mountain and indicated that some of the people still spoke their own Agäw language rather than Amharic (Halévy 1877:227–31; 1869:282). In his second voyage to Ethiopia in 1908–09, ↗Faitlovitch visited the holy site of Hohwara (Faitlovitch 1910:88f.). Ǧ. remained one of the Betä Ǝsraʾel holy sites into the post-World War II period (Leslau 1975:636).

Src.: PerChron vol. 1, 155f.; ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, "Extrait d'une lettre de M. Antoine d'Abbadie sur les Falacha ou juifs d'Abyssinie", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* ser. 3, 4, 1845, 43–74, here 45f., 49, 72; ID., "Reponses des Falasha dits juifs d'Abyssinie", *Archives Israélites* 12, 1851, 179–85, 234–40, 259–69, here 261f.; JOSEPH HALÉVY, "Travels in Abyssinia", in: ALBERT L. LÖWY (ed.), *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, vol. 2, London 1877, 175–256, here 227–31; ID., "Excursion chez les Falacha, en Abyssinie", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* ser. 5, 17, 1869, 270–94, here 282; JACQUES FAITLOVITCH, *Quer durch Abessinien*, Berlin, 1910, 88f.; JOHANNES MARTIN FLAD, *The Falashas (Jews) of Abyssinia*, London 1869, 29; PIERRE VICTOR ADOLPHE FERRET – JOSEPH GERMAIN GALINIER, *Voyages en Abyssinie*, 3 vols., Paris 1847, atlas; SAMUEL BAKER, "Exploration des affluents abyssiniens du Nil", *Le Tour du Monde* 21, 1870, 129–60, here 131, map; GUILLAUME LEJEAN, "Notes d'un voyage en Abyssinie", *ibid.* 15, 1867, 353–400, here 364.

Lit.: JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia 1992, 66ff., 83f., 118, 149, 153, 189f., 192, 196, 247; ID., "The ʾAyhud and Bĕta ʾEsrăʾĕl-Falăshă in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: Oral and Written Traditions", *NEASt* 10, 2–3, 1988, 89–104; WOLF LESLAU, "Taamrat Emanuel's Notes of Falasha Monks and Holy Places", in: SAUL LIEBERMAN (ed.), *Salo Wittmayer Baron: Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, Jerusalem 1974, vol. 2, 623–37, here 624ff., 631f., 636; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia: from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1992, 95, 110.

James Quirin

Ğangäro ↗Yäm

Gangule ↗Harro

Gänna ↗Lədät

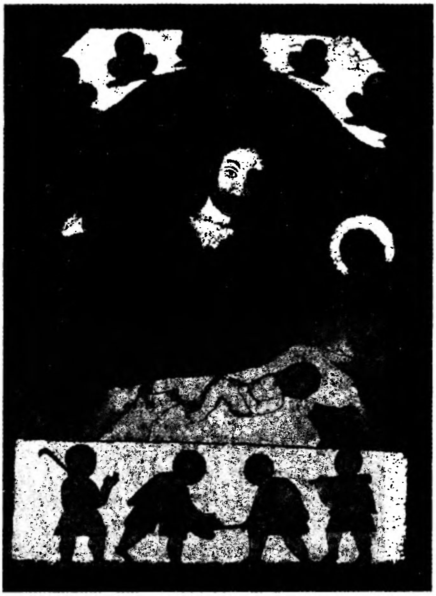
Gänna

G. (**ገና** or **ጌና** *genna*) is a traditional Ethiopian ↗game. Similar to hockey, it is named after the word for Christmas (↗*Lədät*) in Gəʿəz and other Ethiopian languages. The appellation was chosen because Christmas was the period when the game was most frequently played by boys and grown men (↗Feasts). They might start a week before the festival and continue until Epiphany (↗*Ṭəmqät*).

In Ethiopia, G. is widely played and known, with local variations, not only in the Highlands by the Amhara and Təgrayans, but also among the Oromo (as *qalle* or *qile*), e.g., in Wälläga and Arsi, and among the Hadiyya, Sidamo, Gurage etc. (VSAe II, 183f.). It is not known, however, when G. started to be played. The most important evidence is the appearance of G. in traditional paintings: from ca. the 17th cent. onward, the game is sometimes included in the Nativity scene (Chojnacki 1974:41f.).

The rules for G. are traditional and were never codified. Players would usually begin by dividing themselves into two teams (**ቡድን**, *budən*), each representing a different locality or quarter of a town. A playing-field, often a market-place, might then be chosen, though the same area was often used annually. The players might then select their respective captain, known as *abbat* (**አባት**), i.e. 'father', though in other variations of the game it was the captains who selected the teams. These sometimes chose a collective name, such as Färäs ('horse') or Bäqlo ('mule'), or two different types of rifle: Sänadər (the Sneider) or Wäğigra (Fusil Gras). The two captains would then together identify a "house" or spot in the middle of the field, where they would dig a small hole with their G.-sticks. These would be sometimes in the shape of a cross. There they would place the G.-ball, which was often a gnarled, round piece of wood, a piece of skin stitched in the shape of a ball or, for youngsters, a wad of cloth. The two captains would begin the game by ritually hitting each other's sticks three times, after which they, and later the other players, would try to knock the ball in the direction of their opponents' part of the field. In certain circumstances it was also permissible to pick up the ball. The side which hit it as far as their adversaries' rear boundary (marked, e.g., by a tree, hollow or elevation) scored a goal. The game is often played all afternoon until dusk, as long as the players are able to see the ball. Games were often repeated day after day, the last game in some localities being between a team of bachelors and newly weds against long-married old men. The game was generally accompanied by ritual insults (Griaule 1935;

Boys playing *gänna* on a stubble field near Hossäyna, Hadiyya; photo 1999, courtesy of Dirk Bustorf



Nativity of Jesus and shepherds playing *gänna*; triptych, central panel; 17th/18th cent.; IES no. 3523; from Raunig 1973: 135

Samuel Alamayahu 1959; any social distinction between the players was considered invalid); being tough and relatively rough, it might result in injuries, sometimes serious, which were, however, considered incidental and therefore not subject to compensation.

Src.: KaneDic 2000; KWKDic 289; MARCEL COHEN, *Jeux abyssins*, Paris 1912, 22ff.; WALTER RAUNIG (ed.), *Religiöse Kunst Äthiopiens. Religious Art of Ethiopia*, Ausstellungskatalog, Stuttgart 1973, 135 (ill.).

Lit.: STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "The Nativity in Ethiopian Art", *JES* 12, 1, 1974, 11–56, esp. no. 28, 29; 36f., 39f., 50, 56; MARCEL GRIAULE, *Jeux et divertissements abyssins*, Paris 1935, 85–91; EUGEN MITTWOCH, "Abessinische Kinderspiele", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 2, 13, 1910, 107–40; SAMUEL ALAMAYAHU, "The Game of Ganna", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* 9, 1959, 9–27; VSAe II, 183f.; RICHARD K.P. PANKHURST, "Secular Themes in Ethiopian Ecclesiastic Manuscripts: a Catalogue of Illustrations of Historical and Ethnographic Interest in the British Library", *JES* 22, 1989, 31–64, here 59; CRAVEN H. WALKER, *The Abyssinians at Home*, London 1933, 81f.

Richard Pankhurst

Gännätä Giyorgis

G.G. (**ገነተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ**) is the renowned church at ↗Fičče, the principal settlement in Sälale, 112 km from Addis Abäba on the road to the Blue Nile. It is situated on a plateau overlooking the ↗Gämma river. The original building is believed to date from around 1821. Church officials state that it was founded by *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase's son ↗Säyfu. Others state that the existing circular edifice was erected half a century or so later by Säyfu's younger brother, *aṣe* Mənilək II's uncle *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase. Originally thatched, as seen in the Duchesne-Fournet report (vol. 1, 77), the building was subsequently covered with corrugated iron in the early 20th cent. on the order of *ətege* ↗Zäwditu.

The church's paintings, many of them executed by the notable church artist *aläqa* ↗Ḫəruy of Dima Giyorgis, are in an excellent state of preservation, and include pictures of *aṣe* Mənilək and *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu, and *ras* Darge and his family, as well as a fine representation of an equestrian St. George. The church's possessions include a silver hand-cross reputed to have belonged to *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot, and a fine roundish processional cross presented by *ras* Darge. A nearby building, long since demolished, was for a time the place of imprisonment of Mənilək's grandson and chosen successor *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu.

Lit.: JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Ethiopie, 1901–1903*, vol. 1, Paris 1908, 77ff.; ChTana 315; ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH, *Heritage Worth Saving: 181 Year-old Church at Fetche*, Addis Ababa 2002.

Richard Pankhurst

Gännätä Iyäsus

G.I. (**ገነተ ፡ ኢየሱስ**, 'Paradise of Jesus') is the name of a Catholic church in ↗Azäzo (13 km south of Gondär) built by the ↗Jesuit Pedro ↗Paez. Together with the accompanying Jesuit residence, it was planned in 1621 at the request of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos and built on a small hill called Aṣe Wägän, about 450 m to the west of the ↗Azäzo Täklä Haymanot church.

On 9 November 1621, eight days after the Ethiopian royal clergy formally accepted the Catholic formula about the two natures of Christ (↗*Hulät lədät*), the Emperor, accompanied by his son, the future *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, laid the foundation stone for the new church (BecRASO III, 386f.). In 1623, G.I. was consecrated in the presence of the Emperor (BecRASO II, 493). The Chronicle of Susənyos relates in great detail the story of the construction, reporting on the dimensions of the building (PerChron 258f. [text] = 199 [tr.]). Besides the church, the compound included a royal residence, an orchard and a garden (BecRASO VI, 387f.), a water-cistern and a pavilion with a fountain, and was endowed with land-grants by the Emperor.

Azäzo was part of the "royal space", a territory under the direct authority of the Emperor (though in those days the true "royal camp", *kätäma*, was in ↗Dänqäz). Thus, the construction of a Catholic church there was a clear manifestation of Susənyos's political choice in favour of the Jesuits and a result of growing Portuguese influence.

After the abdication of Susənyos (1632), *aṣe* Fasilädäs transferred the land given to the Jesuits, included that of the Church of G.I., to the monastic community of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa. Susənyos and Fasilädäs were buried in G.I., but Fasilädäs's body was moved later to ↗Daga Əsṭifanos. The complex is not preserved, but some fragments of the foundation are still visible above ground level.

Src.: BecRASO II, III, VI; PerChron 534–37, ch. 65.
Lit.: IAN CAMPBELL, "The Royal Fortress at Azazo", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 6–15; ID., "Portuguese and Indian Influence on the Architecture of the Lake Tana Region: an Inquiry into the Role of Gänäta Iyäsus", in: MANUEL JOÃO RAMOS – ISABEL BOAVIDA (eds.), *The Indigenous and the Foreign in Christian Ethiopian Art. On Portuguese-Ethiopian Contacts in the 16th-17th Centuries*, Aldershot 2004, 37–48; HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie): stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation 1495–1633*, Paris 2003, 188-203; PankHist I, 110ff.

Mulatu Wubneh

Gännätä Ləʿul

The G.L. (**ገነተ፡ ልዑል**, lit. 'Garden of the Most High') Palace (↗*Gəbbi*) was built for Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1935 and was known prior to his coronation as the Little *Gəbbi* or New *Gəbbi* (name chosen in distinction to the larger, and older, palace of *aṣe* Mənilək II). It was located on land in Addis Abäba inherited from his father *ras* Mäkʷännən (other parts of this land were allocated to the Ətege Mänän school and ↗Berhanənna Sälam Printing Press). The building was designed by E. Kametz, engineer from the Ethiopian Ministry of Public Works who worked under the Minister *fitawrari* Taffäsä Habtä Mikaʾel. G.L. was a simple two-storey building of modern design that was later expanded on numerous occasions; it was supplied with electricity, and furnished by the London firm Waring and Gillow (ZerEth 73f., 200, 289; Farago 1035:75–79).

Palace of Gännätä Ləʿul, main entry; photo courtesy of the IES (no. 30 G2)

A royal residence, it was also used as a guest palace for Crown Prince Gustav Adolph of Sweden, during his state visit to Ethiopia in January 1935 (ZerEth 488; HSLife 207f.). The building later served as the administrative headquarters of two successive Italian viceroys, ↗Badoglio and ↗Graziani, and later as the residence of the third, di ↗Savoia, Duke of Aosta. The attempt on Graziani's life, in February 1937, was made on the palace's front doorsteps.

After Ethiopia's liberation, G.L. was reoccupied by Ḫaylä Śəllase as a royal residence and centre of government, and was the location for many formal state occasions. It was in the palace's "green salon" that the ministers were shot during the abortive ↗coup d'état of December 1960 (Talbot 1955:134-40; Greenfield 1965:428-31). The Emperor shortly afterwards presented the building and surrounding compound to the then Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (later ↗Addis Ababa University). Part of the former building then became the University's administative centre, while the remainder was occupied by the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies library and museum.

Lit.: ZerEth 73f., 200, 289, 488; LADISLAS FARAGO, *Abyssinia on the Eve*, London 1935, 75–79; HSLife 207f.; DAVID TALBOT, *Haile Selassie I. Silver Jubilee*, The Hague 1955, 134–40; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 428–31; AMAN WORJI, *From Palace to University: a History of Addis Ababa University Main Campus*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1988; "From Palace to University: a Historical Perspective", *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies* 29, 2002.

Richard Pankhurst

Gännätä Mänäkosat ↗Monastic literature

Gännätä Maryam

The church presently known as G.M. (**ገነተ፡ ማርያም**, 'Garden of Mary') is situated on a broad ledge of Mount ↗Ǝmäkina, overlooking the vast gorge of the Täkkäze River in ↗Bugna (Lasta), about 16 km east of ↗Lalibäla. A free-standing structure carved from living rock, the church was erected and decorated in the last quarter of the 13th cent. for *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak, founder of the ↗Solomonic dynasty.

Among the murals, there is a unique dedicatory portrait of the patron Yəkunno Amlak flanked by two abbots of the church. The inscription indicates that the church was originally dedicated to *abba* Mäṭṭaᶜ (↗Libanos): "It is I who has [this church] built, [I,] Yəkunno Amlak, whom God made king by his [good] will. My father, Nəḥyo Bäkrəstos, was an agent for me to have this church built in the name of Mäṭṭaᶜ. May God have mercy upon me in the Kingdom of Heaven with my fathers Mäḥari Amlak and Nəḥyo [Bäkrəstos]" (Heldman – Getatchew Haile 1987:3f.).

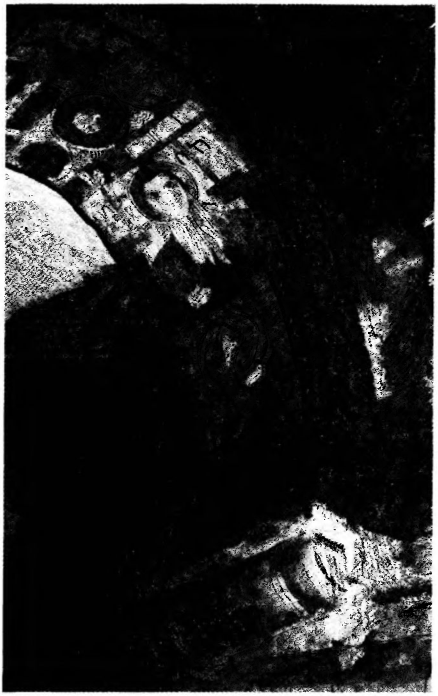
The church is an oriented basilica with a narthex that opens into the central nave. At the east end of the nave is a dome-covered rectangular sanctuary, from which open two smaller chambers at the north and south. Heavy piers separate the central nave from the side aisles (Gerster 1970:115). The church sits upon a podium, a typical feature of Aksumite ↗architecture. Its exterior colonnade of piers and the gabled roof carved with a frieze of arcade-framed crosses are distinctive architectural features copied from the church of the Redeemer or Mädḫane ᶜAläm at Lalibäla (Heldman 1992:230ff.).

All the upper portions of the walls and piers – including the soffits of the arches, the ceiling of the nave, and the sanctuary – were originally covered with murals, most of which survive albeit in a damaged and faded condition. Nevertheless, the murals, inscribed in a formal Gəᶜəz script, provide an invaluable example of a relatively complete scheme of monumental painting. The walls of the sanctuary are painted with the 24 Priests of Heaven, St. ↗Anthony, founder of Egyptian monasticism, St. Stephen the Deacon, the priest-king Melchizedek (Gen 14) and *abba* Mäṭṭaᶜ. The small central dome, presently devoid of paint, was probably painted originally with Christ enthroned among the Four Heavenly Creatures, as within the sanctuary dome of Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ᶜAläm, a small 13th-cent. basilica church built within a large cavern in the upper eastern ridge of the Mount Ǝmäkina (Gerster 1970:109f., plates 100–08; Heldman 2000).

Christological scenes, which include the Annunciation, Baptism, Transfiguration, and the Washing of the Feet, occupy faces of the piers, although the Wedding at Cana is found at the west end of the north aisle, and the Entry into Jerusalem and the Presentation to the Temple are painted on the east wall (Heldman 2000). The Crucifixion is no longer extant, and perhaps was never a part of the Christological cycle.

Pairs of angels decorated the vault of the nave, and on the walls of the side aisles and the soffits of the arches are portraits of saints – frontal figures standing within an abbreviated frame, as in the 13th-cent. Coptic murals at the monastery of St. Anthony at the Red Sea (Bolman 2002, figs. 4: 39, 5–32). ↗Equestrian saints include St. George, St. Mercurius, and St. Cyriacus. Old Testament figures include individual portraits of Moses and Aaron on the south aisle wall, and the Sacrifice of Abraham (Gen. 22–23) and Dinah (Gen. 34) with her father Jacob on the north-east wall (Jacob is inscribed "Jacob grieved [very] much."). Sarah, mother of Isaac, painted on the adjoining north wall, relates to portraits of exceptional women arranged farther west along the north wall – the mother of George the Deacon and St. Sophia with her three virgin daughters. Narrative scenes of St. Mary of Egypt (north aisle) and St. Mamas (south aisle) and portraits of the luminaries of Egyptian and Ethiopian monasticism provide exemplary models for the monastic life. Portraits painted on the soffits of the arches that run along the north and south axis of the nave include some of the Nine Saints – ↗Gärima, ↗Yəmᶜata and ↗Päntälewon – along with *abba* ↗Shenute, the 5th-cent. reformer of Egyptian monasticism; Arsenius, the famed Egyptian ascetic; and *abba* Näfər (Onophrius), the great Egyptian hermit. Egyptian monastic saints on the wall of the north aisle include Daniel of Scetis, whose visit with the ascetic Emperor Honorius is commemorated on 16 *Ḫədar* (BudgeSaint I, 252–55), and St. Samuel, founder of the monastery of Qalamun, along with female hermits and monastics, St. Mary of Egypt and St. Marina (*anbä* Märina) of Scetis. The Egyptian martyrs St. Barbara and St. Juliana are painted on the adjoining pier.

Many of the portraits are inscribed with simple prayers – such as "St. George, pray for us. May your prayer be upon us" and "St. Barbara with Sister Juliana. Pray and supplicate for



Gännätä Maryam; *abba* Šenute (Apa Shenoute) on the soffit of the arch, to the left on the east wall Jacob and Dinah; photo courtesy of the author

us", – which suggest that these iconic portraits served as devotional images for all who worshiped in the church. A few inscribed prayers are more specific, such as "St. Mercurius, martyr of Christ. Pray and supplicate for Yəkunno Amlak and Nəhyo Bäkrəstos. Amen."

A later historical note refers to the church as the "monastery of Yəkunno Amlak" (Caquot 1955:77, 87). The preponderance of portraits of monastic saints, female as well as male, suggests that a dual monastic community was attached to the church. The murals are closely related stylistically to the better preserved murals of ↗Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ᶜAläm. The murals of G.M. as well as the murals of Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ᶜAläm reflect the style of the early 13th-cent. murals at the monastery of St. Anthony, executed by a team of painters led by the master Theodore (Bolman 2000:37–89).

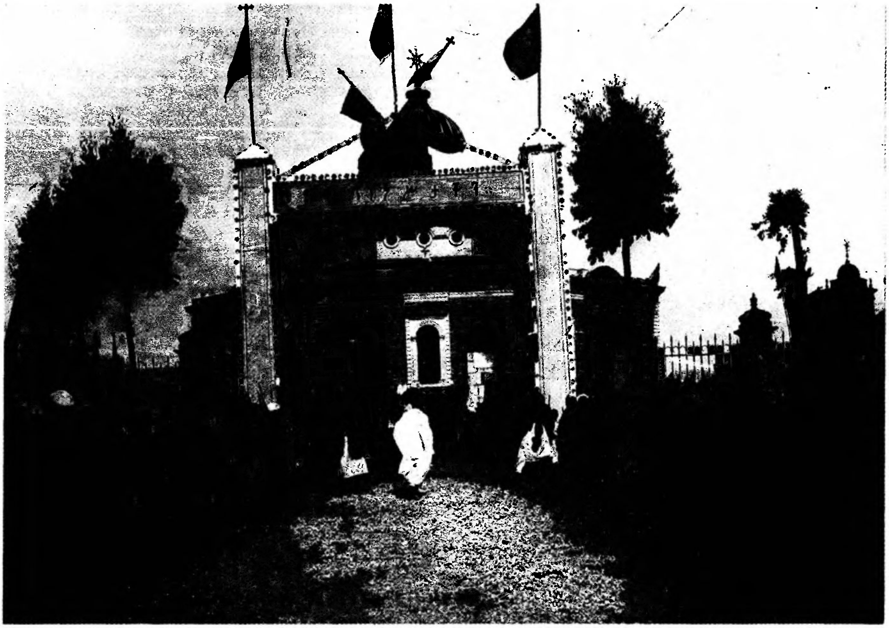
Lit.: Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, "Les peintures murales de l'église rupestre éthiopienne Gännätä Maryam près de Lalibela", *Arte medievale* 12–13, ser. 2, 1998–99, 193–209; Ead., "Wall-paintings in the Sanctuary of Gännätä Maryam near Lalibäla", paper presented at the *7th International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*, Leipzig, 24th–26th June 2005; Lino Bianchi Barriviera, "Le chiese in roccia di Lalibelà e di altri luoghi del Lasta", *RSE* 19, 1963, 66–71, pl. 52; Elizabeth Bolman (ed.), *Monastic Vision: Wall Paintings in the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea*, New Haven 2002, 37–90; David Buxton, "The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 42, 1947, 1–42, here 31f., pl. X; André Caquot, "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Ouriel [Dersāna Urāʾēl]", *AE* 1, 1955, 61–88, here 77, 87; Georg Gerster, *Churches in Rock: Early Christian Art in Ethiopia*, London – New York 1970, 115–18, pl. 130–43; Marilyn Eiseman Heldman, "Architectural Symbolism, Sacred Geography and the Ethiopian Church", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, 3, 1992, 222–41, here 31f.; Ead., "Wise Virgins in the Kingdom of Heaven: a Gathering of Saints in a Medieval Ethiopian Church", *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 19, 2, 2000, 6–12; Ead. – Getatchew Haile, "Who is Who in Ethiopia's Past, Part III: Founders of Ethiopia's Solomonic Dynasty", *NEASt* 9, 1, 1987, 1–11; Claude Lepage, "Peintures murales de Ganata Maryam (rapport préliminaire)", *Abbay* 6, 1975, 59–83; Alessandro Augusto Monti della Corte, *Lalibelà. Le chiese ipogee e monolitiche e gli altri monumenti medievali del Lasta*, Roma 1940, 104ff.; Roger Sauter, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 270; UhPal 169f., nos. 165f.

Marilyn E. Heldman

Gännätä Ṣəge Giyorgis

G.Ṣ.G. (ገነተ፡ ጽጌ፡ ጊዮርጊስ; also known as Qəddus Giyorgis, or Männagäša Qəddus Giyorgis) in the Arada district, near Mənilək Square, is one of the principal churches of Addis Abäba. Before the establishment of the present church, the French Missionary Taurin ↗Cahagne had obtained permission from Mənilək of Šäwa to settle in the area called Birbi(r)sa (↗Finfinnee). Ruins of an ancient church could be then still seen nearby; according to the local tradition, it had been destroyed during the time of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Foucher 1987:35), but was still revered by the local people.

After Mənilək was crowned Emperor, Cahagne was requested to leave the area. It was decided to establish there a church dedicated to St. ↗George of Lydda, one of the most venerated saints. On 30 July 1894 the ↗*tabot* consecrated in the name of St. George was brought and placed in the house built by Cahagne, which served as a መቃኞ (*mäqañño*, a temporary dwelling for a *tabot*). The first ↗*gäbäz* of the church was *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, the cousin of Mənilək (Haile Gabriel Dagne 1972:69, 73).



Church of Gännätä Ṣəge Giyorgis during the coronation of Empress Zäwditu, 1917; photo from the estate of Maurice de Coppet, Helsinki University Library, no. E 2392

On 30 September 1895, before the campaign of ↗ᶜAdwa, the *tabot* was transferred to a new and larger building, which, although a temporary hut, was consecrated and is still considered the first G.Ṣ.G. church. It is said that, as the beginning of the campaign was approaching, Mənilək came and vowed that if he returned from the battle safely he would establish a new modern building for St. George church as a commemoration. Following the old tradition, Mənilək and his army were accompanied by the *tabot* of G.Ṣ.G. (the miraculous help of St. George, as well as the presence of the *tabot*[*s*] near the battlefield are motifs frequently recalled in the traditional ᶜAdwa-pictures).

The battle of ᶜAdwa, in which Mənilək was victorious, coincided with the monthly celebration in honour of St. George on 23 *Yäkkatit* 1888 A.M. [2 March 1896 A.D.]. On his return, Mənilək wanted to fulfil what he had promised to the church, but the construction of a new building did not begin for about a decade. The church, however, continued to provide the service for the faithful. A new *mäqaňňo* was built in the middle of the graveyard (it is still used today as a dwelling by clergymen) and the Emperor allotted to the church several land-estates, most of them in Šäwa. An important event came in 1903 when a huge celebration of the anniversary of the ᶜAdwa victory was held in the church compound.

The foundation of a new church building was laid in February 1907 in a ceremony presided over by the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Matewos. The architect was the Greek Orphanides and it was erected by the Italian engineer Castagna. In order to facilitate work, Mənilək himself brought a steam-roller (*yäṭis babur*) from Europe. Construction was financed by the Palace, but the faithful also contributed money and, in particular, labour-services. Shortly thereafter Mənilək fell ill and had to withdraw from actively managing the administration of the place. After his death in 1913, it was his daughter, *ətege* ↗Zäwditu, who completed the construction of the church in 1916 – a beautiful octagonal building with a high round dome. As in other traditional Ethiopian ↗church buildings, the interior is divided into three sections. The interior contains paintings from the Ethiopian artists Afäwärq Täkle and ↗Əmäᵓalaf Ḫəruy.

In the following years, the importance of the church increased: it was here that the coronations of Zäwditu (11 February 1917) and *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən as ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I (2 November 1930) took place. As a result, the word መናገሻ (*männagäša*, 'royal residence') was added to the name of the church.

The establishment of G.Ṣ.G. had an impact on the further development of Addis Abäba. With its erection the city appeared to develop in a westerly direction from the Palace (↗*Gəbbi*; PankEcon 702).

Src.: ADDIS ABABA MUNICIPALITY (ed.), *Mirror of Addis Ababa*, Addis Abäba 1942 A.M. [1949/50 A.D.]; GSMen 372, no. 2, 524f., s. index; *Metropolitan* METHODIOS OF AKSUM, "A Contract between the Ethiopian Government and Panayotis Myriallis Concerning the Construction of St. Georges Cathedral in Addis Ababa", *Abba Salama* 2, 1971, 17–21; GIRMA FISSEHA – WALTER RAUNIG, *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei*, Frankfurt/Main 1985, no. 38; *Pittura etiopica tradizionale*, Roma 1989, no. 9.

Lit.: ᶜALÄMAYYÄHU MOGÄS, የአዲስ፡ አበባ፡ አድባራት (*Yäʾaddis Abäba adbarat*, 'Churches of Addis Abäba'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; EDWARD GLEICHEN, *With the Mission to Menelik, 1917*, London 1898 [repr. 1971], 133ff.; HAYLÄ GÄBRIEL DAGNE, "The Gebzenna Charter 1894", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 67–80; ID., "The Establishment of Churches in Addis Ababa", in: *CentAddis* 57–78, here 64f.; EMILE FOUCHER, "Birbirssa, 1868–1869", *ibid.* 33–39; HILDA MANNES, *Places of Worship: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1968; PankEcon 702; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *Haile Sellassie I: the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987, s. index; TSTarik 4.

Mersha Alehegne – Red.

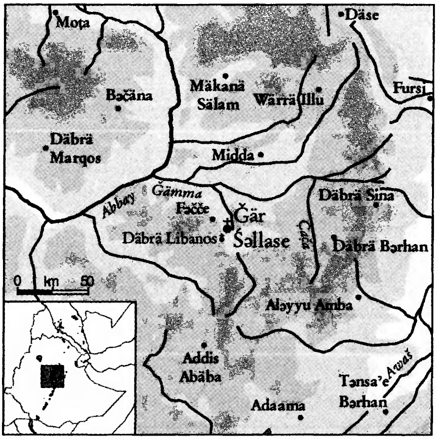
Gänz ↗Gänäzo

Ganza ↗Mao

Ğär Śəllase

Ğ.Ś. (ጀር፡ ሥላሴ) is the monastery founded, according to tradition, by the holy monk ↗Iyasu of Ğ.Ś. It is situated in the district of Ǝnsaro (Dännäba, Ğärru, Šäwa), north-east of the famous monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos; it takes ca. eight hours to walk from there to Ğ.Ś. Several manuscripts are reported to be preserved in the monastic library; the underground church of Mäkanä Päraqliṭos Amlakənä is certainly that mentioned by Antonio Mordini (1953:47f., n. 3). The church school of Ğ.Ś. receives boys from the villages nearby (where in the 1980s there was still no governmental school).

Src.: OSVALDO RAINERI, *Atti di Habta Māryām († 1497) e di Iyāsu († 1509), santi monaci etiopici*, Roma 1990 (OrChrA 235), 165–265.



Lit.: ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 277; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *RSE* 12, 1953 [1954], 29–70, here 47f., n. 3; KinBibl 78, no. 85.

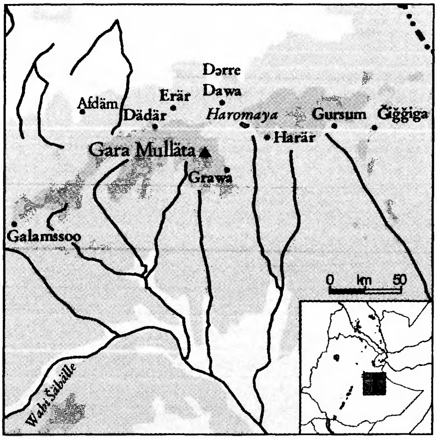
Osvaldo Raineri

Gara Mulläta

G.M. (ጋራ፡ ሙላታ, Gara Muläta, also Gara Mullata, Oromo Gaara Muldhataa; ca. 3,400 m A.S.L.) is a flat-summit mountain at the northern end of a volcanic range running from the north-west to the south-east and ending at Mount Geyle at an altitude of over 3,000 m A.S.L. The range towers above lakes Adäylä and Haromayya (2,069 m A.S.L.), situated on the pass followed by the Harär-Dərre Dawa highway. G.M. can be reached by a track which branches off the Alämayya–Gərawa road at Kurfa Čäle.

On the piedmont sorghum and coffee are grown, but since the 1960s agriculturalists have pioneered the expansion of ↗*čat* cultivation (*deema* variety) fot the market in Somaliland (Ezekiel Gebissa 2004:132). On the slopes remnants of forests include junipers, olive and eucalyptus trees which have been partially cleared to make room for fields of barley up to an altitude of 2,800 m. The top is covered with tree heath, a typical plant of the afro-alpine strata.

In order to protect ↗Harär from southern invasions, *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən built a fortified position on a rocky table above Grawa. In 1932 ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I detained *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu inside the fort, until in 1935 he was taken to Addis Abäba and killed (Monfreid 1933). Towering above the



Harär–Dərre Dawa main road, the G.M. mountains have also been a stronghold for several guerrilla wars and ↗šəfta bands. As soon as the Italians occupied Harär and Dərre Dawa (8 and 9 May 1936), *fitawrari* Million and some remnants of its defeated army entrenched in these area (Del Boca 1982:703, 729 note), where they were pursued by the Italian Air Force (Gingold Duprey 1995:621-25). In 1942, after the Liberation some bands of *šəfta* launched sporadic attacks upon Amhara settlements of the Gursum *awrağğa* (Gilkes 1975:220). In 1977–78, among the Ethiopian troops and militias entrenched in the mountains, were the Western Somalia Liberation Front and the Somalian Army, who had taken Alämayya and besieged Harär and Dərre Dawa. From the villagization campaign which was edicted by the *Därg* in 1986–87 till the beginning of the 2000s, some limited but violent clashes opposed the Oromo Liberation Front maquis against the regular Ethiopian troops.

Src.: ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AGENCY, *Diré Dawa, Ethiopia, NC 37–12*, scale 1 : 250,000, Addis Ababa 1979 (reprinted 1985 and 1999); EMAtlas.

Lit.: EZEKIEL GEBISSA, *Leaf of Allah. Khat and Agricultural Transformation in Harerge Ethiopia 1875–1991*, Oxford – Addis Ababa – Hargeisa – Athens 2004, 132; ALAIN GASCON, “Intégration économique, intégration nationale et irrédentisme: le Harär, la rivalité somalo-éthiopienne et l'emprise de Djibouti”, *NEASt* 13, 2–3, 1991, 51–67; *Guida* 449f.; HENRY DE MONFREID, *Vers les terres hostiles de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1933, 98–160; TESFAYE GEBRE SELLASSIE, “Harer Awraja”, *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 5, 1, 1967, 37–46; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale*, vol. 2. *La conquista dell'Impero*, Roma – Bari 1979, 703, 729 note; PATRICK GILKES, *The Dying Lion: Feudalism and Modernisation in Ethiopia*, London 1975, 220; A. GINGOLD DUPREY, *De l'invasion à la liberation de l'Ethiopie*, Paris 1995, vol. 1, 621–25.

Alain Gascon

Gärad

G. (ገራድ) is a title carried by Ethiopian local rulers of both Islamic and Christian faith. The etymology of the word G. remains unclear: Leslau (1979:291) speaks of a generic Cushitic origin without any further specification. Nowadays the word G. can be found in several languages spoken in Ethiopia, indicating a title of chiefs or rulers of different rank.

In ↗Səlṭi (Gutt – Hussein Mohammed Mussa 1997:769f.), *garaad* means ‘chief, king (of the Səlṭi people)’ and is used also as a ‘title or reference form’; *saar garaad* is the ‘candidate for chieftainship or kingship’, while *walab garaad* is ‘spokesman of the chief or king’.

In ↗Harari, *garaad* has the meaning of ‘tribal chief lower than *damīn*’ (Leslau 1963:75) and *yäʾakkababi aläqa* ‘chief of a locality’ (Abdurahman Mähammäd Qorram 1991/92:184).

With respect to ↗Amharic, the word G. seems to have been only used by Guidi (GuiVoc 729) and Kane (KaneDic 1940) in an historical context, as it appears in ancient ↗Gəʿəz texts, indicating the “title of the governor of Hadiyya and Gänz”. Kane (ibid.) also uses to the word *gärada* or *gäräda* (apparently an Oromo form: though no dictionary of Oromo has the word G.), deriving it from Eadie's *Amharic Reader* where it describes a “tribal notable of Harärge”, or a “land proprietor”.

In ↗Somali *garaad* means ‘tribal chief’ (Agostini et al. 1985:256, ‘capo tribù’). It also means ‘intelligenza; discernimento; capacità di comprendere’. The semantic affinity between “understanding” and “chiefdom” in Somali is not unusual, as it is also attested in the word *ʿaaqil* (ibid. 76), itself coming from Arabic *ʿāqil* (‘clever, rational’). Nowadays the title *garaad* is commonly carried by Somali local leaders and warlords.

Looking back in history, as far as we know, the title G. is mentioned for the first time in the Chronicle of ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (PerrZarY 16ff.), as a title carried by the governor of Hadiyya, who was tributary to the Christian Emperor. Zärʾa Yaʿəqob summoned the *Hadiyya gärad* – apparently a Muslim called Mahiko, son of G. Mehmäd and brother of the *ite* Žan Zela, the *qäññ* ↗*bäʿalteḥat* queen – to pay the tribute due to the

Emperor. Mahiko refused and declared a revolt. A subordinate of G. Mahiko, the governor of Gädayto who also carried the title of G., revealed to Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob the *Hadiyya gärad's* war preparations and told the Emperor that many local chiefs were ready to help Mahiko. The *Gädayto gärad* mentioned the following allies of G. Mahiko, who all carried the title of G.: *Gudola gärad*, *Diho gärad*, *Hadäbo gärad*, *Gänäzo gärad*, *Säga gärad*, *Gäb gärad*, *Qäbᶜen gärad*, *Gogälä gärad* and *Haläb gärad*. From the list mentioned above, we may infer that the title G. was also used for a low-ranking ruler who governed a district.

The *Gädayto gärad* advised Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob to appoint Mahiko's uncle, Bamo, to the office of *Hadiyya gärad* in place of his nephew, and to fight the rebel governor. G. Mahiko was thus defeated and killed.

In the Chronicle of ↗Bäʾədä Maryam, the title G. is carried by the ruler of Bali. Bäʾədä Maryam sent the *Bali gärad* ↗Žan Zeg to fight in the country of Gam where he died in battle (PerrZarY 140f.). Another *Bali gärad* mentioned in the Chronicle of Bäʾədä Maryam is Gäbrä Iyäsus (possibly the successor of Žan Zeg) who was also a ↗*bitwäddäd*. He defeated many local Muslim chiefs of ᶜAdal (*śəyyumanä ᶜAdäl*) among whom were: an *Eror gärad*, a *Geday gärad*, a *Kʷäšem gärad*, a *Hargay* (or *Harägay*) *gärad* and another *Geday gärad* (PerrZarY 165f.; ms. also adds a *Täläg gärad* and an *Adgo gärad*).

During Bäʾədä Maryam's reign, G. also became the title given to the governor of Gänz (PerrZarY 112), which was previously ruled by an *higano* (DillmZarY 13). The sons of the Emperor grew up in Gänz under the guardianship of G. Matewos (TadTChurch 277). It thus seems that at this time the title was variously and independently used by both Muslim and Christian authorities for local governors, and that its attribution was not specifically restricted to the Muslim vassals of the Christian empire (as reported in BassHist 10, n. 3 and TrIslam 78, 84, n. 3).

In the 16th cent., the ↗*Futūḥ al-ḥabaša* mentions many individuals carrying the title G. Among them were: G. Aboñ, at whose service the young *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhim al-Ġāzī started his career, and who died as a martyr, fighting against the sultan Abū Bakr; G. Naṣr b. Bali, a close companion of the *imām*, who was, according to the text of the *Futūḥ* (BassHist 141f.), the son of the governor of Bali; G. ᶜUṯman b. Ǧawhar (BassHist 93, n. 2) and G. Dīn, who also had the title of *farašaham* and *amīr* (BassHist 55, n. 1), which appear to be its equivalent.

Src.: Abdurahman Mähammäd Qorram, *Čuqti kətab – Haräri amarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, Addis Abäba 1984 A.M. [1991/92 A.D.], 184; BassHist 10, 55, 93, 141f.; DillmZarY 13; Francesco Agostini et. al., *Dizionario somalo-italiano*, Roma 1985, 76, 256; Eeva Gutt – Hussein Mohammed Mussa, *Silt'e – Amharic – English Dictionary* (*with a Concise Grammar of Silt'e by Dr. Ernest-August Gutt*), Addis Ababa 1997, 769f.; GuiVoc 729; KaneDic 1940; Wolf Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1963, 75; Id., *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*, vol. 3: *Etymological Section*, Wiesbaden 1979, 291; PerZarY 16ff., 112, 140f., 165f.

Lit.: TadTChurch 277; TrIslam 78, 84.

Alessandro Gori

Garäd Kənfu

Ləǧ G.K. (ጋረድ፡ ክንፉ, horse name Abba Gəlbəṭ; d. 1860) was the son of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kənfu who ruled ↗Dämbəya province from 1831 until his death in 1839. Through him, G.K. was related to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, Kənfu's half-brother. We know that G.K. himself had two brothers, Yəlma and Mäkʷännən, who were active in contesting the legacy of Kənfu after their father's death.

G.K. lived and acted in their shadow. During the rainy season of 1856 he and Mäkʷännən disturbed Gondär. He is noted as one of the rebels against Tewodros, in Dämbəya and Wälqayt. In 1860 he emerged as an ally of *däǧǧazmač* Agäw Nəguśe (↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel), at the time the most prominent opponent of *aṣe* Tewodros II. In a skirmish outside Gondär, G.K. killed the British Consul, Walter Chichele ↗Plowden. He, in turn, was killed in revenge later that year in a battle in Waldəbba by the Emperor.

Src.: FusTeo 2, 16, 20–23 (text) = 66, 82, 87–90 (tr.); CRNuov 9.

Lit.: RubInd, s. index; RubTew 24, n. 79.

Donald Crummey

Gärᶜalta

G. (ገርዓልታ) is a district in the sandstone escarpment of south-central Təgray, to the north of historical ↗Tämben and ↗Ǝndärta (the latter later became an *awrağğa* encompassing G.-*wäräda*). The district is approximately half-way along the western side of the main Mäqälä-ᶜAddigrat road; ↗Ḥawzen, some 22 km to the west of this road, abuts the northern flank of the area, also accessible from ↗ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi to the south-west. In such a predominantly rugged mountainous zone, crossed by the Ṣalet river, the major foci of settlement are the villages of ↗Dəgum and Ṣəgäräda (the district's administrative centre). Special attention attaches to G.'s rich ecclesiastical patrimony, both along the escarpment itself and within the valley plains, where a characteristic landscape contains one of the most important concentrations of ↗rock-hewn churches in Ethiopia.

Moving from the south-east, on the east-facing arm of the escarpment, to the north-west, the key churches include: Däbrä Mikaʾel in ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi (Sauter 1976, no. 1223; Plant 1985, no. 12); Ǝnda Qəddus Yoḥannəs, ↗Mäᶜaquddi (Sauter 1976, no. 1221; Plant 1985, no. 13); Ǝnda Kidanä Məḥrät, Yaᶜid (Sauter 1976, no. 1220; Plant 1985, no. 11); Arbaᶜətu Ǝnsəsa churches in Mäṭäri [May Ṣäbari], disused, (Sauter 1976, no. 1222); in Gundo (Sauter 1976, no. 1225; Plant 1985, no. 17) and ↗Qämär (Plant 1985, no. 18); Kidanä Məḥrät and Abunä Abrəham in ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon; Ǝnda Maryam Ayräfäda and the Śəllase churches (↗Dəgum, Sauter 1976, nos. 1218, 1215A/B; Plant 1985, no. 10; nos. 8-9); Abunä Gäbrä Mäsqäl and Abunä Abrəham (↗Däbrä Mäᶜar); Däbrä Maryam P̣əp̣pasäyt(i) (Sauter 1976, no. 1213; Plant 1985, no. 3) and another Maryam church on an eastern outcrop at Gulbəša (Sauter 1976, no. 1216; Plant 1985, no. 19); Mikaʾel in Harägʷa (Sauter 1976, no. 1212); Abunä Zärʾa Buruk [Zärʾabruk] (Sauter 1976, no. 1211; Plant 1985, no. 20); Maryam Mägdälawit (↗Mary Magdalene) in Mänguda (Sauter 1976, nos. 1229; Plant 1985, no. 21), Däbrä Danəʾel (↗Qorqor) and Yəmʾata (↗Gʷəḥ). The escarpment switches south-east after the pinnacle at Gʷəḥ. Moving southwards, the first church to be encountered on the plain is Maryam Mägdälawit at Bäraqit (Sauter 1976, no. 1204). On the escarpment proper, there are the churches of Abba Gärima (↗Səllaᶜ; Sauter 1976, no. 1205); Giyorgis and Mikaʾel, ᶜAngʷa (Sauter 1976, no. 1226A/B; Plant 1985, nos. 15-16); Giyorgis and Mikaʾel (Qʷəraro; Sauter 1976, no. 1208A/B; Plant 1985, 25-26); Mikaʾel Arägawi (↗Tənsok̠e; Sauter 1976, no. 1209).

Lit.: ROGER SAUTER, "Églises rupestres au Tigré", *AE* 10, 1976, 157–75; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985.

Niall Finneran – Red.

Gärᶜalta history

The beginnings of the history of G. could be connected to the South-Arabian migration to Ethiopia (8th–7th cent. B.C.), if the name of the village of ↗Ḥawzen is in some way reminiscent of the South-Arabian place-name ḤWZN. It is precisely in this district of Ḥawzen that Aksumite pottery remains (next to ↗Dəgum) and the early Ethiopic inscription of ᶜAnza (2nd–3rd cent. A.D.) were found, confirming the participation of south-eastern Təgray in one of the most ancient phases of Ethiopian civilization.

According to hagiographic traditions, ↗Gʷəḥ in G. is the place where ↗Yəmʾata of Qosəyat, one of the Nine Saints, established his own community in Aksumite times. One of the several almost-contemporary groups of ↗Ṣadqan (the "Righteous ones") are the so-called Ṣadqan of Ḥawzen.

During the ↗Zagʷe period, G. was crossed by one of the country's major routes, connecting the new capital city, ↗Lalibäla, with ↗Aksum, via Lasta, Wag and Tämben. The role played by the medieval G. as a political and cultural centre is documented by the impressive bulk of monuments still visible. Its remarkable churches – namely the rock-hewn exemplars in the Bäraqit and Dəgum areas – show architectural elements going back to the Aksumite period, thus also revealing G.'s archaic cultural features.

G.'s medieval hagiographic traditions are very rich and interesting, though still little fathomed. We only know such personalities as Abrəḥam of

Rocky outcrop of Gärᶜalta, view from the Ḥawzen plain towards south; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Däbrä Ṣəyon, who flourished towards the end of the 14th cent., and Gäbrä Mäsqäl, the founder of Däbrä Mäᶜar, who lived in the 14th–15th cent. Much better known is ↗Danəʾel, abbot of Däbrä Maryam on Mount ↗Qorqor, for he is celebrated as the spiritual father of ↗Ewosṭatewos of Däbrä Ṣärabi, the founder of the monastic movement of ↗Ewosṭateans.

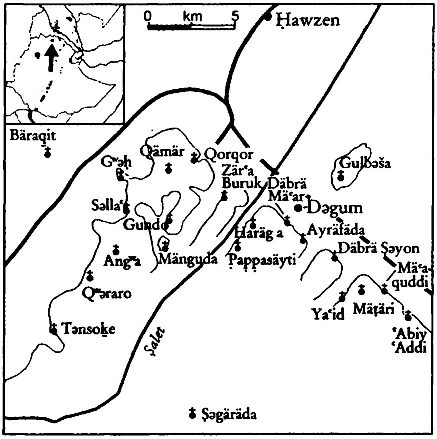
Lit.: TadTChurch 80ff.; SerHist 118; KinBibl 60f., no. 5; 74f., no. 66; 68, no. 36; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992, 9f., n. 19; LusStud 7f., 27, 54f., 70, 98; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Historical Elements in the *Gadla Dānʾēl*", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 1275–81; ID., "A New Source for the History of Garᶜāltā. The *Life* of Dānʾēl of Dabra Māryām on Mount Qorqor (KRZ 36)", *Quaderni utinensi* 8 [15/16], 1990 [1996], 345–52.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Gärᶜalta churches

Unlike other churches of Təgray, those of G. are relatively well-known. As a general rule, they are rock-hewn, with uneven degrees of internal complexity.

Presently, some 30 G. shrines are recorded, most of them cut in the craggy sandstone escarpment. They display a wide variety of plans, dimensions, structural features and decorative system; to date, only one attempt at establishing a preliminary typology has been made (Buxton 1971). Also, the problem of chronology remains unsolved. In some instances, foundation dates may be estimated with the help of historical notes preserved in the manuscripts (↗Däbrä Mäᶜar, ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl), or on the basis of the stylistic and iconographic analysis of the murals they include (↗Qorqor Maryam, ↗Mäᶜaquddi Yoḥannəs Wäldä Nägʷädgʷad). Sometimes, events described in the ↗hagiography may provide interesting clues (↗Däbrä Ṣəyon, Ǝnda Kidanä Məḥrät, Gʷəḥ Yəmʾata). In general, however, all such chronological pointers are absent. A further difficulty, which hinders scholarly interpretation, is the inaccessibility of the sanctuary. As to the interiors, the proper exploration of these monuments has recently been complicated by the unfortunate, but popular, habits of whitewashing the carved decoration and the ancient paintings (ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi Mikaʾel, Däbrä Mäᶜar) and adding wooden and constructed parts so as to replace or support the deteriorating sandstone.



Buxton and Plant (Plant – Buxton 1970:167) divide G.'s rock-hewn churches into two categories: those situated in the valleys and those excavated on different levels in the mountains. The first group, with the complexes of ↗Dəgum and Bäraqit Maryam alone, is characterized by very regular plans (mostly basilical), small dimensions, skilled stonework, clear forms, modest decoration and the presence of archaic elements typical of early Christian monuments, e.g., a crypt or a stepped baptismal fount excavated in the floor. Moreover, architectonic elements of buildings of Aksumite origin are imitated in these churches with both exactness and precise understanding of their original function: e.g., the friezes running above the massive rock-lintels or along the entire length of the walls, the stepped bracket-capitals and various forms of ceilings. The authors of architectural texts in Gerster (1968:129ff.) presented a hypothesis, developed by Lepage (1971:177f.; 1972:161, 177), that this type of churches might have served as the funeral chapels or the chapels housing the relics. Oral tradition is silent on that matter.

The churches of the second category have generally a basilical ground-plan (central nave and two aisles, preceded by hewn or constructed *pronaos*, tripartite sanctuary). However, layout and dimensions here often depend on the geological formation of the mother rock. They may be cut either parallel (Dəgum Maryam Ayräfäda, Gundo Arbaᶜətu Ǝnsəsa) or at right angles to the rock-face (↗Qʷəraro Gäbrä Mikaʾel, Angʷa Giyorgis); encircled on three sides by ambulatories (Däbrä Ṣəyon) or passages (Qämär Arbaᶜətu Ǝnsəsa) hewn into the rock; they may be approached through three regular entries from west, north and south (Abunä Zärʾabruk), or only by a single one from the west (↗Gʷəḥ Yəmʾata); they may have very large (Däbrä Mäᶜar, with 3 m diameter) or strikingly thin (Abunä Zärʾabruk, 23 x 23 cm) columns or pillars. However, everywhere in this group the imitation of Aksumite architectonic elements is poor. Their structural forms get lost when unsystematically applied as decorative motifs. Ornaments are most visible in the treatment of ceilings simulating wooden crossed beams, barrel vaults and lanterns. The ceiling can consist of a series of domes, even with imitation of pendentives (Qʷəraro Gäbrä Mikaʾel) and ribs (Qorqor Maryam). Most common are flat or shallow cupolas (Gʷəḥ Yəmʾata).

There is still another category of churches including those which were cut either as enlargements of a natural grotto (↗Qorqor Danəʾel, Harägʷa Mikaʾel) or in the form of one or more grottos (Qʷəraro Giyorgis, Angʷa Mikaʾel, Gulbəša Maryam). Some of these are very roughly carved (Mändaᶜ Mikaʾel, Yaᶜid Kidanä Məḥrät).

Relief decoration, usually representing crosses, is common for the entire second group, but even figural variants occur (Qorqor Maryam, Abraham's cell at Däbrä Ṣəyon). Also, their interiors are often extensively decorated with paintings. They were created at various times and represent different techniques (fresco al-secco, paintings on canvas), styles and iconographic programmes. The oldest examples, from the 14th cent., are preserved in Däbrä Mäᶜar and in Däbrä Ṣəyon (first set); the most recent, from the 18th cent., in Qʷəraro Gäbrä Mikaʾel. High-quality paintings of the second Gondärine style decorate Səllaᶜ Abba Gärima and ↗Maryam P̣appasäyt while the local 17th-cent. production is represented by Yoḥannəs Mäᶜaquddi.

In Buxton's five-part typology of Ethiopian rock-hewn church architecture, none from G. is attributed to the earliest or "Archaic" period (10th to 11th cent.), while Lepage suggests, with some reservations, that Dəgum and Bäraqit Maryam may belong to the 10th-12th cent. (1971: 177f.; 1972:177, 200). G.'s churches are equally absent from Buxton's second and third types: respectively, "Inscribed-Cross Churches" (11th to 12th cent.) and "Classic Ethiopian Basilica" (13th-14th cent.?). They first appear in his fourth group of the "Tigrean Basilicas-Earlier Series" (13th-14th cent.). Typical of this group is a progressive misunderstanding of Aksumite building tradition (with the exception of the ceilings, still faithfully reproducing several types of wooden constructions) and a lack of architectural differentiation between the bays of the sanctuary and those of the naves: e.g., Qorqor Maryam, Yoḥannəs Mäᶜaquddi, Dəgum Śəllase, Däbrä Mäᶜar. The last group of Buxton, the "Tigrean Basilicas-Later Series" (14th-15th cent.), is characterized by the absence of a clear distinction between aisles and nave, the disappearance of Aksumite features and a multiplication of domes: e.g., Däbrä Ṣəyon and Gʷəḥ Yəmʾata.

Owing to lack of any restoration and preservation programme, almost all churches of G. are in a bad state. Most striking is the case of Harägʷa Mikaʾel, where the entire wall bearing precious early 14th-cent. paintings has totally collapsed.

Lit.: DAVID BUXTON, "The Rock-hewn and other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 103, 1971, 1–99; OTTO DALE, "The Rock-hewn Churches of Tigre", *EthObs* 11, 2, 1968, 121–51, here 124–31, 136ff.; GEORG GERSTER, *Kirchen im Fels: Entdeckungen in Äthiopien*, Zürich ²1972, pl. 34–54 (ill.); MARIA-LUISE VON GRABERG et al., "Chronologie der alt-äthiopischen kirchlichen Kunst", in: FRANZ ALTHEIM (ed.), *Christentum am Roten Meer*, vol. 1, Berlin 1971, 474–83; OTTO JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia*, Stuttgart ²1974, 111–23, figs. 1–21; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Les monuments chrétiens rupestres de Degum, en Éthiopie (rapport préliminaire)", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 21, 1971, 167–200; ID., "L'Église rupestre de Berakit", *AE* 9, 1972, 147–88; IVY PEARCE, "Pearce's Pilgrimage to the Rock Hewn Churches of Tigray", *EthObs* 11, 2, 1968, 77–120, here 84–106; RUTH PLANT – DAVID BUXTON, "Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province", *ibid.* 13, 3, 1970, 157–267, here 186–211; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 41–75; ROGER SAUTER, "Églises rupestres au Tigré", *AE* 10, 1976, 157–75, here 165–68; TEWELDEMEDHIN JOSIEF, *The Monolithic Churches of Tigray*, Addis Ababa 1970, 21, 54.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Gäramanǧo

G. (ገራማንጆ) refers to a spirit medium "cult" (↗Eqo; ↗Possession cults) in the ↗Käfa region of southern Ethiopia. Though the ideological onslaught and suppression of the post-1974 *Därg* regime and its successor diminished the cult's importance, it is by no means dead. Within one Käfiččo clan, the Hammo, there is an hereditary line of mediums in which the G. spirits possess one individual in each generation. According to certain sources (Lange 1975:116), the cult originated among the ↗Yäm, who, like the Käfiččo, are also a Gonga people. The spirit-medium is a charismatic figure whom the people consult for a variety of purposes: divination, migration, land-disputes, selection of suitable marriage-partners, fertility problems, serious illnesses and other personal crises, apparently with some success. The medium held "court" in a special compound and was always consulted through intermediaries. The G.'s central residence was in Goba-Çara, a rural location two days' walk from Bonga, but he also had accommodations near the locality of ↗Bonga. The incumbent possessed extensive land-holdings, many wives and thousands of cattle; he also had many people working for him.

The G. cult was a regional phenomenon extending into the areas of the Benç, Še, Meʾen, Çara, Nayi and Šekačo peoples. It became a religious world-view, especially among the Benç, because neither (Orthodox) Christianity nor any other religion was firmly established among them. Many secondary spirit-mediums across Käfa were tributary to the chief G. medium, having received their formal power or authority from him. They built large compounds with "spirit houses" in their home-communities to receive and treat people. In return for their services they too were rewarded and consequently accumulated substantial wealth for themselves. The people brought yearly payments or transfered gifts and property to the G. cult-centre in Käfa (e.g., livestock, grain and in more recent years money). Additionally, young boys and girls were offered to work for the medium. The mediums thus formed a network throughout Käfa and beyond that is still in existence today.

During the *Därg* regime the G. cult was labelled as "baseless superstition" and "deceptive"; consequently, the regime persecuted its followers severely. In 1976 the revolutionary *Zämäča* students in Bonga and Käfa purposely desecrated the G.'s utensils in his home and humiliated him. A number of G. followers later took revenge when they killed a group of these students by surrounding and burning down a school where they were gathered. In 1978 the incumbent G. (Lange 1982, fig. 36) was himself killed by government forces, and many of his followers were also persecuted in the following years. Following these acts of persecution, the cult went underground.

Today, though the era of powerful spirit-mediums has all but disappeared, a form of the G. cult still exists in the south-western countryside. The current mediums, however, take a much lower profile, because the state authorities continue to view them as superstitious and backward. They also face mounting competition from expanding Evangelical Christianity (↗Protestantism). Until the mid-1990s, Academic studies on spirit-possession cults in general have been lacking, so that scant material exists on the G. cult and its subsidiaries. The political situation has made it difficult to remedy this. The ethno-historian Werner Lange devoted some attention to the G. in his works on the Gonga and the Benç peoples (1975: 113–17; 1982). Though recent years have seen a renewed interest in the subject of spirit-possession by several Ethiopian researchers, little has been published on the subject.

Še-Maha, reverence to the *Gäramanǧo* shrine; photo 1972/74 by Werner Jürgen Lange; courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (37-La035-40)

Lit.: GEZAHEGN PETROS, "The *Kah* of Shashintet: Spirit Possession Cult in Eastern Bench", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 115–24; NICHOLAS GILDAS, *The Dizzu of Southwest Ethiopia: an Essay in Cultural History based on Religious Interaction*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles 1976; WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *Gimira: Remnants of a Vanishing Culture*, Bamberg 1975; ID., *A History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982.

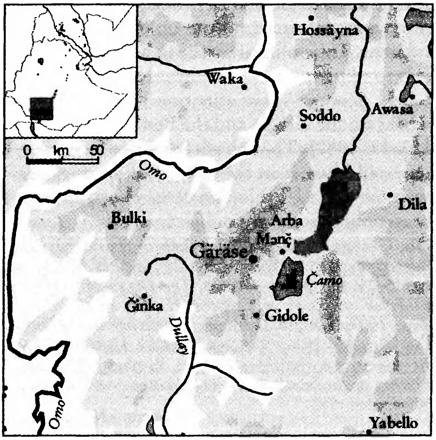
Jon Abbink

Gäräse

G. (also written Garassè [Scott 1950-51:110f., 155] or Ghereze [Vannutelli–Citerni 1899, tavola 3a] and pronounced Gäräsä) is the name of a town in the southern part of Central ↗Gamo. It was a *məkəttəl wäräda* administrative centre for many years under Kämba *wäräda* administration in ↗Gardula *awraǧǧa*. It was later on given *wäräda*-centre status for Bonke administration in ↗Gamo Gofa (formerly Northern Omo) province.

G. has been a trading centre for a long time. Its location at two important routes that extend from Lake ↗Çamo to Gofa and to the Omo and from ↗Šäwa through the heart of Gamoland south to Gidole (Gardula) and beyond made it an important camping-centre for trade caravans.

G. is also a traditional territorial unit (*dere*) of the Gamo, constituted by G. and the neighbouring settlements of Dambille, Mele, Algude, Zame, Zaziʾe, Bode, Monne, Dambala, Zillo, Zemute and Urga. The open market at Zillo is the central market and traders come from surrounding parts of Gamo with lowland and highland crops on Tuesdays and Saturdays, the two market-days. Zillo *dubuša* is the main assembly-place where matters of interest to the settlements listed above are discussed. Scott refers to G. as a village. The *guta* neighbourhoods listed above centred around G. consider themselves as belonging to Zato son of Onte, their founding ancestor. The last official *kawo* ritual king of this place was the late Ç̣oqo Ç̣onde.



Today G. is the administrative centre of the *wärädа* of Bonke. According to Wändəmmu Gäzzahäñ (personal communication), the population of the town, and the *wäräda* is 109,441. Prior to the choice of G., Bazza was the administrative town also known correctly as Bonke Bazza. Bazza was a well-fortified garrison town of the conquering soldiers of ↗Mənilək II, located high in the mountains. Other garrison towns within close range of G. include Balta Qara, Gulta, ↗Ç̣enča, ↗Koddo and Ezo in Gamo country and ↗Gardula further south. They were administered by high ranking military officers.

↗Dac̣e

Src.: interview with *ato* Wändəmmu Gäzzahäñ from Gäräse, ca. 56 years, Arba Mənč̣, 9 September 2000.

Lit.: HUGH SCOTT, "Journey to the Gughe Highlands (Southern Ethiopia), 1948–49", *Biogeographical Research at High Altitudes. Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London* 163, 1952, 85–189; LAMBERTO VANNUTELLI – CARLO CITERNI, *L'Omo: seconda spedizione Bottego, viaggio d'esplorazione nell'Africa Orientale*, Milano 1899.

Wolde Gossa Tadesse

Gäräsu Duki

G.D. (ገረሱ፡ ዱኪ; b. ca. 1904/05, d. 7 June 1966) was an Oromo patriot. He was born in the Wäliso area, some 100 km south-west of Addis Abäba.

During the ↗Italian war 1935–36, he fought the Italian army as a vanguard soldier in the battles of Tämben and ↗Mayc̣äw. After the Ethiopian army was defeated, he moved to his native area in western Šäwa and started his career as a patriot in the ↗Resistance movement. He fought for five years in Wäliso, Bačo, Mäc̣c̣a, Ammayya, Nonno, Botor, Ç̣äbo, Dilala, Gurage and Soddo, as well as in other areas. G.D. was given the title of ↗*ras* by his followers during the resistance, but dropped it during the restoration. He hanged an Italian spy, Castagna, who was sent to him by the Italian General ↗Martini pretending to be an envoy of peace.

G.D. was a warrior who fought through all the five years of the Italian rule. At the end of the Liberation campaign in 1941, he was the one to head the campaign for the liberation of ↗Ğimma on 17 June 1941.

Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I gave G.D. the title of *däǧǧazmač* some time after the Liberation and appointed him as governor of the provinces of Arsi, Gamo Gofa and Illubabor, successively. Later G.D. was appointed senator. He died in 1966 and was buried in Wäliso (MahHorse 279).

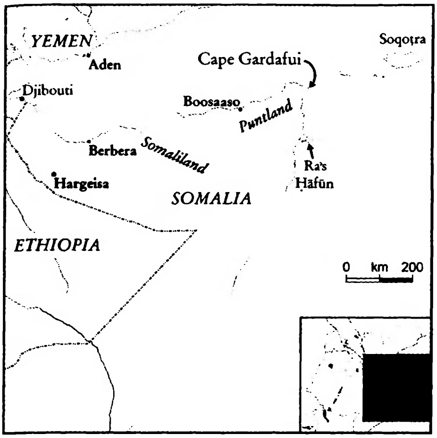
Src.: GSMen; GueCopMen, s. index.

Lit.: KENNETH CECIL GANDAR DOWER, *Abyssinian Patchwork*, London 1949; RICHARD DAVID GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, New York 1965; TADDÄSSÄ ZÄWÄLDE, ቀሪን፡ ገረመው፡ የአርበኞች፡ ታሪክ (*Qärin gärrämäw: Yäʾarbäññočč tarik*, 'Those who Survived were Amazed: a History of the Patriots'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; MahHorse 279.

Tabor Wami

Gardafui

Cape G. (also Guardafui, 11°44'12"N – 51°13'24"E; Somali *Raas Caseyr*) forms the eastern end of the Somali peninsula and of the African continent. Mount Hooda (1,400 m A.S.L.), a prolongation of the mountain chain



of Somaliland, falls to the sea, forming a 244-m cliff which separates the Gulf of Aden from the Indian Ocean to the west and east, respectively.

During the Italian colonization, a lighthouse was built on the top of the cape, named after the Prime Minister, Francesco Crispi, responsible for the offensive that concluded disastrously at ↗ᶜAdwa in 1896. The site protected the strait between Somalia and the island of Soqoṭra in the Yemen.

On the coast of the Indian Ocean, 200 km to the south, the Società Saline e Industrie della Somalia Settentrionale (Majurteen) built on both sides of the peninsula of Ra's Ḥāfūn (Somali: Raas Xaafun) the largest salt-works in the world. The firm, constituted in Milan in 1922, built a town for 5,000 inhabitants called Dante and started production in 1931. This gigantic project, a symbol of Mussolini's colonization, went bankrupt in 1935. The hinterland (province of Bari) was the territory of the *sulṭān* of Majeerteen – name of the clan eponym, – a subdivision of the clan-family of ↗Daarood. Since the de-facto independence of Somaliland (1991), there have been sporadic combats with the "Puntland" for the possession of the port of Boosaaso, in the Gulf of Aden.

Lit.: Lee Vincent Cassanelli, *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History, of a Pastoral People. 1600–1900*, Philadelphia 1982; Margaret Castagno, *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*, Metuchen 1975; Marcel Djama, "Trajectoire du pouvoir en pays somali", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 147, 37, 2, 1997, 403–28; Alain Gascon, "Crise nationale et crise spatiale en Somalie", in: *The Tragedy of Somalia*, Toronto 1991 (*Refuge*: *Canada's Periodical on Refugees*, special issue on Somalia 12, 5), 14–20; *Guida*; Jörg Janzen, "Ländliche Entwicklung in Somalia: Strukturen, Probleme, Tendenzen", *Geographische Rundschau* 38, 11, 1986, 557–64; David D. Laitin – Said S. Samatar, *Somalia, Nation in Search of State*, Boulder, CO – London 1987; Ioan Myrddin Lewis, *A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, Harlow 1980 (^{2}1982).

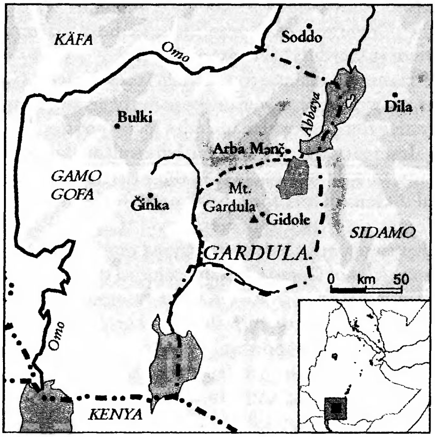
Alain Gascon

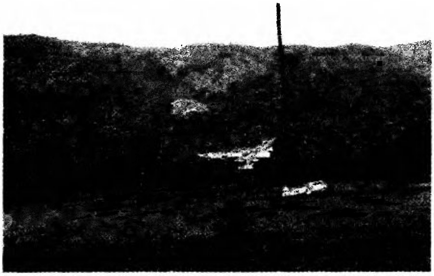
Gardula

G. (also Gardulla) is the name of a mountain, a town and an *awrağğa*, which included a *wäräda* by the name of G.

The mountain of G. (2,521 m A.S.L.) is locally known as Horoma Kalo in the language of the ↗Diraašša people. The Diraašša form one of the four or more ethnic groups living around this mountain. G. mountain lies west of the town of Gidole (Amh.; Diraašša: Kitoole), which is located at an elevation of around 1,538 m A.S.L. on the western escarpment of the rift valley. G. ceased to be the name of the town – founded as a military camp – when it was moved downhill to its present location and named Gidole during the brief Italian occupation (Hansamo Hamela 2000:138).

According to Gäbrä Śəllase's map of 1930 (GueCopMen), G. was an administrative centre of the ↗Boräna region, then a large territory governed by *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis, *aṣe* Mənilək II's War Minister. Boräna territory as shown on the map comprised the people and territories of Çäbo, Soddo, Gurage, part of Wällamo, Qutča, Boreda, Guèmo, Konso and Boräna. In this capacity, G. was the name of a town on Mount G. which was established after





View over Gidole *kätäma* towards the Gardula mountains; photo 1950/52 by Eike Haberland, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (023-Ha66 030–12)

the conquest of the territory in the late 1890s. A travel account by Harrison (1901:269) testifies to the use of G. as the name of an administrative centre: "At Gardula we camped in the middle of terraced gardens, all the hillside being leveled up by thousands of low stone walls: none of the plots are more than 2 m wide, and yet hundreds of miles are treated in this manner. Here we were courteously entertained by *fitawrari* Wäldo, who now represents the last Abyssinian outpost; owing to the fearful drought, the more advanced posts at Hamär Koki and on the Omo have all been forced to retire. This officer has 1500 soldiers under his command, who spend all their time killing elephants for the emperor; he told us they alone have sent 1500 tusks to Addis in the last two months, which possibly accounts for the few we found."

Hodson, the British Consul who lived in G., also used the name in the sense of a garrison town: "… I wished to call upon Fitaurari Waldi, the Governor of Boran, whose headquarters were at Gardula" (Hodson 1970:33).

Hansamo Hamela (op. cit. 22f.) uses the term G. as a town-name as well as the name of an administrative territory which includes many entities.

Immediately after the withdrawal of the Italians, Gidole was made the administrative capital of ↗Gamo Gofa for a brief period of time. The centre was later transferred to ↗Čenča. From that time until 1991, G. remained one of the four *awraǧǧas* of Gamo Gofa. It included the *wärädas* of Gumayde, Konso, Kamba, Bonke and G. During the *Därg* rule the number of *wärädas* was rearranged and was limited to three.

The population of G. *awraǧǧa* consisted of ↗Gamo, ↗Konso, ↗Gawwada and mixed communities of Konso, Diraašša, ↗Burǧi and Kore. The *wäräda* territory that took the name of G. was constituted by Diraašša, Mosiye and Haralle peoples.

Today the name G. has been narrowed down to represent its original referent, the mountain west of the town of Gidole, after the rearrangment of the whole ethnic-territorial complex of Ethiopia during the last decade of the last century.

Recently the phrase Konso-Gardula has reappeared in archaeology to denote a palaeo-anthropological area discovered by the 1991 palaeo-anthropological inventory of Ethiopia in the Southern Main Ethiopian Rift.

Src.: GueCopMen.

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, "History of Events and Internal Development: the Example of the Burji-Konso Cluster", in: *PICES* 8, 751–61; BIRHANE ASFAW et al., "The Earliest Acheulean from Konso-Gardula", *Nature* 360, 1992, 732–35; HANSAMO HAMELA, በደቡብ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ወግና፡ ልማድ፤ የድራሼ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ታሪክ (*Bädäbub Ityopya wägənna ləmad*; *yädəraše həzb tarik*, 'Traditions and Customs in Southern Ethiopia. The History of the Diraaššaa People'), Addis Abäba 1993 A.M. [2000 A.D.]; ARNOLD WIENHOLT HODSON, *Seven Years in Southern Abyssinia*, Weastport, Conn. 1970 [1st ed. 1927]; PankHist II, 199f., 252, 358; GEORG KURT REIN, *Abessinien: eine Landeskunde nach Reisen und Studien in den Jahren 1907–1913*, Berlin 1918–20; HUGH SCOTT, *Journey to the Gughe Highlands (Southern Ethiopia) 1948–9*, London 1952; IVO STRECKER, *Berimba's Resistance: the Life and Times of a Great Hamar Spokesman as Told by his Son Aike (Baldambe)*, ms., Mainz 2000; YOHANNES ZELEKE, "The Early Acheulean of Africa with Pick: a Case Study at KGA4 A2 Assemblage Konso-Gardula (Ethiopia)", paper presented at the 5th *World Archaeological Congress*, Washington, DC, June 2003.

Wolde Gossa Tadesse

Gärima

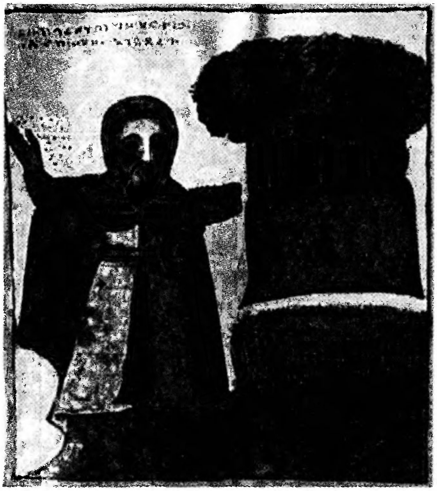
Abba G. (**ገሪማ**; also known as Yəsḥaq) was one of the so-called ↗Nine Saints – holy monks of foreign origin who came to Ethiopia in Aksumite times, between the 5th and 6th cent. A.D.

In traditional sources both the composition of this group and the chronology of individual Saints have some variations. The main source on G. is a Homily (↗*Dərsan*, in this case not much differing from a Vita or ↗*gädl*) in his honour written, according to the text, by a certain ↗Yoḥannəs, *eppisqoppos* of Aksum (the memorial reading in the ↗*Sənkəssar* for 17 *Säne* is thought to have been extracted from the Homily, s. GuiSyn I, 626–29). Here, the Saint's father is Masfəyanos, "king of Rome [↗Byzantium?]"; his mother, Səfəngəya (or Fəngiya), remained barren for twelve years prior to G.'s birth. The child received the baptismal name of Yəsḥaq; he later succeeded his father and reigned seven years. Then, following a call from *abba* ↗Pänṭälewon, he left his kingdom and went to ↗Aksum (Conti Rossini 1897: 153). Historically, this could have happened in the late 5th cent. (CRStor 158–61; BrakKirche 127–31). Pänṭälewon initiated G. into monastic life. At the request of a "noble from Aksum" and in order to save Ethiopia from its king, the "dragon" (↗*Arwe*), G. continued praying for 40 days together with the other Saints; thereafter, the "dragon" was killed by a God-sent lightning strike (Conti Rossini 1897:158) and the pious ↗Kaleb became "king of Ethiopia". The inclusion of the folklore legend of the "serpent king", more commonly linked with the legendary figure of ↗Mənilək I and pre-Christian times, is a striking difference from other traditions (e.g., about ↗Pänṭälewon, ↗Zämika᾽el Arägawi), in which the arrival of the Nine Saints is put in the time of Alᶜamida/Al(ᶜa)meda (cp. ↗Ǝllä ᶜAmida), succeeded by ↗Tazena and ↗Kaleb (one of the mss. of the Homily has a passage aimed at lending chronological support to the unusual moving of the "serpent king" legend to the time of G., s. Conti Rossini 1897:171f.).

When the Nine Saints decided to disperse throughout the country, G. went to ↗Mädära (near ᶜAdwa), where he remained working miracles. At that place, called Däbrä Mädära (or Betä Mäsqäl) in the homily, King ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl – the second successor of Kaleb – built a church for G. (Conti Rossini 1897:167), which is believed to be the nucleus of the celebrated monastery of ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima. G. became *liqä kahənat* of Mädära; the homily vaguely reports, once, that G. "was beaten" (ibid. 169), thus possibly alluding to some resistance that the Evangelizers of Aksum's vicinities had to face.

The homily recounts a number of G.'s miracles, some of which became emblematic of his personality and, in general, of the holy power of the Nine Saints: wondrous growth of cereals and grapes for Eucharistic bread and wine (Conti Rossini 1897:161 and 168, where his spiritual children are said to have built "40 communities" of 150 monks each), a fallen pen-*qäläm* sprouting out (cp. Conti Rossini 1904:51f.; Guidi 1894: 62f.; YaqMist I, 122f.).

A Syriac etymology of the name G. has been rejected in favour of an Ethiopic one (s. Conti Rossini 1897:140). It is indeed an Aksumite name, already borne by an Ethiopian prince in ca. 230–40 A.D.: ↗GRMT, found in Sabaean inscriptions from ca. 230–40 A.D. (cp. Marrassini 1999:328). Yet, no longer understood as such, the name was traditionally explained in connection with Gəᶜəz *gärrämä* ('frighten, scare, astonish'). According to the homily, when the Saint was (falsely) accused of celebrating the mass without keeping a strict fast before hand, Pänṭälewon wanted discretely to inquire him, and G. had all the stones and trees around move far away. Deeply impressed, Pänṭälewon would have exclaimed: *abba kəbur gärrämkäni!*, 'Oh honourable father, you did astound me!' (Conti Rossini 1897:165; a different story, though based on a similar sentence, is in the *Gädlä Pänṭälewon*, s. Conti Rossini 1904:60). Nor does it seem more tenable that G. participated in the creation of the Ethiopic ↗Bible, as it might be weekly surmised from a passage in the Homily (s. Conti Rossini 1897:161f.; ↗Syriac influences).


Miracle of *abba* Gärima: the wondrous harvest; miniature from ms. *Maṣḥafä Śəllase*; Čäläqot, Church of the Trinity; turn of the 19th and 20th cent.; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

In medieval Ethiopia, Yəsḥaq/G. was widely venerated. The homily in his honour dates back to the 15th cent. (the brief introduction strongly advocates the cult of St. Mary, Conti Rossini 1897: 49). The name Yəsḥaq prevails in the homily and other texts, whereas G., seemingly, is favoured in popular devotion (Conti Rossini 1942:167, 201): it labels, among others, the images of G. in the famous wall-paintings of Ǝnda Abunä Yəm᾽ata

(↗Gʷəḥ, s. Gerster 1968, fig. 188) and a in fragment of canvas from ↗Däbrä Damo (Mordini 1952). The 15th-cent. Acts of Zämikaʾel Arägawi first speak of Yəsḥaq (nephew of Zämikaʾel) and later of "Yəsḥaq who is G." (Guidi 1894:62, 63). However, G., not Yəsḥaq, is mentioned in a homily by "Julian [Luləyanos], bishop of Aksum", also praising ↗Yəmʾata and ↗Guba, that is transmitted in ms. EMML 1763 (Getatchew Haile 1985) from Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, dating between 1336 and 1340 (cp. ms. London, BritLib Or. 8192, fol. 119vb–20vb). Earlier attestations of Yəsḥaq/G. are missing; it cannot be excluded that this Saint is a conflation of two different historical persons: Yəsḥaq and G.

Src.: IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Il 'Gadla' Aragâwî'", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 2, 1894, 54–96; EMML 1834, fol. 11a–15b, 16a–20a, 96a; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'omelia di Yohannes, vescovo di Aksum, in onore di Garimā", in: *Actes du IXe Congrès International des Orientalistes. Section Sémitique*, Paris 1897, 139–77; ID., *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum*, I. *Acta Yārēd et Panṭālēwon*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]), 44, 51, 52, 60 (text) = 40, 46, 47f., 55f. (tr.); ID., *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbania 1942, 167, 201; CRAbb no. 129; KinBibl 75, no. 70; StrBritLib 91, no. 56 [Or. 8192]; YaqMist I, 122f. (text) = 74f. (tr.); GuiSyn I, 626–29; BudSaint 1009f.; MARIUS CHAÎNE, "Répertoire des Salam et Malkeʾe", *ROC* 18, 1913, 193–203, 337–57, here 338, no. 200.

Lit.: GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Homily of Luləyanos, Bishop of Axum, on the Holy Fathers", *ABoll* 103, 1985, 385–91; BrakKirche 127–31; CRStor 158–61; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Garima, in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 971f. (Lit.); GEORG GERSTER, *Kirchen im Fels. Entdeckungen in Äthiopien*, Zürich 1968, fig. 188; *DicEthBio* 70; SerHist 118; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Ancora sul problema degli influssi siriaci in età aksumita", in: LUIGI CAGNI (ed.), *Biblica et Semitica. Studi in memoria di Francesco Vattioni*, Napoli 1999 (Istituto Universitario Orientale. Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Ser. Minor 59), 325–37, here 328; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Un'antica pittura etiopica", *RSE* 11, 1952 [1953], 30–32; MARC-ANTOINE VAN DEN OUDENRIJN, *La Vie de Saint Za Mīkā'êl 'Aragāwī*, Fribourg (Suisse) 1939, 10ff.

Denis Nosnitsin

Gärima Taffärä

G.T. (ገሪማ፡ ታፈረ, b. 24 June 1912, d. 11 August 1982, Gondär) was a priest, teacher, patriot, administrator and author with profound knowledge of the history and society of ↗Gondär and Bägemdər.

He received a traditional church education and became an Orthodox priest and a public school teacher. During the Italian occupation 1935–41, he joined the patriots, reporting on Italian activities in Gondär and carrying intelligence between Khartoum and Bäläsä, activities, for which Italian authorities twice imprisoned him in Gondär. He fought with British and Ethiopian forces in the liberation of Gondär and Bägemdər in October and November 1941 and was decorated for his wartime service. After the war, G.T. was a lieutenant in the Gondär police force, and, from 1946 to 1965, a public school administrator in Čəlgä and in Gondär.

G.T. devoted the remainder of his life to researching and writing about 19th- and 20th-cent. Gondär. His best known works are: *Gondäre bägaššaw*, about the patriots in Bägemdər; *Abba Taṭäq Kasa*: *Yäqʷaraw anbäsa*, about *aṣe* Tewodros II ; and *Yämäkära däwäl käMəṣəwwa əskä Mätämma*, about the late 19th-cent. challenges posed by the Italians and the dervishes. He also wrote on other topics, including Gondär city history.

Src.: GÄRIMÄ TAFFÄRÄ, ጎንደሬ፡ በጋሻው (*Gondäre Bägašaw*, 'The Gondäre with his Shield'), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. [1956 A.D.]; ID., አባ፡ ታጠቅ፡ ካሳ፡ የቋራው፡ አንበሳ (*Abba Taṭäq Kasa*: *Yäqʷaraw anbäsa*, '*Abba* Tatäq Kasa: the Lion of Qʷara'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969 A.D.]; ID., የመከራ፡ ደወል፡ ከምጽዋ፡ እስከ፡ መተማ (*Yämäkära däwäl kämaṣəwwa əskä Mätämma*, 'The Harbinger of Adversity from Massawa to Mätämma'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1971 A.D.]; interviews with Gärima Taffärä in Gondär, 1972–73, especially 4 May 1972; interview with Gäbru Kasa Yəggəzaw in Gondär, 16 November 2000.

Lit.: የአቶ፡ ገሪማ፡ ታፈረ፡ አጭር፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ (*Yäʾato Gärima Taffärä aččər yäḥəywät tarik*, 'A Short Account of the Life of Gärima Taffärä'), ms., Gondär, 11 August 1982.

LaVerle B. Berry

Garlic

G. (*Allium sativum*; Amh. ነጭ ፡ ሽንኩርት *näč šənkurt*, Tgn. ጻዕዳ ፡ ሽጉርቲ *ṣaʿda šəgurti*, Oromo *qullubbii adii*) belongs to the family *Liliaceae* and has its origin in Central Asia and in the Near East. The plant was used more than 5,000 years ago by the Sumerians and later in Egypt and India. It is one of the oldest cultivated plants and is widely grown and used in many parts of Ethiopia and Eritrea. Ethiopia ranks among the 20 countries with the highest G.-production (average annual production in 2004, 71,000 million tons).

A relatively small main bulb of G. is surrounded by a number of subsidiary bulbs, all enclosed by white husks forming a large bulb that can become as big as a fist and is of plump shape with flattened-out basis. The membranous skin of the G.-bulb encloses up to 20 edible bulblets, called cloves. G. is grown as an annual crop and is propagated by planting cloves or top bulblets. It has a powerful, onion-like aroma and pungent taste and is used in many national cuisines as a relish.

G. contains about 0.1 % essential oil, the principal components of which are diallyl disulfide, diallyl trisulfide and allyl propyl disulfide, which have a positive effect on certain health disorders. However, only in recent times has G. been subjected to scientific research. The four main areas of research have covered G.'s effects on diseased organisms (antimicrobial effects), its effects on heart and blood-vessels (cardiovascular health), its antioxidant effects and its potential for cancer prevention. Positive effects have been demonstrated in both animals and humans, though there is a need for more well-designed clinical trials, the better to determine therapeutic value, dosage levels and duration of treatment.

In Ethiopia and Eritrea G. bulbs are used either sliced or ground to flavour all kinds of sauces, stews and salad dressings. It is generally mixed into all blended sauce-powders, such as ↗*bärbäre*.

Since ancient times, G. has been used in many cultures throughout the world as food, but also as a folk remedy for various ailments. People in Ethiopia and Eritrea, especially in rural areas, prize the healing effect of G. and make use of it in different ways. E.g., mothers make their baby smell G. when they notice that the child does not feel well. G. is used together with honey and butter, or in combination with other plant remedies, in the treatment of malaria, eczema, and snake bites (Dawit Abebe – Ahadu Ayehu 1993). Other authors report the use of G. in the treatment of the common cold, (whooping) cough (Lulu Muhe et al., 1994) and pulmonary tuberculosis (Dawit Dikasso – Tadesse Mola Tito 1999), as well as of influenza and symptoms of gout. In the Təgrəñña traditions, G. and rice are used together with kohl as a wound-dressing when a child has been circumcized (Gebre Selassie 1986).

Src.: Food and Agriculture Organization, *Major Food and Agricultural Commodities and Producers*, from the FAO internet site.

Lit.: Dawit Abebe – Ahadu Ayehu, *Medicinal Plants and Enigmatic Health Practices of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba 1993; Dawit Dikasso Dilbato – Tadesse Mola Tito, "Medicinal Preparation and Use of Garlic by Traditional Healers in Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples States, Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Journal of Health Development* 13, 2, 1999, 93–99; John A. Milner, "A Historical Perspective on Garlic and Cancer", *Journal of Nutrition* 131, 2001, 1027–31; Khalid Rahman, "Historical Perspective on Garlic and Cardiovascular Disease", *ibid.* 977–79; Richard S. Rivlin, "Historical Perspective on the Use of Garlic", *ibid.* 951–54; Lulu Muhe – Yemane Kidane – Desta Shamebo – Ingela Krantz – Lennart Freij, "The Butajira Rural Health Project in Ethiopia: Mothers' Perceptions and Practices in the Care of Children with Acute Respiratory Infections", *International Journal of Health Sciences* 5, 3, 1994, 99–103; A. Gebre Selassie, "Rituals of Childbirth in the Tigrigna of Ethiopia (Axum Area)", *Newsletter of International African Committee for Traditional Practices affecting Health of Women and Children* 2, 1986, 9–11.

Anke Weissenborn

Gärmame Nəway

G.N. (**ገርማሜ፡ ነዋይ**, b. 1924, Addis Abäba, d. 24 December 1960, near Addis Abäba) was the son of an ecclesiastical official from Goǧǧam. Through his mother he belonged to the Moǧa family of the Šäwan nobility. His elder brother was Brigadier General ↗Mängəśtu Nəway, commander of the Imperial Body Guard (1955–60).

After receiving primary education at Täfäri Mäkʷännən School in Addis Abäba, G.N. joined the ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School. The Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän sponsored his higher education in the United States, where he earned his B.A. degree from the University of Wisconsin (Madison) and his M.A. from Columbia University. His M.A. thesis on land alienation in colonial Kenya was a veiled critique of class exploitation in his own country.

After his return from his studies, G.N. strove to organize his fellow intellectuals with a view to inducing administrative reform. He first set up a discussion group known as the "Qäčäne Club" (after the house in that neighbourhood in the capital given to him by the progressive *ras* ↗Əmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase). When that group failed to hold together, he sought to exert pressure through an alumni association of Kotäbe graduates.

Apprehensive of his radical views and his predilection for organization, the government tried to remove him from the centre by appointing him successively governor of Wälaytta and then Ǧiǧǧiga. G.N. translated these posts of banishment – for they were little short of that – into models of equitable administration. Probably realizing the inadequacy of such isolated measures, he took the step that put him into the history books. He is generally believed to have been the moving spirit behind the abortive ↗Coup d'état

1960, led by his brother, Mängəśtu, and enjoying the active support of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I's security chief, Colonel ↗Wärqənäh Gäbäyyähu. After the failure of the coup, G.N. and Mängəśtu managed to escape, but were hounded and discovered some weeks later at their hideout not far from the capital. G.N. died in the course of the shootout; Mängəśtu was captured, tried and hanged.

Lit.: ADDIS HIWET, *Ethiopia: from Autocracy to Revolution*, London 1975, 90ff.; BZHist 211–15; BAHRU ZEWDE, "The Intellectual and the State in Twentieth Century Ethiopia", *PICES* 12, 483–96; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, "The Ethiopian Coup", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, 4, 1968, 495–507; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London, 1965, 336–418; TEKESTE MELAKE, *The 1960 Coup d'Etat in Ethiopia*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1990.

Bahru Zewde

Gärmame Wäldä Ḥawaryat

Däǧǧazmač G. (ገርማሜ፡ ወልደ፡ ሐዋርያት, b. ca. 1810, Tagulät, Šäwa, d. 1899, Qäčäma, Awaš valley) served ↗Śahlä Śəllase, ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot and ↗Mənilək II as a military commander, provincial governor and royal counsellor. Hardly anything is known about his formal education, but he was admired as the most intelligent and successful strategist by European travellers and Ethiopian writers.

G. quelled through a stratagem rebellions of the Oromo in the region from Sälale to the Awaš valley in 1848–49 and made his seat at Qäčäma. He submitted to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II in the late 1850s and stayed at his court until mid-1865 when he, together with a few other officials from Šäwa, smuggled out Mənilək from Mäqdala. Upon his return to Šäwa, he resumed the administration of his old province, which was, however, limited this time to the Awaš valley.

In 1876, G. was assigned to act as regent when *nəguś* Mənilək travelled to Bägemdər. He foiled the coup attempt of *märəd azmač* Ḫaylä Mika᾽el and *wäyzäro* Bafäna and pacified Šäwa before the *nəguś* returned.

Unlike many of his peers, G. preferred landed property and the storage of grain to anything else. During the great famine of 1888–92, he was the only notable who could supplement the depleted granaries of the imperial palace. He died of illness and was buried at the Lalibäla church cemetery of Qäčäma.

Src.: GueCopMen, s. index.

Lit.: HerTar 88; BAIRU TAFLA, "Four Ethiopian Biographies: Däggazmac Gärmamé, Däggazmac Gäbrä Egziabhér Moroda, Däggazmac Balča and Käntiba Gäbru Dästa", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 1–10; MahHorse 279f.; ḪAYLÄ ZÄLLÄQA, የደጃዝማች፡ ገርማሜ፡ ታሪክ (*Yädäǧǧazmač Gärmame tarik*, 'The History of *Däǧǧazmač* Gärmame'), ms. IES, n.d., 1–40.

Bairu Tafla

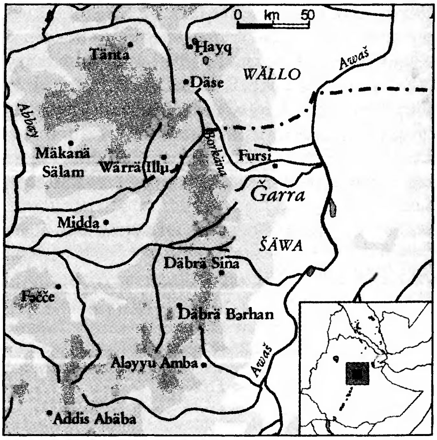
Garo ↗Käfa/Käfiččo

Ğarra

Ğ. (ጃራ) is the name of a river that runs eastwards from the highlands into the Awaš. A little to the north, the border between Šäwa and Wällo runs along the Borkäna river, another Awaš tributary.

The river gave its name to a small village on a bridge crossed by the Däse–Addis Abäba road and to an *awrağğa* in Šäwa (up to 1974), with Fursi as its capital. The village of Ğ. is so small that it did not find any mention either in the *Guida*, or in the CSA censuses of 1970, 1984 or 2000. At the beginning of the 1970s, the *awrağğa* was renamed as Yəfat–Təmmuga, a name borrowed from the emirate of Ifat, with Efeson/Aṭaye as its capital.

The territory of the *awrağğa* of Ğ./Yəfat-Təmmuga (10,900 km²) included parts of the highlands (↗*Däga*) inhabited by the Christian ↗Amhara, practising cereal agriculture, and the lowlands (↗*Qʷälla*), occupied by the Muslim ↗ᶜAfar, nomads and stockbreeders. In-between, along the bordering escarpment of the Rift Valley, there are the ↗Oromo and ↗Argobba, the latter claiming descent from Muslim merchants. They are farmers, cultivating the slopes.



With the administrative reform of 1991, the *awrağğa* disappeared: the lowlands were incorporated into the ᶜAfar *kəlləl* and the highlands into the Amhara *kəlləl* (North Šäwa Administrative Zone). Between 1970 and 1984, its population more than doubled, from 141,500 (14 inhabitants/km^2) to 331,271 inhabitants (32.8 inhabitants/km^2). By adding the *wärädas* of the highlands, including Anṣokiya and Gänz (225.4 inhabitants/km^2), Efrata and Gädäm (281.9 inhabitants/km^2), Mafud Mäzazo Mog and Nadära (132.8 inhabitants/km^2), as well as of Qäwät (151.5 inhabitants/km^2), the population reaches almost 500,000 inhabitants.

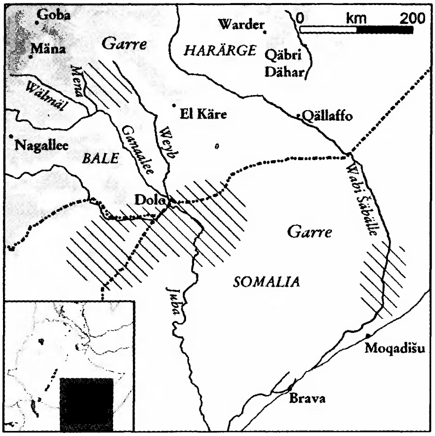
Lit.: CSA 1998; CSA 2000; CSA 1984; ÉLISABETH CHOUVIN, *Gestion des ressources végétales et pratiques paysannes en Éthiopie Centrale. Le cas des oélagineux*, thèse d'ethnobotanique, Musée d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris 2003; DESSALEGN RAHMATO, *Famines and Survival Strategies: a Case Study for Northeast Ethiopia*, Uppsala 1991; ÉLOI FICQUET, "À la découverte des amhariques. Langues et histoires éthiopiennes en regard", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 41, 163–64, cahiers 3–4, 2001, 497–515; EMAtlas; *Guida*; MesfGeogr.

Alain Gascon

Garre

G. (also referred to in the literature as Garreh, Gerra, Gherra, Garri etc.) is a Somali clan found in southern Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya. According to Lewis (1955:27), the G. inhabit at least four different locations: the lower reaches of the Šäbälle river near Awdegle, in southern Somalia; two areas in Ethiopia: around the border town of Dolo in the Upper Juba and bordering and intermingled with the ↗Arsi in an area between the Wabi Ǧestro (Wäyb) and the Wabi Mäna; and further to the south in northern Kenya between the Ağuraan and Digodia Somali.

Except for those G. living along the lower course of the Šäbälle river in southern Somalia and who speak a distinctive Somali variety, all the other G. are to a greater or lesser extent oromized and are part and parcel of those groups of "Proto-Rendille-Somali" culture which, according to Schlee (1989), have undergone "Booranization" after the 16th cent. While Booranization is apparently complete as far as language is concerned, the G. consider themselves and are considered Somali.



As to the agnatic position of the G. within the Somali clanic families, Colucci (1924), followed by Lewis (1955), considered them to represent the numerically most important clan of the "pre-Hawiye" family, who had preceded the ↗Hawiye in a very early migration from the north of Somalia. Local traditions investigated by Mohamed Nuuh Ali (1985) and already referred to by Cerulli (1957) and Turton (1975) ascribe to the G. (or a part thereof) a central role in the "Somalization" of the Lower Juba and of the coastal area around its mouth. In the course of their migrations, the G. came into contact with the Northern-Swahili-speaking Bajuni of the Bajuni Islands (certain Bajuni sections claim a G. origin) and dominated the whole area until the Orma invasions of the 16th cent. The most important linguistic result of the G. presence in what is today southern Somalia and northern Kenya has been the Somalization of the Boni (or Aweera), a hunting and gathering group of a few thousands living in the forest belt stretching along the coast of the Indian Ocean, immediately to the south of the Somalia-Kenya border (Tosco 1994b).

While nothing specifically links the G. to the north, there does not seem to be any evidence either of an ancient southward migration, all pointing to a "southern" origin of the G. in an area of strong Oromo/Somali (and Rendille) interaction. The internal clan-structure of the G. supports this view: like many groups of the area, the G. divide themselves into two moieties, which among the G. are called Tuuf and Quranyow; many almost identical names of sections are further found among the Rendille (cf. Schlee 1989 and Tosco 1994a).

Linguistically, the G. of southern Somalia speak a distinctive variety of Somali (Tosco 1989), which Lamberti (1985) classifies within his highly heterogeneous "Digil group" of dialects (although, agnatically speaking, the G. have nothing to do with the Digil clanic family). Giving credit to the historical traditions referred to above, the language of the G. (i.e. of the G. of southern Somalia) finds its closest linguistic relative, not among any other Somali dialects, but in the Boni language. The most important and unique isogloss linking G. and Boni is the devoicing of initial /d/ and /g/ (whereby these G. call themselves Karre and their language Af-Karre).

All the other G. groups, as anticipated, speak varieties of (Southern) Oromo.

Lit.: Mohamed Nuuh Ali, *History of the Horn of Africa, 1000 B.C.–1500 A.D.: Aspects of Social and Economic Change between the Rift Valley and the Indian Ocean*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 1985; Enrico Cerulli, *Somalia: scritti vari editi ed inediti*, Roma 1957; Massimo Colucci, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario della Somalia Italiana Meridionale*, Firenze 1924; Marcello Lamberti, *Die Somali-Dialekte*, Hamburg 1985; LewPeople 27; Günther Schlee, *Identities on the Move: Clanship and Pastoralism in Northern Kenya*, Manchester 1989; Mauro Tosco, *Schizzo grammaticale del dialetto Karre di Qoryooley*, Roma 1989; Id., "Notes on the Agnatic Structure of the Garre (Southern Somalia)", *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 54, 3, 1994a, 401–06; Id., "The Historical Reconstruction of a Southern Somali Dialect: Proto-Karre-Boni", *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 15, 1994b, 153–209; E. Romily Turton, "Bantu, Galla and Somali Migrations in the Horn of Africa: a Reassessment of the Juba/Tana Area", *JAH* 16, 4, 1975, 519–37.

Mauro Tosco

Gaš

The G. (Arab. خر القاش, *Ḫur al-Qāš*, in the Sudan pronounced *Ḫor al-Gāš*; Kunama *Sona*, *Soba*) is a seasonal river running through Eritrea and the Sudan. About 680 km long, it originates in the Eritrean highlands south-west of Asmära (called there ↗Märäb). In dialectology the term "G." designates a Beǧa dialect; the G. region is an ancient settlement-area, allowing a local dialect to develop (s. Morin 1999).

Debates among 19th-cent. European geographers on whether the G. and the Märäb were one river were solved by ↗Munzinger on his expedition to the Kunama (Munzinger 1890:359). From Arakebu on, the Märäb leaves the mountains and enters into the plains, in the beginning flowing underground. At this stage it is known under the name G., respectively Sona or Soba (*ibid.* 360, map). Hydrologically it is the same river, but in local tradition and naming both parts are detached from each other. The G. disappears in the arid lowlands north of ↗Kassala in an interior delta, the G.-Delta, its waters reaching the Nile drainage system underground in periods of great water flow and joining the ↗Atbara. The lower G. has water between 70 to 110 days a year (end of June to mid-September). However, the soil holds the water for about half a year, assuring intense cultivation, especially in the G.-Delta.

Starting from the beginning of the Egyptian expansion in the 19th cent., the G. attracted some interest among the new Egyptian-Sudanese leadership due to the fertile soil and its regular irrigation in the rainy seasons. The lower G. was included in the Egyptian realm in 1840 (and attached to Kassala), while the upper G. was only later annexed. In the 1860s the upper G. served as a border between the Egyptian ↗Taka province and French-Ethiopian-ruled Bogos (↗Bilin). *Ḫidīw* Ismāʿīl *bāšā* mentioned in 1863 to a British diplomat that he had no claims to Bogos or other Ethiopian territory "on the other side of the G." (contradicting, however, earlier claims), but on the Kunama. In 1869 he still seemed to accept the frontier marked by the G. (Longrigg 1945:105), while in 1872 the latter ceased to exist as a border when Bogos was formally annexed and, together with Taka, ↗Barka and G., attached to the Red Sea Coastal Province of the Ottoman empire (↗Ḥabeš).

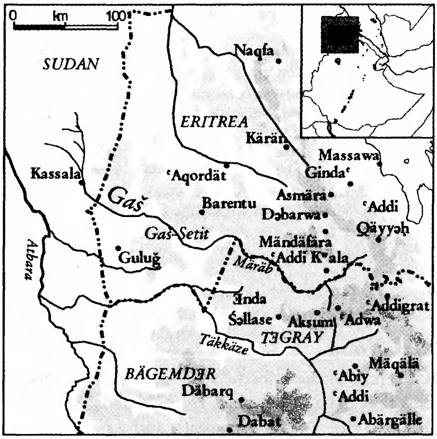
In the 1880s the advance of the ↗Mahdists was stopped close to the G. by *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda, who integrated the area into the ↗Märäb Mällaš in exchange of his alliance with Great Britain. However, following Italian colonial advance, Kassala was occupied by Italian troops. Subsequently, the whole upper G. region (with the Kunama and Nara) became Italian. For the rec-

The Upper Gaš, Kunama area, Eritrea; photo April 1993, courtesy of Paul B. Henze ognition of these new territories, Italy left Kassala to the British. This exchange of territories was realized legally by the 1902 border treaty (↗Boundaries).

Originally the G.-Delta was a savanna, dominated by tamarisk trees, that served as an important grazing-ground for the local Təgre and Beni ʿAmər herders. Already in the 1840s a canal had been built to irrigate the vast plain west of Kassala, abandoned in about the 1870s. Then about 3,000 ha were irrigated by the G. waters (Wondimeh Tilahun 1979:129). The first culture in the G.-Delta, still existing today, was cotton. In the period of the Mahdīya state it was largely replaced by durra and later, when it was under the British, again by cotton. In ca. 1901 about 600 ha were irrigated, as only small canals remained in use. By 1910 this had increased to 2,000 ha due to the construction of the new Kassala canal in 1905/06. Further canals followed until the 1920s, the irrigated area increasing to 6,000 ha (ibid. 129f.). In addition to cotton-plantations, the G. waters flooded wells, grazing-grounds and fields with food-crops.

Today the G.-Delta is still one of the most important agricultural centres of the Sudan (cp. Geographisch-Kartographisches Institut Meyer 1968). An irrigation system consisting of five main channels, starting from the eastern branch of the G., provides water for the plantations during the rainy season. The Delta comprises about 280.000 ha, up to 50 % of which can be irrigated; over 20.000 ha are irrigated yearly, the distribution of water changing on a yearly basis. Cotton dominates (up to 80 % high-quality cotton), with an additional of ca. 20 % of the products consisting of barley and, in small quantities, castor-oil plant and vegetables in smaller gardens. During the dry season fields traditionally become camel-grazing areas again.

Following the former British rules, the grounds are redistributed yearly on the basis of rents paid by local half-sedentary farmers and migrant-workers. A relatively high percentage of these are migrants from Western Africa (25%, *ibid.*), especially ↗Hausa, who settled here in the 19th and 20th cent. in the course of their pilgrimage to Mecca. The traditional trans-African pilgrimage route crosses the G.-Delta.



As the G. is of crucial importance for the irrigation of the cultures both in the Eritrean ↗Täsänäy and Sudanese Kassala regions, it has been subject of several exchanges of notes between Italy and Great Britain. In 1901 Italy declared that, while keeping her right to the G., the use of the water would be regulated "in accordance with the principle of good neighborship" (Wondimeh Tilahun 1979:69). In 1924–25 the Eritrean Governor Jacopo Gasparini and the Governor-General of the Sudan regulated in detail the use of the G. waters, following the project of a huge dam, built in 1924-27 by the Italians near Täsänäy (s. ibid. 121–34). British and Italian experts then prepared the agreement that water up to the discharge of "5 metres cube per second will be entirely at the disposal of the Government of Eritrea for the works at Tessenei" (ibid. 127), while the surplus was to be shared with the Kassala Province (e.g., when 20 m/second would be reached, 10 m³ would "be passed on for the Province of Kassala"). The Sudanese Government was paying an annual share of the sums earned from the irrigations to Eritrea.

In Italian colonial times the Commissariato di Gasc-Setit, named after the two rivers bordering it, was created in 1909, encompassing the Kunama and other groups at the G. (↗Eritrea, administrative division). Merging with the Commissariato di Barca in the 1930s, the region was then called Bassopiano Occidentale. Only in the 1960s was the province of G.-Setit created. Within the modern Eritrean state, the Province of G.-Setit existed from 1991 until 1995. It mainly comprised the Kunama-land, the Nara and some Təgre and Beni ʿAmər territories. In 1995 the administrative division was reshaped and it merged with Barka Province. Now it forms the G.-Barka.

Src.: *Kassala Province Files*, National Records Office, Khartum, Sudan.
Lit.: DIDIER MORIN, *Le texte légitime: pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Paris 1999 (Langues et Cultures Africaines 25); GEOGRAPHISCH-KARTOGRAPHISCHES INSTITUT MEYER (ed.), *Meyers Kontinente und Meere: Daten – Bilder – Karten, Afrika*, Mannheim – Wien – Zürich 1968, 147; WERNER MUNZINGER, *Studi sull'Africa Orientale*, Roma 1890, 359ff.; STEPHEN HELMSLEY LONGRIGG, *A Short History of Eritrea*, London 1945, 105; WONDIMNEH TILAHUN, *Egypt's Imperial Aspirations over Lake Tana and the Blue Nile*, Addis Ababa 1979, 67–72, 121–34.

Wolbert Smidt

Gaš group

G. refers to the ancient agro-pastoral communities that existed between ca. 2700 B.C. and 1400 B.C. in the ↗Gaš river delta and adjacent areas near the town of Kassala in the southern Atbai region of east-central Sudan. The G. group may have developed from the earlier Butana-group culture of the southern Atbai (ca. 3800–2500 B.C.). G.-group-culture-period settlement-sites range in size from 0.5 to 12 ha in total area and are characterized by large residential villages surrounded by smaller more ephemeral occupations. The most complex G.-group settlement investigated to date is the site of Mahal Teglinos near Kassala. Clay-stamp seals, sealings, and tokens have been found at Mahal Teglinos, suggesting that the site may have served administrative functions within the region. Mahal Teglinos also contains a formal burial-ground with three distinct types of monolithic stelae marking graves.

Subsistence remains recovered from archaeological excavations at G.-group sites suggest that G.-group communities kept cattle and goats/sheep, hunted wild animals, fished, gathered wild plant resources and may have cultivated cereal crops such as barley. The G.-group ceramic (↗Pottery) tradition is believed to be a regional and temporal variant of the larger Atbai ceramic tradition (late 5th millennium B.C. to early 1st millennium A.D., ↗Atbara) of east-central Sudan. G.-group ceramic assemblages are dominated by a high frequency of scraped ware, but also contain dash roulette, horizontal zig-zag and punctate-zoned rim-band decorative motifs. Ceramic sherds similar to those of the G.-group ceramic tradition have been documented in surface scatters at a number of archaeological sites surrounding the Eritrean town of Aqordät, including the sites of Kokan, Ntanei, Šabeit, Dandaneit, and Ǧabal Walād al-Baraq, suggesting that G.-group communities may have existed in the western lowlands of Eritrea. The position of the G. group settlements between the Nile Valley and the southern Red Sea regions may have been vital to the development of the nascent cultural complexity evident at sites such as Mahal Teglinos. Rodolfo Fattovich, one of the principal investigators of G.-group archaeological sites in the ↗Kassala area, has argued that the G.-group culture was a central component within a complex inter-regional exchange network that linked communities from the Egyptian and Nubian Nile Valley areas (↗Nubia), the northern Horn of Africa and the southern Arabian Peninsula.

Lit.: ANTHONY JOHN ARKELL, "Four Occupation Sites at Agordat", *Kush* 2, 1954, 33–62; ANTHONY E. MARKS – KARIM SADR, "Holocene Environments and Occupations in the Southern Atbai, Sudan: a Preliminary Formulation", in: JOHN BOWER – DAVID LUBELL (eds.), *Prehistoric Cultures and Environments in the Late Quaternary of Africa*, Oxford 1988, 69–90; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "The Late Prehistory of the Gash Delta, Sudan", in: LECH KRZYZANIAK – MICHAL KOBUSIEWICZ (eds.), *Late Prehistory of the Nile Basin and the Sahara*, Poznan 1989, 481–98; ID., "The Stelae of Kassala: a New Type of Funerary Monuments in the Eastern Sudan", *Archéologie du Nil Moyen* 3, 1989, 55–69; ID., "Evidence of Possible Administrative Devices in the Gash Delta (Kassala), 3rd–2nd Millennia B.C.," *ibid.* 5, 1991, 65–76; ID., "At the Periphery of the Empire: the Gash Delta (Eastern Sudan)," in: W. VIVIAN DAVIES (ed.), *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*, London 1991, 40–48; ID., "The Contribution of the Recent Field Work at Kassala (Eastern Sudan) to Ethiopian Archaeology", in: *PICES* 10, 43–51; ID. – ANTHONY E. MARKS – ABBAS MOHAMMED-ALI, "The Archaeology of the Eastern Sahel, Sudan: Preliminary Results", *The African Archaeological Review* 2, 1984, 173–88; KARIM SADR, *The Development of Nomadism in Ancient Northeast Africa*, Philadelphia 1991.

Matthew C. Curtis

Gaṣame/Gaṭame ↗Harro

Gasəčča ↗Däbrä Baḥrəy

Gasparini, Armido

G. (b. 19 August 1913, Lizzana, Bologna, d. 21 October 2004, Addis Abäba) was an Italian missionary. He attended elementary school in his home town and thereafter joined in Brescia the minor seminary of the Congregation founded by Daniel Comboni. From 1934 to 1938 he studied Theology at the Urban College of the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome. He was ordained priest in the Basilica of St. John Lateran in Rome on 16 April 1938.

By October of 1938 G. had reached Gondär, where Pietro Villa was Apostolic prefect. During that period of turmoil due to the war, he worked as the Prefect's secretary and engaged himself in the study of ↗Amharic. He was also active in trying to establish contacts with the clergy and the monks of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. However, the Italians were defeated and he was made a prisoner of war.

In 1941 G. moved to Asmära in the capacity of superior of the Comboni Fathers in Eritrea. In 1946, under his direction, construction work began of the prestigious Comboni College (now renamed "Barka School"), which was to be one of the most-shining academic institutions in Eritrea and win nation-wide approval. From 1959 to 1973 G. was in Rome as General Procurator of the Comboni Missionaries to the Holy See. In 1960 he was appointed Consultor of the then Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches. On 16 February 1973 he was elected administrator of the Apostolic prefecture of ↗Awasa (Sidamo). On 15 March 1979 the Prefecture of Awasa was raised to an Apostolic vicariate: as its first bishop, G. was in charge until 20 December 1993; and, on account of his dedication he was asked to stay in his post well beyond the age limit of 75 in force for Catholic bishops. He spent the rest of his lifetime between Awasa and Addis Abäba in the houses of formation of the "Handmaid of the Church", a female religious congregation he had founded in 1988. On his death he was buried in Awasa.

G. enjoyed the fame of being a skilful administrator and organizer. He was not only a prominent churchman, but an extraordinary linguist and polyglot who, besides in his native Italian, was also fluent in English, Hebrew, Arabic, Gəᶜəz, Amharic and Təgrəñña. During his stay in Sidamo, he learned Sidaama, Guǧǧi-Oromo and Gideʾo, writing useful grammars of these languages. In 1954–58, during his stay in Asmära, he acquired several important Ethiopic manuscripts, some of which go back to the 15th cent.; the great majority are now deposited in the ↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, "Fondo Comboniani" and have recently been catalogued (Raineri 2000:VII, 308, nos. 13, 15, 18, 41, 71, 81, 82, 84, 126, 128, 172, 202, 205, 209, 222).

Src.: Archives of the General Curia of the Comboni Missionaries, Rome; ARMIDO GASPARINI, የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ። ከረዥሙ፡ ባጭሩ፡ የተወጣጣ (*Yäʾityop̣ya tarik. Käräžžəmu bač̣č̣əru yätäwṭaṭṭa*, 'A History of Ethiopia. The Lengthy Exposed in Brief'), Aśmära n.d.; ID., "Di due vocaboli etiopici oscuri", *RSE* 5, 1946 [1947], 79–82; ID., አቡነ፡ ኮምቦኒ፡ የአፍሪቃውያን፡ ሐዋርያ (*Abunä Komboni yäʾafriqawəyyan ḥawarəya*, '*Abunä* Komboni, the Apostle of Africans'), Aśmära 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; ID. (ed.), የቅዱስ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ ወንጌል (*Yäqəddus Matewos wängel*, 'The Gospel of St. Matthew'), Aśmära 1957 A.M. [1964/65 A.D.]; ID., ከመጽሐፍ፡ ቅዱስ፡ የተወጣጣ፡ መንፈሳዊ፡ ትምህርት (*Kämäṣḥaf qəddus yätäwṭaṭṭa mänfäsawi təmhərt*, 'The Spiritual Teaching Emanating from the Holy Bible'), Awasa 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.]; ID., *Grammatica pratica della lingua sidamo*, Awasa 1978 [mimeographed]; ID., *Sidamo–English Dictionary*, Bologna 1983; ID., ዝናን፡ ተረትን፡ ምስላን፡ ናይ፡ቀዳሞት (*Zənnan tärätən məssəlan nay qädamot*, 'Amusing Stories, Tales and Proverbs of the Ancients'), Aśmara 1989 [repr.]; ID., *Grammatica Gede'o*, Trieste 1994 (Bibliotheca Africana 6); ID., *Gujji Grammar*, 1979; *Gede'o Grammar*, 1. *Exercises*, 2. *Proverbs, Folk Tales*, 1985; *Rules of Handmaids of the Church*, Amharic tr. by Tedros Abraha, 1986.

Lit.: ErDizBio 141; OSVALDUS RAINERI, *Codices Comboniani Aethiopici*, Città del Vaticano 2000 (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti 47), VIII, 308.

Tedros Abraha

Gasparini, Jacopo

G. (b. 23 March 1879, Volpago del Montello, Treviso, d. 1 July 1941, Asmära) was an Italian civil servant and Governor of the colonies of ↗Somalia and ↗Eritrea. After obtaining a degree in law, in 1902 G. joined the Italian Ministry of the Interior. In 1910 he became head of the Civil Affairs of the Somali colonial Government and responsible for legislative and juridical reforms. From 1913 he was Governor ad interim until 1919, when he was given the title and honorary status of Secretary. From 1 June 1923 to 1 June 1928 he was Governor of Eritrea. During this time G. set up a programme of land reclamation in Tessenei for cotton-plantation. In parallel, he fostered diplomatic relationships with the governments of the Arabian peninsula, especially the ↗Yemen, with whom he signed a treaty of friendship and commerce in Ṣanᶜāʾ. On 22 December 1928 he was named senator and from 1 July 1931 president of the Società Imprese Africane, that was engaged in the Tessenei project. In 1936 G. was again in Ṣanᶜāʾ to renew the agreement of 1926.

Src.: JACOPO GASPARINI, "L'Eritrea nella politica Coloniale italiana", *Gerarchia* 1927.

Lit.: ROBERTO CANTALUPO, "Jacopo Gasparini", *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana* 4, 1941, 686; LUIGI FEDERZONI, "Commemorazione di Jacopo Gasparini", *ibid.* 5, 1942, 291–93; GIUSEPPE DALL'ARMI, "Jacopo Gasparini", *Rivista delle Colonie* 1941; GIUSEPPE PUGLISI, *Chi è? dell'Eritrea*, Asmara 1952, ad vocem.

Gian Carlo Stella

Gašša

G. (ጋሻ) is an Amharic term meaning 'shield' which came to designate a (measured) plot of cultivated land – in particular, landholding granted to soldiers for their services – and then, by extension, a unit of rural land measurement.

The term, in the meaning of landholding or fief, was widely used already for land measurement in the ↗Gondärine kingdom (CrumLand 172). One G. consisted of eight to nine *mədər* (a primary unit of arable land, i.e. the area a ploughman could cover in one day). The actual size of a *mədər*, and thus of G., could therefore vary greatly depending on the quality of soil, the terrain and other geographical and ecological characteristics.

The first land measurement outside Bägemdər was instituted by Mənilək (future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) in Šäwa in 1879–80, who entrusted *ṣähafe təʾəzaz* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase with the work. G. was the basic unit employed. It was measured with the aid of a special cord, *qälad*, ca. 133 cubits long. One cubit (*kənd*) is traditionally believed to have been fixed by the arm of a certain Baymot. "Cubit Baymot" equalled to ca. 66.5 cm, one *qälad* therefore approximated to ca. 88 m. The actual size of one G. (on the average, ca. 1,200 m x 800 m) could vary from 12 x 8 to 20 x 9 *qälad*, depending on the fertility of the land and the kind of grain it yielded: a G. of fertile land was smaller than a G. of barren land. All lands, in particular those newly incorporated by Mənilək into the empire, were to be measured in G., *gašša märet* becoming a usual term for measured landholdings.

In 1941, the size of G. was fixed. A G. of land was equalled to 400,000 m^2 or 40 ha.

↗Measurement; ↗Land tenure

Src.: KaneDic 691, 1960; THMDic 124; DTWDic 317; GueCopMen 168, 209.

Lit.: BERHANOU ABBEBE, *Evolution de la propriété au Shoa (Ethiopie) du règne de Ménélik à la Constitution de 1931*, Paris 1971; BTafA 919, s. index; CrumLand 172f., 175, 177, s. index; GEBRE WOLD INGIDA-WORK, tr. by MENGESHA GESSESSE, "Ethiopia's Traditional System of Land Tenure and Taxation", *EthObs* 5, 4, 1962, 302–39; MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASSE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, ስለኢትዮጵያ፡ የመሬት፡ ሥሪት፡ አስተዳደርና፡ ግብር (*Səläʾityopya yämäret śərrit astädadärənna gəbr*, 'About Ethiopian Land Holding, Administration and Tax System), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; ID., "The Land System of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 1, 8, 283–301; MahZekr 105f., 110–13; RICHARD PANKHURST, *State and Land in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1966 (Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure 3); ID., "A Preliminary History of Ethiopian Measures, Weights, and Values (Part 1)", *JES* 7, 1, 1969, 31–54, here 52f.; PancEcon 152ff., 161.

Aberra Jembere – Red.

Gäṭär

G. (ገጠር) has two meanings: 'countryside, suburb', and, by extension, 'a countryside church'. It is a typical ecclesiastic structure of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church.

G. abound, as sub-parish churches, where the presence of such ecclesiastic institutions as ↗*gädam* or ↗*däbr* is scarce. Unlike the latter two, founded by emperors, kings, queens and members of the royal family, noblemen, bishops or the ↗*əč̣č̣äge*, G. are founded by the common folk, their number depending upon how many people live in the area. Before the Revolution of 1974, when the Church was not separated from the state, *gädam* and *däbr* had their own land and the G. had none.

Services in a G. differ from those in a *gädam* or a *däbr*. In the two latter, the prayers of the liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) – ↗*säʿatat*, ↗*maḫlet* – are conducted every day, whereas in the former the liturgy is performed only on Sundays and important holidays, *maḫlet* and *säʿatat* only conducted occasionally. In the *gädam* and *däbr* there are church schools and teachers, but not usually in G. Only in exceptional cases do the inhabitants hire teachers by providing them food.

In the G. there must be deacons (↗*Diyaqon*), assistant deacons and priests (↗*Qäsis*). In their absence, the service cannot be held and such a G. is considered *ṭäf* – a church where the service is discontinued. Most of the G. churches hire neither ↗*däbtära*-cantors nor ↗*märigeta*.

Lit.: *abba* GORGORYOS, የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስትያን፡ ታሪክ (*Yäʾityopya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstəyan tarik*, 'The History of the Ethiopian Orthodox *Täwaḥədo* Church'), Addis Abäba 1974 A.M. [1981/82 A.D.], 188ff.; AYMRO WONDAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU (ed.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 142; *liqä səlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, ጥንታዊ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ትምህርት (*Ṭəntawi yäʾityopya śərʿatä təmhərt*, 'The Ancient Order of Ethiopian Learning'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.], 304.

Merawi Tebege

Gato ↗Kusuma

Ǧawe

The Ǧ. (Jawe), a branch of the ↗Boorana Oromo, migrated during the 16th cent. from far southern Ethiopia through ↗Wäǧ and (Old) ↗Damot to the southern banks of Abbay. They are first mentioned in late 16th cent. Christian records in which they are called the Dawe, a word close to the Gəʿəz term for 'sickness, scourge', an indication of the dread with which they were regarded by their opponents, and nearly identical in sound with their name, *ǧawwee*, 'serpent' in Oromo.

The Ǧ. were probably part of the army that *aṣe* ↗Susənyos used to claim the throne in 1604 (1605 or 1607 according to different sources), and they were among the soldiers whom Susənyos settled in ↗Dära and Wəddo, districts east and southeast of Lake Ṭana, in the early 1620s.

During the 17th and 18th cent., the Ǧ. converted to Christianity; they also enrolled as cavalrymen in the army of (New) Damot, marching regularly in royal campaigns, serving as palace guards, and enjoying a fearsome reputation. In 1704, ↗Iyasu I settled them on the north bank of the Abbay in Damot as a bulwark against attacks by other Oromo living south of the Abbay. ↗Dawit III allowed them to massacre some 100 monks in Gondär when the clerics taunted him in 1721, and in 1732, Ǧ. forces from Damot helped rescue ↗Iyasu II from rebels in Gondär. The Ǧ. are little mentioned as a separate people in post-1800 records.

Src.: BassÉt II, 165f., 189f., 307 (tr.); BeckHuntAlm 113f., 123f.; BegCron 79f., 102f. (tr.); GraggDic 233, 457; GuiIohan 21, 37f., 47, 103f., 221–24; GuiIyas 45ff., 56, 79, 122–25, 138f., 181; CRHist 196f., 203f. (tr.); MHasOr 28 (map), 40f.; PerChron 200 (tr.); BTafA 280f., 396f., 418f., 424–27, 919.

LaVerle B. Berry

Ǧawla

Ǧ. (s. map for Gawwada) is the name of an old settlement in ↗Gamo Gofa which used to be one of the seats (*gadʾo*) of the ↗Gofa kings. Ǧ. was also one of the sections of the autonomous kingdom of Gofa. The other sections, ordered by seniority as usual for the territories of Omotic-speaking people, were Wurki, Ṣanga, Kenčo, Oll Wuzate, Anko Wačo and Badiri Ballo. In Ǧ. the king offered sacrifices in the sacred forest of Korra Wuga.

The historical capital of the Gofa kings used to be on top of a mountain in a location known as Ṣanga. When in 1891 the last king of the Gofa, Kamma, refused to surrender to Mənilək's general *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye, Ṣanga was devastated. More than 3,000 were killed or taken captive. After Kamma's death in battle, the victors looted property in the battle of Čaqo Qoḍe. Ṣanga was turned into a garrison centre of the conquering army. It became the first centre of the new administration in the late 1890s. By decision of *däǧǧazmač* Beša, after some years the administrative capital was moved to Ǧ. Beša was replaced as its head by *däǧǧazmač* Lämma, who in his turn was followed by *däǧǧazmač* Märəd. The latter moved the administrative centre to Barza and, by the time of *ətege* Ṭaytu's death (1918), to Bulki.

The choice of Ǧ. as the centre of the new administration was inspired by its central location and its proximity to other highland areas such as ↗Malo, ↗Basketo and ↗Aari country. Besides, Muslim slave-traders had a thriving slave market in Ǧ. which was later strengthened by the conquering army. The elevation and centrality of Ǧ. facilitated access to the highland garrison-centres. Ǧ. was a centre for nearly ten years. It was composed of the settlements of Gore Oda, Wuga Maštala and Bəlala Arketa. Ǧ. had twice-weekly market days on Wednesdays (bigger market) and on Sundays (smaller market). Based on Gofa political tradition, Ǧ. was administered by a representative of the Gofa kings (later *balabbats*), the *woraba*. Between the *woraba* and the grass-roots leaders, known as *bitante* were in ascending order the *moçona* and the *guda*.

Ǧ. weavers were well-known for their skills in weaving cotton products. They made *madda* costumes for high-ranking officials, as well as *gonpa* and *bunguza* for men for use as shorts.

Ǧ. was connected to trade routes linking it to the highland areas as well as to the lowlands south of Maale (a source of ivory) and to ↗Dawro across the Omo River, to where much cotton clothing, a large number of slaves, animals and sorghum were taken. In return, Ǧ. imported iron, gold, horses and other essential items. Since the time when Ǧ. was a trading post, a number of Muslim families, headed by the *nagade godo*-chief, lived in Ǧ. The kings of both Dawro and Gofa and the kings of the small autonomous territories were involved in inter-ethnic trade. Elaborate treaties between the various autonomous groups of the area kept a balance between periods of peace and trade and moments of war. In general, good relations were maintained between the nobility of the autonomous groups and between their subjects.

After the conquest of Gamo Gofa in the 1890s, St. Mary church was established, which grew popular both among both Christians and the non-Christian local majority.

At the beginning of the 20th cent. Ǧ. was described by Bourg de Bozas as a "settlement of

400–500 huts 'lost in the clouds' at an altitude of 2,700 metres" (s. PankHist II, 194).

Src.: interviews with Tesfaye Belgige and a group of elders; Gamo Gofa administration.

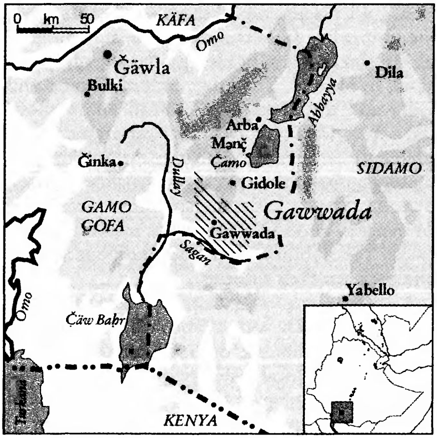
Lit.: DONALD LEWIS DONHAM, *Marxist Modern: an Ethnographic History of the Ethiopian Revolution*, Berkeley 1999; GueCopMen; PankHist II, 194.

Wolde Gossa Tadesse

Gawwada

G. (also Gawada, Gawata, Gauwada, Kawwaakko) is an Afroasiatic language belonging to the ↗Dullay cluster. G. speakers (probably a few thousands) live in the former province of ↗Gamo Gofa in and around the town G., southwest of Lake Çamo. The G. people share with their closest neighbours, the other Dullay speakers, several cultural peculiarities that have been described by Amborn et al. (1980:20–54).

Black (1976a:222) differentiates two varieties of G. that he calls "Gawwada of Išarkuta" and "Gawwada of Đalpeena". Išarkuta is a village in the middle of the G.-speaking territory, while Đalpeena is a river that crosses the Đoobase and Gorrose territory, before it flows southwards into the ↗Sagan River and forms in some places the eastern frontier of the G. country. During the Italian occupation, the G. people succeeded in shifting their northern frontier at the expense of the neighbouring Gorrose. The peculiar mixed character of Black's "Gawwada-Đalpeena" forms could therefore depend on the fact that this variety is actually to be ascribed to Gorrose (cf. Amborn et al. 1980:57).



From the lexical point of view, here too there do not seem to be any clear boundaries of discrete Dullay dialects. Nevertheless, there is a set of words characterizing the Harso-Đoobase dialects, on the one hand, and Gollango-G., on the other (cf. Amborn et al. 1980:58 for examples).

Information on G. can be found in the works of Moreno (1943), Black (1976a on G.), Amborn et al. (1980, predominantly on Harso-Đoobase) and Hayward (1989 on Ṣamay). The author's own data on G. were collected in Ethiopia in 1984–85.

Src.: author's own data.

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN – GÜNTER MINKER – HANS-JÜRGEN SASSE, *Das Dullay: Materialien zu einer ostkuschitischen Sprachgruppe*, Berlin 1980 (Kölner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 6); PAUL BLACK, *Lowland East Cushitic: Subgrouping and Reconstruction*, Ph.D. thesis, Yale University 1974; ID., "Werizoid", in: *BendNonSLang* 222–31; ID., *Werizoid*, ms. 1976b; MARCELLO LAMBERTI, "Some Konsoid Etymologies", *Anthropos* 82, 1987, 529–41; ID., "Cushitic and Its Classifications", *ibid.* 86, 1991, 552–61; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, "Notizie sul Ghidole e sul Gowazé", *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 2, 1943, 234–37; RICHARD J. HAYWARD, "Comparative Notes on the Language of the Sʾaamakko", *JAAL* 1, 1989, 1–54.

Marcello Lamberti

Gayənt

G. (ጋይንት) is an area situated in the southern part of Gondär (↗Bägemdər) province. It is bordered by Libo *awrağğa* to the north (s. ↗Çäçäho), Moṭa *awrağğa* of Goğğam to the south, the rivers Täkkäze and Bäšəlo in the east and Farṭa in the west. The region is characterized by *däga*, *wäynä däga* and *qʷälla* ecological zones. G. was always known due to its good farmland; the peasants of ↗Səmäda in G. used to cultivate *səyyət* (a high-quality white ↗*ṭef*), not only for their own livelihood, but also for the imperial court of Ethiopia. The *qʷälla* areas of G. also contain some of the most ↗malaria-ridden areas in Ethiopia; even today, malaria remains a chronic health problem for the inhabitants of G.

Historically, G. served as a shelter for numerous Christian Orthodox churches and monasteries. Among the churches of G. the best-known are ↗Betä Ləḥem Maryam, ↗Zuramba Ṣərḥa Maryam, Wəqro Giyorgis, Satila Maryam, Sägoda Maryam, Mäsäna Mädḫane ʿAläm, Lida Giyorgis, Šewla Giyorgis and Yäkuwas Abbo Betä Ləḥem; the monastery of Däbrä Qäṭin is situated on the hill overlooking the western bank of Täkkäze. Betä Ləḥem Maryam is an early church that illustrates the transition from the traditional rectangular structures to the later round ones (Henze 1977:35). Local Christian tradition claims that Ṣərḥa Maryam of Zuramba was founded by the 6th-cent. *abunä* ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi, one of the Nine Saints, and associates this church with *aṣe* ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl.

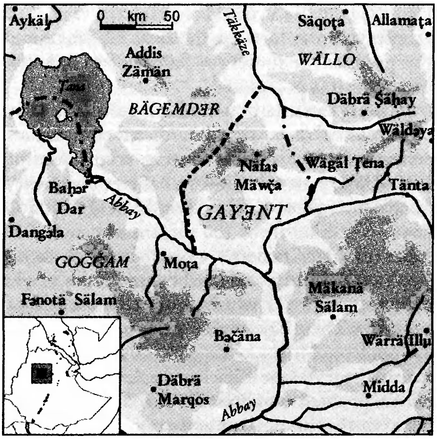
In the 16th cent. *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos seems to have reorganized his forces against the army of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-*Ġāzī* ("Grañ") in the ragged terrain of G., before defeating him at Zäntära, near Lake ↗Ṭana, on 22 February 1543. During the war some buildings of Zuramba were damaged, but the monks were able to appease Grañ by offering him precious objects owned by the monastery. The monastery was repaired by *ase* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, who also had old pillars replaced in the church.

In May 1799, Libän Amäde (d. 1815), one of the hereditary governors of Wärrä Himäno (↗Yäǧǧu), led an incursion into G. that resulted in the burning of several churches (Conti Rossini 1917:13, 89). *Aṣe* Tewodros II seems to have contributed to the revival of Zuramba Ṣərḥa Maryam; he and his close associate *fitawrari* Gäbrəyye (↗Gäbrä Ḥəywät Goššu) are said to have taken Holy communion at the monastery. However, in 1867 Tewodros personally took part in pillaging the G. regions of Farṭa and Guna (as *däbtära* ↗Assäggak̲äñ reported to Antoine d'Abbadie, s. Conti Rossini 1925:467; RubActa II, no. 248).

From the reign of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II until the ↗Italian war of 1935–36, G. was divided into two large districts – G. and Səmada – for purely economic reasons: to facilitate the collection of ↗taxes and the annual ↗ᶜ*aśrat*-tithe. During the occupation, the Italian rule faced strong resistance from both the local people of G. and the patriots.

In imperial times and well into the *Därg* period, G. was included as an *awraǧǧa* in the Bägemder/Gondär province, with Näfas Mäwča as its capital, and subdivided into ላይ፡ ጋይንት (*Lay Gayənt*, 'Upper G.') and ታች፡ ጋይንት (*Tačč Gayənt*, 'Lower G.') *wärädas*. After 1974, G. became a district belonging to the South Gondär Zone. The last population census of G., in 1994, numbered 472,841 inhabitants, most of whom live in rural areas. Formerly, G. was a particularly inaccessible part of southern Bägemdər; the recently constructed 300-km Wärräta–Wäldəya road now links the region to the wider transport network of Ethiopia.

Src.: SalTrav 293; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *La cronaca reale abissina dall'anno 1800 all'anno 1840*, Roma 1917 [= *RRALm* ser. 5a, 25, 1916, 779–922], 13, 89; ID., "Epistolario del debterà Aseggachègn di Uadlà", *RRALm* ser. 6a, 1, 7–8, 1925, 449–90; PerChron 326 (text), 252 (tr.), 590; RubActa II, no. 248, 363, 366.



Lit.: DOMENICO BRIELLI, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo", in: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), *Studi etiopici*, Roma 1945, 102; TadTChurch 193f.; MahZekr 148; HUSSEIN AHMED, *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wällo, Ethiopia: Revival, Reform and Reaction*, Leiden 2001, 124; PAUL B. HENZE, *Ethiopian Journeys: Travels in Ethiopia, 1969–1972*, London 1977, 35; ID., *Layers of Time: a History of Ethiopia*, London 2000, 88; *ZUFIL* (*a Bi-Annual Bulletin of Guna Bashilo Development Association*) 1, 16–24.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Gaz

G. (Tgn. [varieties spoken in Wäǧǧärat and Rayya Azäbo] ጋዝ; ᶜAfar: *Galla qarim* ['Raiding against Galla = highlanders'], Amh.: የአዳል፡ ዘመቻ *yäʾadal zämäča*, 'Raiding against ᶜAfar']) was a traditional system of raiding that mainly occurred on the border regions between northern Amhara, Təgrəñña-speaking areas and ᶜAfar lowlands, especially in southern Təgray and northern Wällo. The phenomenon is not confined to a single ethnic group (cp. Getachew Meressa 1998). A G. may be prepared by either small or large local communities; such groups elect: an *abbo* G. ('father of the raid') as a temporary leader, with lieutenants at his side; the *alänga ṭay* (Amh.; Tgn.: *gärafi ḥalängi*, 'one who flogs with a whip'); the *was ṭäri* (Amh. 'guarantor'); and the *goṭ azmač* (Amh. 'village commander'). Anyone reputed for his fighting skills could be elected on the basis of the local assembly's decision (the *qanči* system, Tgn. [variety spoken in Wäǧǧärat] 'equality'). Alternatively a sorcerer (Amh.: *dəngay ṭay*, Tgn.: *wäqaᶜi əmni*, 'one who throws a stone') may use a ritual involving the casting of pebbles in order to select the *abbo* G. This ritual also predicts the success or failure of a G.; in the latter case it is postponed.

G. were carried out periodically until the early 1940s, when they were interdicted and raiders persecuted. One of the starting points for the 1943 ↗Wäyyane rebellion was the government's campaigns against local raiding in Wäǧǧärat and Raya. Anything from 100 to as many as 50,000 males (*gazäyte*, 'raiders'), comprising a whole region's confederacy of related communities, could participate in a G., which could take months to complete. There have been reports of G. travelling by foot from Moḵoni, Wäǧǧärat or Alamaṭa up to Mäʾisso near Assäbe Täfäri or the Awaš River. The raiders profited economically through their looting of cattle, sheep, goats and camels.

Socially, G. was a stabilizing factor. A "hero", as reported in Wäǧǧärat, who had killed and mutilated an ʿAfar, extended his prestige over his family, especially his wife, who would, for example, receive priority over all other women when fetching water at a spring, or would be the first to receive food and beverages at weddings. A successful raider is distinguished by clothing and hairstyle; his wife would also wear distinctive clothing (*šawro* in Wäǧǧärat and Raya).

Traditionally a raider had to present mutilated male organs to his wife. However, because the raiding often took a long time, informants agree that this was replaced by showing the trophy to the lieutenants of the *abbo* G. as witnesses, then burying it. In place of the trophy, a symbolic representation (the bark of a tree, the *ḫinto*) of the mutilated organ would be put on a stick, where the number of *ḫintos* would symbolize the number of mutilated organs. This stick would finally be suspended under the roof of the raider's house, so that it could be seen and admired by visitors. As opposed to this, a "cowardly" raider, who had deserted his fellow raiders during the G., would be dressed as and considered a woman and his property would be destroyed (his cattle slaughtered and house burned). As a consequence, even his family could disintegrate. Performing a "heroic" deed in a subsequent G. would, however, fully restore his pride and honour.

Lit.: GETACHEW MERESSA, *The Gaz Tradition among the Raya and Afar*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1998; FEKADU BEGNA, *Land and Peasantry in Northern Wollo 1941–1972: Yajju and Rayaa Qobbo Awrajas*, M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1990; ASNAKE ALI, *Aspects of the Political History of Wollo, 1872–1916*, M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1983; GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest in the 20th Century*, Cambridge 1991; GƏRMA ELYAS, *Wäǧǧärat qanči wana*, unpublished ms.

Tarekegn Gebreyesus Kaba

Gazzera, Pietro

General G. (b. 11 December 1879, Benevagienna, Cuneo, d. 30 June 1953, Ciriè, Torino) was a colonial officer. G. had a smooth military career. Lieutenant in 1900, in 1905 he was admitted to the School of War, from where he graduated in 1908 and joined the General Staff. Promoted Captain in 1910, the following years he participated in the Turkish–Italian War (1911–12). Later, he taught at the School of War and was mobilized during World War I, where for his exceptional war merits he was promoted to Brigadier-General. Named Commander of the School of War from February 1926, in 1928 he was in command of the Genova Division. Promoted General of Division in March 1928, he joined later the staff in the Ministry of War, which he himself headed from 12 September 1929 to 22 July 1933. On 31 July he was promoted Army General and was named senator on 30 October.

In 1938 G. moved to Africa. Between 12 August 1938 and 6 July 1941, he assumed the office of Governor of the "Galla and Sidamo" region, with the capital in ↗Ǧimma. After the viceroy Amedeo di ↗Savoia, Duke of Aosta, surrendered ↗Ambalage on 23 May 1941, G. became Governor-General of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana. He remained in this office until 6 July 1941, when he was captured at ↗Dambi Dolloo. In custody for two years in India and in the United States, he returned to Italy in 1943. From 1943 to 1945 he functioned in the capacity of High Commissioner for the prisoners of war.

Src.: PIETRO GAZZERA, *Guerra senza speranza. Galla e Sidama (1940–1941)*, Roma 1952.
Lit.: PIERO CAPELLO, "La vita del generale Pietro Gazzera nei ricordi del figlio Romano", *Gente* 1982.

Gian Carlo Stella

GDR(T)

A ruler of ↗Aksum, GDR, is the author of the oldest surviving royal inscription in Gəʿəz, RIÉ 180, found at ↗ʿAddi Gälämo: *gdr / ngśy / ʾksm / tbʿl / mzlt / lʾrg / wllmq*, the meaning of which is highly uncertain (cf. Kropp 1994; Drewes 1999: 186–89). Since the obscure *mzlt* is inscribed on a 'boomerang-like object', the function of which has been convincingly explained by Drewes (1999) as "insigne de la royauté, sceptre", and if *ʾrg* and *lmq* are toponyms or possibly sanctuaries, this text could perhaps be translated: 'GDR, king of Aksum, gave (this) sceptre into the possession of (the sanctuaries) ʾRG and LMQ'.

According to the palaeographical dating of RIÉ 180, GDR must be prior to 300 A.D (Drewes 1962:78–83). Should GDR be identified with the anonymous king of the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum and be one and the same Aksumite king as GDRT mentioned in two Middle-Sabaean inscriptions, his reign could be put more precisely between ca. 200 and ca. 230 A.D. The first inscription, CIH 308 from Riyām, was set by the Sabaean king ᶜAlhān Nahfān and his two sons and co-regents Šāᶜirum ʾAwtar and Yarīm ʾAyman (undated, around 200 A.D.). It mentions in lines 10–14 that GDRT sent a diplomatic mission to ᶜAlhān Nahfān in order to form an alliance with Sabaʾ: *bḏt/nbl/wbltn/bᶜbrhw* 11 *gdrt/mlk/ḥbštn/ltʾḫwn/bᶜmhw/wstkml/hʾ/ʾḫwnn/byn* 12 *hmw/wbyn/gdrt/wmṣr/ʾbšn/*… 13 … *ytʾḫwnn/slḥn* 14 *wzrrn/wᶜlhn/wgdrt/kl/ᶜbrthmw*, 'because GDRT, king of Ethiopia, had sent a diplomatic mission to him [sc. ᶜAlhān] in order to form an alliance with him and to achieve friendship between them [the Sabaeans] and GDRT and the troops of the Aksumites … (and) that Salḥīn [the royal palace in Mārib] and Zrrn [i.e., the royal palace in Aksum?], and ᶜAlhān and GDRT will be allied in all their bilateral relations'. That such an alliance was not only concluded but did work in case of war is confirmed by the Himyarite inscription NNAG 13+14 in which Sabaʾ, Ḥaḍramawt, Qatabān and Aksum are allied against ↗Ḥimyar. The second Sabaean inscription, Ja 631 from the sanctuary ʾAwām in Mārib was set up during the reign of Luḥayᶜaṯt Yarḫum (perhaps around 235 A.D.), but relates events that happened during the last period of Šāᶜirum ʾAwtar's reign (around 230 A.D.). The dedicant mentions that Šāᶜirum ʾAwtar had sent him on a diplomatic mission to GDRT: *bkn/nb* 12 *lhw/mrʾhmw/šᶜrm/ʾwtr/mlk/sbʾ/wḏrydn/ᶜdy/ʾr* 13 *ḍ/ḥbšt/bᶜbr/gdrt/mlk/ḥbšt/wʾksmn*, 'because his lord Šāᶜirum ʾAwtar, king of Sabaʾ and *ḏū* Raydān, has sent him on a diplomatic mission to the land of Ethiopia, to GDRT, king of Ethiopia and the Aksumites'. The result of these negotiations are unknown, but since the same text continues with a description of the war between Sabaean and Aksumite troops in the southern highlands of Yemen, the alliance between these two powers seems to have come to an end.

GDRT is the first Aksumite king mentioned in Sabaean inscriptions and probably the first Aksumite king to interfere in South Arabian politics. In the passages cited above, he is called *mlk/ḥbštn* and *mlk/ḥbšt/wʾksmn*, but in line 15 of Ja 631 his Gəᶜəz title *ngšyn* (with the Sabaean determination-marker *-n*) is used. GDRT enters South Arabian history around 200 A.D. as an ally of the Sabaean king ᶜAlhān Nahfān, but during the reign of ᶜAlhān's son Šāᶜirum ʾAwtar (ca. 210–30 A.D.), the relationship between Aksum and Sabaʾ deteriorates: although in the beginning of Šāᶜirum's reign they seem to be allied against Ḥaḍramawt (Ry 533/21–22), until ca. 225 A.D. GDRT manages to control vast parts of western Yemen – the Tihāma, Nağrān (Ja 635/23–24), Maᶜāfir (Ja 631/33), Ẓafār (Ja 631/21–25) and parts of Ḥāšid territory near Ḫamir in the northern highlands (Ir 12) – the expansive policy of both Ethiopians and Sabaeans leads to a confrontation that is to dominate the whole 3rd cent. A.D.

In the Ethiopian tradition, the memory of GDR was possibly preserved in the traditional "king lists" (CRList 284, 277, 286, 299), in which his name appears with variants: e.g., Gədur (list C, in the 3rd place), Zägduru (list E, in the 6th place), or Zägdur (list B, in the 3rd place, after Ǝbnä Ḥakim [s. ↗Mənilək I] and Tomay), the latter form (with the relevant list) having hence passed into at least one hagiographic work (s. CRList 274) and the "short chronicle" as well (s. DombrChr 145).

↗Arabia

Src.: CRList 274, 277, 286, 299; DombrChr 145; CIH 308; NNAG 13+14; Ja 631, 635; RIE 180; Ry 533.

Lit.: Abraham Johannes Drewes, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden 1962; Id., "La fonction grammaticale des noms royaux dans les inscriptions axoumites", *Semitica* 49, 1999, 179–90; Manfred Kropp, "Ein Gegenstand und seine Aufschrift, RIE 180 = JE 5", in: *EtRicci* 129–43; Walter W. Müller, "Abessinier und ihre Titel und Namen in vorislamischen südarabischen Inschriften", *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* 3, 1978, 159–68; Christian Robin, "La première intervention abyssine en Arabie méridionale (de 200 à 270 de l'ère chrétienne environ)", in: *PICES 8*, vol. 2, 147–62.

Alexander Sima

Ge

G. occurs in several Ethio-Semitic languages with the meaning 'home area, home place'. The word is probably to be connected with Hebrew *gay* (*status constructus*: *gē*), 'valley' and Ar. *ǧiwāʾ* 'valley' (LesCDic 174). The other possibility is to derive it from Gr. γῆ, 'earth, land' through loaning.

In ↗Harari *gēy* refers to the city of ↗Harär and denotes characteristic features of the city and its inhabitants, i.e. the speaker of *gēy sinān* 'Harari language [i.e. 'the language of the city']'; *gēy gār* 'house built in the Harari style', *gēy usuʾ* 'inhabitant [*usuʾ*, 'man, somebody'] of Harär'. In ↗Səlṭi *gee*, *geye* means 'native country, home place', e.g. *gee-ka heeda*, 'he went to his [*-ka*] home area', *ya-gee nibaarat*, 'country life' (Gutt – Hussein 1997:795f.).

In Amharic **ጌ** is used only in compounds, as **ራስጌ** *rasge*, 'head part [esp. of a bed]' (cf. Harari *urūs gē*), titles: ↗*əčč̣äge*, ↗*ətege*, *aṣege* (↗*Aṣe*), and place names, e.g., *Gurage*, *Däräsge* (KaneDic 1876).

In Gafat *-gä*, 'to, at' has become a postposition, e.g. *aləǧǧä gä*, 'to my brother [*alä*]', *əǧǧä gä*, 'together' (*əǧǧä*, 'one' is cognate with Gəʿəz *aḥadu*, Amh. *and*).

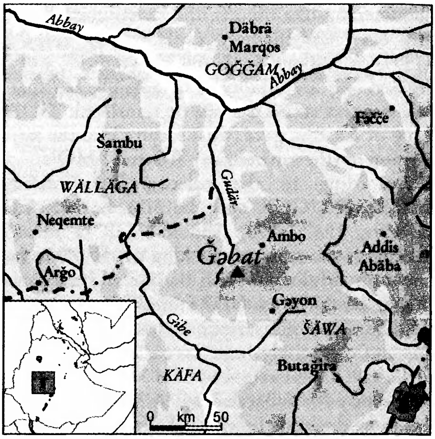
In Gəʿəz, **ጌ** 'territory' is not (well) attested (cp. however, Fiaccadori 1992:76f.). In an indirect way the element G. is also contained in Gəʿəz **ገሀነም** *gähannäm*, 'hell, Gehenna' (in this or a similar form in modern Ethio-Semitic languages such as Tgn.: **ገሀነብ** *gähannäb* and Amh. **ጋነብ** *gannäb*), which goes back via Ar. *ǧahannam* to Hebrew *gē*(ʾ) *hinnom* (which is abbreviated from *gēʾ bēn hinnom*, 'valley of the son of H.') and its Jewish Aramaic form *gē hinnām*. The place outside Jerusalem where in former times people were sacrificed became a prophetic symbol for the final judgement and hence for hell.

Lit.: LesCDic 174 (**Lit.**); WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1963 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 1), 66f.; ID., *Étude descriptive et comparative du Gafat* (*éthiopien méridional*), Paris 1956, 200; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992, 76f.; EEVA H.M. GUTT – HUSSEIN MOHAMMED, *Silt'é – Amharic – English Dictionary*, Addis Ababa 1997, 795f.; KaneDic 1876.

Rainer Voigt

Ǧəbat

Ǧ. (**ጅባት**) is the name of a mountain in Šäwa rising to over 3,000 m A.S.L. (EMAtlas: 3,017 m A.S.L.; Carta dell'AOI: 3,072 m A.S.L.). It forms the western summit of a volcanic mountain-range by the same name, which continues eastwards with Badda Roge (3,245 m A.S.L.), Toke (2,690 m A.S.L.), ↗Wänč̣i (3,387 m A.S.L.) and Dändi (3,268 m A.S.L.). Rising between the Addis Abäba – Läqämte highway to the north and Addis Abäba – Ǧimma to the south, these recent (cenozoic) volcanoes tower above the Ambo-Gudär graben to the north, with rivers running into the Abbay, the Upper Awaš depression to the east and the Omo-Gibe basin to the west and south. The Ǧəbat-Mäč̣č̣a *awraǧǧa* (with the capital in Hagärä Ḥəywät, or ↗Ambo), a subdivision of the Šäwa province, derives its name from Mount Ǧ.



This high and remote range has a population of ↗Mäč̣č̣a Oromo agriculturalists and pastoralists and has preserved large juniper-forests, notably on its southern slopes (Last 1965). Under Ḫaylä Śəllase I the junipers began to be felled; and under the *Därg* investors from South Yemen developed large-scale sheep-breeding for export.

The Ǧ. range can be accessed, though with difficulties, from the ↗Gudär through a hardly passable path running between the Toke to the north and the Roge to the south through the depression of Təqur Inč̣inni and Šänän, an area regularly flooded during the rainy season. This track, which followed the old caravan route to Ǧimma (via Nonno), was improved when the high-voltage line linking Addis Abäba and the Gəlgəl Gibe hydroelectric power plant was constructed (planned as early as 1985, but completed only in 2004).

The mountain is reported to have been surrounded by legends, relating that the 15th-cent. *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob built a "castle" on the top, where miracles are said to happen. In any case, the old Christianity must have vanished there due to the migration of the Oromo (cp. BTafA 709ff.). During the reign of Mənilək II, in the 1890s, at the foot of the mountain there was a residence of *däğğazmač* Ḫaylä Maryam, brother of *ras* Mäkʷännən (Bulatovich 2000:7f.). A Franco-Ethiopian archaeological expedition found on G. the remains of a "palace" (Anfray 1965:13), but up to now no excavation has been attempted.

Src.: BTafA 709–15, s. index; JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale, journal de mon voyage aux pays amhara, oromo et sidama, septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 445; ALEXANDER BULATOVICH, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes*, ed., tr. by RICHARD SELTZER, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 2000, 7f.; CONSOCIAZONE TURISTICA ITALIANA, *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*, scala 1/1 000 000, Milano 1938; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AGENCY, *Akʾakʾi Besekʾa, Ethiopia NC 37–14, Ørjo, Ethiopia NC 37–13, scale 1:250,000*, Addis Ababa 1979; EMAtlas; GueCopMen 565 (Lit.).

Lit.: AbbGeogr 215f., 221; FRANCIS ANFRAY et al., "Chronique archéologique (1960–1964)", *AE* 6, 1965, 3–26, here 13, pl. X; ALAIN GASCON, "Recherches géographiques sur le Méc̣c̣a d'Ambo", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 739–45; GasEth; *Guida* 499; EIKE HABERLAND, "Bemerkungen zur Kultur und Sprache der 'Galila' im Wonc̣i-See (Mittel-Äthiopien)", *RSE* 16, 1960, 5–23, here 11, 13; GEOFFREY C. LAST, *A Geography of Ethiopia for Senior Secondary School*, Addis Ababa 1965, 154f.; TadTChurch 204, 277, 298.

Alain Gascon

Gəbbi

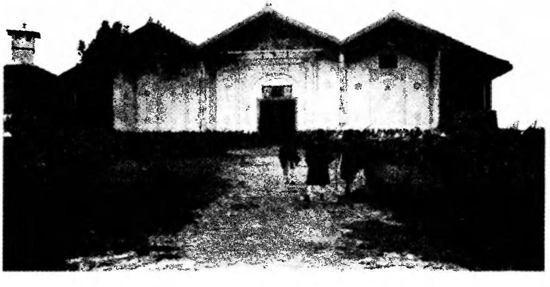
G. (ግቢ) designates a compound, including a palace compound, and by extension a palace in general. The term is derived from the Amharic verb 'to enter', i.e. ገባ (*gäbba*, 'he entered'; s. also ↗Gəmb); it gained currency in the late *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II period, when it was primarily applied to the Emperor's palace compound in ↗Addis Abäba, and, it should be noted, to the compound as a whole rather than to any of its individual buildings (KaneDic 1969). The late emergence of this usage is apparent from the fact that it is not mentioned in Guidi's *Vocabolario* of 1901 (GuiVoc), but is included in its supplement of 1940 (Guidi 1940:217).

A typical Ethiopian royal or provincial G., or palace, consisted of two main buildings: an እልፍኝ (*əlfəñ*; KaneDic 1117f.), or private apartment of the monarch or ruler, inner chamber also used as a reception room, and an አዳራሽ (*addaraš*; KaneDic 1306), or large reception hall where the ruler gives audiences and banquets.

The term *əlfəñ* is found extensively in Ethiopian royal literature. One of the earliest references is in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II, which, referring to the death of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, in 1730, tells of the deceased's body being carried from the *əlfəñ* to a nearby church. References to *əlfəñ*, at Ankobär, Ǝnṭoṭṭo and Addis Abäba, are likewise to be found in Gäbrä Śəllase's Chronicle of *aṣe* Mənilək II. The *əlfəñ* of Mənilək II's G., due to its shape, received the name of ↗Ǝnqulal Bet.

The importance of the royal *əlfəñ* is evident from the use of such court titles as እልፍኝ፡ አሽከር (*əlfəñ aškär*, 'servant of the inner chamber') or እልፍኝ፡ አስከልካይ (↗*Ǝlfəñ askälkay*, 'chamberlain'). It can also be seen in the naming of churches by the vicinity of the royal *əlfəñ*, e.g., Ǝlfəñ Giyorgis at Gondär or Ǝlfəñ Gäbrəʾel in Addis Abäba.

Addaraš is the Amharic term for a large hall often employed for banquets and festivities (GueCopMen I, 158). The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I used the word in the 17th cent. for a royal tent in the Gondär palace compound. *Aṣe* Bäkaffa's Chronicle, however, later applied it to a royal throne room, apparently a built-up structure, and also referred more explicitly to an አዳራሽ፡ ሰቀላ (*addaraš säqäla*), or long rectangular *addaraš* (GuiIohan 175, 312, 335).



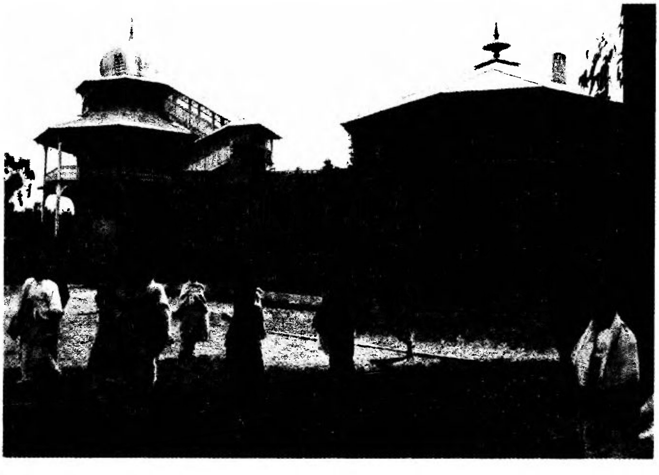
Part of Mənilək's *gəbbi* complex: *addaraš*; postcard from 1909; from the collection of Lorenz Jensen

Säqäla (ሰቀላ; KaneDic 507) probably originally a rectangular marqee tent, from the Amharic *säqqälä* ('he hung [tent hangings]') is the term for a long rectangular building, already mentioned by Alvares in the early 16th cent. (BeckHuntAlvar vol. 2, 507) and by the chronicler of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl (CRHist 43). The distinctive character of the *säqäla* was reported almost a century later by Almeida, who reports that whereas "most" Ethiopian houses were round, there were also long ones, called *säqäla*, a word which had come to mean a "palace of the king and grandees" (BeckHuntAlm 85). The term was also widely used in 18th-cent. Gondär. The Chronicle of *aṣe* Bäkaffa thus refers to a ወርቅ፡ ሰቀላ (*wärq säqäla*, possibly a *säqäla* decorated with gold) and speaks of it as a "sweet-smelling" palace, which the Emperor and all his courtiers and princesses attended for a banquet (GuiIohan 328, 334, 344).

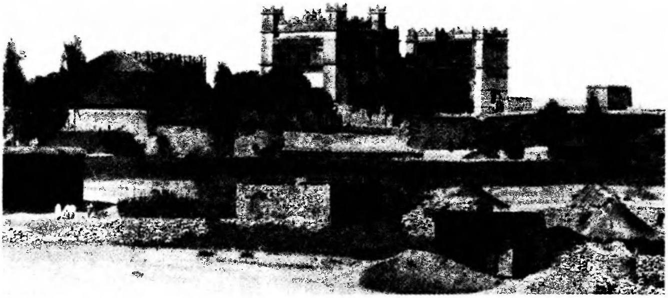
Large rectangular banqueting halls were in widespread use in 19th-cent. Ethiopia. One such room in a nobleman's palace in Təgray was illustrated in a Henry Salt engraving (Annesley 1809, vol. 3, 135). More impressive was the great hall in King Sahlä Śəllase's palace compound at Ankobär. Bernatz (1852, vol. 2, 9) depicts the monarch, lying on his ↗*alga*, many courtiers seated at table, soldiers with swords and shields in attendance, and musicians and dancers entertaining. Not so different was one of Mənilək II's pre-Addis Abäba banqueting halls reproduced in Cardinal Massaja's memoirs (MasMis vol. 9, 139). Mənilək's great rectangular three-gabled *addaraš* at Addis Abäba (GueCopMen II, pl. xli) was thus in a long-established Ethiopian tradition.

Apart from the *əlfəñ* and *addaraš*, there were however usually several essential ancillary buildings. These would include a ማዕድ፡ ቤት (*maᶜd bet*, 'kitchen', KaneDic 319), a ፈረስ፡ ቤት (*färäs bet*, 'stables', KaneDic 2279) as well as sundry antechambers, servants' quarters, craftsmen's workshops, etc. Of these, ሰገነት (*sägännät*, KaneDic 584) was of particular importance. It was a building or pavilion which served as a tribunal and court of appeal, and was presided over by the monarch or ruler (GueCopMen I, 90). The importance of Mənilək's *sägännät* in Addis Abäba was underlined by the fact that it was dominated by a prominent watch-tower (Vanderheym 1896: 105, 216). The whole establishment would initially be surrounded by a fence of branches which would later be replaced by a sturdy wall.

The above functional arrangement of buildings was apparent in one form or another at most 19th-cent. Ethiopian palaces. At ↗Däbrä Tabor, e.g., the G. compound contained three round houses standing behind each other, like chambers in a multi-roomed building. The first consisted of an antechamber; the second, somewhat larger, was a banqueting hall, i.e. *addaraš*; and the third, the monarch's private chamber and reception room, or *əlfəñ* (PankHist II, 75f.). The palace at Däbrä Marqos was likewise reported to comprise a large structure, serving as an armoury and store, as well as ten huts, one of which was used for banquets, i.e. as an *addaraš*, and another as a court of justice, i.e. *sägännät* (PankHist II, 147f.).



Part of Mənilək's *gəbbi* complex: *əlfəñ* (right) with *ənqulal bet* (left); photo 1919/20, estate of Maurice de Coppet, Helsinki University Library, archive no. 50



Palace of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, Mäqälä; in the foreground ruins of the old *gəbbi*; from Wencker-Wildberg 1935

The typical royal or provincial G. employed a staff of many officials, or courtiers, each with a special title, as well as innumerable servants, workers and craftsmen. The most important palace officials thus included the ↗*blatten geta*, or master of the pages (D'Abbadie 238f.; KaneDic 867); the ↗*bäǧərond*, or treasurer (KaneDic 940); and the ↗*aggafari*, an officer responsible for arranging appointments with the monarch (d'Abbadie 342ff.). There would also be officers with the status of ↗*bä^{c}aldäräba*, who served as intermediaries with the ruler (KaneDic 869), as well as ↗*asallafi*, or waiters (KaneDic 1116), responsible for serving various items of food and drink, the name of which would be added in the title, e.g. *ṭäǧǧ asallafi*, or mead-waiter (Plowden 59; GueCopMen 224).

G. was used as the name for the palace of *aṣe* Mənilək II in Addis Abäba. His original palace buildings, erected in 1889, were accidentally destroyed by fire in 1892, but were rapidly rebuilt. The palace grounds, according to Mérab (1921–29, vol. 2, 23f.), then covered a stretch of land two km long by one km and a half wide, and had a permanent staff of almost 7,000 people, 2,000 in the personal service of the Emperor and his consort. The compound as a whole, which was more important than its individual buildings, contained innumerable structures. The most notable were, as usual, the *əlfəñ* and *addaraš*, which, according to Mənilək II's chronicle, could hold 7,000 persons. Among other buildings there was a small summer house, a saddlery, smithy and joinery, a mint, pharmacy and dispensary, an arsenal, weaving and embroidery booths, and innumerable sheds of every shape and size, as well as a vegetable garden, ploughed fields, herds of cattle and sheep, a vineyard, and a lion cage. The palace's water supply was installed by Mənilək's Swiss craftsmen ↗Ilg, and the electric installations in part by the 1905 German diplomatic mission to Ethiopia. Besides being the seat of Ethiopian government the G. was the site of many great banquets, where as many as 20,000 visitors would be fed, in four or five services (Gleichen 1898:143–47; de Castro 1915:192–95; PankHist II, 205–11; for a description of the G. in the royal chronicle s. GueCopMen 465–70).

With the rise of Täfäri Mäk^{w}ənnen (↗Ḥaylä Śəllase I) it became customary to speak of his residence and compound (↗Gännätä Lə^{c}ul, now the main campus of ↗Addis Ababa University and site of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies) as the Upper (*Lay Gəbbi*) or Small G. (*Tənnəšu Gəbbi*), as opposed to the earlier, and much larger G. of Mənilək (*Tallaqu Gəbbi*; ZerEth 73–76; Farago 1935:72–79).

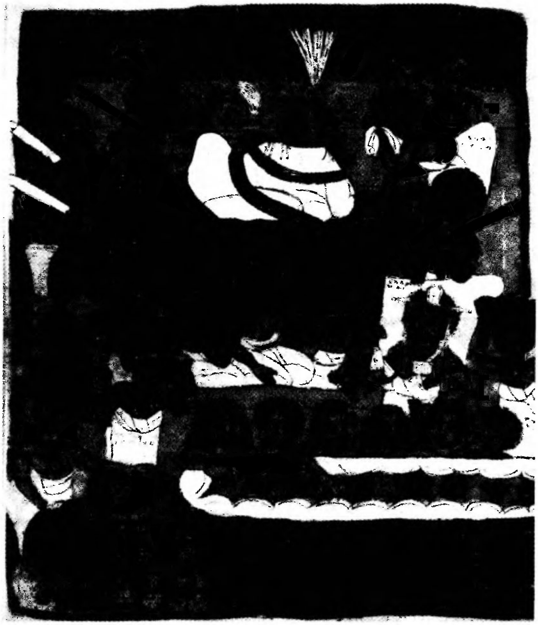
Src.: GuiVoc; KaneDic; BeckHuntAlvar; BeckHuntAlm; AbbSéjour; CRHist; IGNAZIO GUIDI, *Supplemento al vocabolario amarico-italiano*, Roma 1940, 217; GuiIoḥan; GueCopMen passim; Count EDWARD GLEICHEN, *With the Mission to Menelik 1897*, London 1898, 143–47; WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia*, London 1868; GEORGE ANNESLEY VISCOUNT VALENTIA, *Voyages and Travels in India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt*, London 1809; JOHANN MARTIN BERNATZ, *Scenes in Ethiopia*, London 1852; MasMis; JEROME GASTON VANDERHEYM, *Une expédition avec le négous Ménélik*, Paris 1896.

Lit.: LINCOLN DE CASTRO, *Nella terra dei Negus, pagine raccolte in Abissinia*, 2 vols., Milano 1915, vol. 1, 192–98; PAUL MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1921–29; PankHist I, II; LADISLAS FARAGO, *Abyssinia on the Eve*, London 1935, 72–79; ZerEth 73–76; AMAN WORJI, *From Palace to University: a History of Addis Ababa University Main Campus*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1988; FRIEDRICH WENCKER-WILDBERG, *Abessinien*, Berlin 1935.

Richard Pankhurst

Gəbər

The underlying meaning of G. (**ገብር**, Gə^{c}əz lit. 'act', 'work', 'workmanship', 'produce', 'tribute', 'force', 'compulsion', 'necessity', 'banquet', 'feast')



Gəbər presided over by *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase, from ms. EMML 2097, early 19th cent. (probably produced by order of Śahlä Śəllase), fol. 130b; Miṭäq Täklä Haymanot, photo 2000, courtesy of Donald Crummey

lies in the field of acting, doing, making. However, in the historical record its use has two primary, at first glance highly contrasting, meanings: 'tax' or 'tribute', 'rent', and 'banquet' 'feast'. Reconciling these two meanings is not easy. From one angle, the holding of feasts was dependent on the prior receipt of tribute; from another angle, feasts were occasions for the re-distribution of tribute. In its first sense of the payment of tribute or taxes, it is closely related to the associated words *gäbbar* 'tributary' and *gäbbare* 'farmer'. This, in turn, reflects the fact that the historic Ethiopian society and the state associated with it, were rooted in the land, in agrarian relations. The great court feasts were institutions, which brought together everyone involved in the court and dependent on it – the payers and the receivers of tax and tribute – in such a manner as to re-enforce the relations of inequality on which the regular payment and receipt of tax and tribute relied.

G. as tax and tribute refers to the regular payment of tax based on land and on the product of land. Conceptually, it was held to bestow on the payer ownership and/or use-rights to the land or to confirm the prior existence of those rights. Historically, it was paid in kind (grain, honey, beer), in the form of money (Maria Theresia thalers or ↗*bərr*) and/or in gold (*wäqet*). G. might be paid to an individual (e.g., a holder of church *rim* land) or to a representative of the state. At different historical periods and in different places, through the interplay of political, social and cultural forces, the payment of G. could be as highly personalized as the payment of rent to a landlord, or as broadly institutionalized as a collective payment to the representative of an institution (such as the church) or the state.

In the ↗*rəst*-↗*gʷəlt* system of northern and central Ethiopia, the tendency was towards annual payment of a fixed collective sum by particular territorial units or settlements. In the *gäbbar-madäriya* system of central and southern Ethiopia, particularly as it evolved under the rule of Mənilək as *nəguś* of Šäwa, and then, from 1889, as *nəguśä nägäśt* of Ethiopia (↗Mənilək II), G. was paid individually on the size of land holdings. That means the state could make a land-survey or census to increase the tax rate and, consequently, the size of its revenue. The administration of G. was also different in the two systems. In the *rəst-gʷəlt* system, tax/tribute rested on the holding of overrights in land as *gʷəlt* and was administered by a *gʷəltäñña*, who might think of his or her rights as hereditary, or who might be a recent appointee, while in the *gäbbar-madäriya* system it was administered by a *mälkäñña*. Originally the *mälkäñña* were hereditary landlords and so they continued to be in parts of Šäwa (Weissleder 1965); but in the parts of Šäwa more recently brought under Mənilək's rule, the *mälkäñña* was an appointed officer accountable to the king.

G. as tax/tribute made possible the holding of G. as banquet. Banquets or feasts were held by the royal court and by great notables, whose courts mirrored those of the *nəguś*. We have accounts of the organization of the court and of royal feasts in the texts of *Śərʿatä gəbər*, which date at least to the mid-15th cent. (Kropp 1988). It seems that G. was inseparable from the basic organization of the royal camp of the itinerant Solomonics or the palaces of Gondär and the modern era and that the principal court officials were managers of the royal household rather than state officials (Kropp 1988:57). Space and staff were allocated to manage workable goods such as textiles and leather and consumables such as fuel-wood; and to store and process cereals, pulses, meat and beverages. The *Śərʿatä gəbər* speak of a great annual feast given just after the Ethiopian New Year, but the details concerning this feast seem applicable to other great celebrations of the principal festivals of the Christian Church: Easter, Epiphany, the Feast of the Cross. The texts of the *śərʿatä gəbər* document an "astounding ... variety of bread, vegetables, and drinks", not to mention meat, which were prepared for the daily royal table (Kropp 1988: 54). Our principal accounts of royal feasts insist on the replication of hierarchy and social privilege nobles ate and drank more refined food and drink from more valuable vessels than did their social subordinates.

During the time of Mənilək II, there were two types of royal banquet. The *əlfəñ* (↗ *Gəbbi*) banquets were held daily for the royalty, higher ranking court nobility, governors-general and children of the nobility brought up at the court. The *addaraš* banquets were held weekly and on significant holidays for the clergy, court troops and their commanders; the total number of participants was estimated at over 8,000. One account tells us that at Mənilək's great feasts, the palace guards ate first, after which they were dispatched to control the crowds who flocked in after them, in successive waves (Marcus 1970). The great nobles, the *mäkʷannənt*, kept their own schedules and ate on a dais with Mənilək himself, who, by contrast, never ate in public, but rather presided over the feast. The scale of resources invested and consumed was great. Early accounts speak of court provisions for 33,000 people (presumably not all distributed in one banquet; Kropp 1988: 55). Annually the royal court of *aṣe* MəniləkII expended around 350,000 *bərr* for banquets, an amount that was equal to the annual salaries of 97 expatriate teachers (Tsegaye 1996:175).

Src.: Richard Pankhurst – Denis Gérard, *Ethiopia Photographed: Historic Photographs of the Country and its People Taken between 1867 and 1935*, London – New York 1996, 99 (ill); EMML 2097.

Lit.: Wolfgang Weissleder, *The Political Ecology of Amhara Domination*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 1965; Harold Golden Markus, "The Organization of Menilek II's Palace and Imperial Hospitality (after 1896)", *Rural Africana* 11, 1970, 57–62; Tsegaye Tegenu, *The Evolution of Ethiopian Absolutism: the Genesis and the Making of the Fiscal Military State, 1696–1913*, Uppsala 1996 (Lit.); Manfred Kropp, "The Sərʿatä Gəbr: a Mirror View of Daily Life at the Ethiopian Royal Court in the Middle Ages", *NEASt* 10, 2–3, 1988, 51–87; Gebre Wold Engida Worq, "Ethiopia's Traditional System of Land Tenure and Taxation", *EthObs* 5, 4, 1962, 302–39; Käbbädä Tässäma, የታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ (*Yatarik mastawäša*, 'Historical Memoirs'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], ch. 10; MahZekr ch. 2.

Tsegaye Tegenu – Donald Crummey

Gəbrä Ḥawaryat ↗ Apostles, acts of

Gəbrä Ḥəmamat

G.Ḥ. (ግብረ፡ ሕማማት, 'Acts of the Passion', lit. 'Service of the Sufferings', *gəbr* meaning here 'liturgical service', DillmLex 1163) usually designates the liturgical book with the readings for the Holy Week (hence the designation *Mäṣḥafä gəbrä ḥəmamat*). This book embraces the ordinary of the whole Holy Week, from the Palm Sunday vigil to the 12th hour of Easter Sunday (i.e. after the mass of the Resurrection, ↗ *Fasika*). However, some manuscripts merely begin with the evening of Monday in the Holy Week, or even otherwise. The G.Ḥ. is the equivalent of the Egyptian Coptic book of the *Baṣḫa* (Arabic, from Coptic Ⲡⲁⲥⲭⲁ < Gr. Πάσχα < Aramaic *pasḥā* < Hebrew *pęsaḥ*), which gives the readings for the "Week of the Sufferings and of the Glorious Feast of Easter" (for a presentation of the Ethiopian Holy Week, s. Habtemichael Kidane 1997; Fritsch 2001:211–60, §§407–579).

Celebrations

Like its Coptic model – and far from the antique liturgy of Jerusalem, with its many processions – the Ethiopian Holy Week liturgy is very so-ber. It is composed mostly of psalms, readings and hymns that are often rhapsodies of biblical verses. The ordinary services are distinguished from the solemn services.

I. Ordinary services

The ordinary services are the "hours" of Holy Week: between the end of the mass on Palm Sunday and Easter day, each day comprises ten services called "hours" (first, third, sixth, ninth, eleventh hour of the day or night, accordingly), all of which have more or less the same structure (cp. *Mäṣḥafä ↗ sä^catat*). Good Friday has an additional twelfth hour of the day.

It is well known that the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church follows strict rules concerning ↗fasting, especially during Holy Week, where certain Christians practise a fast called **አክፋይ** (*akfay* or *akfəlot*), which lasts 55 hours from the end of the mass on Holy Thursday until Easter morning (cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1997: 125 n. 107, 99; Fritsch 2001:239, n. 64). On Good Friday, those who do not eat at all take some bread with *gulban* (**ጉልባን**, or *g^wälban*, cooked crushed beans; cf. Fritsch 2001, §511) after all services have been sung.

The daily hours are generally grouped together, in accordance with the practice of the Coptic and almost all other Oriental Churches.

The introduction is invariable; amongst other elements, it includes the reading of 30 psalms, as well as a number of prayers and biblical canticles, followed by the "Doxology of the Lamb" (s. Rev 5:12), which has its origin in the Coptic text *Thine is the power* ... (in the Coptic usage, it replaces the 12 psalms of each hour, whilst in Ethiopia it is simply added to the rest).

All hours have a minimum requirement of one Scripture reading from the O.T. (notably from the Prophets): a psalm verse (**ምስባክ** *məsbak*) called **ቅድመ፡ ወንጌል** (*qədmä wängel*, lit. 'before the Gospel') introducing the Gospel reading. Many hours have one or more supplementary readings between the O.T. reading and the psalm preceding the Gospel. These readings fall into various categories:

(1) Biblical: a) a passage from one of the books of the Law of Moses (*Orit*; ↗Octateuch); b) an excerpt from one of the ↗Wisdom Books (Wis, Prov, Ecc, Job); c) another O.T. passage (in practice only Josh 5:10–12ab and Ruth 2:11–14a, which are read on the ninth hour of Good Friday).

(2) The commentaries on the biblical readings: d) the commentaries on the O.T. readings (↗*Tərg^wame*); e) a paraphrase of the Gospel called **ድኅረ፡ ወንጌል** (*dəḫrä wängel*, lit. 'after the Gospel'); f) exegetic homilies (commentaries of ↗John Chrysostom on the Gospels and on the letter to the Hebrews, and other Church Fathers: ↗Epiphanius, ↗Athanasius, ↗Cyril of Alexandria, ↗Jacob of Serug etc.).

(3) Ascetical texts: g) brief exhortations on Christian virtues (forgiveness of offences, love for the poor, mutual charity etc.), coming from the Coptic tradition.

(4) Excerpts of dogmatic scope: h) the ↗*Haymanotä abäw* and sometimes i) the ↗*Didəsqəlya*.

(5) Readings common to the Ethiopian tradition, namely: j) the ↗*Tä^ɔammərä Maryam* and k) the ↗*Tä^ɔammərä Iyäsus*.

Once a day, for the sixth hour, the G.Ḥ. has a reading from the ↗*Sənkəssar*. During the Holy Week there are practically no N.T. readings apart from the Gospel (with a few exceptions).

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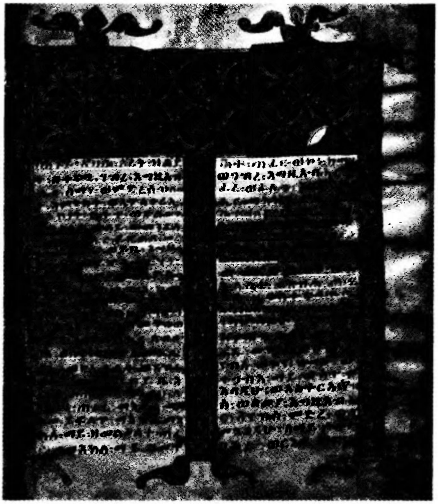

Ms. *Gəbrä Ḥəmamat*; 15th cent.; fol. 18r; church of Täklä Haymanot, Ṣäʾase, ʿAgamä; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Mäṣḥafä gəbrä ḥəmamat

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I. Ordinary services

The ordinary services are the "hours" of Holy Week: between the end of the mass on Palm Sunday and Easter day, each day comprises ten services called "hours" (first, third, sixth, ninth, eleventh hour of the day or night, accordingly), all of which have more or less the same structure (cp. *Mäṣḥafä ↗säʿatat*). Good Friday has an additional twelfth hour of the day.

It is well known that the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church follows strict rules concerning ↗fasting, especially during Holy Week, where certain Christians practise a fast called አክፋይ (*akfay* or *akfəlot*), which lasts 55 hours from the end of the mass on Holy Thursday until Easter morning (cf. Habtemichael Kidane 1997: 125 n. 107, 99; Fritsch 2001:239, n. 64). On Good Friday, those who do not eat at all take some bread with *gulban* (ጉልባን, or *gʷälban*, cooked crushed beans; cf. Fritsch 2001, §511) after all services have been sung.

The daily hours are generally grouped together, in accordance with the practice of the Coptic and almost all other Oriental Churches.

The introduction is invariable; amongst other elements, it includes the reading of 30 psalms, as well as a number of prayers and biblical canticles, followed by the "Doxology of the Lamb" (s. Rev 5:12), which has its origin in the Coptic text *Thine is the power* ... (in the Coptic usage, it replaces the 12 psalms of each hour, whilst in Ethiopia it is simply added to the rest).

All hours have a minimum requirement of one Scripture reading from the O.T. (notably from the Prophets): a psalm verse (ምስባክ *məsbak*) called ቅድመ፡ ወንጌል (*qədmä wängel*, lit. 'before the Gospel') introducing the Gospel reading. Many hours have one or more supplementary readings between the O.T. reading and the psalm preceding the Gospel. These readings fall into various categories:

(1) Biblical: a) a passage from one of the books of the Law of Moses (*Orit*; ↗Octateuch); b) an excerpt from one of the ↗Wisdom Books (Wis, Prov, Ecc, Job); c) another O.T. passage (in practice only Josh 5:10–12ab and Ruth 2:11–14a, which are read on the ninth hour of Good Friday).

(2) The commentaries on the biblical readings: d) the commentaries on the O.T. readings (↗*Tərgʷame*); e) a paraphrase of the Gospel called ድኅረ፡ ወንጌል (*dəḫrä wängel*, lit. 'after the Gospel'); f) exegetic homilies (commentaries of ↗John Chrysostom on the Gospels and on the letter to the Hebrews, and other Church Fathers: ↗Epiphanius, ↗Athanasius, ↗Cyril of Alexandria, ↗Jacob of Serug etc.).

(3) Ascetical texts: g) brief exhortations on Christian virtues (forgiveness of offences, love for the poor, mutual charity etc.), coming from the Coptic tradition.

(4) Excerpts of dogmatic scope: h) the ↗*Haymanotä abäw* and sometimes i) the ↗*Didəsqəlya*.

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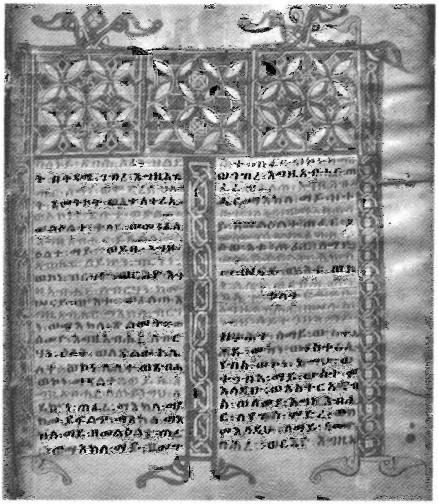

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The "normal service", to which the manuscripts refer, contains for the ordinary hours certain rubrics, a number of variable readings from the O.T. – sometimes accompanied by a commentary – a psalm-verse and a passage from the Gospel, with one or two homilies in the morning (↗*Səbḥatä nägh*), one at the ninth hour and possibly another at the eleventh hour (with a few exceptions).

This service corresponds (even if not fully) to that of the Coptic Church, especially for the Scripture readings (cp. the concordance of Burmester 1934:475–85). The Coptic lectionary does not provide a commentary and comprises in its present state brief exhortations (ed. Burmester 1932); the longer homilies presently found in the 1980 G.Ḥ. edition, however, are also part of the Coptic liturgical tradition (cf. Sauget 1987; Zanetti 1983). The other supplementary readings have all passed over into the service in Ethiopia itself. Additionally, Ethiopic manuscripts have a number of Scripture readings and homilies not found in Coptic manuscripts, whilst on the other hand, they omit a few texts and show peculiar anomalies (s. Zanetti – Boussygina).

Literary composition

Many books are used during the Ethiopian Holy Week. Those sections which are chanted are normally of Ethiopian composition and originate from the ↗*Ṣomä dəggʷa*, the *Məʿəraf* or from other collections. The majority of them are apparently made up of verses taken from Holy Scripture, in particular from the Psalms or from other Church compositions.

On the other hand, with the possible exception of the biblical commentaries, the sections that are read appear to originate from a foreign source, even though they have been perfectly adopted and adapted. Besides the Holy Scripture, one finds homilies and exhortations from well-known Copto-Arabic collections. The *Dəḫrä wängel*, for example, is a translation of the Copto-Arabic *ṭarḥ* (a kind of *psali*). In the Ethiopian services for the Holy Week there is no shortage of readings from apocryphal works: the *Täʾammərä Maryam*, the *Täʾammərä Iyäsus*, the ↗*Laḥa Maryam* and the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*dorho*. The *Sənkəssar*, as well as the *Haymanotä abäw*, originate from Egypt. Most of the prayers, too, are taken from the Coptic repertoire. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that some prayers are of Ethiopian composition. Whatever the distant origins of the various sections may be, the actual G.Ḥ. has been perfectly assimilated and "Ethiopianized" and profoundly expresses the Ethiopian religious feelings.

Src.: ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH (ed.), **ግብረ፡ ሕማማት**, Addis Abäba 1949/50 A.M. [1957 A.D.], repr. 1972 A.M. [1980 A.D.], new ed. 2004; EMML 1765, 4434, 4752; StrBritLib 57–71, no. 40 [Orient. 2080]; StrGriaule 5–9, éthiopien 376 [Griaule 72]; CRAbb 116, no. 80 [d'Abbadie 11]; GETATCHEW HAILE, letter to the author, 6 March 1991.

Lit.: OSWALD HUGH EWART BURMESTER (ed., tr.), *Le lectionnaire de la semaine sainte*, 2 vols., Paris 1933, 1934 (PO 24, 25), vol. 1, 169–294, vol. 2, 175–485; ID., "The Homilies or Exhortations of the Holy Week Lectionary", *Le Muséon* 45, 1932, 21–70; MARINA BOUSSYGINA, *Études sur le Gəbra Həmāmāt* (*Semaine sainte éthiopienne*), Mémoire, Louvain-la-Neuve 1999; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Liturgical Year and the Lectionary of the Ethiopian Church. The Temporal: Seasons and Sundays*, Addis Ababa 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures, special issue 9–10); HABTEMICHAEL KIDANE, "La celebrazione della Settimana Santa nella Chiesa Etiopica", in: ANTONIUS GEORGIUS KOLLAPARAMPIL (ed.), *Hebdomadae Sanctae celebratio. Conspectus historicus comparativus*, Roma 1997 (Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae", Subsidia 93), 93–134; DELIO VANIA PROVERBIO, *La recensione etiopica dell'omelia pseudocrisostomica* de ficu exarata *ed il suo* tréfonds *orientale*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 50), 94–108; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Luca 23,42, greco, nella liturgia etiopica del Venerdì Santo", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 94, 1980, 271–77; JOSEPH-MARIE SAUGET, "Une ébauche d'homéliaire copte pour la semaine sainte", *Parole de l'Orient* 14, 1987, 167–202; UGO ZANETTI, "Is the Ethiopian Holy Week Service Translated from Sahidic? Towards a Study of the *Gebra Ḥemāmāt*", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 765–83; ID., "Homélies copto-arabes pour la Semaine Sainte", *Augustinianum* 23, 1983, 517–22; ID. – MARINA BOUSSYGINA, "Gəbra Ḥəmamat ou Semaine Sainte éthiopienne", in preparation.

Ugo Zanetti

Gədəm

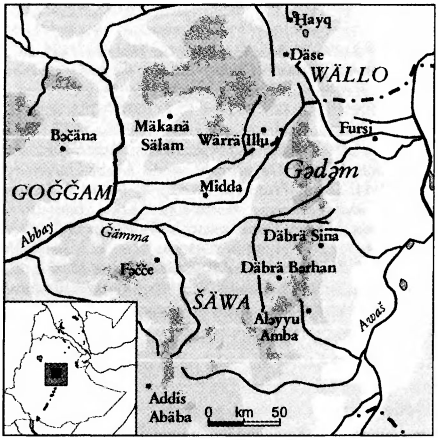
G. (ግድም, lit. 'surrounding place/area') is the name attributed to an area in north-east Šäwa, about 280 km north-east of Addis Abäba. Its immediate neighbours are the Oromo populated-district of Gillee Duguggguru in the east, Mänz in the west, Efrata in the north and Qäwät in the south.

The earliest mention of G. in the sources is in one of the soldiers' songs in honour of *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I (HuntAmdS 129; Guidi 1889), perhaps an indication that it was one of the key provinces conquered and controlled by the 14th-cent. Ethiopian monarch and that the province existed long before that.

In the 15th cent., during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, G. seems to have been one of the most-important provinces in the ruler's vast empire. On one occasion he appointed one of his own daughters, Sofya, governor of G. Later he removed her from that office and for much of his reign his loyal governors bearing the title of ራቅ፡ ማሰሬ (*räq mäsäre*) governed over G. (PerrZarY 13, 16, 47, 71, 93, 95). The ↗*čäwa* troops often camped there. Zärʾa Yaʿəqob's son and successor, ↗Bäʿədä Maryam I, appointed governors of G. bearing the title of አቃንሰን (*aqansän*). His ↗Ğan Amora contingent was also stationed there.

Throughout its history, G. has been inhabited by both Christians and Muslims. Šihābaddīn ʿArabfaqīh, the chronicler of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm *al*-Ġāzī*'s* campaigns, mentions G. several times (BassHist 280f., 283, 285, 287, 338f., 403, 408). His war-commanders, such as Goyta Nūr, Wärʾay ʿUṯmān, *gärad* Abğad, Addole and others, marched over G. and converted the local population to Islam. They burned down Kässayäh Abba Ewosṭatewos, one of the monasteries in G., which housed about 1,000 monks.

In the 16th cent. the area of G. fell into the hands of the Oromo. Later, in the 17th–18th cent. it became one of the autonomous provinces of Šäwa and throughout the 19th cent., at different times, a district and a province. The missionaries Isenberg and Krapf, as well as the French traveller Rochet d'Héricourt, report that G. was an important political unit, especially during the reign of ↗Sahlä Śəllase (1813–47). The governor of G. under *nəguś* Ḫaylä Mäläkot of Šäwa was defeated by the army of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, who entered Šäwa via Gässe, Efrata and G. Later, in 1865, the future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II entered Šäwa via Kosobär in Efrata. He proceeded south, where he fought a fierce battle at Gädəllo in G. with Tewodros's appointee over Šäwa, *däğğazmač* Bäzzabəh Wärq. It was Mənilək's victory at G. which finally cleared his way into Ankobär and let him proclaim himself king of Šäwa on 22 August 1865.



During the rise of Mənilək's power, G. assumed a low profile, until it reappeared on stage during the battle of ↗ʿAdwa in 1896. It is reported that when Mənilək reached G. on his way to ʿAdwa with the *tabot* of Arada Giyorgis in Addis Abäba, he changed his mind and took the *tabot* of Bärgəbbi Giyorgis instead. He reportedly remembered a vow his mother *wäyzäro* Əğğəgayyähu made to the church of Bärgəbbi Giyorgis if her son Mənilək won against Tewodros's appointee over Šäwa. Even on his way back from ʿAdwa he brought the *tabot* of Bärgəbbi and kept it in the church of Arada Giyorgis.

In the first two decades of the 20th cent., G. was at one time part of the province of ↗Mänz and, at another, part of that of ↗Yəfat. It was one of the cores of Resistance against the Italian occupation (1936–41), notably under the leadership of the Mänz patriot *ləğ* Gəzaččäw Ḫayle and the patriot of Efrata and G., *däğğazmač* Damṭäw Mäšäša. After the liberation of Ethiopia in 1941, G. was either a district (*wäräda*) or sub-district (*məkəttəl wäräda*) until 1974. It was integrated into the district of Efrata-Ğillee of Yəfat-Təmmuga until 1991.

Src.: CHARLES BEKE, *Diary Written during a Journey to Abyssinia* ..., London 1846, 230, 238; GSMen 57f.; BTafA 493, 523ff.; IsKrapf 288; CHARLES FRANÇOIS-XAVIER

ROCHET D'HÉRICOURT, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la mer rouge ...*, Paris 1841, 264f.; HuntAmdS 129; PerrZarY 13, 16, 47, 71, 93, 95, 112, 137; BassHist 280f., 283, 285, 287, 338f., 403, 408; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geʿez-amarina in onore di re abissini", *RRALm* 4, 4, 1889, 53–66.
Lit.: AbPrince 147, 181; BZHist 30; DTWDic 238; AHMED HASSEN OMER, *Aspects of a History of Efrata Jillé (Shoa Region) with Particular References to Twentieth Century*, B.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 1987, 8–11; ID., *A Historical Survey of Ethnic Relations in Yefat and Temmuga, North-East Shawa, 1889–1974*, M.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 1994, 1–4, 71f., 87; HUSSEIN AHMED, *Islam in Nineteenth Century Wallo: Revival and Reaction*, Leiden 2001, 6, 12, 112; THMDic 1192; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Political Geography of Ethiopia at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 613–31, here 622f.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Gedewon

G. (ጌዴዎን) is the name and/or title that over the centuries used to bear the leader of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. In Ethiopian Christian traditions on the legendary ↗Mənilək I (recorded in Mondon-Vidailhet 1904), G. was one of Mənilək's three most important governors.

During the reign of the Aksumite ruler ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl, another G. was known in Christian tradition as the uncle and teacher of *abba* ↗Yared, a man known for his musical notation and compositions. In Betä Ǝsraʾel traditions, Yared is remembered as a son of G. (Quirin 1992:25).

After 1270, G. was often the name (or title) of the Betä Ǝsraʾel leader as remembered in the Ethiopian chronicles and/or Betä Ǝsraʾel oral traditions, such as during the reigns of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq, and *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. Finally, in the last stages of Betä Ǝsraʾel political independence between 1563 and 1632, one of the principal leaders (brother of ↗Gʷäšən) was again G. A woman named Harago, who was probably his sister, became the mistress of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl in the 1580s, and was the mother of the Emperor's four sons. During the short regency of *aṣe* ↗Yaʿəqob, one of these sons, G. was appointed governor of Səmen. During the next two decades he supported several pretenders and rebels against *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. He was finally killed by Susənyos about 1625.

Src.: FRANCOIS MARIE CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET, "Une tradition ethiopienne", *RevSem* 12, 1904, 259–68; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum* I. *Acta Yared et Panṭalewon*, Paris 1904 (CSCO ser. alt. 17); ID., "Due squarci inediti di Cronaca Etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 2, 1893, 804–18, 806, 810; CONCETTA FOTI, "La Cronaca abbreviata dei re d'Abissinia in un manoscritto di Dabra Berhān di Gondar", *RSE* 1, 1941, 87–123, here 98; MANFRED KROPP, *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Mīnās*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 17 (text) = 16 (tr.); JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Le règne de Lebna Dengel", *RevSem* 1, 1893, 274–86, here 277, 283; ID., "Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie. Règnes de Yaʿqob et Za-Dengel (1597–1607)", *RevSem* 4, 1896, 355–63, here 358, 361; BassÉt I 17, 329f., II, 100; BegCron 21; CRHist 122f., 170f.; PerChron 116ff., 136, 146, 209, 215–18 (tr.).
Lit.: STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Beta Israel* (Falasha) *in Ethiopia: from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1992; SerHist 164ff.; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *Southern Ethiopia and the Christian Kingdom, 1508–1708*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1971; JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel* (Falasha) *to 1920*, Philadelphia, PA 1992; BecRASO II-III.

James Quirin

Geeraa

G. was the last Oromo state to be formed in the ↗Gibe region (for map s. Gibe). It was bordered by ↗Käfa in the south, ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar in the east, ↗Gomma in the north and ↗Guummaa in the north-west. Like other states in the Gibe region, the nucleus of G. was formed probably during the last decade of the 18th cent. and most definitely existed during the first decade of the 19th cent. However, the lack of adequately recorded traditions on the origins of the Oromo states prevents us from establishing a clear picture of the formation of G. (It was not until 1974 that extensive oral tradition was collected in the region, shedding light upon the process of state formation in G.)

In pre-state G. the different Oromo clans lived under their own elected ↗*gadaa* leaders, such as ↗*abbaa bokkuu* and ↗*abbaa dulaa*. The most famous *abbaa dulaa* of G. was Gunǧi, an outstanding warrior, described as a tall, well-built, brave and handsome man (Guluma Gemeda 1980:33). His organizational ability, leadership qualities and strong ambition enabled him to create the nucleus of the state of G. His death (most probably in a battle against one of the more powerful neighbouring states) made a lasting impression on his people.

Gunǧi's son and successor, Tulluu Gunǧi, completed and consolidated the process around 1835. According to oral tradition, Tulluu Gunǧi was an intelligent leader, a clever politician, a warrior king and a good administrator (JOT, fol. 7), who spread the fame of G. in and beyond the Gibe region.

G. was a land with flourishing agriculture. Antonio ↗Cecchi described it as "a basin surrounded by softly notched hills with gentle slopes" (CecZeila vol. 2, 263). The fertile valleys of G., naturally watered with many streams, yielded abundant *ṭef*, maize, sorghum, *ənsät*, finger-millet, and several varieties of beans and peas. Also known for the abundance of coffee (MHasOr 117) and the variety of its spices (CecZeila vol. 2, 280f.), G. was and still is famous for its eight different qualities of ↗honey (JOT, fol. 27). Of these, *ebičaa*, named after the plant from which the bees extracted the nectar, was considered the best honey in the Gibe region. It was known as royal honey, from which *dadî* ('mead') was made for the kings and great dignitaries to drink.

The wealth of G. attracted the attention of its more powerful neighbour, ↗Ončo Ğilča (1810–30s), king of Guummaa, who wanted to control G. by overthrowing Tulluu Gunği and replacing him by his half-brother, Abbaa Baso (1836–38). The power struggle between the two ended in Tulluu Gunği's defeat and capture. Despite the sending of ambassadors to Guummaa by the leaders of ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya, Gomma and Gimma Abbaa Ğifaar, Ončo Ğilča executed Tulluu Gunği. The ambassadors on their turn were soundly beaten, imprisoned and forced to grind corn (Guidi 1907:181; Cerulli 1922:161) – an ultimate insult to the leaders of the surrounding states. The latter not only waged wars against Ončo Ğilča, but also launched an effective propaganda campaign depicting him as a monstrous tyrant and the embodiment of cruelty (Beke 1843:259; CecZeila vol. 2, 541f.).

The wealth of G. also attracted Muslim traders, instrumental in the spread of Islam. Thus, a merchant called Abbaa Garo established a good relationship with King Abbaa Rago (d. 1848), cemented by mutual commercial interests. Abbaa Garo became the first Muslim king of G. During the reign of his son and successor, ↗Abbaa Magaal (1848–68), Islam took deep root. According to Cecchi, Abbaa Magaal became a zealous Muslim towards the end of his life as a result of a letter from the guardian of the tomb of the prophet in Medina in 1866.

In 1882 *ras* ↗Gobäna Dačị, *aṣe* Mənilək II's great empire-builder, forced the submission of Gummiti Gane, Queen-regent for Abba Rosa, the young king of G. (Bairu Tafla 1967:147), bringing to an end the independent existence of G.

Src.: *The 1974 Jimma Oral Traditions Project* [JOT], fol. 7, 27; GULUMA GEMEDA, *Historical Traditions of the Gibe States: a Preliminary Review of the Jimma Oral Tradition Project*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1980, 33.

Lit.: CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, "On the Countries South of Abessinia", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 13, 1843, 254–69; CecZeila vol. 2, 263, 280f., 541f.; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Strofe e brevi testi amarici", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin* 10, 1907, 167–84; MHasOr 117; BAIRU TAFLA, "Three Portraits: Ato Aṣmä Giyorgis, Ras Gobäna Dači and Ṣähafé Tezaz Gäbrä Selassé", *JES* 5, 2, 1967, 133–50; CerFolk 161.

Mohammed Hassen

Geerarsa

G. is one of the most wide-spread genres of ↗Oromo folk poetry. Traditionally, it was a warrior song, boasting about an individual's deeds and (military) skills (from *geraru*, 'sing before going to war', TilHDic 258; cp. ↗*Fukkära*). It was sung by single warriors, unlike the *farsa*, sung by a group or a clan as a whole (s. CerFolk 58, MHasOr 12). The G. was included as a separate poetic genre by Onesimos Näsib in his ↗*Galqaba barsiisaa*. Leengiso Diiga, an ↗Arsi leader of the late 19th cent., is reported to have composed the following G. (Abbas Haji 1995):

Koloobni gadii gatee
Abeetni guddifatee
Waan boru biyyaa tayuu
Waan boru Arsii tayuu
Leenjoon ardhumaa mul'dhifatee

'The Kolloba did not care of him
The Abeeta reared him up
What he will do tomorrow for the country
What he will do for the Arsi
Leenjiso has shown it today.'

G. were traditionally sung by Oromo warriors during major ↗*gadaa* gatherings (e.g., *gadaa gindaa*, or *duula guuto*, the 'killing feast'), in order to win both the respect of the participants and the hearts of their mistresses.

A boasting couplet sung by hunters before or after a successful hunt (↗Hunting) can also be called G. Killing an ↗elephant, for example, was a feat of great bravery that deserved composing a special G. (↗Meritorious complex).

The genre has undergone a considerable functional and thematic transformation, whereas the term G. has acquired a wider meaning. Today, almost any song can be called G., whether boasting or not, and whether sung individually or in a group. It may express different sorts of emotions, not only traditional bravery and heroism: it may also mourn over the "good old days" or narrate of the real facts of life. Through G., one can talk virtually about everything: one's socio-economic position, experiences, nostalgia, misgivings, the wish for a brighter future etc. When the individual feels mistreated by the authorities, or even by his friends or neighbours, it is a means to try to tackle the situation by expressing his disapproval or protest and at the same time his commitment to overcome it (cp. ↗*Ǝngʷərgʷərro*). A well-known example of a G. one sings about being poor, showing one's determination to get rid of poverty through work, is:

Deega koo yaa farrisaa
afi amman si fannisaa
muka damee hinqabneetii
akka badde hingaleetii

'My destitution, you are ugly.
You just wait, I will hang you
on a tree with no branches
so that you never climb down and come back to me.'

Src.: *Awağ* ONESIMOS – ASTER GANNOO, ጀልቀበ፡ በርሲሳ፡ እንሰ፡ መጨፈ፡ ዱቢሱ፡ በርሲሰኑን፡ አፋን፡ ኦሮሞት (*Jalqaba barsiisaa: innis macafa dubbisuu barsiisanun afaan Oroomotti*), Moncullo 1894; TilHDic 258.

Lit.: ABBAS HAJI, "Arsi Oromo Political and Military Resistance Against the Shoan Colonial Conquest (1881-6). Part 2", *Journal of Oromo Studies* 2, 1995; ADDISU TOLESA, *Geerarsa Folksong as the Oromo National Literature: A Study of Ethnography, Folklore, and Folklife in the Context of the Ethiopian Colonization of Oromia*, Lewiston, NY 1999 (Lit.); CerFolk 19, 58f., 102, 144f.; JEYLAN W. HUSSEIN, "The Functions of African Oral Arts: the Arsi-Oromo Oral Arts in Focus", *African Study Monographs* 26, 1, 2005, 15–58, here 20ff.; MHasOr 12f., 152f.; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, Teil 2. *Die geistige Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl*, Berlin 1896, 165, 180, 257; CLAUDE SUMNER, *Proverbs, Songs, Folktales: an Anthology of Oromo Literature*, Addis Ababa 1996; TESSEMA TAʾA, *Hambaa Weedduu Oromoo: Some Oromo Traditional Songs*, Finfinee 2000; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, "Social Protest and Rebellion in Some Gabbar Songs from Qellam, Wallaga", in: *PICES* 5, 177-96; VSAe II, 209f., 604.

Bekele Gutema – Red.

Gəʿəz

1. Significance, affiliation, history

G. (**ግዕዝ**) is the classical language of Ethiopia. Names used in European literature are "Classical Ethiopic", "Old Ethiopic" or simply "Ethiopic".

G. is not, as was stated by earlier researchers, an offshoot of Old South Arabian (Appleyard 1996). The Semitic languages of Ethiopia (↗Ethio-Semitic) form an independent subgroup of the ↗Semitic languages. Within Ethio-Semitic, G. belongs to the North-Ethiopic group, together with ↗Təgre and ↗Təgrəñña (Hetzron 1972:15–21).

G. was spoken in the kingdom of ↗Aksum. The earliest extant texts are ↗inscriptions of the 3rd cent. A.D., written in an unvocalized ↗script. Later inscriptions were written in the vocalized version of the Ethiopic script. G. was used for all literary purposes during the Aksumite period. The only direct evidence of G. of Aksumite period can be found (apart from scarce G. words on the Aksumite coins) in the inscriptions. The language of the inscriptions differs in some aspects from the classical language of the post-Aksumite period. A number of inscriptions are written in what is customarily defined as "pseudo-Sabaic", that is, G. imitating Sabaic by using certain Sabaic words (*bn* instead of G. *wäld* 'son', *mlk* instead of G. *nəguś* 'king') and (probably purely graphic) mimation.

After the rise of the ↗Solomonic dynasty, G. maintained its overwhelming importance as a written language, and as the language of formal communication, e.g., in the liturgy. With few exceptions (e.g., Old ↗Amharic, ↗Harari, ↗Arabic), G. was the only written language in Ethiopia until the 19th cent. As the language of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, G. still holds great prestige. It is also the liturgical language of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. The influence that G. exerts on modern Ethio-Semitic languages can be traced in educated loan words and "learned" constructions; e.g., the first Ethiopian passenger plane (1938) was named **ንስረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ** (*Nəsrä ʾItyop̣ya*, 'Hawk of Ethiopia'), with the G. marker of construct state *-ä* instead of the Amharic genitive construction with *yä-*. For "educated" words in Amharic, G. orthography is often retained. The position that G. holds in Ethiopia has often been compared to that of Latin in Europe.

2. Phonology

The inventory of the Proto-Semitic consonants is reduced in G. through the merger of the Semitic interdental fricatives (or affricates) with the respective sibilants (**ṯ*, **š*, **s > s*; **ḏ*, **z* > *z*; **ṯ̣*, **ṣ > ṣ*; s. Voigt in PICES 8 and 1994), and the disappearance of Semitic *ġ, which probably merged with *ʿ into ʿ (Weninger 2002). On the other hand, two new phonemes were integrated, *p* and *p̣*, but these occur only in loanwords. The lateral obstruants *ṣ́* and *ś* are retained (Weninger 1998), although in G. of the post-Aksumite period they are often in free graphic variation with *ṣ* and *s* respectively (other graphemes that are often interchangeable in classical G. are *h*, *ḥ* and *ḫ*; ʾ and ʿ). The introduction of labialized velars (*kʷ*, *gʷ*, *ḫʷ*, *qʷ*) was perhaps due to Cushitic substratum (Leslau 1945:62). The Semitic vowel system, which was characterized by quality and quantity distinctions (*a, *i, *u, *ā, *ī, *ū), was transformed by way of mergers and monophthongization into a system characterized mainly by quality distinctions (*ä, ə, a, i, u, e, o* [Correll 1984; Diem 1988]). To what extent the traditional pronunciation of G. nowadays preserves traces of the original pronunciation is still open to discussion (Mittwoch 1926; Brockelmann 1929; Ullendorff 1955:29–32; Makonnen Argaw 1984).

3. Morphology

3.1. Pronouns

The pronominal system is rather conservative. The independent personal pronouns are: *ʾanä*, 'I', *ʾantä*, 'you' (sg. masc.), *ʾanti*, 'you' (sg. fem.), *nəḥnä*, 'we', *ʾantəmu*, 'you' (pl. masc.), *ʾantən*, 'you' (pl. fem.). The third person pronouns are partly innovations: *wəʾətu*, 'he', *yəʾəti*, 'she', *ʾəmuntu*, 'they' (masc.), *ʾəmantu*, 'they' (fem.). Parallel to the classical Semitic tongues of West-Asia, G. has a set of suffixed pronouns indicating possessors at the noun and objects at the verb: *-yä*, 'my', *-ni*, 'me' (at the verb), *-kä* (2nd pers. sg. masc.), *-ki* (2nd pers. sg. fem.), *-hu* (3rd pers. sg. masc.), *-ha* (3rd pers. sg. fem.), *-nä* (1st pers. pl.), *-kəmu* (2nd pers. pl. masc.), *-kən* (2nd pers. pl. fem.), *-homu* (3rd pers. pl. masc.), *-hon* (3rd pers. pl. fem.). These pronouns are subject to mergers to a large extent, e.g., *bet*, 'house' vs. *bet-u*, 'his house' (nominative), and *betä*, 'house' (accusative) vs. *bet-o*, 'his house' (accusative), *qätälä*, 'he killed' vs. *qätäl-omu*, 'he killed them', *qätälki*, 'you (fem.) killed' vs. *qätälkəyy-o*, 'you (fem.) killed him'. G. developed also an independent possessive pronoun on the basis of *ziʾa-* (sg. masc.), *ʾəntiʾa-* (sg. fem.) and *ʾəlliʾa-* (pl.), e.g., *ziʾa-hu* 'his own [possessions, home etc.]'. Demonstrative pronouns are formed with the elements *z(ə/ä/a)-*, *əll-*, *-t-*, *(ʾ)ənt-*, *-ku* and nominal endings.

3.2. Verbs

G. has preserved the Semitic root-structure of nominal and verbal morphology. The derivational system of the verb has produced more verbal stems than the Asian Semitic languages by free combination of the inherited morphological elements, e.g., **አስተቃተለ** (*ʾastäqatälä*, 'to incite to kill'), combining historical long *ā (> *a*) in the first syllable with the prefix *ʾastä-* (s. Waltisberg 2001). The use of some derivational morphemes is restricted to weak verbs or verbs with more than three consonants, e.g., *ʾan-* (e.g., **አንሶሰወ**, *ʾansosäwä*, 'to walk around'). Verbs are inflected according to person, gender (masc., fem.) and number (sg., pl.). Verbal inflection in G. is very regular.

Perfect, imperfect and jussive which build the basis of the verbal system are formed with different inflectional bases, e.g., in stem $Ø_1$ *qätäl-* (perfect), *-qättəl-* (imperfect), *-qtəl-* (jussive). The perfect is inflected with suffixed morphemes: *-ä* (3 sg. masc.), *-ät* (3 sg. fem.), *-kä* (2 sg. masc.), *-ki* (2 sg. fem.), *-ku* (1 sg.), *-u* (3 pl. masc.), *-a* (3 pl. fem.), *-kəmu* (2 pl. masc.), *-kən* (2 pl. fem.), *-nä* (1 pl.). Imperfect and jussive are inflected with prefixed and suffixed morphemes: *yə-...-Ø* (3 sg. masc.), *tə-...-Ø* (2 sg. masc.), *tə-...-Ø* (3 sg. fem.), *tə-...-i* (2 sg. fem.), *ʾə-...-Ø* (1 sg.), *yə-...-u* (3 pl. masc.), *yə-...-a* (3 pl. fem.), *tə-... -u* (2 pl. masc.), *tə-...-a* (2 pl. fem.), *nə-...-Ø* (1 pl.).

A typical innovation of Ethio-Semitic is the converb (gerund, verbal infinitive). It evolved from an infinitive in the adverbial accusative and is inflected with the suffixed personal pronouns. The converb is hardly ever negated and occurs only in verbal sentences. The converbial clause denotes preceding actions or concomitant states of the situation of the main clause: **ወሰሚዖ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ተከዘ፡ ጥቀ** (*wäsämiʿo nəguś täkkäzä ṭəqqä*, 'when the king heard [this] he became very sad'), where the converb *sämiʿo* denotes the preceeding action 'having heard' and *täkkäzä* is the verb of the main clause ('he became sad').

Auxiliary constructions with the verbs of being *hallo, konä* and *näbärä* are largely due to foreign (i.e. Greek, Arabic or Amharic) influence (Weninger 1999; 2001:256–307).

3.3. Nouns and adjectives

Common nominal patterns are *qätl* (e.g., **ወልድ**, *wäld*, 'son'), *qətl* (e.g., **ብርት**, *bərt*, 'copper'), *qätäl* (e.g., **በረድ**, *bäräd*, 'hail'), *qətal* (e.g., **ሕያው**, *ḥəyaw*, 'alive'), *qətul* (e.g., **ዕሩቅ**, *ʿəruq*, 'naked'), *qätil* (e.g., **ጠቢብ**, *ṭäbib*, 'wise'), *qättal* (agent noun, e.g., **ገባር**, *gäbbar*, 'worker', cf. **ገበረ**, *gäbärä*, 'to work'), *mäqtäl* (tools, vessels and products, e.g., **መልበስ**, *mälbäs*, 'clothing', cf. **ለብሰ**, *läbsä*, 'to clothe'), *məqtal* (nomina loci, e.g., **ምሥያጥ**, *məśyaṭ*, 'market', cf. **ሤጠ**, *śeṭä*, 'to buy'), *qätali* (agent nouns, e.g., **ሐራሲ**, *ḥarasi*, 'plowman', cf. **ሐረሰ**, *ḥaräsä*, 'to plow'). Patterns with *mä-* are used in participles. Feminine endings are *-at* and *-t*. G. has broken plurals for masculine nouns. Common plural patterns are: *qətäl* (e.g., **እዝን**, *ʾəzn*, 'ear', pl. **እዘን**, *ʾəzän*), *qätält* (e.g., **ንጉሥ**, *nəguś*, 'king', pl. **ነገሥት**, *nägäśt*), *ʾaqtəlt* (e.g.,

ዐይን, *ʿayn*, ‘eye’, pl. **አዕይንት**, *ʾaʿyənt*), *ʾaqtal* (e.g., **ክንፍ**, *kənf*, ‘wing’, pl. **አክናፍ**, *ʾaknaf*), *ʾaqtul* (e.g., **ሀገር**, *hagär*, ‘town, country’, pl. **አህጉር**, *ʾahgur*). The Semitic nominative **-u* and genitive **-i* have merged in G. resulting in a system with two cases: *bet*, ‘house’ (nominative-genitive) vs. *betä* (accusative), *nolawi*, ‘shepherd’ (nominative-genitive), vs. *nolawe* (accusative). Nouns ending in *-a*, *-e* and *-o* are inflectible. G. has an inflectible construct state formally identical to the accusative: *betä nəguś*, ‘the house (nominative/genitive/accusative) of the king’. A supposed Proto-Semitic absolute case **-a* has been proposed as the etymon of the G. construct state (Tropper 2000). Endings of the sound plural are *-an* (masc.) and *-at* (fem.). In some cases the plural ending *-at* is affixed to broken plurals, e.g., *nägäśt-at*, ‘kings’.

3.4. Prepositions and particles

G. has prepositions, some inherited from Semitic prepositions, like *bä-*, ‘in’, *lä-*, ‘to’, *laʿlä*, ‘upon, over’; some newly developed, like *maʾkälä*, ‘in the midst of’, *wəstä*, ‘in, into’. Compound prepositions like *ʾəm-ḫabä*, ‘from the side of’ (< *ʾəm-*, ‘from’, *ḫabä*, ‘towards’) are common. There are no postpositions, but there is a variety of conjunctions and discourse particles in enclitic position, e.g., *-əssä*, ‘but’, *-nu* (interrogative particle), *-ke*, ‘now, then’.

4. Syntax

G. syntax and style frequently reflect Greek, Arabic or Amharic models, depending on whether the text in question is a translated text, whether it is an Aksumite classical or post-classical text, and on whether its milieu is monastic or courtly.

4.1. Noun phrase

G. has no article. The basic word order within the noun phrase is Noun–Attribute (NA). That this basic word order is rather flexible can be seen in the translation texts of the Aksumite period, where usually the Greek word order is retained in G. texts. Attributive adjectives agree with their head nouns in case. Agreement in gender and number is restricted to persons. A tendency to analytic constructions is visible in the marking of possessors with the preposition *lä-*: **ቤቱ፡ ለንጉሥ** (*betu lä-nəguś*, ‘the king’s house’, lit. ‘house-his to-king’).

4.2. Verbless clause

In verbless clauses (nominal clauses) an independent personal pronoun is employed as copula: **እስመ፡ ረሐብ፡ ይእቲ፡ ምድር፡ ቅድሜሆሙ** (*ʾəsmä räḥab yəʾəti mədr qədmehomu*, ‘for spacious is the land before them’; Gen 34:21), where *yəʾəti*, ‘she’, agrees with the subject *mədr*, ‘land’, and functions as the pronominal copula.

4.3. Verbal clause

G. syntax has a rather flexible Verb–Subject–Object (VSO) word order in the verbal clause. The accusative of the object is often replaced by the analytic construction with *lä-*, especially when the object is determined: **ቀተሎ፡ ለብእሲ** (*qätälo läbəʾəsi*, ‘he killed the man’, lit. ‘killed-him to-man’).

4.4. Clause linking

The most frequent coordinating conjunction linking main clauses is *wä-*. Relative clauses have relative pronouns: **ብእሲ፡ በኢየሩሳሌም፡ ዘስሙ፡ ስምዖን** (*bəʾəsi bäʾIyärusalem zäsəmu Səmʿon*, ‘a man in Jerusalem whose name was Simeon’; Lk 2:25). Other subordinate clauses always have a conjunction at the beginning, like, e.g., **ከመ** (*kämä*, ‘so that’), **ሶበ** (*sobä*, ‘since, as, when’), **እንዘ** (*ʾənzä*, ‘while’), etc.

5. Lexicon

The lexicon has numerous cognates with the lexicon of the Asian Semitic languages, especially in the field of the core vocabulary (body parts, kinship terms, verbs). Cushitic loan words are also frequent (Leslau 1988:84–88). There is also a substantial body of words in the G. lexicon with unclear etymology, which are nevertheless to be found in other Ethio-Semitic languages, and other words shared with Cushitic, where the direction of borrowing is unclear (Leslau 1988). Greek loan words are quite numerous in the ancient translation literature, but often occur only as isolated hapax legomena. Loans from Syriac and other varieties of Aramaic often have religious connotations (Nöldeke 1910; Polotsky 1964; Marrassini 1990). Arabic loans are quite numerous in some post-Aksumite texts (cf. Weninger 2004). Loans from Coptic and Latin (Weninger 2000) are rare and often have intermediate sources (usually Arabic). Amharic loans as designations for every day items on the one hand and for titles and other administrative terms on the other, occur quite frequently in the post-Aksumite royal chronicles and in documentary texts (for a history of the G. lexicon, cf. Weninger, in press).

The ten word list is: *ʾaḥadu*, ‘one’; *kəlʾettu*, ‘two’; *śäləstu*, ‘three’; *ʾəsat*, ‘fire’; *may*, ‘water’;

warḫ, ‘moon’; *ṣ́äḥay*, ‘sun’; *dam* ‘blood’; *ləssan*, ‘tongue’; *sənn*, ‘tooth’.

6. Typology

G. shares many typological features with other classical Semitic languages like Arabic, Hebrew or Syriac. But there are also a few typological characteristics shared by G. and modern Ethio-Semitic. Most of the typological features of modern Ethio-Semitic however are innovations, at least partly triggered by intense language contact with Cushitic. E.g., G. shares its VSO/NA-word order with other classical Semitic languages against modern Ethio-Semitic with its SOV/AN-word order. The same applies to prepositions in G. vs. modern Ethio-Semitic with its many postpositions. On the other hand, the converb is a feature that is shared by G. and modern Ethio-Semitic. Features such as the relative verb, widespread use of cleft sentences, or palatalized consonants are innovations of modern Ethio-Semitic. The beginnings of some of the typical modern Ethio-Semitic features can already be traced in G., like compound verbs or the article (on the development of Ethio-Semitic typology, s. Weninger 2001a).

G., with its enormous body of texts and its long history of research, is among the best studied Semitic languages. Nevertheless, a comprehensive modern historical grammar and a critical dictionary, especially one covering the non-biblical material undocumented by Dillmann (DillmLex) are among the desiderata.

Src.: DillmLex; LesCDic; Gabriele de Maggiora, *Vocabulario etiopico-italiano-latino*, Asmara 1953; August Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar*, tr. by James A. Crichton, London 1907 [repr. Amsterdam 1974]; Thomas Oden Lambdin, *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic* (*Ge^{c}ez*), Missoula 1978 (Harvard Semitic Studies 24).

Lit.: David Appleyard, “Ethiopian Semitic and South Arabian: Towards a Re-Examination of a Relationship”, *Israel Oriental Studies* 16, 1996, 201–28; Carl Brockelmann, “Zur Kritik der traditionellen Aussprache des Äthiopischen”, *ZSem* 7, 1929, 205–13; Christoph Correll, “Noch einmal zur Rekonstruktion des altäthiopischen Vokalsystems”, *Linguistische Berichte* 93, 1984, 51–65; Werner Diem, “Laryngalgesetz und Vokalismus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Altäthiopischen”, *ZDMG* 138, 1988, 236–62; Robert Hetzron, *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification*, Manchester 1972 (Journal of Semitic Languages Monograph 2); Wolf Leslau, “The Influence of Cushitic on the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia: a Problem of Substratum”, *Word* 1, 1945, 59–82; Id., “Analysis of the Ge^{c}ez Vocabulary: Ge^{c}ez and Cushitic”, *RSE* 32, 1988, 60–109; Lockot I, 253–61; Lockot II, 350–62; Makonnen Argau, *Matériaux pour l’étude de la prononciation traditionelle du Guèze*, Paris 1984 (Mémoire 44); Paolo Marrassini, “Some Considerations on the Problem of the ‘Syriac Influences’ on Aksumite Ethiopia”, *JES* 23, 1990, 35–46; Eugen Mittwoch, *Die traditionelle Aussprache des Äthiopischen*, Berlin 1929 (Abessinische Studien 1); Theodor Nöldeke, “Lehnwörter in und aus dem Äthiopischen”, in: Id., *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 31–66; Hans Jakob Polotsky, “Aramaic, Syriac and Ge^{c}ez”, *JSS* 9, 1964, 1–10; Josef Tropper, “Der altäthiopische Status constructus auf *-a* aus sprachvergleichender Sicht”, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 90, 2000, 201–18; Edward Ullendorff, *The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia: a Comparative Phonology*, London 1955; Rainer Voigt, “The Development of the Old Ethiopic Consonantal System”, in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 633–47; Id., “Die Entsprechung der ursemitischen Interdentale im Altäthiopischen”, in: Wolfhart Heinrichs – Gregor Schoeler (eds.), *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut 1994 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 54), vol. 1, 102–17; Michael Waltisberg, *Die St-Stämme des Altäthiopischen*, München 2001 (LINCOM Studies in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics 8); Stefan Weninger, *Gə^{c}əz*, München – Newcastle ^{2}1999 (Languages of the World/Materials 01) [Lit.]; Id., “Zur Realisation des *ḍ* (< *ḏ*) im Altäthiopischen”, *Die Welt des Orients* 29, 1998, 147f.; Id., “On Performatives in Classical Ethiopic (Gə^{c}əz)”, *JSS* 45, 2000, 91–101; Id., “Lateinische Fremdwörter im Äthiopischen”, *Biblische Notizen* 102, 2000, 141–45; Id., “Vom Altäthiopischen zu den neuäthiopischen Sprachen”, in: Martin Haspelmath et al. (eds.), *Language Typology and Language Universals* 2, Berlin 2001a (Handbücher für Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaften 20.2), 1762–74; Id., *Das Verbalsystem des Altäthiopischen …*, Wiesbaden 2001b (Veröffentlichungen der orientalischen Kommission 47); Id., “Was wurde aus *ǵ im Altäthiopischen?”, in: Norbert Nebes (ed.), *Neue Beiträge zur Semitistik: Erstes Arbeitstreffen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Semitistik der DMG*, Wiesbaden 2002 (Jenaer Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 5), 289–98; Id., “Anmerkungen zu den arabischen Fremdwörtern im Äthiopischen”, in: *StudAeth* 361–69; Id., “Das Wortschatz des klassischen Äthiopisch”, in: Bogdan Burtea et al. (eds.), *Studia Semitica et Semitohamitica: Festschrift für Rainer M. Voigt anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstages*, Münster 2005.

Stefan Weninger

Gə^{c}əz

G. (**ግዕዝ**) is one of the three categories of melody (↗*Zema*) or mode (**ስልት**, *səlt*) that constitute the Ethiopian Christian musical system, the creation of which is traditionally ascribed to St. ↗Yared. Assuming the name from the liturgical language of the prayer-texts it carries, G. *zema* is the most common of the three categories of melody. It is used for most occasions in the annual liturgical cycle, sometimes in alternation with ↗*araray*. G. *zema* is used on its own for the liturgy of rogation ceremonies (**ምህላ**, *məhəlla*).

Characterized by Ethiopian musicians as “the first” *zema*, G. is described by musicians as “strong” and “dry”. In terms of its metaphorical significance, G. is linked to God the Father, an association derived from traditional accounts of the life of Yared.

The repertory of short melodic patterns in G. *zema* constitutes the largest of the three divisions of the indigenous Ethiopian notational system. Each G. melody is represented by a sign (↗*Mələkkət*) derived from the G. syllabary.

The musical content of G. can be described as drawing on a pitch-set that is based on a series of thirds, which are represented in Western staff notation as A–C/C#–E. However, the distance between the first two pitches in this series varies from an interval that is often slightly larger than a minor third to that of a major third; all of the pitches can be, and often are, embellished by chromatic neighbouring notes. G. *zema* is further characterized by distinctive vocal slides (**ርክርክ**, *rəkrək*).

Lit.: TITO LEPISA, "The Three Modes and the Signs of the Songs in the Ethiopian Liturgy", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 162–87; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY – PETER JEFFERY, *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant*, 3 vols., Madison, WS 1993–97; VelMe II, 75–98.

Kay Kaufman Shelemay

Gəʿəz literature

Gəʿəz (or Classical Ethiopic) has been the written language of Ethiopia at least since the beginning of the Christian Era. Therefore, when in the first half of the 4th cent. ↗Christianity reached the country, the latter was ready to receive its teaching in writing – which marked the beginning and subsequent fortunes of G.l., one of the most peculiar features of Ethiopian civilization.

G.l. is the main reason why historians include Ethiopia among the nations of the Mediterranean world. Ethiopia shares with this world not only the tradition of writing but also the content of its literature, Judeo-Christian.

Apart from the chronology and the relevant historical context, a major problem in the study of the history of G.l. is the identification of the authors of the works composed locally and of the translators of the imported ones. Ethiopian men of letters attach little importance to recording in titles and colophons their names and the dates of their works. In most cases, the latter must be assessed by circumstantial evidence found in chronicles and in the works themselves.

Traditionally a survey of G.l. is presented in chronological sequence, according to the periods associated with the ruling dynasties. One begins with the Aksumite age when Christianity was introduced, ca. 330–900 A.D. From the literary point of view, this phase can be characterized as the Greek one. Although a great deal was achieved in the fields of art and architecture, there is not much to report about the literary activities that took place under the ↗Zagʷe dynasty that succeeded the Aksumite kings, ca. 900–1270. Most of the literature, both translations and original works that have survived, was produced during the next, the so-called ↗Solomonic, dynasty, with its two houses, the House of ↗Amhara (1270–1560), followed by the House of ↗Gondär (1560–1770). Although this dynasty resumed its rule from Šäwa (1889 – 1974), after the decline of Gondär the place of Gəʿəz as a living literary language had been taken over by Amharic. Thus, since the turn of the 19th cent., Gəʿəz continued only as the liturgical language of the Church and for the composition of poetic *qəne*. From the point of view of literary history, the period from 1270 to 1770 may be referred to as the Arabic one.

Greek period

During this period, the Christian kingdom of Aksum was at its zenith in civilisation and political power. It was the time when most of the Christian East, including the ↗Coptic Church of Alexandria, used Greek as its main written language. It was also the period during which, according to tradition, missionary monks came to Ethiopia from the Mediterranean world "with their books". The Christian literature brought to Ethiopia during this time was inevitably the Greek literature of the Copts, besides a few works produced in the contemporary Palestinian milieu (Bausi 2000–02: 78, n. 7; Fiaccadori 2003:253, n. 34).

Ethiopia's close relationship with Alexandria throughout its Church's history has encouraged Ethiopian pilgrims, especially monks, to visit ↗Egypt and live in the Egyptian monasteries, worshipping with the Copts, or even building their own monasteries. The continuous presence of Ethiopians in Egypt and the hardly ever interrupted tradition of having a Copt as Ethiopia's metropolitan meant for the Ethiopian Church the translation into Gəʿəz of the literature of the Coptic Church and its importation to Ethiopia. This included doxologies, such as the ↗*Wəddase Maryam*, ascribed to ↗Ephrem the Syrian, and some (not all) of the eucharistic ↗Anaphoras, some 20 of which are known to exist, even though only 14 are in current use by the Church. Even the melodies for chanting may have originated in Egypt and were adapted possibly by St. ↗Yared.

Works transmitted during this period include first and foremost the biblical books, the N.T. from the Lucianic recension used by the Syrians at Antioch, and the O.T. from the Septuagint; the ↗*Fisalgos*; the collection of homilies by the early Church Fathers titled ↗*Qerəllos* (that is, ↗Cyril of Alexandria, who has several homilies therein); the monastic rules of Abbot ↗Pachomius; *The Shepherd* of ↗Hermas; the *Ascension of ↗Isaiah*; and the Books of ↗Enoch and ↗Jubilees. The last three are extant in their entirety only in Gəᶜəz.

The liturgy is believed to have been firmly founded as Ethiopian by St. Yared, the musician and priest who flourished during the reign of Gäbrä Mäsqäl (r. ca. 530/31 or 538/39–48). Tradition ascribes to the saint the composition of the hymns of the ↗*Dəggʷa*, the antiphonary for the year, and their music. The *Dəggʷa* contains beautiful hymns, some rhyming, for God and the saints of the Church – angels, martyrs, desert fathers and mothers. Some are sung on the eve and some on the day of their commemoration. The *Wəddase Maryam* and the ↗*Anqäṣä bərhan*, ascribed to Yared, are part of the *Dəggʷa*. The content of the *Dəggʷa* has been considerably extended to include hymns for the saints who flourished after Yared.

Arabic period

Some Christian Arabic literature from Alexandria seems to have reached Ethiopia during the Zagʷe dynasty. The ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, which relates the story of how the people of Ethiopia became the chosen people of God in place of Israel, is an example. But the work remained, according to its colophon, in its Arabic original until a dynasty favourable to its translation into Gəᶜəz took power. Following the overthrow of the Zagʷe dynasty in 1270 and the establishment of the Solomonic dynasty, the clergy were ready to import the Arabic Christian literature of the Copts and to translate it into Ethiopic. They also began to compose original works in the same language. The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I must have been written at the beginning of this period.

The Church had then *abunä* Sälama the "Translator" (1348–88) as the metropolitan, interested in enriching it with service books and hagiographical works, hence his nickname. Whether that was because he was personally involved in the translation, as some sources suggest, or because the books were obtained from his personal library, as others imply, is not clear. Nevertheless, tradition credits him with translations of the Lectionary for Passion Week, the ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*; several lives of saints (↗*Gädl*); a homily by ↗Jacob of Serug and another by ↗Cyril of Jerusalem; the Testaments of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, ascribed to ↗Athanasius; the ↗*Filkəsyos*, one of the three books of the monks (*Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat*, s. ↗Monastic literature); and the ↗*Laḥä Maryam*. The funeral ritual, *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät*, also contains a homily attributed to Sälama himself.

The role of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos in enriching the Ethiopian Church with hagiographic literature is unequalled by any other centre. Lives and miracles of saints (desert fathers, martyrs) and angels, including the ↗*Gädlä ḥawaryat* and the ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat*, were translated from Arabic by the monks of this monastery. *Apophthegmata Patrum* (known in Gəᶜəz as *Zena abäw qəddusan*, 'The Story of the Holy Fathers'), the ↗*Sənkəssar*, the two sources of Ethiopian canon law (the ↗*Senodos* and ↗*Didəsqəlya*), the *Zena Ǝskəndər* (↗Alexander the Great), the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*säᶜatat* and one of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*fäws mänfäsawi* were all among the products of that age.

The years 1340–1500 mark the evident interest of local (Ethiopian) scholars in writing on topics that the imported literature did not deal with satisfactorily. Three authors are worth remembering. The first is ↗Rətuᶜa Haymanot, the *nom de plume* of an unidentified scholar who seems to have flourished ca. 1375. A collection of homilies for different feasts is ascribed to him and bears his name. The second author is *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla or Gasəčča (d. 1476), to whom a number of important works are ascribed, including among others the ↗*Arganonä Maryam*, the ↗*Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä*, the *Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat*, the ↗*Ḫoḫətä bərhan* and the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məsṭir*. The third author of this period was *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob (r. 1434–68), who was not only the head of state but also was the *de facto* head of the Church and her principal theologian. Works coming from his time suggest that he had a scriptorium in his palace where books were composed, translated, and copied in large numbers and distributed to the important monasteries. Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob notably had the collection of the miracles of the Virgin Mary, the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, expanded (the translation of which was begun by his father *aṣe* ↗Dawit II) by adding other stories, some of them translated and others composed locally. These stories are small literary masterpieces, and those that deal with local issues are valuable historical sources.

Questions such as the observance of the Saturday-Sabbath, the theology of the Trinity and the image of God, the number of the canonical scriptures, and the veneration of icons and the cross were points of serious dissensions among the clergy of the time; and Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob was a major player in each controversy. He (and probably his scholars at the royal camp) produced the following highly interesting works: the *Ǝgziᵓabəḥer nägśä*, the ↗*Səbḥatä fəqur*, the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*bərhan*, the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*milad* and the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*śəllase*, the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*baḥrəy*, the ↗*Täᶜaqəbo məsṭir*, the ↗*Ṭomarä təsbəᵓət*, the *Kəḥdätä säyṭan* and the *Dərsanä mälaᵓəkt*.

Most of these were composed in defence of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob's theological and Christological positions. Some are highly polemical in refuting the views held by others. Our knowledge of the views of most of the scholars the Emperor refuted with such force come precisely from his refutations, unfortunately not directly from their defenders themselves. Either their works (sometimes together with the authors) were suppressed or their views were not expounded in writing. Only the ↗Stephanites (the followers of the monk ↗Ǝsṭifanos), who refused to give undue reverence to Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (as the anointed ruler), the Icon of the Blessed Virgin and the Cross, as demanded by the Emperor, have left us literary expressions of their beliefs. They maintained that the metropolitan of the time agreed with their positions, but fearing the wrath of the Emperor, could not contradict him. In fact, they reported that Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob attacked the metropolitan when the latter supported them.

Although it is not known for certain how it started, the composition of ↗*mälkəᵓ* hymns seems to have begun during this period.

Furthermore, Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob's quotation from the ↗*qəne* of one of his opponents indicates that the practice of using this type of hymn in church services must have started before this time. At present, there are up to 20 types of *qəne* hymns, identified by the number of the lines, which vary from two to eleven, the rhythm, and the melody to which they are sung. In every major church, one of the clergy composes a *qəne* song for the occasion to be sung during the service.

Among works translated during this period are the ↗*Zena Ayhud* by Joseph ben Gorion; the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*, a collection of ecclesiastical and civil laws which the state used until the first half of the 20th cent. and which the Church continues to use; ↗*Giyorgis Wäldä ᶜAmid*, the universal history of Ǧirǧis b. al-ᶜAmid; and the ↗*Abušakər*, another historical source, that includes a section on computing the movable feasts and fasts of the Church.

The years of the national crisis (1500–1632)

During this period, while the Christian empire was invaded by the forces of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") from the east and overrun by the migrating ↗Oromo from the south, three scholars made names in the field of G.l.: ↗ᶜƎnbaqom, ↗Arkä Śəllus and ↗Baḥrəy.

ᶜƎnbaqom was a Yemenite merchant who, as a Muslim, was well versed in the Islamic religion. He embraced Christianity and became a celebrated teacher and spiritual leader of the Ethiopian Church, promoted as far as to become the *əčč̣äge* of ↗Däbrä Libanos. In addition to the books he helped to translate into Gəᶜəz – such as the other two monastic books, the *Mar Yəsḥaq* (by ↗Isaac of Nineveh), and the ↗*Arägawi mänfäsawi* by John Saba – he wrote a book entitled ↗*Anqäṣä amin*, in which he attempted to prove the divinity of Christ even from the Islamic literature, including the ↗Qurᵓān, and to invite the invading Muslims to Christianity and the apostates to repentance.

Such theological works as the ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, the ↗*Tälmid* and the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ḥawi* were all translated during this period, to which the translation from Arabic of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*fälasfa ṭäbiban* most probably also belongs. ᶜƎnbaqom and a certain Salik of Däbrä Libanos must have had a hand in the translation of these works.

The allusions to many sources found in the chronicles of Gälawdewos (r. 1540–59), Minas (r. 1559–63) and Śärṣä Dəngəl (r. 1553–97), perhaps made in part by Baḥrəy, and of Susənyos (r. 1607–32), made by Täklä Śəllase and ↗Məhərkä Dəngəl, reveal the high level of the literary life of the country at that time. Despite Grañ's devastating war and the destructive migration of the Oromo in progress then, the doctors of the local Church were active in translating works from the Christian Arabic of the Coptic Church.

The ↗*Mäwaśəᵓt* and the ↗*Məᶜəraf* hymns are contributions of this period. Furthermore, it was then that the musical notation, the *Dəggʷa*, was reportedly introduced into the Church's hymnody.

Although little is known about his identity and his monastery (if he was a monk), the poet ↗Arkä Śəllus must have flourished during this period, as Baḥrəy mentions him in his hymns for the saints. This religious poet is remembered in the Church as the author of the five-line hymns to the saints found in the *Sənkəssar*. His work, titled by his abbreviated name, ↗*ʿArke*, has become a model of hymn composition. The *ʿarke* hymns have been gathered in a single volume as a collection, and the individual hymns are inserted at the end of each *Sənkəssar* entry for a particular saint. The *ʿarke* hymns for the saints who lived after Arkä Śəllus are, of course, the compositions of other authors.

Another important author was *abba* Baḥrəy (b. 1535/36 A.D.). His works show that he was a ↗*liq*, an erudite, with a vast knowledge of the literature and a writer of great talent. It is now clear that most of the contents of the manuscript BritLib Orient. 534 (WrBriMus 84), especially the ↗*Mäzmurä Krəstos*, the ↗*Mälkəʾa Gäbrəʾel* and the ↗*Sälamä qəddusan*, are the works of this monk. The *Mäzmurä Krəstos* was modeled after the Psalms of David, with each of the 151 Psalms of Christ corresponding in the number of lines and of words on each line to its counterpart in the 151 Psalms of David. Baḥrəy quotes from almost all known (and two unknown) Gəʿəz sources, noting them on the left margin of the page where the quotations occur. Unlike the Gəʿəz version of Psalms of David, the Psalms of Christ rhyme. As for his *Sälamä qəddusan*, the model for it is Arkä Śəllus's *ʿArke*.

Abba Baḥrəy is well known and highly acclaimed among modern scholars as the author of the chronicle ↗*Zenahu lägalla*, copied on less than three folios of ms. BritLib Orient. 534 and on the margins of ms. Wien, Kaiserlich-Königliche Hofbibliothek, Aeth. 4 (Rhodokanakis 1906: 69). The text is an ethnography of the Oromo, which he wrote during the height of their migration into central Ethiopia. This short account of the social structure of the Oromo and the manner of their migration, written by an eyewitness observer, is unique and of immense importance for the history of the Horn of Africa.

The latter part of this period (1632–1770) is marked by the continuation of the tradition of chronicling the emperor's deeds and by an increase in the number of *mälkəʾ* texts. One or more such texts were composed for most of the nationally venerated saints. Of these, the ↗*Mälkəʾa Maryam* and the ↗*Mälkəʾa Iyäsus*, are part of the daily prayers of the clergy. Some of the "images" are of high literary quality, but as not all were composed by "licensed" theologians they may violate the Church's teaching.

The Gondär clergy developed a new collection of hymns for the saints, the ↗*Ziq*. The individual hymns are composed of lines from the *mälkəʾ* and *ʿarke* for the saint, and a new hymn of two or more lines, the *ziq*, is added as a refrain. The *ziq* has its own musical notation.

Although the service with *qəne* hymns had become a tradition centuries earlier, it certainly reached its peak during the last period of G.l. The *qəne* genre was originally intended to praise God and his saints with new songs (Ps. 95:1 and 97:1), but in the course of time it has been used for panegyrics to flatter people of power and authority.

The oral composition and use of *qəne* continues to this day, but writing in Gəʿəz has virtually ceased. The interest in secular literature and the foreign missionaries' use of vernacular languages to attract followers have inspired writers, including Church scholars, to use Amharic in place of Gəʿəz.

A treatise on the existence of God and his nature ascribed to a certain Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, and its continuation, ascribed to his disciple, Wäldä Ḥəywät, are said to have been written towards the end of this period. It is known today as ↗*Ḥatäta Zärʾa Yaʿəqob* and is accepted by modern scholars with skepticism. Unlike what we observe in the works of Ethiopian teachers, the author of this treatise reaches, by his own reasoning, a knowledge of the existence of God and of this God's relationship to man. In the process he rejects the teachings of the established religions, Christianity and others. This rational approach has made some scholars, especially Conti Rossini, conclude that he was not an Ethiopian, but a Catholic missionary who did nor want to reveal his new faith to his superiors. The language of the *Ḥatäta Zärʾa Yaʿəqob* is that of what Ethiopians would call a *Dawit dägami* or one whose daily prayer (and reading) is the Psalter. Unlike the writings of the *liqawənt*, the *Ḥatäta* is not enriched with ideas from traditional literature. Whatever quotations are added here and there from the scriptures, they would not put the author on a par with Ethiopian teachers or with a Catholic missionary of the caliber of Giusto Da ↗Urbino, who had received the education of his Church. The time was as conducive for that author to ask theological questions as it was for *abba* Baḥrəy to ask why a few Oromo with inferior weapons could defeat the Ethiopian government. He seems to be an Ethiopian rebel whose education had not gone beyond the elementary grade of a *qəne* school. The reason why his treatise is void of biblical quotations outside the Psalter is most probably because the author was not versed in them, rather than because he rejected them. The *Ḫatäta Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob* is, thus, by any criteria part of G.l.

The underground literature

The Christians' belief that prayers heal the faithful from their sickness (James 5:14) has been stretched, to include the word or the spell as a cure or curse or charm (↗Magic scrolls; ↗Prayers). This is a phenomenon that can be observed in non-Christian communities as well. In Ethiopia, biblical texts, such as John 1:1–5, are commonly copied on a piece of parchment and carried on the neck.

Not realizing that words such as *Adonay, Alšaday, Elohim* have non-Gəᶜəz forms because they have no Gəᶜəz equivalent, many of the clergy assume that they have been preserved because they have spiritual, in fact, magical power to heal the sick, protect the healthy and destroy the enemy if invoked in prayers or carried copied on parchment or paper. This comes from the belief that God has numerous secret names (↗*Asmat*) that would oblige him to hear prayers faster and respond favourably when they are repeated the number of times prescribed. Some Gəᶜəz sources imply that Jesus Christ himself used these "powerful words" when he healed the sick and raised the dead. Furthermore, they claim that he revealed these secret names, including his own, to his mother, Mary, and to his disciples when he sent them to preach his gospel.

Magical prayers, like these, must be common among Muslims and the clergy of the Coptic Church because some of the Ethiopian versions have Arabic words that must derive from Christian and Islamic *Vorlage*, e.g., *bismilʾab* and *aᶜuzu billahi*, respectively.

The Church would have liked to suppress this literature, but it has not succeeded because the chief culprits are themselves members of the clergy who practice it in secret. Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, who believed that enemies were using charms to destroy him, took the harshest measure to destroy magic literature and magicians. He informs us in his *Ṭomarä təsbəʾət* that he had destroyed a voluminous manuscript containing such prayers, which he found in his palace. But there is no indication that he did more than that. The literature still flourishes underground as well as aboveground. The prayers of Mary and the ↗*Ləfafä ṣədəq*, both sanctioned by the Church, has many "secret names" of God and Jesus Christ.

↗Hagiography; ↗Historiography; ↗Hymns; ↗Manuscripts; ↗Monastic literature; ↗Prayers

Src.: BassÉt; WrBriMus; EMML; ZotBNat; DillmZarY; MarrAmdS; PerChron; PerrAmdS; PerrZarY; GuiIohan; ᶜEnbāqom, *Anqaṣa Amin* (*La Porte de la Foi*). *Apologie éthiopienne du Christianisme, contre l'Islam à partir du Coran*, ed., tr. by Emeri Johannes van Donzel, Leiden 1969; CRRic; Ignazio Guidi (tr., ed.), *Il Fetha Nagast o "Legislazione dei Re", Codice Ecclesiastico e Civile di Abissinia*, Roma 1899; Nikolaus Rhodokanakis, "Die äthiopischen Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien", *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 151, 1906, 1–93; Lanfranco Ricci, "Le *Vite* di Ĕnbāqom e di Yoḥannĕs, abbati di Dabra Libānos di Scioa", *RSE* 12, 1955, 91–120; *ibid*. 14, 1959, 69–107; Kurt Wendt, *Das Maṣḥafa Milād (liber Nativitatis) und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē (Liber Trinitatis) des Kaisers Zarʾa Yāᶜqob*, Louvain 1962 (CSCO 221 [SAe 41]).

Lit.: Alessandro Bausi, "Alcune osservazioni sul *Gadla Ḥawāryāt*", *Annali IUO* 60–61, 2000–01 [2002], 77–113; Enrico Cerulli, "The 'Kalila wa-Dimnah' and the Ethiopic 'Book of Baralaam and Josaphat' (British Museum MS. Or. 534)", *JSS* 9, 1964, 75–99; CerLett; CerMaria; Marius Chaîne, "Répertoire des salam et malke'e contenus dans les manuscrits éthiopiens des bibliothèques d'Europe", *ROC* 2ᵉ sér. 8, 18, 1913, 183–203, 337–57; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1899 [1900], 197–285; Id., "Lo Ḫatatā Zarʾa Yāᶜqob e il Padre Giusto da Urbino", *ibid.* ser. 5ª, 29, 1920, 213–23; Id., "Il libro di re Zarʾa Yāᶜqob sulla Custodia del Mistero", *RSE* 3, 2, 1943, 148–66; CRHist; Roger W. Cowley, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation: A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988, 385–431; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Un'epigrafe greca aksumita (*RIÉth* 274)", in: Vincenzo Ruggieri – Luca Pieralli (eds.), *Εὐκοσμια. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, Soveria Mannelli (cs) 2003, 243–55; Getatchew Haile, "The 'Kalīlah wa-Dimnah' and the 'Mazmura Krestos'", in: *PICES* 5b, 373–86; Id., *The Different Collections of Nägś Hymns in the Ethiopic Literature and Their Contributions*, Erlangen 1983; Id., "Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *OrChr* 65, 1981, 102–36; GuiSLett; Déborah Lifchitz, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*, Paris 1940; Enno Littmann, "Zu A.W. Schleicher's 'Geschichte der Galla'", *ZA* 9, 1938, 389–400; Jacques Mercier, *Ethiopian Magic Scrolls*, New York 1979; Eugen Mittwoch, *Die amharische Version der Soirées de Carthage mit einer*

Einleitung: Die angeblichen abessinischen Philosophen des 17. Jahrhunderts, Berlin – Leipzig 1934 (Abessinische Studien, vol. 2); RicLett; CLAUDE SUMNER, *Classical Ethiopian Philosophy*, Los Angeles ^{2}1994.

Getatchew Haile

Gəmb

The term G. (ግምብ) has the meaning 'wall', 'castle', 'tower', or even designates masonry in a stone building. It is attested in Gəᶜəz documents (Tgn. variant: ግምቢ *gəmbi*, but standard Amh.: *gənb*), first and foremost in the names of (today often ruined) Gondärine "castles" and antiquities, such as ↗Baḥrəy Gəmb, Gəmb Giyorgis, and ↗Maryam Gəmb. The palace of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs at ↗Gondär is commonly referred to as Fasil Gəmb (lit. 'G. of Fasilädäs'), and the nearby chancellory of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs I as Waräqät Gəmb (lit. 'Paper G.', or 'Archive house'); the "Turkish bath" of Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) as Wäšäba Gəmb ('G. for steam-bathes'; s. GuiVoc 758-62). The traditional structures with egg-shaped domes are referred to ↗*ənqulal gəmb.*

↗Architecture; ↗Forts

Src.: KaneDic 1912; LesCDic 196; THMDic 1184; GueCopMen 50; GuiVoc 716, 758–62.

Lit.: GHIORGIS MELLESSA, "Gondar Yesterday and Today", *EthObs* 12, 3, 1969, 164–76; FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Les monuments gondariens de XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles: une vue d'ensemble", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 9–45.

Ill.: MARIO DI SALVO, *Churches of Ethiopia: The Monastery of Narga Sellase*, Milano 1999, fig. 116f.; GUY ANNEQUIN, "Le lac Tana et ses îles. Trésors méconnus d'une thébaide à l'abandon", *Les dossiers d'archéologie* 8, 1975, 80–115, here 81, 83.

Richard Pankhurst

Gəmǧa bet

G.b. (ግምጃ፡ ቤት, lit. 'silk house') was historically the imperial treasury or storehouse, and thus a part of the ↗*Gəbbi* compound. It was also known as ግምጃ፡ ዋሻ (*gəmǧa waššа*, 'treasure cave'), a term hinting at the antiquity of the institution, or ግምጃ፡ ደባና (*gəmǧa däbäna*, 'treasure tent'). According to Alvares, the G.b. was part of the palace complex in early 16th-cent. Šäwa, where the *bäᶜalä gəmǧa* tents housed the emperor's wardrobe and treasures (BeckHuntAlvar 444). G.b. was headed by the ↗*bäǧərond.* Over time, G.b. were established throughout the country and were employed to store taxes, tribute, weapons and sundry, other goods belonging to the national or provincial government.

By the late 19th or early 20th cent., *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II dispatched officials throughout the country to staff G.b., overseeing the collection of taxes and their transfer to Addis Abäba. Written records of deposits and expenditures, often kept in Arabic as well as in Amharic, were designed to minimize corruption, though little is known of how successful such efforts were. In the provinces, government officials and soldiers were paid out of G.b. stores, though the details of actual practice likely varied in time and place. In Harär in the early 1930s, the G.b. accepted taxes in the form of grain or stock, but often sold the products for cash, which was then at the government's disposal.

An ancient institution, the G.b. eventually foreshadowed the Ministry of Finance ("the government's G.b."), created by *aṣe* Mənilək II in 1906. The finance minister was then, theoretically at least, responsible for tallying the registers of all the G.b. in the provinces and had the authority to inspect their stores and registers at any time. This system ensured a degree of central government control over the country's finances, but granted local administrations some fiscal freedom. In 1931, for example, the expenses for provincial celebrations held to mark *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's coronation in Addis Abäba were covered by local G.b. rather than the Ministry of Finance in the capital.

Src.: CRHist 64 (text); GueCopMen; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Due nuovi manoscritti della 'cronaca abbreviata' di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 6^{a}, 2, 1926, 337–421, here 359; BeckHuntAlvar 444, 553; [*Register of*] *The Imperial Ethiopian Secretariate of Harär and its Environs, 2 Miyazya 1925 E.C. – 29 Mäskäräm 1926 E.C.*, Addis Ababa, IES, ms. 933; MahZekr.

Lit.: HAROLD MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menilek II*, Lawrenceville – New York 1995.

Tim Carmichael

Gənbot ↗Calendar, Christian

Genealogy

Socio-cultural role of genealogy

G. is both the history of descent of a family or descent groups and the system describing it. In both senses it plays a crucial role in written and oral ↗historiography among the ethnic groups in the Horn of Africa. Knowledge of G. is of utmost importance for culture and local politics, having to some degree very practical purposes, being in no way a privilege of the *mäsafənt* (↗artistocracy). A G. may serve, e.g., to prove one's rights to (landed) property or to participation in (local) decision-making processes.

Forms and structure of genealogies

G. are preserved in both oral and written form, the most traditional model for the latter being the biblical one, i.e. "X begat Y, Y begat Z, etc.". G. are often written on the margins, though there are examples of manuscripts entirely dedicated to a G. They may be regularly amended, e.g., the ancient manuscript of the descendants of the *wag šum*, still in possession of the family. Leading families in particular had their G. kept in their "house churches" or monasteries linked with them, e.g., the G. of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu is kept in religious manuscripts at the monastery of ↗Gundä Gunde. Such lists do not differ visually from ordinary text pages (fig. 1).

Another form of G. is graphic, introduced perhaps in the 19th cent. only, linking names written on a large manuscript scroll with lines symbolizing descent. This model is known from European medieval manuscripts. An example of such type is the nine-meter-long scroll with an Amharic G. of the descendants of Prophet ↗Muḥammad kept at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies' archive (fig. 2). Modern publications with G., especially on dynasties, often contain graphic representations, e.g., a round circle, with *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase in the centre, for all descendants of the Šäwan dynasty (cp. Mahtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl n.d.).

The main principle of G. in the Horn of Africa is patrilineality. There are few exceptions to this pattern, as in cases when a specific right was introduced into a male line by a woman, or in the case of such matrilineal ethnic groups as the ↗Kunama. A genealogical list may also contain the names of all the sons of a certain forefather, especially if they are founding fathers of settlements or played an important role in politics. In some cases daughters are also included, particulary if through their marriages important genealogical links were established.

Traditional ↗naming rules reflect the central role of G., the second name being patronymic among most Ethiopian peoples, sometimes followed by a third name, that of the grandfather. In a way, such names are a simplified G.

Genealogies as a legal and social instrument

A G. is an important political instrument for enforcing solidarity within the group and even across its borders. Through genealogical networks, descent groups get linked to one another. Such linkages may even cross ethnic boundaries resulting in ↗inter-ethnic clan relations. Persons who are genealogically connected consider themselves "brothers" or "sisters". This establishes a strong tie, which results in the quasi-impossibility of refusing mutual help. G. can also be of practical economic importance, being the key instrument to legitimate a family's or group's right to land. In the context of local disputes on land, G. is a legal instrument. Elders (↗*Śəmagəlle*), who are the keepers of customary law, may also preserve genealogical knowledge. Contradictions between G. can be resolved in meetings with elders from other groups, who compare their knowledge.

A new genealogical link through a "political" marriage between two descent groups can help in ending conflicts (Oromo: ↗*gumaa*). The "discovery" of an ancient genealogical link can be used in the course of a peace-making process or to achieve a political goal. Among the Oromo and other Cushitic-speaking peoples the adoption of non-Oromo individuals or even (ethnic) groups (↗*Guddifačaa*; ↗*Moassa*) has the function of establishing a permanent relationship, based on the idea of fraternity. Such an adopted group may even claim a genealogical link to the adoptive group, even if non-historical. Comparable procedures can also be observed among northern groups. Some G. are social G., not historical: a newcomer family in a village in Təgray, for example, may have been included in the village's G. in order to allow access to land for the immigrants' descendants. Another case are the Təgrəñña-speaking villages within the Bilin territory; even if not speaking the same language, Bilin assemblies have recognized their inhabitants as descendants of the Bilin founding fathers.

G. serve to stabilize a group's identity, including its ideological and religious basis. As a wide-spread phenomenon, many Ethiopian genealogical narratives set up a connection – in the case of Christians – to the "Israelites", and, more specifically, to King ↗Solomon, or – in the case of Muslims – with Arab descent groups and the Prophet Muḥammad. Like the ↗Solomonic dynasty, the ethnic groups of the northern highlands in general trace their descent back to the "Israelites" who are said to have come to Ethiopia together with ↗Mənilək I. Such genealogical claims served to strengthen the self-identification with the myth of the biblical origin of Ethiopia.

G. also define the lineage ("sip"; ↗Ǝnda) in

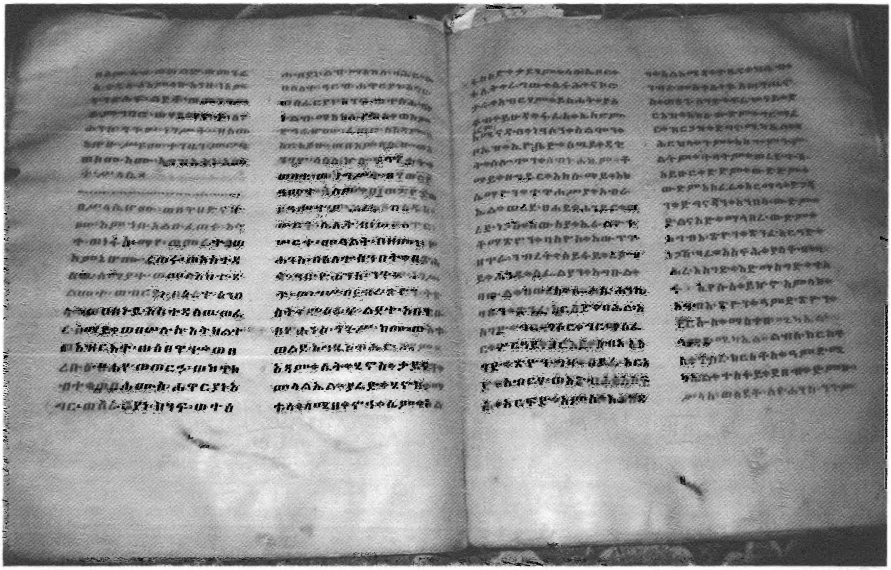


Fig. 1. Genealogy of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, linking the Emperor to King Solomon and Adam; ms. of a Chronicle of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs, end of the 19th cent., pp. numbered 38, 45; Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase, ᶜAdwa (cp. BTafY 18ff.), photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

the narrow sense. Ethnic groups usually follow a combination of endogamic and exogamic principles; e.g., endogamic ethnic groups practice exogamy on a lower level, members of one "sip" not being allowed to marry each other, which is guaranteed by the existence of a G. The definition of lineage is strictly patrilineal in the case of Ethio-Semitic ethnic groups of the northern highlands, e.g., Təgrəñña-speakers and Amhara: those with a common patrilineal ancestor less than seven generations away are considered "brother and sister" and may not marry. On the mother's side, however, the relation can be much closer (only about four generations). Until today this is the most common reason for which even youngsters know at least about seven generations of the father's G. (the "seven names"), this being a precondition for marriage. Among Muslim groups, on the contrary, marriage between cousins is allowed.

G. often quickly loses its social role among urbanized people, especially in Addis Abäba (starting from already the second generation of migrants to the city). Marriage rules of their original ethno-cultural groups lose partly or entirely their significance. The loss of importance of G. is a symptom of the more general tendency to a weakened identification with the original descent group (↗Kinship). The effect is that even a clear affiliation to an ethnic group may sometimes become blurred, children of mixed Gurage and Oromo background, e.g., identifying themselves rather with the "national" culture ("Amhara"). As this example shows, the idea of G. is closely connected with that of "belonging", but only if belonging is defined through descent, which guarantees access to resources like land or offices or to the solidarity of the "own" group.

Genealogy as a historical source

G. is an important source and instrument for modern historiography. Any understanding of individual networks – both between "locals" and rulers and between descent groups – needs a thorough study of G. Carefully interpreted, they can give valuable evidence for population movements and settlement history. They can even help detect the approximate time of a ↗migration: the number of generations regularly counted in G. in one region can reveal a population paradigm change at the time of the apical ancestor(s): ᶜAfar and Irob G., for example, count 24 generations and go back to the ca. 14th cent. One may, combining this with other pieces of evidence,

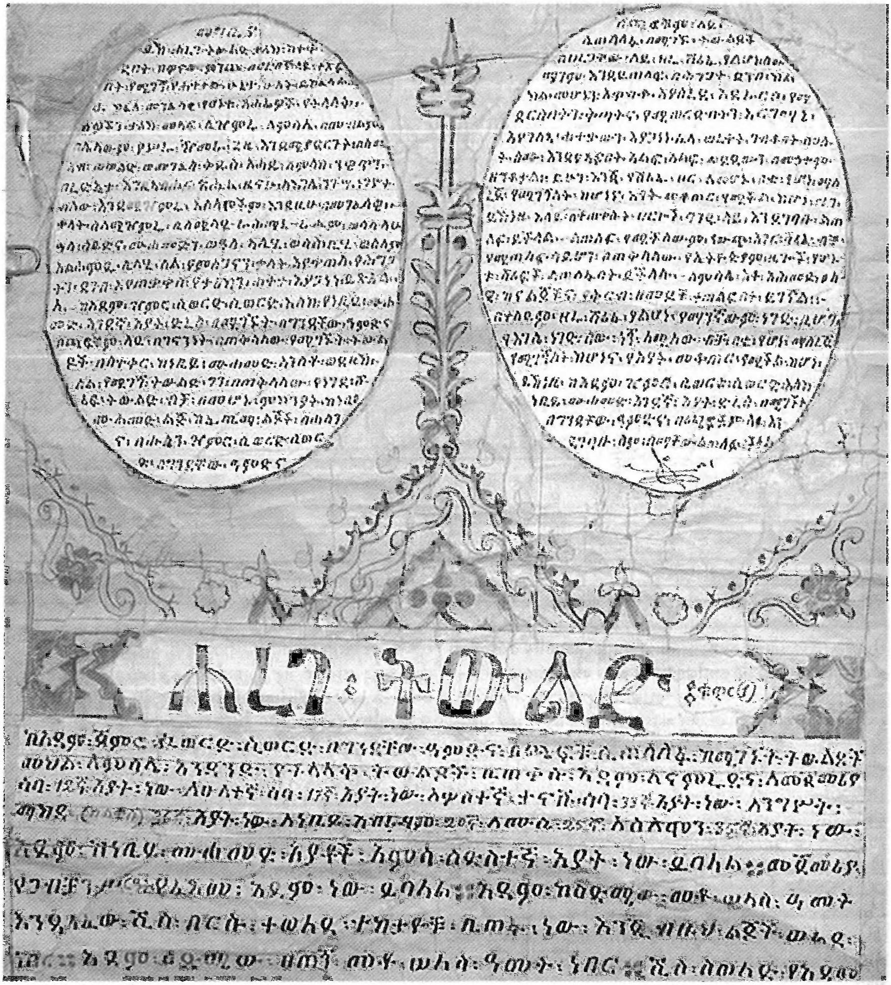


Fig. 2. Genealogy of Prophet Muḥammad, in Amharic, 20th cent. (detail); photo by Maki Momoka, courtesy of IES (IES P5310046)

conclude that in this period their ancestors migrated to the region, after a major population breakdown. Historical information can also be elicited from the appearance of names in different languages or with an identifiable geographic or ethnic background (cp. ↗Amaaro), or showing a change of religion (typical, e.g., for Bilin or Wällo G.). G. can also help reconstruct names of local office-holders, often being the only sources to have preserved these names.

Western researchers sometimes misinterpret contradictions among G., depreciating them as unreliable. This, however, can result from the misunderstanding of the terms used for the construction of a G. Especially in the case of forefathers tracing back to more than seven or twelve generations, G. tend to be simplified for practical purposes. The aim of a G. is the documentation of historic "truth", but not the preservation of every name and every generation. A filiation ("son of") does not necessarily mean that there is a distance of only one generation between the two persons listed; the term "son" may simply mean "descendant". "The two sons of…" may therefore well mean "the son and the [grand]son of …" as is the case in the medieval founding legend of the Akkälä Guzay descent group.

In many G., names of apical ancestors are not personal, but geographical or ethnic denominations. This is a consequence of the traditional identification of a territory with its "owners" and of a descent group with its apical ancestor and vice versa. Ethnic subgroups could be called after their apical ancestor (e.g., the ↗Däqqi Täššəm), on the other hand, the place name, becoming the group's name, could later get the function of an ancestor's name (e.g., the G. Kuš > Ityopis > Aksumawi). The legendary geographical origin of a migrant group is often reflected in their G. (e.g., the ↗Gurage coming from Guraʿ; "Gura", sometimes even "Akkälä Guzay" or "Erətra" also may appear as a personal name of an ancestor). In this sense both geographical and genealogical concepts can be related to each other. At the same time, names of far ancestors may correspond to historical reality (e.g., the important ↗Ḥamasen ancestor "*nəguś*" Märoni seems to correspond to a 13th-cent. historical leader).

Src.: GueCopMen; KolTrad I–III; ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *Lords of the Red Sea: the History of a Red Sea Society from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 45); ID., *The Nakfa Documents. The Despatches, Memoranda, Reports and Correspondence Describing and Explaining the Stories of the Feudal Societies of the Red Sea Littoral from the Christian-Muslim Wars of the Sixteenth Century to the Establishment 1885–1901 of the Italian Colony of Eritrea*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 53); RUFFILLO PERINI, *Di qua dal Marèb* (*Marèb-Mellàsc'*), Firenze 1905; *blatten geta* MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, ሀውልቆ፡ ትውልድ፡ ዘንጉስ፡ ሳሀለ፡ ሥላሴ (*Hwəlqo təwləd zä-nəguś Sahlä Śəllase*, 'The Number of Generations of King Sahlä Śəllase'), no date, no place; interviews with Maḥaränna Śəyyum, Asmära, August 1993; Käbbädä Hordofa, Addis Abäba, May 2004; *fitawrari* Iyasu Aṣbəha, Mäqälä, June 2004; *nəburä əd* Elyas Abraha, Aksum, July 2004; *nəburä əd* Bälay Märäsa, Aksum, July 2004; Muluwärq Kidanämaryam, Mäqälä, July 2004; *č̣əqa šum* Kämal Saʿid, Ǝntič̣č̣o, July 2004; Ḫaylä Mäläkot Agizäw, Addis Abäba, July 2004; field notes of Dirk Bustorf from Gurage, 1999.

Lit.: BTafY 18ff.; CrawItin 205–11 [Appendix II. "Asgade and the Habab tribe"]; STEPHANOS PIERRE PÉTRIDÈS, *Le Héros d'Adoua, Ras Mekonnen Prince d'Ethiopie*, Paris 1963, 63; BrHad; BrKam; ShGurage; DIDIER MORIN, *Dictionnaire historique afar (1288–1982)*, Paris 2003.

Wolbert Smidt

Dynastic genealogy

Any proprietary and social status of any free Ethiopian was considered legal if inherited from the ancestors. This was the reason why everyone, from peasant to emperor, knew and remembered their G. The perception of history was, too, genealogical – from Adam for the mankind and from the Old Testament Books of Kings for the state. The G. of private persons were naturally a private matter and were only made public on the occasion, for example, of a court suit in property questions. Dynastic G. were a different matter as they were of public importance. However, even under these circumstances they seldom were written down, and dynastic G. are a rare occurrence in Ethiopian ↗historiography, whether official or not. As a matter of fact, Ethiopian historiographers would only resort to dynastic G. in exceptional cases, in order to justify a breach in a custom (e.g., a dynastic overturn) by presenting it not as an instance of violation but, on the contrary, of the triumph of an eternal tradition of legal inheritance and continuity of power and ↗kingdom. This was the real motivation behind such Ethiopian dynastic treaties as the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* or ↗*Bəʿəlä nägäśt* or the inclusion of G. into chronicles. The *Kəbrä nägäśt* was meant to account fully for the deposition of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty in 1270 by substantiating the far-from-the-obvious thesis that the Ethiopian royal dynasty was the legal (genealogical) successor of the Israelite dynasty of David and Solomon, that Solomon's firstling was his Ethiopian – and not Jewish – son, and that Ethiopia was thus the "new Israel". Though formally the *Bəʿəlä nägäśt* was also devoted to the events of the dynastic coup of 1270, i.e. the "restoration of the legal power of the Solomonic dynasty" represented by *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak, the real reason for the creation of the treaty was the necessity to account for the coming to power of a new branch of the dynasty, the descendants of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, in the new capital of the Christian empire, ↗Gondär. This treaty clearly reveals the miraculous elements that had become characteristic for royal G.

It is true that G. were the legal ground for any proprietary or social claims, whether peasant or king; the character of these claims, however, varied considerably. On the basis of his G., a peasant could claim his share in common land heritage (the ↗*rəst* of all the descendants of a common ancestor), a pretender to the throne, in his turn, wanted to obtain the whole kingdom, and thus claimed an exclusive right that cancelled the rights of all other pretenders – descendants of the same ancestor. In disputable cases, this artificial situation resulted in artificial G., as they required an element that would unarguably prove one single pretender's exclusive right. Such an element was usually a miracle: a wonderful appearance, a prophecy of a saint, by all means something supernatural; and it was necessary to make this miracle well-known, which is why such G. had to be written down. In any case, it did not happen very often, as there were seldom doubts in the legitimacy of successorship on the throne.

A disputable situation emerged in 1730 when, after the death of *aṣe* Bäkaffa, ↗Iyasu II, his son by his youngest wife Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa), was declared Emperor. This happened due to the efforts of a small group of nobles from Qʷara, relatives of Məntəwwab, who thus became regent of her underage son. Iyasu had therefore the right to the throne thanks to his father but could only perform this right thanks to his mother (or, rather, her family). Such state of affairs had to be somehow grounded, and this need led to an innovation: a special G. of the ruling monarch was written. The Chronicle of Iyasu II's reign starts with the G. of Ethiopian kings from Adam to Bäkaffa. It is followed by the G. of Queen Məntəwwab, where all those relatives were mentioned who assisted Iyasu to the throne and practically ruled the country during his younger years. In order to justify this actual royal overturn, Bərhan Mogäsa's G. contains diffuse prophesies on "how Lord repeatedly kept telling our fathers about Iyasu's and Məntəwwab's reign". The first prophecy is ascribed to the famous Ethiopian saint ↗Wälätta Ṗeṭros: persecuted by the "apostate" ruler Susənyos, she declares to Məntəwwab's ancestors that "a king shall be born by a daughter of a daughter who shall save the people of Israel and by whom all the peoples of the earth will be blessed". This narration is followed by the prophetic visions of Məntəwwab's grandmother, Məntəwwab herself and her brother Wäldä Ləʾul.

One can say that most of the written dynastic G. bear such pronounced literary character, even if the goals their creators envisaged were neither literary nor historical.

In Ethiopia, all literary works devoted to the past were considered historical, whether chronicles, dynastic treaties, lives of saints (↗*Gädl*) or even certain homilies, such as, e.g., the ↗*Dərsanä Raguʾel*, which contains, as a vaticinium ex eventu, a narration on the sons of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. Archangel Raguʾel foretells the imminent downfall of the descendants of *aṣe* ↗Minas, Ləbnä Dəngəl's third son, i.e. of the Gondarine dynastic branch, and the rise of the descendants of Ləbnä Dəngəl's youngest son Yaʾəqob who settled down in ↗Šäwa. Such was, indeed, the political situation at the beginning of the 19th cent., time of the final redaction of the *Dərsanä Raguʾel*. Later, when the Šäwan dynasty reached supreme power in the Christian Empire, neither the text nor the Archangel found oblivion. *Aṣe* ↗Mənilək II dedicated a church at his new residence to St. Raguel (↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguʾel), and Taddäsä Zäwälde published his "Short History of the Descendants of ***abetohun*** Yaʿəqob" (Addis Abäba 1956, conceived as a continuation of the *Dərsanä Raguʾel* – little wonder, as the then Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I was considered Yaʾəqob's direct descendant. The Emperor himself did not neglect the opportunity to use G. in his own political interests, and the second article of the ↗Constitution of the Ethiopian Empire clearly connects the imperial position of Ḫaylä Śəllase I's line with his "direct descent from the dynasty of Mənilək I, the son of Sheba, the Queen of Ethiopia, and King Solomon, King of Israel", i.e. with the dynastic myth from the *Kəbrä nägäśt*.

It can be concluded that dynastic G. were never an independent subject of literary activity but merely an instrument of the authors in pursuit of their own political aims.

Src.: BezKebr; GuiIohan; GuiIyas; Ignazio Guidi, "Due nuovi manoscritti della 'Cronaca abbreviata' di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 2, 1926, 357–414; Taddäsä Zäwälde, ያቤቶሁን፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ትውልድና፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ (*Yabetohun Yaʿəqob təwləddəna aččer tarik*, 'A Short History of the Descendants of *Abetohun* Yaʾəqob'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1956 A.D.]; André Caquot, "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Raguel (Dersāna Rāgu'ēl)", *AE* 2, 1957, 91–122; Boris Turaiev, *"Bogatstvo Tsarei". Traktat o dinastičeskom perevorote v Abissinii v 13 veke* ("The Riches of Kings. The Account on a Dynastic Overthrow in Abyssinia in the 13th cent.'), St. Petersburg 1901 (Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arheologicheskogo Obschestva II–III, vol. 13), 157–71.

Lit.: LaVerle B. Berry, "Factions and coalitions during the Gondar Period, 1630–1755", in: *PICES* 5b, 431–41; Id., "Coalition Politics and the Royal Office in mid-18th Century Gondar", in: *PICES* 10, 219–24; Sevir Chernetsov, "Medieval Ethiopian Historiographers and Their Methods", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 5, 191–200; Id., "The Crisis of Ethiopian Official Royal Historiography and Its Consequences in the 18th Century", in: *PICES* 11, 87–101;

Carlo Conti Rossini, "La caduta della dinastia Zagué e la versione amarica del Be'ela Negest", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 20, 1922, 279–314; George Wynn Brereton Huntingford, "'The Wealth of Kings' and the End of the Zagwe Dynasty", *BSOAS* 28, 1, 1965, 1–23.

Sevir Chernetsov

Monastic genealogy

Ethiopian monastic G., a part of ↗hagiography, are more or less original compilations formed by sequences of names "enchained" to each other in a characteristic syntactic pattern: personal name (of the "spiritual father") – *wälädo lä* (lit. '[he] begot/generated [him]') – personal name (of the "spiritual son"). These G. can be found in the Vitas of the saints (↗*Gädl*) or as autonomous texts. They usually feature three different levels, relevant to as many stages in the spreading of monasticism into Ethiopia; and cannot be used to date the actual lifetime of a monk according to the position assigned to him within the text. Like the hagiographers they are most often depending upon, the Ethiopian compilers often placed a monastic leader into a prestigious ascendancy so as to link him to a particular movement or order, which sometimes leads to chronological inconsistencies.

The first – and most common – level of these G. refers to the Egyptian fathers of monasticism, and especially to ↗Anthony, Macarius and ↗Pachomius; the second level, to the more prestigious Ethiopian monks of the early Christian period: the ↗Nine saints or the "isolated saints", as *abba* ↗Zämika'el Arägawi or *abba* ↗Maṭṭa^{c}. Lastly, the third level has its framework in the monastic line or the community a certain monk actually belonged in. For instance, if he is presented as a disciple of ↗Iyäsus Mo'a, one can find in his G. the name of Zämika'el Arägawi, founder of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Damo where Iyäsus Mo'a was initiated into monastic life, then those of *abba* ↗Yoḥanni, abbot of Däbrä Damo and teacher of Iyäsus Mo'a, and Iyäsus Mo'a himself, as the spiritual father of that monk. Hence, a few names of "spiritual sons" can follow with reference to the monastic community founded by the monk whose lineage is reconstructed. Thus, among the numerous G., those of the followers of *abunä* ↗Ewosṭatewos and *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot can be easily distinguished (↗Ewosṭateans).

Sometimes, the compiler adds a family G. to the spiritual one, in order to reinforce the link between a monk and his relative master (e.g., in the hagiography of ↗Tadewos of Däbrä Maryam, disciple of Täklä Haymanot). In more recent G. (after the 17th cent.), such very famous saints as Täklä Haymanot, Ewosṭatewos or ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus are met with in the place formerly reserved to the earliest representatives of Ethiopian ↗monasticism.

Src.: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge (ed.), *The Life and Miracles of Takla Hâymânôt in the Version of Dabra Lîbânôs* ..., London 1906, 189; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *MRALm* ser 5^{a}, 8, 1900 [1903], 61–170, here 154ff.; Getatchew Haile, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Täklä Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 7–38; Id., "A Fragment of the Monastic Fathers of the Ethiopian Church", in: *OrbAethChoj* vol. 1, 231–37; KurMoa 34–39 (text) = 28–31 (tr.); Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Per una storia delle tradizioni monastiche eritree: le genealogie spirituali dell'ordine di Ēwosṭātēwos di Dabra Ṣarābi", in: Ugo Zanetti – Enzo Lucchesi (eds.), *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos, Bollandiste*, Genève 2004 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25), 249–72; Veronika Six (ed., tr.), *Die Vita des Abuna Tādēwos von Dabra Māryām im Ṭānāsee*, Wiesbaden 1975 (VOHD, suppl. 18), 42, 288, 290 (text) = 43, 289, 291 (tr.).

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, [Review of Riccardo De Santis, "Il Gadla Tādēwos di Bārtārwā. Un contributo allo studio della letteratura agiografica etiopica", *Annali Lateranensi* 6, 1942, 9–116], *RSE* 3, 1943, 335–40; Marie-Laure Derat, "Gäbrä Endreyas de Däbrä Qozät et les généalogies monastiques du XVe au XIXe siècle: réecritures et réemplois", *AE* 17, 2001, 229–55; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Nota su Yoḥannes Meśrāqāwi", *Quaderni utinensi* 6 [11–12], 1988 [1991], 141–50, here 141 and n. 10, 145; LusStud 6–10.

Marie-Laure Derat – Red.

Genne Gummiti

G.G. ('the lady from Guummaa') was the daughter of Abbaa Dulaa, King of ↗Guummaa (1856–70), a fervent Muslim, who believed passionately in the spread of ↗Islam in Guummaa. In this she was helped by Abbaa Boka, King of Ǧimma (1859–61), who sent Muslim teachers and preachers to Guummaa. Common interest in the spread of Islam resulted in a marriage alliance between Guummaa and Ǧimma.

Accordingly, in 1860 G.G. married ↗Abbaa Gomol, the son and successor of Abbaa Boka, king of ↗Ǧimma (r. 1861–77). It was out of this marriage that ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II, later a king of Ǧimma (r. 1877–1932), was born in 1861.

G.G. played a key role in the government of Ǧimma. Her husband, and later her son, sought her advice on all matters. An extraordinary woman, endowed with a brilliant mind and generous hand, she was peace-loving, but also a strong-willed leader, passionately devoted to the welfare of her people. Thus, she encouraged the peaceful resolution of conflicts within the Gibe region and between the Oromo and their neighbours and cultivated a friendly relationship with the nobility of Ǧimma, who served her with devotion and loyalty.

After the death of her husband in 1878, she served as a regent for her young son Abbaa Ǧifaar II. It was most probably under the influence and guidance of G.G. and top officials that Abbaa Ǧifaar II made the most important decision of his reign in 1882, a peaceful submission to *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II). That decision not only saved Ǧimma from the destruction endured by the four other Oromo states that decided to resist Mənilək, but also enabled the kingdom to enjoy a good deal of internal autonomy up to the death of Abbaa Ǧifaar II in 1932.

Lit.: HERBERT S. LEWIS, *A Galla Monarchy: Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia, 1830–1932*, Madison 1965; HAILEMARIAM GOSHU, *The Kingdom of Abba Jifar II (1861–1934)*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1970; RICHARD A. CAULK, "Territorial Competition and the Battle of Embabo, 1882", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 65–88; GULUMA GEMEDA, *Gomma and Limmu: the Process of State Formation among the Oromo in the Gibe Region, c. 1750–1889*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1984.

Mohammed Hassen

Gənzät: Mäṣḥafä gənzät

The M.g. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ግንዘት**, lit. 'The Book of the [Corpse's] Wrapping') is a large collection of texts used for the funeral service, the preparation of the body for the ↗burial being generally known as *gənzät*. The Amharic title of the book is **የፍትሐት፡ መጽሐፍ** (*Yäfətḥat mäṣḥaf*, 'Book of Absolution'). Beyond the liturgical and practical functions of those texts, which ritualize the death of the body and the separation of the soul from this world (*↗Fətḥat*), the M.g. is supposed to grant the sins of the dead forgiveness. The M.g. requires that the prayers begin from the house of the deceased, right from the "soul's exit" from the dead person, on to the church, and then continue in procession up to the graveyard; it contains also the liturgy for the commemorations (*↗Täzkar*).

The view regarding the M.g. as a purely Ethiopian composition is not supported by cogent arguments. It is commonly held that the M.g. is of Coptic(-Arabic) origin, at least in its essential features, though the form of the *Vorlage* and its relationship to the M.g. has yet to be established (s. Reckinger 1966; Dobberahn 1997). The time of composition of the M.g. is unknown, but texts for the funeral service – the ancestors of the M.g. – might have been among those composed or translated from Greek in the early, possibly Aksumite, period (cp. Kropp 1999:170ff.; Fiaccadori 2003: 252, n. 34, for the Palestinian background and the relevant connections with the Nubian "Prayer of the Deceased"). At least from the 14th cent. onward the book was enriched with additional material, both indigenous and translated. The commonly known version of the M.g. is clearly linked to both such service books as *Mäṣḥafä ↗qändil* and the Ethiopian *ordo communis* (s. Dobberahn 1997:659–62, 664–67). The *↗Senodos* and the *↗Fətḥa nägäśt* are among the sources for the norms the M.g. sets for the funeral service (cf. Bərhanä Mäsqäl Täsfa Maryam 1963:8).

The oldest extant manuscripts of the M.g., which allow an insight into the early stage of its textual tradition, are mss. BFBS 174 (Cowley 1982, no. 38), dated by Cowley (1972) to the 15th cent., Paris, BN Éth. 80, written in 1508, and Vat. Aeth. 51, dated to the 15th cent. Another important testimony is the 16th-cent. ms. EMML 1958, followed by EMML 2487 and EMML 2791, belonging to the 17th and early 18th cent. respectively. The other manuscripts are from the 18th cent. onwards. Being an indispensable liturgical tool, the M.g. has a very rich manuscript tradition. Therefore, the text of the M.g. differs from one copy to another in both contents and sequence of the parts: the more recent manuscripts present larger versions, as do the Ethiopian printed editions. A critical edition of the M.g. remains a desideratum.

In its current version the M.g. is composed of eight parts (s. Dobberahn 1997:660–72): "the watch over the dead" in the house of the deceased (M.g. 1944, chs. 3–37); absolution prayers for different categories of the dead according to their gender, age and social status (priests, deacons, monks and nuns; lay men and women, boys and girls etc.), corresponding broadly to the Coptic ritual (chs. 38–99); the readings for the funeral procession to the graveyard, with seven stops, *məʿəraf* (lit. 'stations', chs. 100–27; the eighth is in the church, the ninth at the grave); the funeral mass (chs. 128–39); the burial (chs. 140–52); the commemorations (chs. 152–82); the memorial service (**ክሥተት**, *kəśtät*; chs. 183–91); additional admonitions, didactic stories (chs. 192–200).

Extended biblical quotations are the substantial elements of the M.g. Purely Ethiopian elements may be represented by the homily attributed to *abba* ↗Sälama "the Translator" (d. ca. 1386) describing the Last Judgement (M.g. 1944, ch. 197; s. also Dobberahn 1997); a homily on the necessity of prayer; a homily for priests and deacons, attributed to ↗Jacob of Serug (M.g. 1944, ch. 35); the seven "blessings" (**ቡራኬ**, *burake*) attributed either to ↗Samuʾel of Kalamun, 7th cent., or to ↗Samuʾel of Waldəbba, who lived at the time of *aṣe* Dawit II (M.g. 1944, ch. 148; cp. GuiSLett 28f.). The Ethiopian rite also added "the greeting of the altar by the deceased", with a corresponding prayer (M.g. 1944, chs. 1 [*Təʾəzaz*] and 128) and more incense offerings.

Some pieces of the M.g. belong certainly to a later period: regulations for the faithful which should be observed, funeral prayers, a discourse attributed to St. ↗Athanasius, the prayer ↗*Mängädä sämay*. The ↗*Ləfafä ṣədəq* also is sometimes appended to the M.g. It is possible that some additions were introduced during the struggle with the ↗Jesuits in the 17th cent.

The ms. Vat. Aeth. 51 deserves special attention, for it is one of the oldest known testimonies of the M.g., significantly styled as "the book that came from Jerusalem" (fol. 24–30; cp. Guidi 1910:639); the manuscript also contains three formulae of absolution that have been in wide use ever since (fol. 33v–35v).

One of the major features of the Ethiopian funeral rite is the high number of *täzkar*. Whereas the Coptic rite has three commemoration days (on the 3rd day, after six months and after one year), accordingly, the Ethiopian rite has commemorative offices on the 3rd, 7th, 12th, 13th, 40th, 60th and 80th days, as well as in the sixth month after the death and on the anniversary. In the M.g. both the value of absolution and the power of the prayer for the deceased are stressed, while the high number and great importance of *täzkar* are linked to the primary religious belief that the dead have to be sustained by the living.

↗Funeral

Src.: **መጽሐፈ፡ ግንዘት** (*Mäṣḥafä gənzät*, 'The Book of the [Corpse's] Wrapping'), Roma 1908 A.M. [1915/16 A.D.]; **መጽሐፈ፡ ግንዘት። ጸሎት፡ ላዕለ፡ ምውታን** (*Mäṣḥafä gənzät. Ṣälot laʿəlä məwwətan*, 'The Book of the [Corpse's] Wrapping. Prayer over the Deceased'), Addis Abäba 1944 A.M. [1951/52 A.D.], ²1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.]; Täsfa Gäbrä Səllase (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ግንዘት። ጸሎት፡ ላዕለ፡ ምውታን** (*Mäṣḥafä gənzät. Ṣälot laʿəlä məwwətan*, 'The Book of the [Corpse's] Wrapping. Prayer over the Deceased'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D]; Bərhanä Mäsqäl Täsfa Maryam (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ግንዘት** (*Mäṣḥafä gənzät*, 'The Book of the [Corpse's] Wrapping'), Asmära 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.], 8; Carlo Conti Rossini, "I manoscritti etiopici della missione cattolica di Cheren", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 13, 1904, 233–86, here 247–52, no. 18; Ignazio Guidi, "Il Maṣḥafa Genzat", in: A. De Marchi (ed.), *Miscellanea Ceriani*, Milano 1910, 633–39, here 639; GreTisVat 209–12, ms. Vat. Aeth. 51; SixDeu 162–65, no. 57 (Lit.); ZotBNat 86f., no. 80.

Lit.: Friedrich Erich Dobberahn, "Das äthiopische Begräbnisritus", in: Hansjakob Becker – Herman Ühlein, *Liturgie im Angesichts des Todes: Judentum und Ostkirchen*, Sankt Ottilien 1997 (Pietas liturgica 9, 10), vol. I [*Texte und Kommentare*], 137–316, 657–84 (Lit.); vol. II [*Übersetzungen, Anhänge und Register*], 859–1036; vol. III ["Weitere Formulare zum äthiopischen Begräbnisritus"], 1397–1432, 1506f.; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Un'epigrafe greca aksumita (*RIÉth* 274)", in: Vincenzo Ruggeri – Luca Pieralli (eds.), *Εὐκοσμία. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro) 2003, 243–55, here 252, n. 34; GuiSLett 28f. Ignazio Guidi, "Due antiche preghiere nel Rituale abissino dei defonti", *OrChr* new series 1, 1912, 20–25; Piet van Breemen, *The Readings in the Ethiopian Burial Service*, ms., Trier 1975; François Rekinger, *Les Funérailles éthiopiennes d'après les manuscrits Ethiopien 80 et d'Abbadie 50 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Ph.D. thesis, Institut Catholique, Paris 1966; Roger Wenman Cowley, "Attitudes to the Dead in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", *Sobornost* 6, 4, 1972, 241–56; Id., "Ethiopic Manuscripts", in: M. Rosaria Falivene – Alan F. Jesson (eds.), *Historical Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Bible House Library*, London 1982, 66–121, no. 38; Manfred Kropp, "'Glücklich, wer vom Weib geboren, dessen Tage doch kurzbemessen, ...!' Die altäthiopische Grabinschrift von Ham, datiert auf den 23. Dezember 873 n. Chr.", *OrChr* 83, 1999, 162–76; *abba* Tecle Mariam Semharay Selam, *De ss. Sacramentis secundum ritum Aethiopicum, Serʿata Ghenzet*, Romae 1931, 101–06; Reginald Maxwell Woolley, *Coptic Offices*, London 1930, 108–54; Gabriele Giamberardini, *La sorte dei defunti nella tradizione copta*, Cairo 1965.

Tedros Abraha

Geography

↗Ethiopia (1,106,000 km²) and ↗Eritrea (ca. 124,000 km² including the ↗Dahlak and the Haniš islands) occupy the central and northern highlands of the ↗Horn of Africa (Ethio-Eritrean plateau); ↗Somalia (ca. 638,000 km²) and ↗Djibouti (ca. 23,000 km²) occupy its eastern and southern lowlands. The peninsula stretches on 16° N and from 32° E to 52° E. To the west, mountainous ranges tower over the Nile-Sudan basin and to the south, the Kenyan Rift. To the east, in the Indian Ocean, the Horn is penetrated by the Gulf of Aden, linked with the ↗Red Sea by the ↗Bāb al-mandab straits.

The steep coasts of Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia originated when they separated from the Arabic peninsula during the Cenozoic era. The north-south fractures of the East-African

Rift (↗Rift Valley) and the east-west faults of the Aden graben meet at the western end of the Gulf of Djibouti (↗Tağūra), an area which saw the birth of the Ardoukoba volcano in 1978. The constant tectonic instability in the region creates volcanic activity, numerous thermal springs and earthquakes (such as Karäkore in 1953). This expanse of intersecting faults in the centre of the Horn of Africa has isolated the highlands, separating them from the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean by a glacis of torrid, arid and desert lowlands.

In the north-east the vast arid tectonic depression of the ᶜAfar Triangle (↗ᶜAfar Depression) reaches a depth of -115 m B.S.L. at Lake Asälla in the north and -153 m B.S.L. at Lake Assal in Djibouti. Thick layers of marine and lacustrine sediments as well as lava, scoria and travertines discharged by active volcanoes (Ertaᶜale and Fäntale) have accumulated there. It was in this area that remains of ↗*Australopithecus afarensis* and other important palaeoanthropological findings were discovered. This region (which is considered an ocean in formation) is currently cut off from the Red Sea in the east by a mountainous horst (the Danakil Alps) formed from Mesozoic sedimentary rock covered by recent lavas culminating at Mount Mūsā ᶜAlī at an altitude of 2,051 m A.S.L. in Djibouti. The area west of the ᶜAfar Triangle is overlooked by the impressive cliff on the edge of the Eritrea, ↗Təgray, ↗Wällo and ↗Šäwa highlands with a difference in altitude of ca. 2,000 m. Its southern base is limited by the steep rim of the Harär and Arsi plateaus and mountains. In the south-west, at the latitude of Addis Abäba, the depression becomes a north-south rift, 10–15 km wide, at an altitude of 1,200 to 1,500 m which extends into Kenya.

The Rift and the ᶜAfar Triangle separate two regions of highlands with differing areas and topographies. In the west, the solid plateaus between 2,000 and 2,500 m A.S.L. consisting of thick Cenozoic basaltic traps are topped by huge ancient volcanic cones that have been partially eroded (Ras Dašän 4,620 m, Abunä Yosef 4,190 m, Guna 4,231 m, Çoqqe 4,154 m and Abuyä meda 4,000 m).

North from Addis Abäba, the highlands belong to the basin of the Blue ↗Nile (↗Abbay) and its tributaries (↗Täkkäze, ↗Bašəlo, catchment area 198,508 km², i.e. 20% of Ethiopia). The Abbay, (spanning 800 km in Ethiopia) after it crosses Lake ↗Ṭana (3,600 km² at an altitude of 1,840 m) and its tributaries (↗Märäb, Täkkäze, Bašəlo and ↗Didessa), runs through a series of deep gorges. Along with the ↗Baro river further south, it collects water, over 20 % of which comes from Ethiopian territory, channelling it to the Mediterranean. In ↗Wälläga in the south and the Abbay canyon, the Precambrian basement is still visible, and partially covered with calcareous and sandstone strata dating back to the inferior Mesozoic and Paleozoic eras. In Təgray, Anṭalo limestone and ᶜAddigrat sandstone have formed two massive table-top mountains (↗*Amba*), ᶜAdwa and Däbrä Damo. In Eritrea the basement is dotted with sandstone and limestone patches, and slopes gently towards the ↗Gaš and ↗Barka depression before rising again above the Red Sea (↗Amba Soyra 3,031 m).

East of the Rift, the edge of the ↗Sidamo and ↗Arsi plateaus, and south of the ᶜAfar Triangle, the rim of the ↗Harär mountains is lined with ancient volcanoes that reach the same altitudes as those in the west (Bada 4,133 m, Qäča 4,160 m and Çəlalo 4,036 m A.S.L.). Limestone and sandstone tables (Gara Mulläta 3,381 m) and chaotic rocky terrains which extend into Somaliland (2,408 m at Mount Buuraha) are still visible east and south of Harär city. In Bale the volcanic horst of Mount Batu (4,307 m) towers above the karst of the Sof Omar caves to the east. The Mesozoic and Cenozoic plateaus and plains of the Ogaden slope gently towards the Benaadir in Somalia. The ↗Wabi Šäbälle (1,340 km long in Ethiopia), its tributaries (Fafan and Erär) and the Juba river – formed by the ↗Ganaalee, Dawa and ↗Weyb – collect the waters of the eastern highlands (25 % of which are on Ethiopian territory, catchment area 205,407 km²) and carry them to the Indian Ocean.

In the Rift, endorheism prevails, and the south-central region contains a number of volcanic lakes (↗Zʷay, ↗Šala, ↗Abyata, ↗Langano and ↗Awasa). In the ᶜAfar Triangle, the ↗Awaš river (1,200 km, catchment area 113,709 km²) collects approximately 10 % of its water from Ethiopian territory before disappearing into Lake Abbe. The ↗Omo river (760 km) – formed by the ↗Gibe rivers that originate from the volcanic mountains in ↗Guduru, ↗Mäçça and ↗Ǧimma – and its main tributary, the ↗Goğäb, cuts deeply into the ↗Wälaytta and ↗Käfa plateaus and curves around Mount Guge (4,203 m) to the west before it flows into Lake ↗Turkana near the Kenyan border (catchment area 77,205 km², i.e. 6 % of Ethiopia). The Bilate river, which originates in the Gurage mountains (3,721 m), runs into Lake ↗Abbayya. After the rains, the water levels of these streams rise, irrigating and fertilizing the lowlands of Ogaden, Somalia, Sudan and Egypt.

Acting as a water reservoir for north-east Africa, the Ethio-Eritrean highlands enjoy abundant rains that predominantly fall from June to September, with a short rainy season from February to March. This orographical rainfall, which increases with altitude, is more regular and intense in the south-west (Daniel 1977). For 7 to 9 months there are more than 2 m of rainfall in Wälläga, Käfa, Sidamo and Arsi, and more than 2.5 m for 10 to 12 months in ↗Illubabor. In Šäwa, ↗Goǧǧam, Wällo and ↗Gondär there is 0.8–1.2 m of rainfall for four to six months; Tәgray and Eritrea receive approximately 0.6 m, mainly in summer. In the north and east, in the "Croissant aride" (Gallais 1989), rainfall is not only less abundant, but more irregular and does not refill phreatic ground water supplies that are needed for plant life. During the rains, overflowing rivers become brown, and the sticky mud slows the speed at which the water flows. Hydromorphic black cotton soil is difficult to till and turns into dust during the dry season. Farmers favour red soil, whether volcanic or sedimentary, in which water percolates more freely.

Temperatures decrease with altitude: frost is not unknown between 1,800 and 2,800 m, while above 2,800 m frequent night frost makes coffee growing impracticable. The ↗ecological zones at various altitudes are: ↗*qʷälla*, a lower climatic tier up to 1,800 m A.S.L. that is hot (average temperature 20° C), dry and prone to ↗malaria and *trypanosomiasis* (sleeping sickness); ↗*däga*, an upper tier that is wet and cold (above 2,400 m A.S.L., average temperature 14–16° C); and ↗*wäyna däga*, a middle tier (between 1,800 and 2,400 m A.S.L.) with milder temperatures. In the south, because the middle tier is less conspicuous, the generally admitted distinction between the three tiers is not recognized as easily as in the north. The 30–50 % variations in the total rainfall should be attributed to the varying exposures to the humid winds from the Sudanese depression. While it is easy to describe the vegetal species of the *qʷälla* (prairies, bush land with acacias and thorn trees), it is more difficult to imagine the "primeval" flora of the highlands when early human occupation began there. The remaining patches of "primeval" forest that were cleared by cereal cultivators in ancient times have been partly replaced by eucalyptus plantations (Gascon 1998). In the north and east, the remaining forest was replaced by coniferous trees (*zәgba* and *ṭәd*), and in the South and West by broadleaf trees (sycamores, olive-trees, "willows") and bamboo forests on the Sudanese side. The slopes above an altitude of 2,800 m are home to ↗*koso* trees; tree-like heather, *asta* (*Erica arborea*), grows on elevations above 3,000 m, and at ca. 4,000 m afro-alpine prairie dominates (↗Climate).

In the highlands, ↗famines are regular, often worsened by ↗epidemics and wars. Nevertheless, since antiquity the north has seen the birth of an agrarian civilisation based upon rain-fed cereal cultivation with ox-drawn ploughs. Between Addis Abäba and Asmära open fields and grouped settlements prevail. To the south-west and east, there remains a stronghold of intensive horticulture with digging-sticks where ↗*әnsät* and ↗coffee are grown (↗Agriculture). These regions have notable ↗population density. As a result, there is continuous competition for arable land which prompts the clearing of ↗forests, the last reserves of wild fauna land. In the north and in the south, in spite of frost risks above 3,000 m A.S.L., ↗barley fields gain ground to the detriment of heatherland and of the alpine pastures for sheep. Since its acclimatization, the ↗eucalyptus has, among other consequences, permitted and sustained the expansion of towns.

Despite many obstacles (canyons, mountains, rains, floods) the highlands have been crossed by caravan routes, linking the important markets on the periphery (e.g., ↗Bati in Wällo, ↗Alәyyu Amba in Šäwa) to the coasts. In order to acquire weapons, ↗Mәnilәk II, in 1894, launched the building of a ↗railway. Finalized in 1917, it connects Addis Abäba and Djibouti via ↗Dәrre Dawa and the Awaš valley. From 1935/36 to 1941, in order to secure their conquest, the Italians equipped Eritrea and Ethiopia with a road network radiating from the capital that cleared the major obstacles of the relief. Italian road construction linked Addis Abäba to Asmära; other roads reached Ǧimma, Läqämte and Mogadishu through Dәrre Dawa and Harär. Until the 1960s the Italian road system had been maintained with difficulty and extended to the south-western coffee regions and to the southern Lake region. Determined to secure the Ethiopian unity, the *Därg* sought to open the countryside by improving the main roads. Since 1991 the government has asphalted the major trunk roads, developed the radial links and established relations with Sudan, Djibouti, Somaliland and Kenya.

↗Geology; ↗Geomorphology

Src.: EMAtlas; GasEth; *Guida*; MesfAtlas; MesfGeogr; GIOTTO DAINELLI, *Geologia dell'Àfrica Orientale*, Roma 1943; YOUSSEF ABBUL-HAGGAG, *A Contribution to the Physiography of Northern Ethiopia*, London 1961; DANIÉL GAMACHU, *Aspects of Climate and Water Budget in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1977; AMILCARE FANTOLI, *Contributo alla climatologia dell'Etiopia*, Roma 1965; REINHARD FICHTL – ADMASU ADI, *Honeybee Flora of Ethiopia*, Berlin 1994; JEAN GALLAIS, *Une géographie politique de l'Éthiopie. Le poids de l'État*, Paris 1989; ALAIN GASCON, "Éthiopie, Érythrée, pays de la longue durée", in: ALAIN DUBRESSON – JEAN-PIERRE RAISON – JEAN-YVES MARCHAL (eds.), *Les Afriques au sud du Sahara*, Berlin – Paris 1994, 286–94; ALAIN GASCON, "La forêt perdue d'Éthiopie, un mythe contemporain", in: MONIQUE CHASTANET (ed.), *Plantes et paysages d'Afrique. Une histoire à explorer*, 383–409, Paris 1998; ID., "La 'riche Éthiopie' et la *Géographie Universelle* (1938)", in: ALAIN ROUAUD (ed.), *Les orientalistes sont des aventuriers. Guirlande offerte à Joseph Tubiana par ses élèves et ses amis*, Saint-Maur 1999 (Bibliothèque Peiresc 12), 137–42; ID., "Croissant 'aride' et Éthiopie 'heureuse': la 'montagne le plus peuplée du monde' face aux crises", in: FRANÇOIS BART — SERGE MORIN — JEAN-NOËL SALOMON (eds.), *Les montagnes tropicales: identités, mutations, développement*, Pessac 2001 (Espaces tropicaux 16), 193–204; GEOFFREY CHARLES LAST, *A Geography of Ethiopia for Senior Secondary Schools*, Addis Ababa 1965; DANIEL LEMORDANT, *Les plantes éthiopiennes*, Addis Abäba 1959; PAUL A. MOHR, *The Geology of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1963; HENRY FRED MURPHY, "A Report on the Fertility Status of Some Soils of Ethiopia", in: *Experiment Station Bulletin* 1, Alemaya 1959; CARL TROLL, "Die Kulturgeographische Stellung und Eigenart des Hochlandes von Äthiopien zwischen dem Orient und Äquatorial Afrika", in: *PICES* 1, 29–45; FRIEDRICH VON BREITENBACH, *The Indigenous Trees of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1963; JÖRG JANZEN, "Ländliche Entwicklung in Somalia. Strukturen, Probleme, Tendenzen", *Geographische Rundschau* 38, 11, 1986, 557–64; CHRIS KUTSCHERA, *Érythrée. Eritrea*, Paris 1994; GILLES PISON, "Tous les pays du monde (2003)", *Population et sociétés* 392, juillet–août 2003; XAVIER VAN DER STAPPEN, *Æthiopia, pays, histoire, populations, croyances art et artisanat*, Bruxelles 1996.

Alain Gascon

Geography, historical

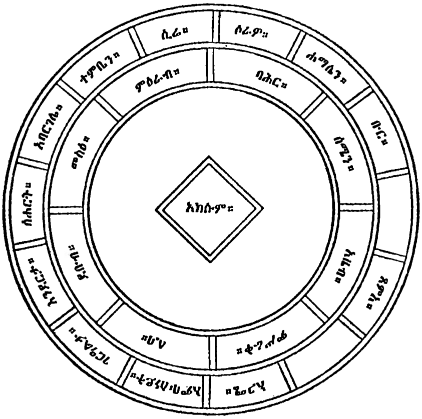
In its broader sense, historical G. is the study of the changes – induced by human presence, whether settlements, different forms of land tenure or exploitation of natural resources – in environment and landscape. Originally, this historical science, closely associated with ↗cartography, was limited to the reconstruction of political and ↗administrative divisions or to the illustration of battle fields and courses. Nowadays the commonly accepted definition of historical G. implies the general study of the influence of economic life, social relationships, politics and culture upon the environment, if possible with the help of statistical surveys, graphs and maps. From this, one must distinguish historical ↗topography – a similar but narrower discipline mainly focusing on place-names, their etymologies and their transformations or substitutions in the course of time, as well as their correspondence to historical sites, in order to detect linguistic stratification within a certain territory.

Within the general African context, an inquiry into historical G. is particularly difficult due to the lack of sources. In contrast, Ethiopian settlements have left sufficient linguistic and material evidence harking back to different epochs. Thus, the studies in historical G. must resort to different disciplines and scientific operations: interpretation of archaeological reports, analysis of narrative or pictorial representations of landscape (even if only ideal), examination of written sources (documentary, annalistic and hagiographic) and linguistic inquiry into modern languages, with special attention paid to the physical and ergologic vocabulary.

In the literary tradition of Christian Ethiopia, the representation of the earthly G. strictly depends upon biblical narratives and the accompanying descriptions of eschatological places. In the Ethiopic *Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth* (*Mäṣḥafä ↗məśtirä sämay wämədr*), the apocryphal apocalypse and exegetical treaty on *Genesis* written by Bäḫaylä Mikaʾel during the reign of *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon (1314–44), the section devoted to the history of the "peoples of the flood" (*säbʾa ayḫ*) relates the names of the earthly peoples divided into the three big "ethno-linguistic" families descending from Noah's sons. While amplifying and interpreting the data of the biblical tradition, in his list of the sons of Ḥam, after ↗Egypt and ↗Nubia, Bäḫaylä Mikaʾel counts names of peoples and regions of central and northern Ethiopia: Ḥabäsi "namely Təgray", Zagʷa, Ḥazo, Dänkelən, Sewa, Angot, Mänbärta, Endərta, Bəgwəna, Liban, Sire, Läggo, Wäqärt. The geographic horizon of Bäḫaylä Mikaʾel is limited in the south by the Liba, living west of the Zärawiyan and the "mountains of fire", and by the Bali, dwelling east of the Yafet, with women at the head of a monarchy. Several manuscripts, mostly historical and chronographical miscellanies, contain illustrations summarizing the geographical knowledge of Ethiopian scholars. The scheme reflects the plan of a church, with three circles inserted one into another, and in the centre, in the place of the ↗*mäqdäs*, a square with the word *aksum*. The space between the innermost circle and the median one is divided into eight sectors containing the writings (clockwise from top) *məʿərab*, *baḥər*, *sämen*, *azeb*, *məśraq*, *liba*, *däbub* and *mäsəʿ*; the space between the median circle and the outermost one is divided into twelve sectors with the names (clockwise from top): *särawe*, *ḥamasen*, *bur*, *ṣämə*ʾ, *agame*, *anba sännäyat*, *gärʿalta*, *əndärta*, *saḥart*(*a*), *abärgälle*, *tä*(*m*)*ben* and *šire*. This representation has some empirical grounds, but chiefly aimed at depicting Ethiopia as the Holy Land; its symbolic structure is based on the equivalence between ↗Aksum, whose cathedral houses the Tablets of the Law, and the *mäqdäs* of a church, the central room where the ↗*tabot* is kept.

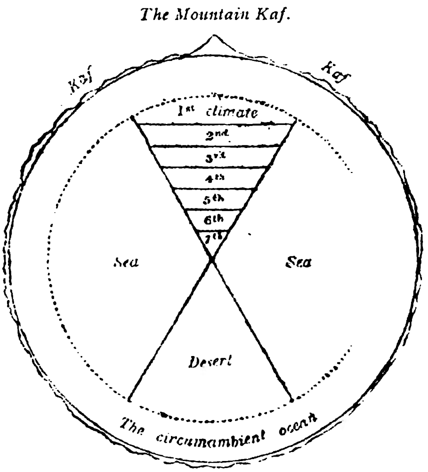
According to an authoritative reconstruction based on linguistic palaeontology, the Ethiopian highlands were originally populated as a consequence of the ↗desertification of the Sahara region, some time around the 8th millennium B.C. During that period the ↗Afroasiatic linguistic unit split into several branches, such as Berber, Chadic, Egyptian, Semitic and Cushitic (including Beǧa and Omotic). Of these, the Cushitic branch spread to the south-east and gave birth to settlements over a wide territory, including north-eastern Sudan, the Ethio-Eritrean highlands and the Somali plateau, where contacts with the African peoples of the Nilo-Saharan phylum that were already in the region were presumably established. From the 4th millennium B.C., new relationships between Ethiopia and the ↗Nile valley became possible due to the growing trade circuit that connected Egypt to the Ethio-Sudanese lowlands, the Ethio-Eritrean highlands and the western coast of the Red Sea. Egyptian geographical documents dating back to the 18th dynasty (about 1450 B.C.) connect the ↗Punt Land to WḎLṮ harbour, possibly the site in Eritrea where in Hellenistic times the port of ↗Adulis was built.

In the course of a long process, stretching for over a thousand years, the culture unit of the Cushites, originally keepers of livestock, underwent a considerable transformation with the development of new forms of agriculture, probably not least because of a steady cultural relationship with the Arabian peninsula. In fact, the existence of a coastal Afro-Arabian cultural complex beginning in the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C. has been proved by recent archaeological findings (e.g., Fattovich 1997). These brought to light important cultural features – as in the case of the ↗ʿOna culture in Eritrea – connecting the Arabian Tihāma to the Təgrayan Plateau in Eritrea and the Eritrean-Sudanese lowlands. Moreover, an inquiry into the morphology of the North-Ethiopic languages, e.g. Təgre, reveals the existence of a Semitic stratum more ancient than Sabaic (↗Epigraphic South Arabian), and allows one to conclude that the South Arabian influence, tracing back to the 8th–7th cent. B.C., involved a territory already connected to the Arabian peninsula as a result of more ancient economic and cultural exchanges.



Traditional map of Ethiopian provinces, with Aksum as centre; ms. Orient Rüpp. Ib, fol. 201, replotted; from Goldschmidt 1897:103

After a close examination of archaeological, epigraphic and linguistic evidence one can exclude the hypothesis that urban civilization was introduced into Ethiopia by the Sabaean immigrants. The South-Arabian settlements known up to now seem to belong to the typology of "villas" or "farms", equipped with devices for water-supply, namely basins for gathering and preserving seasonal rainwater. Even in ↗Yəḥa, where a dynasty of political leaders most probably ruled (maybe the *mukarrib* of ↗DʿMT, who also used the royal title), the ruins of civil buildings do not exceed the dimensions and the shape of a rural settlement. The Sabaean presence in Ethiopia has left clear archaeological and



Traditional representation of the world, Somali; from Burton 1894, vol. 1, 25

linguistic evidence for water regulation: e.g., the monumental ruins of Safra, on the ↗Qoḥayto plateau, a big reservoir delimited by a squared-stones dam for the use of the dwellings scattered around. The place-name Qoḥayto itself has been etymologically interpreted in light of the South Arab. root QLḤ, 'raised water-channel', and the reconstructed form *Qolaḥ-(t)a, inspiring the Gr. ↗Coloë (Κολόη) as a phonetic adaptation of the Semitic name. Thus, the Sabaean legacy in Ethiopia apparently consists of the use of advanced agricultural techniques for more efficient exploitation of water resources and food storage. However, the period of the Sabaean presence marked the change from "pastoral" to "agricultural" landscape: skilfully carved stone buildings, waterworks, terracing and land divisions are the material results of the short, yet intense, Sabaean activity on Ethiopian soil. The epigraphic evidence suggests the existence of two main strata or groups in Sabaeo-Ethiopian society ("reds" and "blacks"), but the absence of defensive structures or traces of destruction suggests that the coexistence between *emigrés* and local people was rather peaceful.

A complex urban civilization appeared in Ethiopia during the intermediate period between the end of the Sabaean presence (8th–7th cent. B.C.) and the establishment of the economic and political leadership of Aksum (1st cent. A.D.). The most ancient (and for centuries the only) Ethiopian town was Adulis, the Eritrean harbour whose monumental ruins can be dated back at least to the 4th cent. B.C. The historical and cultural setting for the emergence of this advanced urban centre was the trading system promoted and controlled by the Egyptian dynasty of the Ptolemies (331–23 B.C.), within the framework of the trade route connecting Alexandria with the regions overlooking the Red Sea coast. Literary and epigraphic documents (↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* [ed. Casson 1989:51ff.]; ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes's *Christian Topography* II, 51–63 [ed. Wolska-Conus 1968, vol. 1, 360–79]) illustrate the role played by Adulis from the 1st cent. onwards, after the monsoons cycle was "discovered", which enabled long-distance trade between Egypt and the Indian Ocean. In this context, before the introduction of ↗Christianity, the port maintained a strong political autonomy from the bordering powers and claimed sovereignty over the ↗Saḥəl coast.

According to literary traditions (*Liber Axumae* [*Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum*; ed. CRAxum] §1: *Zähagär wägäbäzä aksum*), apparently confirmed by modern archaeological surveys, considerable groundworks underlay the construction of the city of Aksum, particularly ↗land drainage, that allowed settlement on the marshy plain at the foot of ↗Betä Giyorgis (3rd–1st cent. B.C.). Following the development of the Aksumite political authority (1st cent. A.D.), the urban civilization spread across the highlands of Eritrea and Təgray. This process has left monumental remains in Aksum and in the areas along the road connecting the city with Adulis, via Coloë, the Qoḥayto plateau, Mäṭära and Toḵonda. The hydrological techniques and intensive cultivation methods, borrowed from the Sabaeans, were further developed thanks to new contacts with Yemen, dating back to at least the 2nd cent. A.D. The agrarian economy of Aksum needed a commercial outlet, a role assumed by the port of Adulis. The agrarian character of the Aksumite economy also accounts for the big "state" expeditions for goods such as gold and slaves to be sent to the "free" port of Adulis and the struggle against what was then left of the ancient Sudanese kingdom of ↗Meroë (ca. 350 A.D.), still a serious rival on the trade route to Egypt.

Beginning with the time of ↗ʿEzana's reign (335/40–365/70), military expeditions, mainly to Eritrea, are documented. Their aim was to secure additional manpower for the regions under the emperor's control (RIÉ 185, 270, 185b, 270b). This form of "resettlement" was necessary to provide sufficient human resources for rationally organized agriculture as well as for large-scale public works, the monumental remains of which can still be seen.

With the change from a *polis* to a territorial state, the face of the empire was increasingly marked by the strong relationship between the interior and the coast as well as between different regions. An essential part in this process was the construction of a road network. The differences in shapes and sizes of private houses indicate that the society was notably stratified as a result of work division. Documentary sources possibly originating from the 6th cent. (*Liber Axumae* documents 3–4; *Golden Gospel of Däbrä Libanos* documents 1–5 [ed. CRDLib]) – even if the available text collections and copies date back to the 15th cent. at the earliest – indicate that, after the Christianization of Aksum, ecclesiastic institutions received control over part of the state land in accordance with a general plan of organization and social control of state territories. The political and social collapse of Aksum in the 7th cent. signified the end of urbanized civilization and loss of the know-how of South Arabian and Alexandrian origin.

Beginning with the 10th cent., a new phase of economic and territorial expansion of the Christian Ethiopian state brought about a technological revival, which culminated in the years of the political leadership of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty. A possible element of continuity between the Aksumite period and the following ages is found in land tenure. In the "legal" documents ascribing themselves to the Zagʷe era (*Liber Axumae*, documents 5–6; *Golden Gospel*, documents 6–8), land is granted by the emperor to his secular or ecclesiastic subjects according to the same practice as before. The architectural accomplishments in ↗Lalibäla bear witness to complex social organization and control over large material and human resources. The rock-hewing reveals advanced building and hydraulic techniques, sometimes originating from ancient traditions, most probably connected to the presence of foreign workers, coming perhaps from Egypt or Yemen.

From the 9th cent. onward, growing influence from the islamicized Arabian peninsula instigated a new development of ancient trade routes connecting the sultanates and the economic centres of the coast with the interior. From the ↗Dahlak islands and ↗Massawa, caravans moved to north Eritrea and east Təgray, bringing ↗Islam to the Bega, Sāho and ᶜAfar. From Zaylaᶜ and the Gulf of Aden a commercial expansion started toward Šäwa and the valleys of the Awaš and Webi, inhabited by the Sidaama. In 283 H. [896/97 A.D.] a sultanate, ruled by the ↗Maḫzūmī dynasty, was founded in eastern Šäwa. At the same time, the Christian state expanded into central Təgray, Wag and Lasta. These regions, already connected to Aksumite civilization, were in the hands of local pro-Zagʷe nobility, whose power was based chiefly on land ownership. The events of the late 13th cent. were the result of this economic, social and cultural competition. In the Christian state, the last Zagʷe rulers were deposed by ↗Yəkunno Amlak in 1270, and the myth of the Solomonic "restoration" was created. In Muslim Šäwa, in 1285, Wālī Asmaᶜ, founder of the ↗Walašmaᶜ dynasty, deposed the last Maḫzūmī and became the first ruler of ↗Ifat.

Through these political and social changes and a long series of conflicts which culminated in the campaigns of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon and the conquests of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, the Christian state stretched to the Eritrean coast in the north, Bägemdər and Goǧǧam in the west, and Amhara and Šäwa in the south. This expansion was the response to a growing need for new cultivable lands, resulting from the human-caused ecological problems on the one hand, and increasingly high costs of a social structure based on the privileges of leadership on the other. The rapid decrease of soil fertility in the fields forced villages to shift frequently, and the wars of conquest were a political solution. This was the time when the greater part of the northern highlands was deforested (↗Forests), in order to obtain larger areas of cultivable land and to produce wood for building and heating. Literary sources ascribe religious meaning to the process: e.g., in the hagiographic texts, the establishment of a new monastery is often followed by forest destruction, justified by the presence of non-Christian cults within it.

The conquered territories were integrated into the lands controlled by the empire, the nobility (↗*ç̣äwa*) and the ecclesiastic institutions (↗Churches and church administration). A village's common property (Amh. *yäwäl märet*, Tgn. ↗*desa*) formed the basis of the ↗land tenure system, quite possibly in a more ancient form, parental groups shared agrarian and pastoral resources through the annual allotment of the best fields. The notion, if not the institute, of hereditary land (Amh. ↗*rəst*, Tgn. *rəsti*) was probably introduced as early as the Aksumite period. From the Zagʷe period onward, military leaders, who were at the same time tax-collectors and nominal representatives of the emperor's authority over the new territories, received privileges for their services that were valid for both themselves and their sons. A larger part of new territories became crown property (Amh. *yänəguś märet*, Tgn. *mədri nəguś*), and they were often used as temporary grants to individuals, villages or ecclesiastic institutions (Amh. ↗*gʷəlt*, Tgn. *gʷəlti*). The assimilation programme for the subject populations was facilitated by establishing a network of new churches and monasteries, with the relevant privileges (Amh. *yämäsqäl märet*, Tgn. *mədri mäsqäl*) granted both by the emperor and by local political authorities. The population was charged with church maintenance through assigning the priests lands, which were previously in common possession (to be cultivated or rented), or through giving them a definite amount of goods (↗*Rim*).

In the first half of the 16th cent., the military campaigns of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī and ↗Nūr b. Muǧahid, and the subsequent expansion of the ↗Oromo brought the economic and social system of the Christian state into a critical situation. The toponomastics and the land tenure system underwent a deep change because of the political and military events of this period. Particularly, the landscape was then shaped by the development of small landed property, due to the sedentarization of several Oromo clans. Thus, beside ↗monasteries (that also attracted non-ecclesiastics), large villages or "trade centres" with important markets, and small villages inhabited by farmers (mostly tenants of the surrounding fields), a new, fourth settlement type emerged and spread, i.e. the "open" villages, formed by scattered houses in which the owners of the small land-plots lived. This is typical of the wealthy areas around Lake Ṭana (Bägemdər and Goǧǧam), where in the first half of the 17th cent. the Christian emperors established their new capital. With the foundation of ↗Gondär, the Ethiopian court once again settled in a fixed place, after almost four centuries of "moving capitals". The Gondärine period, largely influenced by the contacts with the European missionaries (1557–1632; ↗Catholicism), saw a drastic development in their building techniques. Among the innovations of the time were stone bridges and two-storey houses (*därb* or *därb bet*), a prerogative of upper classes.

Ethiopia acquired its modern shape largely during the new economic and political phase that began in the second half of the 19th cent., chiefly with the reign of ↗Mənilək II, mainly as a result of conflicts with the European colonial powers (↗Colonialism). During this period, the introduction of technological and institutional innovations accelerated changes in many social spheres, from fire-arms to money, from land reform to scientific medicine. Many aspects of everyday life reflected European models. The Italian occupation changed the landscape of several Eritrean districts: foreign settlers introduced new species for cultivation, such as cotton and fruit-trees. At the same time, Eritrean and Ethiopian towns were re-organized to ensure segregation of local people. The period after ↗World War II was that of wild urbanization. Its consequences were depopulation of a great part of rural areas and the emergence of shanty towns and slums.

↗Itineraries

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Gianfrancesco Lusini

Geology and geomorphology

Geology

The geological makeup of Ethiopia is a product of tectonics and accompanying sedimentation and volcanic activities that have been operating since more than 950 million years ago (y.a.). The geological units of Ethiopia are categorised into four age groups: (1) the Precambrian (950–550 million y.a.), (2) the Paleozoic (550–230 million y.a.), (3) the Mesozoic (230–265 million y.a.), (4) the Tertiary to Quaternary (65 million y.a. to the present).

The Precambrian

Precambrian G. is characterised by metamorphic rocks, commonly known as basement rocks. These rocks are exposed in the northern, western and southern parts of the country, covering approximately 17 % of the landmass. The central and eastern parts of the country are covered by a thick succession of Paleozoic to Quaternary sedimentary and volcanic deposits, hence in those areas the metamorphic rocks are only exposed along deeply incised river valleys. Two distinct metamorphic rock types characterize the Precambrian basement rock types; the high-grade and low-grade metamorphic rocks. These rocks can be divided into three complexes; the Lower, Middle and Upper Complex.

The Lower Complex mainly comprises of high grade gneisses, schists, migmatites and minor granulites. This complex is exposed in southern and western Ethiopia.

The Middle Complex is characterised by medium metamorphic grade (amphibolite facies) gneisses and schists. It is exposed in Wadera area of southern Ethiopia.

The Upper Complex is characterised by low-grade meta-volcanic and meta-sedimentary rocks with numerous intrusive rocks. This complex is widely exposed in northern and western Ethiopia and also occurs as North-South trending linear belts sandwiched between higher grade rocks in southern and parts of south-western Ethiopia (Kazmin 1972; Mengesh Mengesh Tefera et.al. 1996). The Upper Complex also contains a few narrow (1 to 3 km across) linear belts of mafic and ultramafic rocks of ophiolitic character which are commonly confined to major shear zones marking the contact between the contrasting lithological units (Seife Mikael Berhe 1990; Tadesse Tarekegn et al. 1999).

Lower and Middle Complex rocks are considered part of the Mozambique Orogenic belt that extends from Mozambique to southern Ethiopia and Uganda (Kazmin 1972). The low grade Upper Complex rocks are stratigraphically and structurally equated to the Pan-African, Arabian-Nubian Shield which extends from Saudi Arabia and Egypt through the Sudan to Ethiopia (Kazmin 1972; Seife Mikael Berhe 1990). Current understanding on the lithological, geochemical, geochronological and tectonic setting of the Precambrian G. of Ethiopia indicates that both the Mozambique Belt and Arabian-Nubian Shield rocks are products of plate tectonic processes similar to those which are operational in Phanerozoic orogenic belts (Seife Mikael Berhe 1990; Tadesse Tarekegn et al. 1999). The process started with the rifting Archaean cratonic mass and subsequent opening of oceanic floor (at ca. 950 million y.a.) and ended with closure of the ocean through subduction, islands arc formation, lateral accretion of the island arcs by continuous compressional stress and final collision of the initially rifted continental mass that occurred ca. 500 million y.a. (Seife Mikael Berhe 1990; Stern 1994). The time span from 950 to 500 million y.a. is termed as Pan-African

(Seife Mikael Berhe 1990) and the orogeny that produced the Precambrian geological framework called East African Orogen to account for similar contemporaneous geological developments in eastern Africa and Arabia (Stern 1994).

The variation in Precambrian rock types and associated structures made it a favourable host for a variety of metallic and non metallic minerals including: gold, silver, zinc, lead, Colombo tantalite, volcanogenic massive sulfide, shear zone hosted multi metallic deposits, gemstones, industrial minerals and dimension stones (Jelence 1966; Solomon Tadesse et al. 2003; Tibabu Mingistu – Hailemichael Fantaw 2003). Of these, only one gold mine, one Colombo-tantalite mine and a number of small-scale stone (marble, granite) quarries are commercially mined.

The Paleozoic

The Paleozoic G. is poorly understood, with the exception of the well documented Permo-Triassic Karoo sediments at the base of the Ogaden Basin in Eastern Ethiopia and presumed Ordovician glacial deposit in northern Ethiopia (Kazmin 1972; Mengesh Tefera et.al. 1996). Because the Paleozoic rocks are overlain by the Mesozoic and Tertiary rocks, their real extent of areal coverage is not known.

The Karoo sediments were deposited in a Karoo rift, which subsequently gave rise to the sea floor spreading and birth of the Indian Ocean. Other occurrences are restricted to localised, North-South elongated basins within the Precambrian terrain. These are all non metamorphosed, mainly clastic sedimentary rocks which unconformably overlie the Precambrian Metamorphic rocks. The Karoo sediments at the base of thick Mesozoic sedimentary rocks in the Ogaden basin are potential source and reservoir rocks for hydrocarbon in the country. An economically important amount of natural gas has been discovered in the Calub area of the Ogaden basin (Mengesh Tefera et al. 1996; Solomon Tadesse et al. 2003; Tibabu Mingistu – Hailemichael Fantaw 2003).

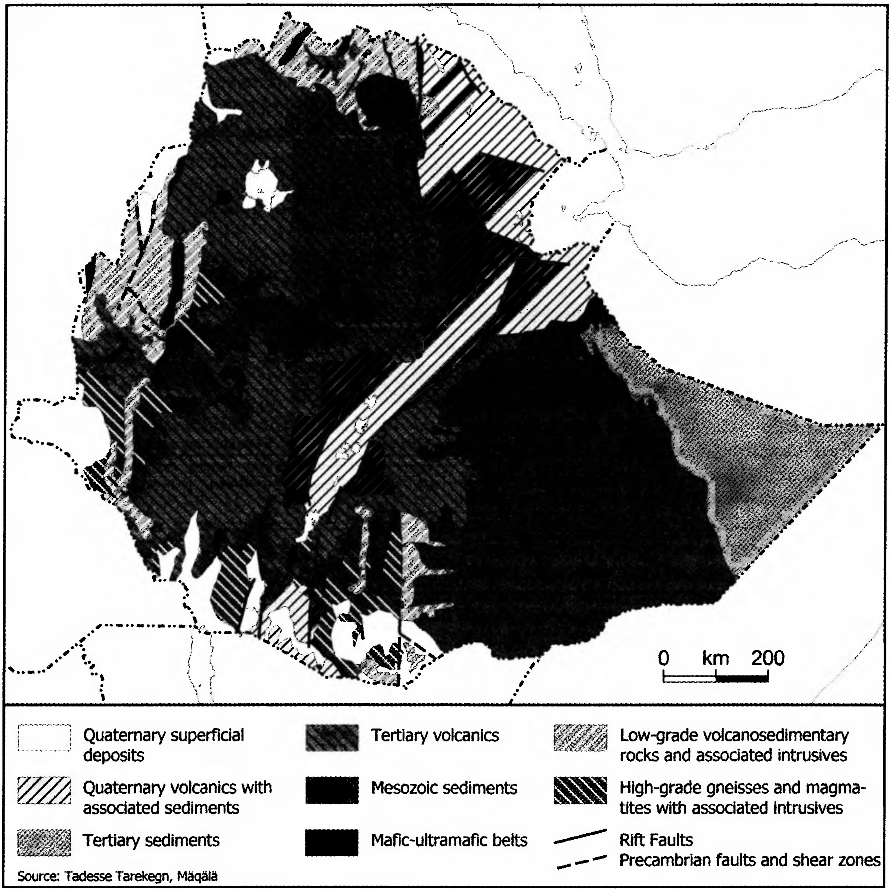
The Mesozoic

The Mesozoic G. is characterised by thick marine and continental sedimentary sequences. Together with lower Tertiary sedimentary rocks (at the easternmost part of the country) it covers over 24% of the country's landmass. These sedimentary rocks are only exposed in areas that the Tertiary volcanic rocks did not cover during eruption and subsequent erosion. The major Mesozoic rock exposures are found in three areas: the Ogaden Basin, Mäqäle Basin and Blue Nile Basin. The base of the Mesozoic sequence is a clastic sedimentary rock unit (Lower Sandstone or Addigrat Sandstone). The Lower/Addigrat Sandstone is covered by thick marine sedimentary rock, which includes alternating layers of limestone, shale, marl and gypsum, that together make up the bulk of the Mesozoic sequence. These marine sediments were deposited as a result of Jurassic Indian Ocean transgression towards the east African landmass (Blanford 1870; Bosellini et al. 1997). Late Mesozoic to early Tertiary uplift of the landmass, due to mantle plume underneath the then united African and Arabian plate, triggered the regression of the Indian Ocean to south-east. During the regression, the upper clastic sedimentary unit (Amba Aradom Formation; Cretaceous-Eocene) was deposited on top of the Jurassic marine sedimentary sequence.

The Mesozoic sedimentary rocks unconformably overlie the Paleozoic sedimentary and the Precambrian metamorphic rocks. The G. of this era is an important source for construction and industrial raw materials. The region potentially hosts source rocks for petroleum and natural gas in Ethiopia.

The Tertiary-Quaternary

The Tertiary-Quaternary G. covers more than 60 % of the country's landmass. It comprises rock types of volcanic products including basaltic to felsic flows, tuffs, ignimbrigtes, rhyolites and scoria together with inter-volcanic, clastic and evaporitic sedimentary rocks, much of which are concentrated along the Main Ethiopian ↗Rift Valley. The Tertiary to Quaternary G. is related to the evolution of the East African rifting system. The voluminous basaltic eruptions that formed the Central Ethiopian Highlands erupted following the Afro-Arabian crustal uplifting and subsequent fracturing as a result of mantle plume ca. 30 to 22 million y.a. (Coulie et al. 1998; Chernet et al. 2003, Wolfenden et al. 2004). Following the eruption of basaltic lava, the three rift systems (the north-west–south-east Red Sea, east–west Gulf of Aden, north-east–south-west Main Ethiopian Rift) developed into a triple junction in the ᶜAfar region ca. 10–13 million y.a. Two of the rift arms (Red Sea, Gulf of Aden) have been active ever since, and caused the separation of Arabian and African plates. The third arm, the Main Ethiopian Rift segment,


0 km 200
Quaternary superficial deposits
Quaternary volcanics with associated sediments
Tertiary sediments
Tertiary volcanics
Mesozoic sediments
Mafic-ultramafic belts
Low-grade volcanosedimentary rocks and associated intrusives
High-grade gneisses and magmatites with associated intrusives
Rift Faults
Precambrian faults and shear zones

Source: Tadesse Tarekegn, Mäqälä

although active, has been relatively quiet and is commonly referred to as a failed rift arm in the east African rift system.

The volcanic activity evolved from basaltic eruptions through fault controlled fissures that covered central and south-eastern plateaus of the country to alternating episodes of basaltic and felsic lava flows in restricted centres that resulted in outstanding relief such as the ↗Səmen mountains. Although volcanism began ca. 30 million y.a., the majority of the older eruptions covering the central and south-western Ethiopian plateaus began 30 million y.a. and continued for 4 million years in successive pulses (Courtillot et al. 1997). The volcanic activity migrated towards the rift centre with time (Aronson et al. 1990). At present, there is active volcanism in the northern sector of the Main Ethiopian Rift (s. Wolfenden et al. 2004) as well as in a series of volcanoes in the ↗^{c}Afar Depression. The presence of active volcanism in the Rift Valley is also exemplified by various hot-spot activities (e.g., hot springs and high geothermal gradient). Volcanic rocks also vary in composition from older plateau-forming flood basalt to the younger, rift floor succession, which is characterised by interflows of basalts, ignimbrites and pyroclastic falls. Within the thick volcanic pile, numerous intra-volcanic lacustrine sedimentary deposits (lake deposits) have been identified. These sedimentary rocks are now an important source of coal and oil shale occurrences for the country. Since

ʿAddigrat formation; photo courtesy of Robert Bussert, Technische Universität Berlin

the Main Ethiopian Rift Valley was initiated in the Late Miocene (15 million y.a.), the Depression created an ideal condition for the ponding of lakes and accumulation of sedimentary rocks from the plateaus and volcanic derived clastic materials into the low lands. Thick diatomaceous deposits, potash, soda ash, salt and marly deposits represent the major Quaternary sedimentary rock types of the Rift Valley. These thick sedimentary rock deposits interbedded with volcanic rocks in the Rift Valley reveal that it is one of the most active places on earth where G. is in the making. The geological, sub-surface hot spot activities and structural features of the Rift Valley sequence give it a tremendous potential for industrial minerals such as diatomite, potash and soda ash, as well as geothermal energy that the country has yet to exploit.

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Tarekegn Taddesse

Geomorphology

The G. of Ethiopia and Eritrea is conditioned by their position within one of the most active extensional zones in the world (Wolfenden et al. 2004). Eritrea occupies the south-west margin of the ↗Red Sea, a branch of a triple junction area, the origin of three large plates (African, Somalian, Arabian), that has its centre in the ↗ʿAfar (Danakil) Depression. Another branch runs from west to east and originates in the Gulf of ↗Aden. The Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden have almost the same width of ca. 300 km. A narrower branch continues in a north-east–south-west and north–south direction creating the Main Ethiopian Rift, one of the longest tectonic depressions in the world. Its width varies between 50 and 100 km. Close to the Kenyan border, it splits into different minor branches joining Lake ↗Turkana. Lake Turkana occupies the northern part of the Western Rift, another very long tectonic depression that continues into Kenya, Tanzania and Malawi.

The G. of the Rift is quite similar: the centre part is depressed while the margins are uplifted. The uplifted parts are usually occupied by large plateaus (Somalian to the east and Ethiopian to the west). The plateau increases in elevation moving from Eritrea to northern Ethiopia, where it reaches mean elevations of ca. 3,000 m A.S.L. To the west (Sudan) and to the east (Somalia) the plateau decreases progressively down to large plains located below 500 m A.S.L. The presence of inselbergs, corresponding with harder rocks, interrupts the continuity of the plain, generating a landscape typical of Sudan (e.g., Kassala, Baro-Akobo area) and Somalia (Buur Region). Two main escarpments characterise the transition between the plateau and the depressions. These escarpments are usually subdivided by a series of minor escarpments, also with opposite down-throw, associated with a staircase of faults, sometimes over 20 km wide. The tectonic and the seismic movements along these lines are responsible for the activation of huge landslides, sometimes many kilometres long and wide and hundreds of metres thick.

The depressions in the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden are occupied by sea branches that are expected to enlarge and become oceans. Approaching the triple junction, the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden become narrower and shallower until they reach the Strait of ↗Bāb al-mandab. To the north of ↗Massawa and to the east of Djibouti, the narrowing of the sea branches is compensated by the increase in width of the emerged lowlands. These consist of hilly terrain with large plains and isolated ridges and hills (e.g., Danakil Alps) but also with depressions located up to 110 m B.S.L. (Dolol-Asale district). There are also large lakes (↗Asälla, Afḍera, Abhe etc.) and a series of depressions with hyper-alkaline conditions and salt precipitation (Gasse — Rognon 1980). Diffusely preserved in this area are the oldest sediments in the world that bear ↗hominids (*Australopithecus*, *Homo erectus* and *Homo habilis*).

The Rift floor increases in elevation southward up to ca. 1,700 m A.S.L. The central part of the Rift, is occupied by a series of lakes: Turkana, ↗Awassa, ↗Langano, ↗Šalla, ↗Abyata, ↗Zʷay, ↗Abaya, ↗Čamo, Ç̣äw Baḥər etc. Some of these occupy deep tectonic depressions (Turkana, Abaya), but others have been created by the collapse or the deformations associated with large calderas (e.g., Šalla, Langano, Abyata) or by the damming of the valley by lava flows (i.e. Zʷay, ↗Qoqa; Le Tordu et al. 1999). The latter process also generated the larger Ethiopian lake outside the ↗Rift valley: Lake Ṭana. A series of large volcanoes rise above the plateaus (i.e. Mt Bada 4,139 m; Mt Batu 4,307 m; Mt Kaka 4,180 m; Mt Guge 4,200 m; Mt Gurage 3,721 m) or the Rift floor (e.g., Mt Alutu, Mt Zəqʷala). Ethiopia and, to a lesser extent, Eritrea, have plenty of smaller volcanoes, from strato-volcanoes, domes and calderas to small craters and cones, from ca. 4

The valley of the Wärʿi, traditional border between Tämben (here: Qʷälla Tämben, with Dəggəʿa Tämben mountains in the background) and ʿAdwa *awrağğa* (in the foreground) photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt million years old to very recent ones (Woldegabriel et al. 1980). The recent activity is recognizable because of the fresh morphology and the scarce vegetation. Some of the oldest volcanoes have eroded down to skeleton shapes with only the necks below the old craters rising above the plateau (as, e.g., in the Däbrä Marqos, ᶜAdwa and Aksum areas).

The volcanic products of lava flows, ignimbrites and pyroclastic deposits occupy large areas. In the south-eastern part of the country the longest lava flow in the world is documented: the lava entered some major valley tributaries of the River Juba (↗Ganaalee) and continued to flow for over 400km almost reaching the Indian Ocean (Abdirahim et al. 1993). Nowadays the side of the old valleys has been eroded and deepened, the original valley bottom forming a ridge. However, the largest volcanic products came from fissural activity in the Miocene and Early Pliocene eras and generated the Ethiopian Traps, one of the largest basalt lava fields in the world. Earlier acid eruptions are evident from the immense ignimbrite fields. Lava fields and ignimbrites, more than 500m thick in places, occupy large parts of the west and the eastern plateau, and generated its very flat morphology. At the same time, a series of lava sheets (sills) intruded inside the basement and the sedimentary cover. The following dissection of the plateau by river erosion created a series of cliffs that correspond with the harder rocks (basalts and limestones) and flat surfaces (structural benches) over the softer marly terrain. This is the origin of the ↗*amba* landscape, typical of the Ethiopian highlands.

The smaller-scale morphology in the region is influenced by local factors and by their interaction with the dynamics induced by the Quaternary climatic changes. During the cold periods the higher mountains were glaciated, from ca. 3,200 m A.S.L. up (Kaser — Osmaston 2002). During Interglacials these regions were covered by a thick tropical forest to the south, alpine forest in the highland and dry-monsoonal forest to steppe in the lowlands. The Red Sea rose and deposited marine sediments inland from the present day coastline. During the glacial times the sea lowered again and rivers entered the now submerged part of the continental platform. During the last glacial maximum, and possibly also during previous glaciations, the area underwent severe dryness and the whole region was affected by widespread denudation processes that generated large pediments and alluvial fans. The larger ones are located at the feet of the main escarpments, in the Danakil lowlands and along the coast of the Red Sea, north of Massawa. Huge alluvial fan deposition also occurred out of the Rift, in the western lowland, where the rivers dissecting the plateau enter the Nile valley.

In the Rift, during the beginning of the Last Glaciation (80-40 thousand y.a.), severe dryness led to the widespread deposition of aeolian deposits. ↗Salt marshes and hypersaline lakes increased in the lowlands but precipitation of gypsum is documented also in the lake regions (Coltorti et al. 2002). However, the most common feature of this area was the rising and lowering of the lake levels that run parallel to the retreat and advance of the coastline. During the Interstadials (40–30 thousand y.a.) of the last glaciation, as well as at the beginning of the Holocene, a Megalake (Groove – Street 1975; Le Tordu et al. 1999) occupied the area between Qoqa and possibly Awasa, with Zʷay, Abyata, Šalla and Langano lakes joined together.

The investigations of the mollusc fauna and pollens found in lake cores constitute some of the most complete records of climatic and hydrological changes in Northern Africa (Lamb et al. 2000). These large basins began shrinking ca. 5,000 y.a. and the process is still active. At the beginning of the Holocene, along the coastline of the Red Sea, the corals kept pace with the rising sea level creating a continuous coral reef. Almost the whole country was covered with a dense forest and river incision was the main process at work. Travertines were deposited that corresponded to springs (Bard et al. 2000). A major change in these processes came with the arrival of the first agricultural and pastoral activities in the Neolithic and Eneolithic, possibly entering the country from the Nile Valley. A series of plants (*tef*, *ənsät*, etc.) were domesticated along the shores of the Ethiopian lakes of the Rift Valley. Since 6 million years, the progressive deforestation interrupted the travertine deposition and the incision of many rivers. This was due to the increased sediment loads coming from the erosion of the slopes that had been ploughed bare (Bard et al. 2000).

The deforestation (↗Environment) increased during the following millennia, parallel to the increase in population. This process was stronger in the northern most densely settled area. Many valleys were filled with sediments and the slopes, progressively deprived of natural fertiliser, were affected by increased soil erosion. Thin soil layers discovered inside the valley filling suggest that, at least in the Təgray plateau, this process was interrupted at the fall of the Aksumite kingdom (Bard et al. 2000). Today, with the increased population, these processes are even more widespread (Nyssen et al. 2004). In the highlands only a few pockets of the original forest, apart from the emperor's hunting reserve, Männagäša, survive in the less accessible areas. Along the very steep slopes, and inside church grounds, monasteries and cemeteries, huge figs, sycamores, podocarpus, junipers, acacias and olive trees constitute the relicts of the original forest, but their capacity to prevent soil erosion is extremely limited. The deforestation and the associated soil erosion is now at work along the flanks of the plateau as well as in the more depressed parts of the Rift Valley where, in the past, human expansion was blocked by the major diseases (malaria, yellow fever, tse-tse fly, etc.). Large areas (e.g., Ṭana-Bäläs) have been deforested and occupied by thoas who were forced to resettle during the *Därg* period. However, some successful interventions of re-forestation over large areas have now been undertaken in the northern region of the country, on the most bare and non-productive lands.

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Mauro Coltorti

George of Lydda

Cult and Hagiography of St. George

The first information about St. G. (ጊዮርጊስ, Giyorgis), one of the most famous saints in both Eastern and Western Christian traditions, is given by Theodosios Periegetes (ca. 530 A.D.), who reports about the veneration of G.'s tomb in Lydda (Diospolis, Palestine). This was confirmed by the itinerary under the name of Antoninus of Piacenza (ca. 570 A.D.): a basilica was built on that tomb and dedicated to G., whose remains were believed to lie there. This basilica is considered by some scholars to belong to the age of Constantine the Great; the Greek ms. 954 in the National Library of Vienna containing the legendary *passio* of G. is dated to the beginning of the 5th cent. (s. Balboni 1965:512).

Among different versions of the Vita of G., the one in ms. Vat. Gr. 1660 (916 A.D.) had a large diffusion and was also translated into Arabic, hence possibly into Gəʿəz, in 1487/88 (GuiSLett 64). A shorter version of the Vita is included in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 23 *Miyazya* (BudSaint 813f.; ColSyn XII, 563–69). It states that G. was born in Cappadocia (present-day central Turkey). At the age of 20, he went to king Dadyanus, "emperor of Persia" (Doḏiyanōs, Dacianus/Dacian in other traditions), to take over the military office of his father. But, having realised that the King was a worshiper of idols, G. decided to free his own slaves and give away his riches to the poor. Having done that, he professed to be a Christian himself and refused to worship the idols. He survived a murder attempt by poison from the magician Athanasius, who in turn also embraced Christianity and suffered martyrdom. G. was cut to pieces with a saw, boiled in tar and squeezed with a press. He died three times and on every occasion was raised up to life by Christ. Finally, he was beheaded and is said to have been received into the Kingdom of Heaven. His body was buried in Lydda by one of his slaves and a church was built above his tomb, where miracles were to happen. The story of the young girl who was freed by G. from a dragon seems to have originated at the time of the Crusades. Some scholars consider 284 A.D. to be the year of the Saint's martyrdom, whilst others date it much earlier: 249–51 A.D. Still, "others, identifying Dacian with Diocletian, move it to 303" (Balboni 1965:516). The last hypothesis seems to be the most plausible.

The beginnings of the veneration of G. in Ethiopia may date to Aksumite times; in later times the Saint was always popular in the country. Apart from the annual feast on 23 *Miyazya*, as in the cases of only a few of the most venerated saints, G. is honoured by the monthly commemoration on the 23th day. Many churches are dedicated to St. G., among them such famous ones as Betä Giyorgis, Lalibäla and Bilbola Giyorgis in Lasta (Bianchi Barriviera 1963:53–61, 74–77). St. G. Cathedral in Addis Abäba (↗Gännätä Ṣəge Giyorgis) was built in 1896 to commemorate the victory in the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa of the same year. In fact, the battle took place on 23 *Yäkkatit* (1 March, 1896), that is on the day of the monthly commemoration of G.; and, according to tradition, was won "through the power of the Lord and the aid of George, who appeared to the Italians in the guise of a giant riding a white horse" (Raineri 1998:99). G. is frequently included in the traditional depiction of the battle of ᶜAdwa (e.g., Girma Fisseha – Raunig 1985, no. 38).

The book of the Acts of G., very common in both manuscript and printed editions, which is read during the feast of the Saint (23 *Miyazya*), usually includes the following parts: 1) the homily (↗*Dərsan*) on the Saint ascribed to ↗Theodotos of Ancyra; 2) the Vita of G., attributed to his servant Səqraṭəs (both translated into Gəᶜəz from Arabic in the mid-15th- beginning of the 16th cent.); 3) a discourse called the *Book of Admiration* (መጽሐፈ፡ አንክሮ, *Mäṣḥafä ankəro*), an anonymous story about G.'s birth; 4) an anonymous homily called *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*aḫbəro*, commemorating G.'s and the Virgin Mary's bodies' translation (on 16 *Näḥase*); 5) Miracles (↗*Täʾammər*) of G.: there are 12 canonical miracles, but their whole number amounts to 80 (e.g., in ms. BritLib Orient. 716; s. Arras 1953), compiled in at least two stages – in the first quarter and end of the 15th cent.; 6); the story about the Virgin Mary healing G. during his martyrdom, found in the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* (s. Colin 2004:115ff.); 7) ↗*Mälkəʾ*, ↗*sälam* chants in honour of G. (Chaîne 1913), also included into the missal (↗*Qəddase*); prayers and supplications to G. are found in ↗magic scrolls.

Src.: VICTOR ARRAS, *Miraculorum s. Georgii Megalomartyris collectio altera*, Louvain 1953 (CSCO 138, 139 [SAe 31, 32]); *liqä ṭäbbäbt* AYYALEW TAMMƎRU (ed.), መጽሐፈ፡ ገድለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ (*Mäṣḥafä gädlä Giyorgis*, 'The Book of the Life of George'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; BudSaint 813f.; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *George of Lydda. The Patron Saint of England: a Study of the Cultus of St. George in Ethiopia*, London 1930; GÉRARD COLIN (tr.), *Le livre éthiopien des miracles de Marie* (*Taamra Mâryâm*), Paris 2004, 115ff.; ColSyn XII, 563–69; MARIUS CHAÎNE, "Répertoire des Salam et Malkeʾe", *ROC* 18, 1913, 193–203, 337–57, s. index; ገድለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወተአምራቲሁ፡ ዘምስለ፡ መልክአ፡ ጊዮርጊስ (*Gädlä Giyorgis wätäʾamməratihu zäməslä mälkəʾa Giyorgis*, 'The Life of George and his Miracles with the Images of George'), Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; GIRMA FISSEHA – WALTER RAUNIG, *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei*, Frankfurt/Main 1985, no. 38; GuiSLett 64; *Pittura etiopica tradizionale*, with notes and introduction by LANFRANCO RICCI, Rome 1989, 158–62, no. 9; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), መልክአ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ዘሰሌዳ፡ ሞገስ፤ ፅንሰቱ፡ ወመልክአ፡ ሥቃዩ፡ ለጊዮርጊስ (*Mälkəʾa Giyorgis zäsäleda mogäs, ṣənsätu wämälkəʾa śəqayu lägiyorgis*, 'Images of George, the Display of the Grace; his Conception and Images of the Passions of George'), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.]; WrBriMus 190f., no. 289 [Orient. 716].

Lit.: VICTOR ARRAS, "La collection éthiopienne des miracles de saint George", in: *PICES* 1, 273–84; DANTE BALBONI, "Giorgio, santo, martire", in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Roma 1965, vol. 6, 512–25; LINO BIANCHI BARRIVIERA, "Le chiese in roccia di Lalibelà e di altri luoghi del Lasta", *RSE* 19, 1963, 5–118; OSVALDO RAINERI, "La battaglia di Adua secondo Cerulli Etiopico 318", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 85–100, here 53–61, 74–77; CHRISTOPHER WALTER, "The Origins of the Cult of Saint George", *Revue des études byzantines* 53, 1995, 295–326.

Osvaldo Raineri

Iconography of St. George in Ethiopia

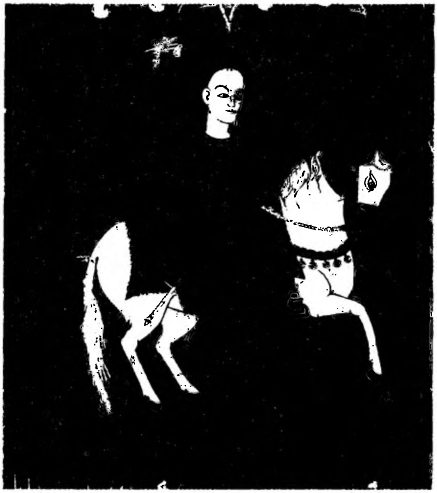
Although ↗Abū Ṣaliḥ mentions an image of G. in about 1200 in Ethiopia, the oldest presently known representations of him date to the end of the 13th cent. (some century-older anonymous ↗equestrian saints in the churches ↗Yəmräḥannä Krəstos, Lasta, and Betä Maryam, Lalibäla may very well refer to him). The 13th-cent. representations of G., on the murals in the churches of ↗Gännätä Maryam and ↗Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ᶜAläm near Lalibäla and ↗Waša Mikaᶜel, near Gašena (Wällo), show the Saint performing different miracles: delivering deacon George (i.e. the "youth of Mytilene") to his mother; getting a beam from the poor widow's hut to sprout leaves; punishing Euchius (the destroyer of G.'s church). Thematically similar wall-paintings are preserved in the churches of ↗Gärᶜalta dated to the 14th and 15th cent.: Mikaᶜel Harägwa, Abba

Danəʾel and Maryam of ↗Qorqor, and ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon (in the latter, G. is depicted killing a snake). One of the oldest miniatures of G., dated to 1382-88, decorates the ↗*Gädlä samaʿətat* executed in Däbrä Ḥamlo monastery near Aksum (EMML 2514, fol. 157v) and shows him as a mounted warrior armed with a spear. This type also appears in the earliest paintings on wood, from the end of the 15th cent. In some paintings G. wears a diadem or a crown, the attributes which recall his martyrdom.

The other formula, introduced at the end of the 15th cent. in many kinds of paintings, shows G. killing the dragon. The scene refers to the rescue of a "princess" or "the maiden of Beiruth" (Birutawit), which, according to G.'s Vita, occurred when he was still an army officer. When depicted, she holds the dragon by a cord; in the 18th cent. she is perched on a tree. Sometimes the formula includes G.'s attendant Səqraṭəs, the legendary author of the Saint's Acts (for the complex development of this motif s. Fiaccadori 2001:283ff.). In the 17th cent., G. is accompanied by his relative Ǝndrəyas (e.g., Addis Abäba, IES 315) who, according to a legend, founded the first shrine of G. in Lydda, and Lulis and Sirfas who helped to bury the body of G., as mentioned in the Homily of Theodotos.

Unlike the "rescuer-of-the-youth" type, which seems to disappear between the 16th and 17th cent. (to occasionally be back in fashion much later), the "dragon-slayer" type has lasted throughout the centuries. The representations differ in detail: in the 15th and 18th cent. G. may wear rich clothes and his horse has lavishly decorated trapping which reflect the dress of Ethiopian nobles, while in most of the pictures produced between the mid-15th and the beginning of the 16th cent. he is wearing foreign attire; the horse is trotting until the end of the 16th cent.; in the 17th cent. it stands on hind legs, the forelegs raised; while from the 18th to the late 19th cent. it is galloping. The dragon is depicted with or without wings; in the 17th cent. it often lies on its back, while in the 18th cent. a small figure of a demon emerges from its coils. A hybrid-dragon with the features of "six animals" is represented and "described" in a dyptich (ca. 1500; Mercier 2000:83).

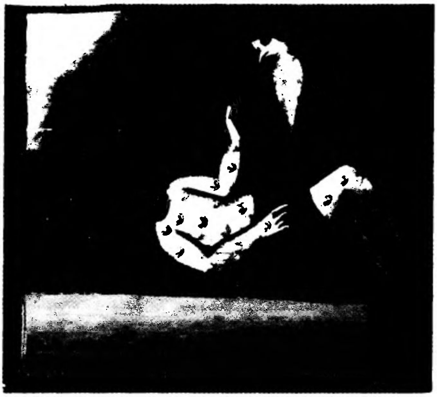
The account of the martyrdom of G. was extensively illustrated. It cannot be excluded that this pictorial tradition was introduced to, or renovated, in Ethiopia by Nicolò ↗Brancaleone (cf. IES 4191). His choice of events was augmented by Ethiopian painters who tried to closely follow the text. In the absence of appropriate models, they used their own imagination and created scenes with curious torture implements. The selection of events depicted varies from work to work. Generally, every torment is introduced separately, but some scenes appear more often than others and the arrangements of pictures seems to be at random.


St. George on horseback; diptych, left panel; 15th cent.; Monastery of Samuʿel Zä-Qoyäṣa, Təgray; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Extensively illustrated manuscripts which include G.'s Vita, Martyrdom and Miracles appear from the middle of the 18th cent. and belong to the so-called second Gondärine style: 177 miniatures in a manuscript from Arhanä Kidanä Məḥrät, near Č̣əlga; 99 in a manuscript recorded in Mercier 2000:183 (no reference to the place); 55 in a manuscript from Kəbran Gäbrəʾel (Kebrān 17); 48 in a manuscript from Ṭəra Gädam, Bägemdər, and in mss. London, BritLib Orient. 713 and 715.

The paintings on wood of the 17th cent. always place G. as the dragon-slayer in the lower half of the left panel (diptych) or left wing (triptych). The martyrdom usually occupied the central panel of a triptych (e.g., IES, nos. 6724, 4191, 4432, 4233, particularly 4188, with 26 scenes of tortures), but is not represented in the 17th cent.

In churches with the outer walls of the ↗*mäqdäs* extensively decorated, G. is often represented three times: on the north wall among



Martyrdom of St. George: the Saint consoled by St. Mary appearing to him in the shape of a dove; miniature from the *Täʾammərä Maryam* ms., late 18th cent.; fol. 82v; Təgray, Maryam Tənsaʾe, treasury of the Trinity Church; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

the equestrian saints and at both sides of the main entry to the sanctuary: on one side as the dragon-slayer and on the other as the megalomartyr, mounted and wearing a crown and rich attire (as in ↗Däbrä Sina, Gorgora). The martyrdom is rarely a subject of murals and rare examples date to the end of the 18th cent. (churches Wəqro Mäsqäl, Soqota; Qəddus Giyorgis, Fəčče; Abrəha and Aṣbəha, Ǝmmanuʾel, Balči).

From the 15th cent. the representation of a mounted G. sporadically appears on ↗crosses (cf. IES 6038 where G., assisted by an angel, kills the snake), but in the 18th cent. and later they are very common. Selected scenes of his martyrdom also are found from time to time.

G. spearing the snake or dragon belongs to the figures often present in ↗magic scrolls. The picture is usually added to a prayer for protection, which, according to the legend, the Saint uttered during his martyrdom. Since he endured many tortures, died and was resuscitated seven times, this prayer is believed to be particularly effective against misfortunes (cf. Paris, BN Éth. 432), while the Saint's depiction works as a visual equivalent of the popular spell "let the evil be pierced by the lance of George".

In many cases the image of G. is juxtaposed with that of St. Mary, particularly often on diptychs and on the western wall of the *mäqdäs* (in both cases G. is placed on the left side and Mary on the right), in possible connection with the translation festival. The recommendation of such an arrangement is clear in the *Sənkəssar* (16 *Näḥase*, s. GuiSyn III, 340f.).

Src.: IES nos. 315, 4188, 4191, 4233, 4432, 6038, 6724; BudSaint 1224; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, s. index; BASIL THOMAS ALFRED EVETTS (ed., tr.), *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries Attributed to Abû Ṣâliḥ, the Armenian*, Oxford 1895, 287; GuiSyn III, 340f.; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Illuminierte Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz und Handschriften vom Ṭanasee*, Graz 1977, 94f., pls. 76, 120–27; HamTana I, 121ff. [ms. Ṭānāsee 17 = Kebrān 17]; JACQUES MERCIER, *L'Arche Éthiopienne: Art Chrétienne d'Éthiopie*, Paris 2000, 183, no. 83; WriBriMus 191f., no. 290 [Orient. 713]; 192, no. 291 [Orient. 715].

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "The Wall-paintings of Wuqro Mäsqäl Church near Sokota", *Africana Bulletin* 50, 2000, 115–33, here 118ff., 124–27, figs B, C, 8–10; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ – ANAÏS WION, "Inventaire des peintures datées du XVII^e au début du XIXe siècle: Questions sur l'art gondarien (Éthiopie)", in: *Autre sources, nouveaux regards sur l'histoire africaine*, 1998 (= *Cahiers de recherches africaines* 9, 1998), 215–42; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "The Iconography of St. George in Ethiopia", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 57–73; 11, 2, 1973, 51–92; 12, 1, 1974, 71–132; ID., "Note on the Early Iconography of St. George and Related Equestrian Saints in Ethiopia", *ibid.* 13, 2, 1975, 39–55; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Album di pittore. Ms. Parm. 3853 [= Mordini 20]", in: *Cum picturis ystoriatum. Codici devozionali e liturgici della Biblioteca Palatina*, Modena 2001, 282–87, no. 60; OTTO JÄGER, "Ethiopian Manuscript Painting", *EthObs* 4, 1960, 354–91, here 376–379; OSVALDO RAINERI et al., *Santi guerrieri a cavallo: tele etiopiche. Warrior Saints on Horseback: Ethiopian Paintings*, Clusone (Bergamo) 1996, 92–99; VERONIKA SIX, "Der Heilige Georg und das Mädchen: ein orientalische Motiv und sein Weg nach Äthiopien", *AuÜ* 77, 1994, 9–30; STEFAN STRELCYN, "Les nouveaux manuscrits éthiopiens de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles", *JES* 11, 2, 1973, 169–88, 182–86, no. 13.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

George the New

G. (Eth. ጊዮርጊስ፡ ሐዲስ, Giyorgis Ḥaddis; Arab. Ǧirǧis al-Muzāḥim; birth name Muzāḥim [Eth. Mäzaḥəm]; d. 13 June 978) was an Egyptian martyr. A son of Ǧāmi^c al-^{c}Aṭwi (Eth. var. Zamə^c), a Muslim from Darwā, in Damīra al-Qiblīya, Egypt, and of a Christian mother, Muzāḥim wanted to become Christian since early years. He converted by marrying a Christian named Siyūlā (Eth. Säwla). Denounced as a convert to Christianity, he and his wife were imprisoned, tortured and exiled. In Maḥallat Rūḥ (Məḥəla), he received baptism again, and took the name of "George the New", to honour ↗George of Lydda.

G. was again imprisoned by the governor of Dämira but despite pressures and tortures he preserved his faith. He was then transferred to viceroy ᶜĀdī (ᶜAddiy). It is said that in his prison G. was visited by Lady Mary who healed his wounds. The caliph ordered by letter to save the life of the prisoner. The viceroy intended to release him but the crowd insisted on having him killed. His remains were thrown into the sea. Some of them were collected by a Christian woman who took them to Siyūlā. The urn with his remains was then sent to a local bishop and became a pilgrimage attraction.

The cult of G. came to Ethiopia with the translation of two works from Arabic, ↗*Sənkəssar* and ↗*Gädlä Sämaᶜətat*. His Acts also form part of the Ethiopian tradition. His feast is commemorated in the Ethiopian Church on 19 *Säne*.

Src.: OSVALDO RAINERI, *Gli Atti etiopici del martire egiziano Giorgio il Nuovo (978)*, Città del Vaticano 1999 (Studi e testi 392); GuiSyn I, 633–36; BudSaint vol. 4, 1013ff.

Lit.: JOSEPH-MARIE SAUGET, "Giorgio e Basiela", in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum,* vol. 6, Roma 1965, 545; WADI ABULIFF, "Girgis (Giorgio) Al-Muzahim", in: *Enciclopedia dei Santi. Le Chiese Orientali* (Bibliotheca Sanctorum Orientalium), vol. 11, Roma 1999, 2–3.

Osvaldo Raineri

Gərar ↗Acacia

Gere

A G. is a rattle, in the form of a string of pods or pellets, found in Gambella and the surrounding region. Variants of this musical instrument can be seen throughout Ethiopia and Eritrea. It commonly consists of seedpods or metal-alloy pellets tied individually or strung together by a leather thong that is worn around the lower part of the leg, usually around the ankle. These pods or pellets, affixed or strung together, make concussive sounds when struck against one another, while the incised opening in the shape of an "+" amplifies the sound.

Lit.: TESFAYE LEMMA, *Ethiopian Musical Instruments*, Addis Ababa 1975, 42.

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Gergere ↗Dullay

GərmaččäwTäklä Ḥawaryat; photo courtesy of the IES (no. 21 G4, 3)

Gərmaččäw Täklä Ḥawaryat

G. (ገርማቸው፡ ተክለ፡ ሐዋርያት; b. 1915, Hirna, Harärge, d. 5 November 1987) was a novelist, playwright and a prominent member of the government. His father, *bäǧərond* ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat Täklä Maryam, instilled in him the values of discipline, hard work and patriotism. Educated at the Alliance Française of Dərre Dawa and Addis Abäba, he accompanied his father to France, where he served as minister. G. finished his high school studies in Grasse, southern France, and then attended the Collège Stanislas, near Nice, where he received his Bachelor's degree (Baccalauréate) in 1935, perfectly mastering French. When Italy occupied Ethiopia, in the spring of 1936, he fled to Djibouti. In early 1937, he decided to return to Addis Abäba and was soon arrested by the Italians, along with many others educated Ethiopians, following the attempt on ↗Graziani's life. He was sent to Italy and spent six years in prision.

G.'s desire to be a social reformer is reflected in his writings: the clash between forces of progress and conservatism is the theme of ↗*Arᵓaya* (1942); ቴዎድሮስ (*Tewodros*; 1950) is a historical drama centred on the struggle waged by ↗Tewodros II to unite and modernize Ethiopia; ዓድዋ (*ᶜAdwa*) is centred on the historic battle of ↗ᶜAdwa. G.'s unpublished book-manuscripts include *Arᵓaya II*, a continuation of *Araya* [*I*], which depicts the evolution of the society until the Revolution of 1974; *Al-Ḥabaša* (currently being edited), as well as his own autobiography.

G. persued also a prominent carreer in government, attaining a number of positions: Director of the Press (1943–45); Director General of the European Department; Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1945–49); Chargé d'affaires at the Ethiopian Embassies in Stockholm (1949/50-54/55) and Rio de Janeiro (1955–57/58); Ambassador to Italy (1958–60) and West Germany (1960–61); Minister of Information (1961–64); Governor

General, Illubabor Province (1964–65); Minister of Agriculture (1965–68); Minister of Public Health (1968–70); member of the ↗Crown Council (1970–74). Together with other officials of the ancien regime, the *Därg* confined G. in prison. After eight years, he was released as his health started deteriorating (MolLit 68).

Src.: PIERRE COMBA, "Le roman dans la littérature éthiopienne de langue amharique", *JSS* 9, 1964, 173–86; personal interview conducted at G.'s residence, 5 April 1983, Addis Abäba, and information from his family.
Lit.: MolLit 62–72.

Daniel Kendie

Germany, relations with

G. appears in modern Ethiopian texts as Ǧärmän (from English); in the 19th cent. it was also known as Almanya (and similar spellings, from French via Arabic), or Nämsa (an older term of Slavic origin, introduced probably via Ottoman Turkish and signifying the German Empire; also used for ↗Austria in the 19th cent.). A history of relations between G. and Ethiopia starts with the scholarly interest German theologians took in this country in the late medieval period (↗Ethiopian studies). Much later, in the mid-19th cent., missionary undertakings became a crucial factor for the German-Ethiopian relations. Diplomatic and commercial contacts started comparatively late, with the permanent diplomatic relations being formerly established in 1905.

Ethiopians and their country occasionally feature in early medieval German literature, e.g. the 12th/13th-cent. Parzival epos (possibly adapting the Queen of Sheba myth), or travel literature dealing with crusades or pilgrimages to ↗Jerusalem (cp. the 15th-cent. pilgrims Rieter and ↗Breydenbach). The existence of a Christian people far south, with possibly Biblical origins (↗Prester John), aroused speculations whether their culture or language might have preserved the wisdom of the early Biblical fathers. The hope to discover the "lost" Chaldaic (Aramaic) language seemed to be confirmed when the first samples of the Ethiopic ↗script were published in G. (by Breydenbach in 1486), and later the first manuscript(s) reached German theologians. In the early 16th cent., Johannes ↗Potken from Cologne, who had learnt Gəʿəz from *abba* Tomas Wäldä Samuʾel in Rome (↗Santo Stefano dei Mori), believing that the language could in fact be identified with Chaldaic, published the Ethiopic ↗Psalter.

The German Reformation movement, directed against the supremacy of the Pope and the illiteracy of both clergy and lay population, also took interest in Ethiopia, a Christian country that did not acknowledge the Pope. Peter ↗Heyling, a lay missionary who lived at the Ethiopian court starting from 1634, translated several Gəʿəz manuscripts into Amharic and assumed high positions at the court. His followers (↗Zämaryam of Azäzo) played an important role in the controversies between the ↗*qəbat* and the ↗*ṣägga ləǧ* doctrines (they were called the *mänafqan däqqu ləǧärmän*, 'disciples of the German', in the early-19th-cent. [?] monastery records; s. Kindeneh Endeg 2004).

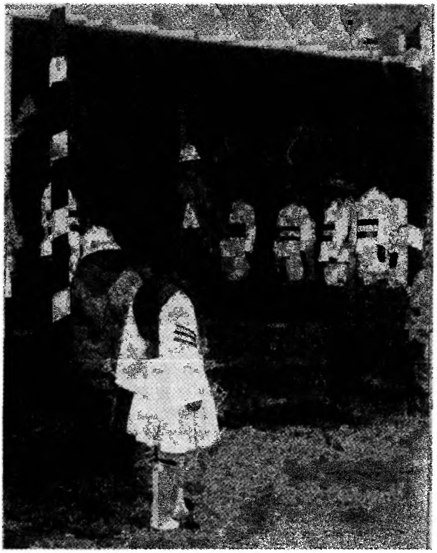
Several German Orientalists of the early modern period learnt Gəʿəz (e.g., Athanasius Kirchner, who wrongly claimed to have deciphered the Egyptian hieroglyphs). Among them, Hiob ↗Ludolf was the most prominent *Ethiopisant*. Following the invitation of the Duke ErnstI of Saxe-Gotha, his most important informant *abba* ↗Gorgoryos travelled to Thüringen in 1652 and stayed with Ludolf for months, laying the foundations for the latter's works. In 1683, the Duke tried, with Ludolf's help, to organize an alliance of Christian kingdoms, including Ethiopia, against the Turks, who had invaded the Austrian Empire.

In the context of a new philosophical-anthropological discourse in the 18th cent., led by Immanuel Kant (who created a modern classification of peoples and "races", with Africans judged as culturally inferior), Ludolf's research became crucial for the preservation of a positive image of Ethiopia.

German scholarly ↗expeditions started in the 1820s. The first ones reached only the coastal regions (Massawa, Təgray). In 1830–34, Eduard ↗Rüppell carried out metereological, zoological and ethnographical studies, in 1837 he was followed by the zoologist Wilhelm ↗Schimper, who even settled permanently in Təgray and became a governor of ↗Əntiččo under *däǧǧazmač* Wəbe Ḥaylä Maryam. He and his assistant Eduard ↗Zander later entered into the services of *aṣe* Tewodros II, Zander as a military advisor. The Deutsche Afrika-Expedition of 1861, led by von ↗Heuglin and the Swiss ↗Munzinger, was mainly carried out in Bogos (Bilin), Təgray, Kunama and Sudanese areas. Its results were published in Gotha, which, thus, once again became a centre of research on Ethiopia. In 1862, Duke Ernst II of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha as the first head of state visited the "northern borderlands of Abyssinia", on a hunting expedition, accompanied by several scholars.

The 1840s were a crucial period for the relationship between G. and the ↗Oromo, most of whose areas were still outside the control of the Ethiopian emperors. The liberation of Oromo slaves in this time could be seen in the context of the traditional interest of the German courts in "curiosities", their entertaining and "instructive" value. The Prince Pückler-Muskau, an adventurer at the court of Muḥammad ᶜAlī of Egypt, purchased and later married "Machbuba" (Bilillee), a kidnapped Oromo. Another noble traveller, John von Müller, brought a former Oromo slave (Pauline ↗Fathme) to G., who became a key figure for the first German Oromo mission, her published biography including a call for launching a mission to "Ormania".

Two South Germans induced a permanent public interest in G. in this people: Lorenz ↗Tutschek and Johann Ludwig ↗Krapf. Tutschek, funded by a prince, was teaching former Oromo slaves in Munich, the most important being "Osman" or Akaafadee Dallee and "Karl ↗Habasch", learning ↗Oromiffa from them and documenting their oral literature. He thus initiated Oromo studies. But it was mainly the German missionaries' interest into the Oromo, who were believed to have a culture similar to the ancient Germanic tribes, that led to the creation of the Oromo written literature (first in Latin characters, later in *fidäl*) and laid the basis for continued scholarly research. The first important contributions came from Krapf from Württemberg, who in the 1830s resided in ↗Ankobär and translated parts of the New Testament into Oromiffa together with his Oromo assistant Barkii. On his request, the German missionaries of ↗Mätämma sent an Oromo slave ↗Ruufoo from Guummaa to Krapf, in order to finalize the translation of the ↗Bible, the first portions of which were published starting from 1870. The idea of a future Oromo mission also accompanied the establishment of the ↗St. Chrischona Pilgermission in 1856, conceived as a first step on the way to the Oromo. In 1867 the first Protestant missionaries, Stamm and Deiß, reached ↗Beni Šangul and Oromo areas (Gubbe). In 1871 a permanent Protestant Oromo mission in Šäwa was established. It was headed by the Germans Johannes ↗Mayer and Greiner until their expulsion at the beginning of the Šäwa military campaigns against ↗Arsi in 1886. In 1927 the Oromo mission was re-initiated by the ↗Hermannsburger Mission.



Celebration of the Kaiser Wilhelm II's birthday at the German Legation in Addis Abäba, 1914, in the presence of consul Jensen and the Turkish envoy Mazhar *bey* (both left), German envoy von Syburg in front of the Kaiser's portrait; photo from the collection of Lorenz Jensen

Christian Ethiopia and the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel attracted German missionaries, too. The British- and Swiss-funded Protestant mission in Ethiopia was mainly carried out by Germans. The first were Carl Wilhelm ↗Isenberg and Krapf in the 1830s in Təgray and Šäwa. Their mission was closed down after Isenberg provoked a doctrinal dispute, and reopened again in 1856 following an invitation of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, who was willing to introduce European technical know-how (cp. Arén 1999). German lay missionaries founded a German artisan's colony in ↗Gafat, and also settled in Ǧända among the Betä Ǝsraʾel, the "Falasha Mission" there being directed by Johannes Martin ↗Flad. The Emperor even married two of his relatives to the missionaries Theophil ↗Waldmeier and Karl ↗Saalmüller. The mission's aim was mainly the promotion of a reform of the Orthodox Church from within. They set up schools, at which also German was taught. Starting from 1865, however, Tewodros's discon-

German President Heinrich Lübke together with Ḫaylä Śəllase I in the Mäkʷännən Hall, Addis Abäba; photo 1964, courtesy of the German Cultural Institute, Addis Abäba

tent with European politics and the subsequent arrest of all Europeans resulted in the 1867/68 British military intervention (↗Napier) and the subsequent expulsion of the Europeans.

Several Ethiopian students were then brought to Jerusalem (to stay at a German-directed school, “Das Syrische Waisenhaus”), and later continued their education in St. Chrischona and Württemberg (among them ↗Mikaᵓel Arägawi, ↗Gäbrä Əgziᵓabəher Dästa and ↗Wäldä Śəllase Kənfu). The first to study in G. was Əngəda Əšät (son of the zoologist Schimper by his Təgrayan wife): after attending theological courses in St. Chrischona, he studied at the Polytechnicum at Karlsruhe (1872–77); later he worked as an engineer in Eritrea and served, e.g., as the interpreter of the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition in 1906 and at the court of *aṣe* Mənilək II in 1907. The 1907 court interpreter ↗Gäbrä Ḫəywät Baykädañ, who had grown up in Austria and studied in G., was also known under his German-Austrian name “Gabrihet Soernej”. When G. formally established permanent diplomatic relations with Ethiopia, the Emperor sent a university teacher to the Oriental Seminar at Berlin University, *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam. His only student, Lorenz ↗Jensen, later served as German diplomat in Addis Abäba, Harär and Däse (at the courts of *nəguś* Mikaᵓel and *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu).

The late 19th cent. saw the rebirth of Ethiopian studies in G. August ↗Dillmann created his Gəᶜəz dictionary, followed by a grammar, and laid a foundation stone for the modern philological ↗research; Franz ↗Praetorius published linguistic works on ↗Ethio-semitic languages which are still important today. Enno ↗Littmann during the 1905/06 Princeton Expedition recorded ↗Təgre traditions and songs, mainly together with ↗Naffaᶜ *wad* ᶜEtman. His Deutsche Aksum-Expedition carried out detailed archaeological and philological research at ↗Aksum in 1906 (↗Archaeology). The Semitist Eugen ↗Mittwoch in Berlin – closely collaborating with Ethiopian scholars like *blatten geta* ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase – and the Africanist August ↗Klingenheben in Hamburg initiated Ethiopian studies at their institutes, the chair in Hamburg becoming the only purely Ethiopianist chair in Europe under Ernst ↗Hammerschmidt. The ethnological expedition of Leo ↗Frobenius in 1915 had scholarly but also political aims. His successors (e.g., Adolf ↗Jensen in 1934, ↗Haberland and the ↗Frobenius-Expedition in the 1950s) provided a valuable contribution to the development of anthropological thought in G.

Parallelly to the revival of Ethiopian studies, diplomatic connections were finally established. The involvement of G. started hesitantly, as it had no colonial or economic interests in the region. Since 1872 *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV tried to gain support of the emperors Wilhelm I and II for his claims over “lost territories” of his Empire (Bairu Tafla 1981:188ff.). The resulting diplomatic mission of the German envoy Gerhard Rohlfs in 1880/81 stayed without practical consequences. It was only in 1905 that G. concluded a Treaty of Trade and Friendship as a result of the diplomatic mission of Friedrich ↗Rosen, followed by the establishment of a permanent German Legation at Addis Abäba. In 1907 a diplomatic mission led by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Mäšäša Wärqe visited Berlin and was received by Wilhelm II; one consequence was the facilitation of weapons export to Ethiopia. Germans got quickly involved in Ethiopian affairs on different levels, encouraged by Mənilək. Following his demands, the economic consultant of the Rosen mission, Carl Bosch, sent artisans, among whom the architect Carl Haertel became a prominent personality at the court (building, among others, Mənilək's mausoleum in 1927, cp. ↗Graves). Concessions were also given to Germans, the first being Arnold ↗Holtz. The Halls, starting with Moritz ↗Hall and his wife ↗Wälättä Iyäsus (née Zander), who had become a court lady, were an important presence. Their son Jakob Hall become the Emperor's advisor and interpreter, and David ↗Hall greatly facilitated European-Ethiopian contacts in the 1930s-50s. The end Mənilək II's reign was marked by a permanent rise of German involvement, Mənilək using G. to counterbalance the (semi-)colonial interests of Great Britain, France and ↗Italy. After Alfred ↗Ilg had left, the Emperor appointed Alfred Zintgraff as the state councillor; Steinkühler became his personal physician, and Pinnow taught the heir to the throne, *ləǧ* Iyasu. The later alliance of Iyasu with Germans played a potentially dramatic role in ↗World War I, when Iyasu was preparing anti-colonial uprisals in the neighbouring states. The coup d'état of 1916 put an end to this alliance.

Political relations, with an interruption from the Italian occupation until G. regained its sovereignty (1936-54) were predominantly friendly. A high-ranking delegation of the regent Täfäri (led by his uncle *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa) visited G. in 1924, and in 1954, ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I himself became the first head of state to visit G. after World War II. The West-German Federal President Heinrich Lübke and his foreign minister Walter Scheel payed a return visit in 1964. Engineers, teachers, merchants and medical doctors from G. entered into the services of Ethiopia. Starting from the 1980s, this was followed by massive involvement in ↗development aid through inter-state agencies like the "Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit" (GTZ) and private associations like "Menschen für Menschen" from the Western part of G., and technical, military and political consultants sent from the Eastern part after the ↗Revolution of 1974. In Berlin (East) talks between Eritrean rebel forces and representatives of the government took place in the late 1970s, but failed. The Medical College in Gondär, as well as numerous important industrial undertakings (a cement factory, the production of agricultural machinery etc.) were largely funded by the German Democratic Republic (GDR). In return, ↗coffee was exported to the GDR. A series of state visits from the unified G. starting from the 1990s, by two Federal Presidents and later by the Chancellor, underlined the continuation of the "special relationship" between the two countries.

Src.: JOHANN HEINRICH MICHAELIS, *Sonderbarer Lebens-Lauff Herrn Peter Heylings, aus Lübec, Und dessen Reise nach Ethiopien ...*, Halle 1724; KINDENEH ENDEG MIHRETIE, *The Role of Qebatoč in the Christological Controversy within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (1620–1764)*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2004, ch. 1; FELIX ROSEN, *Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft nach Abessinien*, Leipzig 1907; interview with Federal President Walter Scheel, April 2000.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Germany, Cultural, Political and Economic Relations, 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5); ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE, "The Contribution of Non-Ethiopian Scholars to the Development of Ethiopian Studies: The Role of Jerusalem and Adwa", paper presented at the *Orbis Aethiopicus Conference* 1996; HANS WERNER DEBRUNNER, *Presence and Prestige: Africans in Europe, A History of Africans in Europe before 1918*, Basel 1979, 29f., 54ff., 265–69, 307–22; GUSTAV ARÉN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia in the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers*, Stockholm – Addis Ababa 1999; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Five Centuries of Ethio-German Relations", in: EMBASSY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY (ed.), *Ethio-German Relations*, Addis Ababa 2004, 6–14; EIKE HABERLAND, *Three Hundred Years of Ethiopian–German Academic Collaboration*, Addis Ababa 1985 (Sonderschriften des Frobenius-Instituts 2); *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* 1973 (*Sonderausgabe Äthiopien*); ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "Der Beitrag der deutschen Ethnologie zur Äthiopien-Forschung", in: PIOTR SCHOLZ (ed.), *Von Hiob Ludolf bis Enrico Cerulli*, Warszawa – Wiesbaden 2001 (Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica 8), 159–70; HAILE-GABRIEL DAGNE, "The History of Ethio-German Cooperation in Research and Higher Education", in: *AAU–DAAD Conference on Problems of Man and His Biosphere, October 14 to 16 – 1987, Proceedings*, Addis Ababa 1987, 1–5; BRIGITTA BENZING, "Ethiopian–German Cooperation in Cultural Anthropology", *ibid.*, 7–17; GERD FRÖHLICH – BRIGITTE FRÖHLICH, *Hochland unter Tropensonne*, Leipzig 1986; HARALD MÖLLER, *DDR und Äthiopien. Unterstützung für ein Militärregime (1977–1989): Eine Dokumentation*, Berlin 2003.

Wolbert Smidt

Gerontocracy

Most societies of Ethiopia share an outstanding esteem for old people. Old men particularly are shown attention and privileges which can be regarded as features of a gerontocratic ideology. Old age is principally correlated with an advanced experience and wisdom, more or less regardless of the extent to which individuals of old age actually possess these qualifications. In tradition-oriented societies elders dominate the administrative and juridical councils and occupy key positions in political decision-making.

Younger people, even if better informed in the respective topics of a debate, are only allowed to talk in a public meeting when permitted by the elders. However, this principle was partly violated in the course of the so-called ↗*zämäča* ('raid') of 1975, when the government ordered the academic staff and the students to instruct the population all over the country about the aims of the Ethiopian ↗Revolution.

The acts of deference with regard to older people are manifold and to some extent standardized according to a pattern which seems to have been spread by the ↗Amhara. When older people enter a house, young people must stand up and remain standing until the old ones are seated. They have to rise whenever the older persons get up. Insulting an older person is severely punished. If the insult is reciprocated, the younger person is supposed to accept it in silence without retorting. The curse of older people and particularly grandparents was, and is, greatly feared. Elders are called to tell stories to people at social gatherings and to children on various occasions. They are expected to teach the "wisdom" of their groups, as well as to conserve their ↗oral traditions, genealogies and ↗customary law.

The elders authority is asserted through various levels of assemblies in the neighbourhood, the village or the clan. It does not necessarily require a special function or title, but its quality in this respect depends to a notable extent on the fact whether the respective society is characterized by a sophisticated socio-political hierarchy or by egalitarian standards.

The Amharic word ሽማግሌ (*šəmagəlle*) refers to a mature man who is an honoured member of his group and whose advice is respected. He may not be very old, probably in his forties, although his reputation usually grows with the number of his years. Similar concepts and equivalent terms of elder status are to be found in many Ethiopian societies, e.g., *loʾmanšo* 'old [and implicitly wise] man' as an honorary form of address among the ↗Hadiyya. The oldest brother within a family (Oromo: *angafa*) usually keeps a privileged position. It has to be emphasized that phenomena of G., mainly associated with the male and to a much lesser extent with the female sex, are deeply rooted in the socio-political life of Ethiopian people.

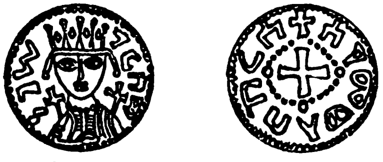
↗Age group systems; ↗Gadaa

Lit.: URI ALMAGOR, "Raiders and Elders: a Confrontation of Generations among the Dassanetch", *Senri Ethnological Studies* 3, 1979, 119–45; DONALD LEWIS DONHAM, "Elders, Juniors and Women in Malle, Southwest Ethiopia", *EJDR* 5–7, 1, 1983, 13–22; REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, *Socialization and Social Control in Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1995 (AeF 44), s. index.

Ulrich Braukämper

Gersem

G. (GRSM) was a Christian king of ↗Aksum who can tentatively be dated, together with ↗Ioel, ↗Ḥataz and ↗Armaḥ, to the later 6th or early 7th cent. A.D. He is in fact associated with the last period of coin issues – the sole evidence for his existence. The ↗coinage inscribed with the Biblical name of G. (cp. Ex 2:22), already divided between two different kings, is listed under one single reign in modern studies.


obverse reverse

Silver coins of Gersem, diametre from 20 mm to 15.5 mm, drawing courtesy of Stuart Munro-Hay

G.'s coinage consists of gold, silver and bronze specimens. There are two gold types (145, 146, s. Munro-Hay – Juel Jensen 1995:256ff.): one is a unique piece, while the other is known from six examples at least. Both have the Greek legend BACIΛI AZωMI [obv.] ΓΕΡCΕΜ [rev.], i.e. 'King of the Aksumites / G.'. The silver bear in unvocalized Gəʿəz script ገረሰመ [obv.] ነገሠ [rev.] (*grsm / ngś*), i.e. 'King GRSM' (Type 147, *ibid.* 258ff.). There are two bronze issues: one is labelled in the same way as the silver issue, its legend being occasionally vocalized (Type 150, *ibid.* 263f.); the other has the Gəʿəz inscription, also occasionally vocalized, ነገሠ፡ገረሰመ [obv.] በከረሰተሰ፡ የመወአ [rev.] (*ngś grsm / bkrsts ymwʾ*), i.e. 'King GRSM / (he) conquers through Christ' (Type 148–49, *ibid.* 260ff.). From the general quality and style – in some cases facing busts betraying a rather Byzantine imprint – it seems that G. may even have been the last of all kings of Aksum to issue gold coins.

Src.: DAE I, 54f.; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *The Munro-Hay Collection of Aksumite Coins*, Napoli 1986 (*Annali IUO* 46, 3. Supplemento 48), 79–83, s. index; ID. – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 256–65.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "Gersem", in: *DicEthBio* 73; MHAksum s. index; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Noe, Israel und andere Könige mit biblischen Namen auf axumitischen Münzen. Der Gottesbund als Legitimation der christlichen Königsherrschaft im alten Äthiopien", *Money Trend* 33, 12, 2001, 124–28, here 126f.; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Note linguistiche per la storia dell'Etiopia antica", in: *StudAeth* 67–77, here 67f. and nn. 4f.; FRANCIS AMADEUS KARL BREYER, "Ein frommes Wort- und Schriftspiel auf einer Münze des Negus Gersem", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, in preparation.

Stuart Munro-Hay – Red.

Gəšän Maryam ↗Amba Gəšän

Gešo

Rhamnus prinoides, of the family *Rhamnaceae*, known as G. (ጌሾ), or related forms in many Ethiopian languages, is a small indigenous tree found at an altitudinal range of 1,400–3,200 m A.S.L. in grasslands, rain-forests and margins of evergreen forests. Its leaves, with finely toothed margins, are shiny and dark green and its berries blackish-purple when mature.

It is widely grown around homesteads or in cultivated fields, where it is reduced to a shrub by frequent cutting. The dried and pounded leaves, branches and stems are commonly sold at the market and are considered a cash crop. They are mainly used, like hops, as flavouring in brewing ↗*ṭälla* and ↗*ṭäǧǧ*. The fermentation-starter comes from the malt, which is usually germinated ↗barley, but can also be germinated ↗sorghum, or finger millet.

In traditional medicine G. is used as a laxative or diuretic and in syphilis prevention. The leaves are put in children's mouths to relieve pain after removal of the uvula. Crushed berries and leaves are rubbed on to the skin to cure ringworm and other mild fungal infections. The roots are used to purify the blood.

Lit.: AZENE BEKELE-TESEMMA, *Useful Trees and Shrubs for Ethiopia*, Nairobi 1993, 380–81; REINHARD FICHTL – ADMASU ADI, *Honeybee Flora of Ethiopia*, Weikersheim 1994, 384f.; INGA HEDBERG – SUE EDWARDS (eds.), *Flora of Ethiopia*, vol. 3, Addis Ababa – Asmara – Uppsala 1989, 390; LEGESSE NEGASH, *Indigenous Trees of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1995, 255–58.

Rita Pankhurst

Gəṣṣawe: Mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe

M.g. (መጽሐፈ፡ ግጻዌ, lit. 'Book of Exposition') is both a perpetual liturgical ↗calendar and a lectionary, either plenary, i.e. with the text of the biblical lessons written in full, or partially, i.e. in the form of an index or directory of the readings. It gathers two types of documentation, very different in nature and history: (1) the daily commemorations and feasts with the readings matching them, month by month and day by day (the Sanctoral), and (2) readings for, possibly, Fridays (evening), Saturdays and, always, Sundays. The current definition of the M.g. points to the daily commemorations and feasts of the Sanctoral and the seasons of the Temporal of the liturgical year, as well as the biblical lessons to be proclaimed at Mass on every Sunday and calendar day of the year and at Matins (↗*Maḫlet*) on the major commemorations, plus the ↗*wazema*, Matins and Procession of Palm-Sunday.

In association with *Mäṣḥaf* the term *gəṣṣawe* means 'explanation', 'exposition'. In lessons of the ↗*Sənkəssar* translated from Arabic (on 10 *Mäskäräm* [10 *Tūt*], Nativity of Mary the Mother of God; 17 *Ḫədar* [17 *Hātūr*], Death of John Chrysostom; 12 *Gənbot* [12 *Bašans*], Apparition of the Cross), it is found as a translation for the Arabic *dallāl*, used in the same sense. In fact, the spelling ግብጻዌ (*gəbṣawe*, cp. Gəʿəz: *Gəbṣ* 'Egypt', *Gəbṣawi* 'Egyptian') has also been found in an ancient source (Jeffery 1993:209, n. 32), which refers to the Coptic origins of this book. The Ethiopian work has widely preserved the system developed in the ↗Coptic Church (more probably that of Upper Egypt rather than that which is applied today: cf. Zanetti 1985:20f.). The cathedral Divine Office (mainly the ↗*Dəggʷa*), especially with its cycle of 20 fixed seasons of a distinct Ethiopian character (↗Calendar), in the course of time deeply affected M.g. and the liturgy of the Word of the Sundays, which best reflect those seasons, as well as the feasts of Ethiopian saints.

More modest lectionaries eventually came to be composed, as has been also the case in the Coptic Church, in order to offer liturgical readings at a minimum cost. This lesser work is the መጽሐፈ፡ አስልጢ (*Mäṣḥafä asəlṭi*; from አስለጠ, *asläṭä*, 'to accomplish, to make useful', hence the meaning 'handy manual'). Such works, infrequent in catalogues and occasionally simply called M.g., propose readings for a smaller number of occasions, which may vary from one work to another. Apart from the Virgin Mary, the readings for saints are grouped in "Commons" for angels, apostles, martyrs, virgins, the righteous, etc. Such commons may also be prepared for a whole particular liturgical season (e.g., "the Flower") or even several seasons (e.g., the Fasts). In the manuscripts, such works can be indexes or plenary lectionaries, but also may indicate the references of the lessons through their *incipit* (cf. Zanetti 1985:73). The principle used for the Commons is rooted in the Coptic tradition and is reflected in the Ethiopian monthly commemorations, also of Coptic origin (cf. Zanetti 1985:249ff.; ↗Calendar). Such a *Mäṣḥafä asəlṭi* prepared by *aläqa* Wäldä Rufaʾel of Däbrä Bizän, a plenary lectionary with readings for 34 occasions, happens to have been the first lectionary printed (cf. Fritsch 2001:44f., 359–70).

Two printed M.g. lectionaries are presently in use in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, published in 1953 and 1986 respectively.

The M.g. of 1953 is an index of 152 pages in 3 parts (cf. Fritsch 2001:45–48):
1) the Lectionary of the Days (ግጻዌ፡ ዘዘወትር, *Gəṣṣawe zäzzäwätr*); the Sanctoral (*Mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe* 1953, 9–124). The lists of saints are older and relatively independent of the Synaxaries, as is the case with the *Dəggʷa*. The references of the different lessons follow, with *incipit* and *desinit*. On 112 occasions, there is a morning service (*Zänägh*), including a Psalm-versicle (↗*Məsbak* or *Qədmä wängel*, the latter term recalling the *prokeímenon* of the Greek Church and of the Sahidic lectionaries; Zanetti 1985:20) and a Gospel. The texts prepared for the mass (*Zäqəddase*) include passages from St. Paul, a Catholic epistle and the Acts of the Apostles; a Psalm-versicle and a Gospel; the mention of the anaphora;
2) a Supplement for the mobile Festivals and Fasts (*Mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe* 1953, 125–27) is concerned with the days of the Cycle of the Resurrection that do not fall on a Sunday and the ↗*Məḥəlla*;
3) the Lectionary of the Sundays provides indications for both the *Mäzmur*, or Psalm-verse characteristic of the Sunday (128–49) to read and the relevant part(s) of the ↗*Dəggʷa* according to the liturgical year. The Sundays are inserted within this framework, from which the *Mäzmur* is drawn – hymn of reference of Matins proper to each Sunday and which always matches a specific set of readings. The *incipit* of the *Mäzmur*, therefore, serves as a title or name for the Sunday to which it belongs and helps in sorting out the variances brought about by the ↗*aqʷaqʷam* schools (cf. Fritsch 2001:87–90). The Sundays are numbered from 1 to 80, the expected number of 52 Sundays being well exceeded because of both the many provisions arranged for all the possible occurrences and the 10 supplementary sections of the office of Palm-Sunday.

The M.g. edition of 1953, besides its reprints, has received two other presentations, in 1984 and 2002.

The M.g. of 1984 (Fritsch 2001:48f.) is a plenary lectionary totally written in Gəʿəz (hardly in use since the readings are generally performed in Amharic). It corresponds to the 1953 edition of the M.g., which it corrects at places and complements with the *in extenso* inclusion of the Psalm and ↗*Sälam* of the Sundays, in modern print.

The M.g. edition of 2002 is original insofar as it features the musical signs (*mələkkətočč*, Amh. pl. of ↗*Mələkkət*) of the Psalm-versicle (*məsbak*), adds the Tuesday and Wednesday of Nineveh as well as the Wednesday and Thursday of Nicodemus, presents additional occurrences of feasts falling on a Sunday and a *Mäzmur* for the Assumption.

The M.g. of 1986 is the other lectionary (cf. Fritsch 2001:50ff.). Organized as a full lectionary, with very short readings with no connection to the Sanctoral (except for the great Feasts, which could not be left aside), it aims at having each year the whole of the four Gospels and of the Pauline epistles read, regardless of the repetitions in the readings of the Catholic epistles and the Acts of the Apostles entailed. Meant to replace the editions of 1953 and 1986, it does not seem to enjoy large success.

A third M.g. has been published (2004) at the initiative of *mämhər* Yared Fanta. It is a ferial index ignoring most of the saintly commemorations of the Days in order to develop the specific character of the liturgical year of the *Dəggʷa*. In addition, it features a daily reading from the O.T., which is meant to enrich the communities' evening or morning prayer, as well as the homilies.

The manuscript tradition of the M.g. has not yet been properly studied. A first list of 39 manuscripts (including both lectionaries and indices) has been provided by Fritsch 2001:40ff. Few ancient documents are shown there, all within reach since those not at the British Library or the Vatican Library have been filmed by EMML. Other ancient texts surely exist. It would be worthwhile to compare them systematically, both among themselves and with the Coptic documents, so as to assess the exact nature and contents of the Egyptian origins, as well as the lines along which the "Ethiopianization" of the M.g. has been achieved.

Src.: *aläqa* WÄLDÄ RUFAʾEL, መጽሐፈ፡ አስልጢ (*Mäṣḥafä asəlṭi*, 'Manual'), Asmära 1914 A.M. [1921 A.D.]; መጽሐፈ፡ ግጻዌ፡ ዘይትነበብ፡ እምዓመት፡ እስከ፡ ዓመት፡ ወዘሰናብት፡ ዘየኀብር፡ ምስለ፡ መዝሙራት (*Mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe zäyətnäbbäb əmʿamät əskä ʿamät wäzäsänabət zäyäḫabbər məslä mäzmurat*, 'Lectionary of what is to be Read from Year to Year and of the Sundays, together with the *Mäzmur*'), Addis Abäba ^{1}1945 A.M. [1953 A.D.], ^{2}1958 A.M. [1966 A.D.], ^{3}1973 A.M. [1981 A.D.]; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), መጽሐፈ፡ ግጻዌ፡ ከዓመት፡ እስከ፡ ዓመት፡ በቅዳሴና፡ በማኅሌት፡ ጊዜ፡ በዘወትርና፡ በዕለት፡ ሰንበት፡ የሚነበብ፡ ባሕረ፡ ሀሳብ (*Mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe käʿamät əskä ʿamät bäqəddasenna bämaḫlet gize bäzäwätrənna bäʿəlät *sänbät yämminnäbbäb. Bahrä hasab*, 'Lectionary of what is to be Read from Year to Year, at Mass and at Matins, on the Days and on the Sundays. Computus'), Addis Abäba ¹1976 A.M. [1984 A.D.], ²1994 A.M. [2002 A.D]; **መጽሐፈ፡ ግጸዌ** (*Mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe*, 'The Lectionary'), Addis Abäba ¹1977 A.M. [1985 A.D.], ²1978 A.M. [1986 A.D.]; *mämhər abba* TƎʾUMÄ LƎSAN KIDANÄ MARYAM WÄLDÄ SÄMUʾEL WÄLDÄ Aʾ ƎLAF, **መጽሐፈ፡ ግጸዌ፡ ከነ፡ ምልክቱ፡ በጣዕመ፡ ዜማ፡ ዘደብረ፡ ዐባይ** (*Mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe kännä mələkkətu bäṭaʿəmä zema zädäbrä ʿAbbay*, 'Lectionary with the Musical Notations According to the Pleasant Music of Däbrä ʿAbbay'), Addis Abäba 1994 A.M. [2002 A.D.]; *aläqa* ASNAQÄ, "Index for the Sundays of all the Year", in: MÄŚÄRÄT SƎBḤAT LÄʾAB, **ትውፊታዊ፡ ኀሳበ፡ ዘመንና፡ ታሪኩ፡ በኢትዮጵያ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ አቋም** (*Təwfitawi ḫasabä zämänənna tariku bäʾityopya betä krəstiyan aqʷam*, 'The Traditional Computation and its History in the Position of the Church of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988 A.D.], 221–28; YARED FANTA, **መጽሐፈ፡ ግጸዌ፡ ሐዲስ፡ ዘተሰናአወ፡ በአርባዕቱ፡ ክፍላተ፡ አዝማን** (*Mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe ḥaddis zätäsänaʾawä bäʾarbaʿəttu kəflatä azman*, 'New Lectionary that Matches the Four Seasons'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.].

Lit.: *mamhər* LƎʾULÄ QAL, **ሥርዓተ፡ አምልኮ፡ ዘኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ከዓመት፡ ዓመት፡ በዕለተ፡ እሑድ፡ ሰንበት [ግጸዌና፡ ስብከት]** (*Śərʿatä amləko zäʾortodoks täwaḥədo. Käʿamät –ʿamät bäʿəlätä əḥud sänbät* [*Gəṣṣawenna səbkät*], 'The Worship of the Orthodox Täwaḥedo. From Year to Year, on the Sunday [The Lectionary and Preaching]'), vol. 1, Atlanta, GA 1994 A.M. [2001/02 A.D.], 314; PETER JEFFERY, "The Liturgical Year in the Ethiopian *Dəggʷa* (Chantbook)", in: EPHREM CARR et al. (eds.), Ευλόγημα: *Studies in Honor of Robert Taft S.J.*, Roma 1993 (Studia Anselmiana 110), 199–234; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, "The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church, I. The Temporal: Seasons and Sundays", *Ethiopian Review of Cultures* Special Issue 9–10, 2001; HabUff; UGO ZANETTI, *Les lectionnaires coptes annuels – Basse Egypte*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1985.

Emmanuel Fritsch – Ugo Zanetti

Gəšše

G. (**ግሼ**, also **ግሴ**, Gəsse) is a region situated in northern Šäwa, bordered by ↗Wärrä Illu (Wällo) in the north; it occupies the high plateau north of the Qaččine river and extended as far as the river Wänčit. Dayär, the local stronghold, is sometimes also called G. It is not impossible that the place was called G. by the Christian settlers who wanted to associate it with Gəšän of ↗Ambässäl (Wällo) and the monastery of ↗Amba Gəšän.

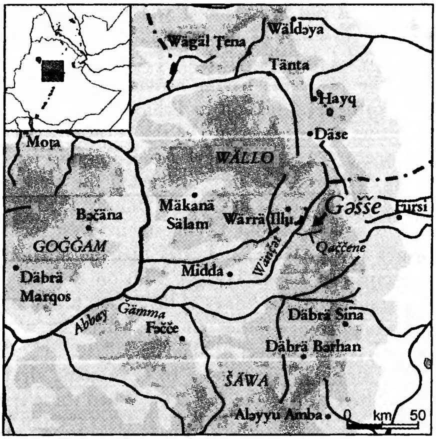
The history of G. is known only from the 14th cent. onward. Local tradition asserts that it was *aṣe* ↗Dawit II who Christianized this fringe of Šäwa as G. in the late 14th cent. In the 15th cent. *aṣe* Bäʿədä Maryam (1468–78) seems to have left Däbrä Bərhan around 1469 for ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq in Tägʷəlät to celebrate the annual feast of ↗*ʿƎräfta* on 21 *Mäskäram*. It was from there that he set out for Maʾəkäl Serfa in Mänz and went to G., where he was welcomed and received with joy by the ↗*säḥafe lam* of Amhara.

In the 16th cent., having arrived at Massawa, the Portuguese mission to Ethiopia set out attempting to visit the court of the "Prester John" – Emperor ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. According to Francisco ↗Alvarez, the mission visited the church of ↗Mäkanä Śəllase in G. on 1 January 1520 (its ruin is situated about 12 miles southwest from Wärrä Illu). Alvarez indicates that his mission accompanied Ləbnä Dəngəl, who on that very day transferred the bones of his father, Emperor ↗Naʿod, from another church where he was buried, to rest forever in Mäkanä Śəllase.

The strategic importance of G. became clear in the first half of the 16th cent. When the wars of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") shattered the political and economic foundation of the Ethiopian empire between 1527 and 1543, part of the royal family seem to have taken their refuge in the valley of Žäma-Adabay river basin and into the inaccessible mountain ranges of G., Mänz, ↗Gədəm, Efrata and ↗Anṣokiya.

G. has occupied a key place in the history of the kingdom of Šäwa as the monastery of Gäme Giyorgis in Gəšše Däga seems to have hosted ↗Yaʿəqob the son of Ləbnä Dəngəl, to whom members of the Šäwan dynasty claimed their dynastic origin. Though it is sometimes indicated that Yaʿəqob was hiding himself in the monastery of Gäme Maryam, situated in the cliffs near ↗Afqära in Mänz. He may have stayed in Gäme Giyorgis of Gəšše Däga. The problem in the sources seems to be the confusion between Gäme Giyorgis of Gəšše Däga and Gäme Maryam of Afqära in Mänz. In fact, the young fugitive may have taken his refuge at both monasteries in Mänz and G. Both the areas of Mänz and G. can be recognized as the nucleus for the birth of the kingdom of Šäwa and its leadership, whose family dominated the Ethiopian political scene until the Revolution of 1974.

After Aḥmad Grañ's wars and the subsequent ↗Oromo population movements, Šäwa disintegrated into rival principalities. A mountainous area of G. at the time seems to have been a principality on the edge of Qäččine river as far as Wayet which separated it from Wällo. The hereditary ↗*balabbat* of G., who probably lived in the 17th cent., was Awsabe or Awsabəyos. It was an autonomous principality and known to have been a traditional rival for Mänz throughout the



17th and 18th cent. In the early 18th cent. G. was once ruled by *ras* ↗Dəmetros, the Gondärine royal appointee of *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos, who established his capital near the hill of Dayär. It was later controlled by the rulers of Šäwa though the traditional chiefs of G. had not always been loyal to the Šäwan kingdom; yet they gave support to the Imperial army of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II of Gondär, under the command of *ras* ↗Waldä Ləᶜul and *ras* ↗Wädaǧo, during the war against *märədazmač* Abəyye of Šäwa. In late 18th and early 19th cent. G. was under the sway of *märədazmač* ↗Asfa Wäsän of Šäwa, who controlled it through the army of one of his officers (*abägazočč*) and his own skilful leadership.

Under *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa (r. 1813–47), G. was under warrior chiefs who could resist the challenges from the Oromo ↗Warra Qallu and ↗Argobba of Wällo. Sämmu Nəguś governed G. in 1835–40, he was then dismissed from power because he helped his rebellious brother to escape. In 1840 *ato* Zäwde, Śahlä Śəllase's other governor, was imprisoned for killing Ali Bərru, the son of Bərru Lubbo of Warra Qallu who, though in good terms with Śahlä Śəllase, had troubles with the frontier governor of G. Zäwde was succeeded by a certain Lenča (1841–42) who was, however, soon dismissed from the office and replaced. A certain Habtä Mikaᵓel and Ǧarra Mätäko were governors of G. at different times in 1842.

In 1870s G. was plundered by the forces of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV; another important event was the appointment over G. of *ras* ↗Wälde Aššagari (d. 1908) by Mənilək in the 1880s, before the former was sent to Gurageland. The authority over this area and its environs including Mänz, Gədəm, Efrata and Anṣokiya remained in the hand of Wälde's son *däǧǧazmač* Mäšäša right throughout early 20th cent.; he also led the Amhara of G. and the surrounding region against *nəguś* ↗Mikaᵓel of Wällo and his son *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu in 1916. During the Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1936–41, G. was a strong resistance base of the grandsons of *ras* Wälde such as *däǧǧazmač* Damṭäw Mäšäša and his brother Zäwgä as well as other local patriots. In the provincial administration of postwar modern Ethiopia (1941–74), it was a *wäräda* within the *awraǧǧa* of Mänz. A historical role of G. as a resistance base reappeared as such again in the 1970s following the fall of the imperial regime. It was a prominent stronghold of Bruke Dämisse, one of the stubborn enemies of the *Därg* Regime and the successor of the sons of *ras* ↗Bərru Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel, Märᵓəd and Mäsfən Bərru, who took up armed reistence in Afqära (Mänz); they all, however, were systematically defeated by the *Därg*.

Src.: interview with MAKʷÄNNƎN GAŠŠANÄH, Atayye, July 1986, December 1993; interview with AKLILU YƎFRU, Addis Abäba, December 1993; interview with MAKʷÄNNƎN RÄTTA, Karra Qore, July 1986; ARAYA ŚƎLLASE WÄRROTA, የመንዝ፡ ታሪክ (*Yämänz tarik*, 'A History of Mänz'), ms. in possession of the author, 1937 A.M. [1944/45 A.D.], 1–3, 7; PerrZarY 115f.; BeckHuntAlvar 236, 582; EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie dans le pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat*, Paris 1843, vol. 2, 283; GueCopMen 63, 82, 96; DTWDic 317, 319; EDUARD RÜPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, Frankfurt am Main 1838–40, vol. 2, 360; BegCron 13, 5, 90ff.; CHARLES WILHELM ISENBERG – JOHANNES LUDWIG KRAPF, *Journals of the Rev. Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf, Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, Detailing Their Proceedings in the Kingdom of Shoa...*, London 1968, 288, 314–20; BTafA 420f., 520–23, 742f., 887; AWTarik.

Lit.: AHMED HASSEN OMER, *Aspects of the History of Efrata-Jille Wareda (Shoa Region) with Particular Reference to the Twentieth Century*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1987, 4f., 46ff.; ID., *A Historical Survey of Ethnic Relations in Yefat and Temmuga: Northeast Shäwa, 1889–1974*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1994, 87–91; ID., "Close yet Far: Northern Shäwa under the Derg", in: WENDY JAMES et al. (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*, Oxford 2002, 80f.; BudHist vol. 2, 434ff.; EgeClass 18, 25ff., 37, 150, 166–69, 173.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Geta

Däǧǧazmač G. (ጌታ, full name ጌታ፡ አቢየ፡ ሥልጣን, Geta Abiyyä Śəlṭan; 18th cent.) was an uncle of *ətege* Məntäwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa).

He was the grandson of *ras* Niqolawos and the cousin of Ǝnkoyye, Məntəwwab's mother. The accession of *ətege* Məntəwwab's son, *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II, was opposed by a rebellion in 1732, in the suppression of which G. was active. In 1739, G. was appointed *däğğazmač* of Bägemdər, when he began to stand out as a prominent military campaigner. In 1755, he helped smooth the accession of *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas I. In 1767, he was appointed ↗*bitwäddäd*, but in this leading office was unable to stem the tide running against his faction and faded from the scene in the 1770s.

Src.: Guilyas, passim; BlunChr 8, 17.
Lit.: CrumLand, s. index.

Donald Crummey

Getaččäw Abatä

Ras G.A. (**ጌታቸው፡ አባተ**, b. Wällo, d. 1950) was the son of *ras* ↗Abatä Bʷayaläw and was also related to Empress ↗Mänän Asfaw, the wife of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I. He grew up at the Imperial Court together with Iyasu, Täfäri and other sons from aristocratic families. He attended ↗Mənilək II School (MahHorse 287).

When his father died in 1917, G.A. was already an important official of the Zäwditu-Täfäri government, and was instrumental in Täfäri's consolidation of power afterwards. From 1917 to 1933 he received a number of quick promotions and soon became a leading dignitary, second to *ras* Kaśa Ḫaylu.

Before World War II, G.A. held various offices: minister, ambassador and administrator. In 1918 *däğğazmač* G.A. led a delegation, sent by the Ethiopian government, to congratulate the victors of the war. He was a signatory of the 1931 ↗Constitution, and in 1933 was promoted to *ras* and became governor of ↗Käfa. As governor, G.A. moved soldiers recruited from Käfa to the northern war front to defend the country against Italian assaults.

At the battle of ↗Mayc̣äw, G.A. was one of the three principal commanders Ḫaylä Śəllase designated to lead the Ethiopian army. After the Emperor's defeat, G.A. accompanied him to Addis Abäba. From there, he travelled with Ḫaylä Śəllase into exile in Palestine. During the summer of 1936, G.A. was selected as a prominent member of a secret imperial mission sent to Gore to help *ras* ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase reorganize the Provisional Government there. But when he reached Cairo, G.A. submitted to the Italian authorities and returned to Addis Abäba. This incident transformed G.A.'s status as a war leader, before the occupation, to an obscure official under Italian viceroys.

In 1941 G.A. submitted to Ḫaylä Śəllase at Fəčče, on the latter's victory journey from Däbrä Marqos to Addis Abäba. He was sent to *gəzot* (banishment) in Ǧimma and then in Kämbata where he died on 8 September 1950. His remains were, however, later transferred to Addis Abäba (MahHorse 287).

Src.: MahZekr; MahHorse 287; GÄBRÄ WÄLD ƎNGƎDA WÄRQ, **ማይጨው** (*Mayc̣äw*), Addis Abäba 1947 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.], 97, 103, 117, 125, 133; KÄBBÄDÄ TÄSÄMMA, **የታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ** (*Yätarik mastawäša*, 'Historical Memoirs'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], ^{2}1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.], 145, 166, 337, 416f.; ḪƎYWÄT ḪƎDARU, **ያቺ፡ ቀን፡ ተረሳች** (*Yačči qän täräsačč*, 'Is that Day Forgotten?'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.], 28f., 34, 45; *aṣe* ḪAYLÄ ŚƎLLASE I, **ሕይወቴና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ እርምጃ** (*Ḥəywätenna yäʾityop̣ya ərməğa*, 'My Life and Ethiopia's Progress'), Addis Abäba 1965–66 A.M. [1972/73–73/74 A.D.], vol. 1, 40, 98, 176f., 229–33; vol. 2, 27, 309 (tr. as HSLife).
Lit.: PerGov 83f., 321f.; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, New York 1965, 200, 216, 222f., 237; MockWar 113–18, 121f., 133f., 136, 151, 391; BZHist 167.

Seltene Seyoum

Gəṭəm

G. (**ግጥም**) is an Amharic term meaning 'poetry, lyrics, poem, verse'. It has the verbal counterpart in the verb *gäṭṭämä* meaning 'to compose poetry', but, first, 'to join/be joined together, to match'. Ethiopian ↗poetry can most generally be divided into ↗*qəne* and G., the latter being defined as secular poetry composed in Amharic, oral or written. In practice, the division is not very sharp, as the Amharic poetry may well be religious and is also sometimes called *qəne*, the latter term, however, being mostly reserved by its definition for religious poetry in ↗Gəʿəz, composed upon traditionally established and precise patterns.

In a way, G. is a "modernizing" term, since G., being originally nothing else but the oral texts of (folklore) ↗songs, are usually sang or at least recited, and thus usually appear as an integrative part of the songs (Fäqadä Azzäzä 1999:84f.; cp. the neologism *qalgəṭəm* 'oral poetry'). Since the traditional Ethiopian culture has no clear-cut distinction between G. and the songs (except for the mode of performance), the term *gäṭṭämä* originally refers to the technical operation of composing verses (cp. DTWDic 252f.; GuiVoc 784), mostly rhyming them in the final syllable, carried out, e.g., by ↗*azmari* (who can immediately apply G. to a melody and sing or recite a song on a given subject), ↗*lalibäločč*, dirge-singers (*alqaš*; ↗Funerals) or less professional individuals involved in the event in which different songs are performed. At the same time, the scholars who describe traditional (Amharic) poetry and its metrical patterns usually give indications regarding the type of music or an instrument which accompanies these patterns (like ↗*bägäna*, ↗*mäsinqo* or ↗*kərar*).

The poetry (i.e. G.) plays a major role in the life of the Amharic-speaking highland agriculturalists (this being valid, in fact, for almost all societies of Ethiopia), and those who can recite traditional poems and compose new ones enjoy respect (about East Goǧǧam or Southern Wälläga, s. Pankhurst in PNCES I, 462; Getie Gelaye 2000). Consequently, people compose and recite different kinds of G. during the agricultural activities, journeys, at weddings and funerals and other important occasions, when feeling lonely or sad, when facing injustice, or to express their feelings and share them with the others. Therefore, a large variety of oral poetry genres appeared, defined as, e.g., **የሥራ፡ ግጥም** (*yäśəra gəṭəm*, 'work poetry'), **የሠርግ፡ ግጥም** (*yäśärg gəṭəm*, 'wedding poetry'; Taddäsä Mulat 1970), **የለቅሶ፡ ግጥም** (*yäläqso gəṭəm*, 'funeral poetry') or **የልጆች፡ ግጥም** (*yäləǧočč gəṭəm*, 'children's songs'; Getie Gelaye 1999, 2000:110; cp. Fäqadä Azzäzä 1991:87). The genres of oral poetry differ depending on the socio-political conditions of the people composing it. The semantic categories most recurrent in Ethiopian folk poetry are: love, death, God, suffering, bread, courage, violation of sex norms, time, land, cowardice etc. (Araaya Hailu 1972:339). According to the subject, Amharic poetry can be divided into, e.g., historical, love, educational and political poetry (KaneLit 16). Historical and political streams seem to be the most vivid and intensively exploited, with the use of the traditional ↗*sämənna wärq* technique, which is particularly suitable for expressing a critical attitude towards political reality by hiding it under the cover of metaphors, allegories, allusions and word plays.

Due to the scholarly efforts starting from the 19th cent. onward a large corpus of the Amharic poetry has been collected, but only a few analytical works have appeared since that time. During the same time, G., being originally oral, has undergone a process of diversification into written and oral compositions. Yet, we do not know exactly when the first written poem appeared. For example, oral poems in praise of some Ethiopian emperors known as "royal songs" (Guidi 1889) were probably composed as early as in the 14th cent., but were written down later. The rhymed "strophes" recorded by Antoine d'↗Abbadie point to the high skill of composing epic poems, but they were written down by chance only (Berhanu Abbebe 1970; 1985); the 19th-cent. "versed Vita" of St. Cyriacus in Amharic, composed by a certain Yämaryam Barya, appears to be one of a few exceptional cases (Sengal 1945; RicLett 854). Nowadays, though the tradition of written poetry is spreading in Ethiopia, speaking of G. we most often mean oral poetry composed by rural society which is mostly identified with "folk poetry".

Next to the "folk poetry", there is poetry composed in a written form by Ethiopia's intellectual elite. This poetry is represented, e.g., by ↗Mängəśtu Lämma's **የግጥም፡ ጉባኤ** (*Yägəṭəm guba'e*, 'Collection of Poetry'), ↗Käbbädä Mika'el's **ብርሃነ፡ ሕሊና** (*Bərhanä ḥəllina*, 'Light of the Mind'), ↗Däbbäbä Säyfu's **የብርሃን፡ ፍቅር** (*Yäbərhan fəqr*, 'Love of Light') and Sälomon Deressa, whose volume **ልጅነት** (*Ləǧənnät*, 'Childhood'), published in Addis Abäba in 1969 A.M., is written in blank verse.

Some attempts of classification have been done regarding the structure of G., i.e. the number of syllables, the type of rhyme, the rhythmical pattern and the number of lines in a verse. Starting from distinguishing G., modern Amharic poets came to the discussion on the theory of Amharic versification and developed its terminology (also drawing upon the technical terminology of *qəne* poetry). The following elements can be distinguished in G.: **ስንኝ** (*sənnəñ*) – the rhythm/run of a poem (lit. 'the well-sounding'); **ሐረግ** (*ḥaräg*) – a half of a *sənnəñ* (Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos 1948); **ቤት** (*bet*) – the verse (lit. 'house', hense *betun mätta* 'to rhyme', lit. 'to hit the house'). *Bet* and *sənnəñ* have close meanings. One line of G., a *bet*, is counted according to the number of characters of the syllabary, whereas for the *sənnəñ* the number of syllables is counted (which is important to distinguish rhythmical patterns).

Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos (1948:212ff.) defines eight patterns of G.; Mängiśtu Lämma presents 13 patterns of G., but reduces them to three basic rhythmical patterns, i.e. **ቡሄ፡ በሉ** (*buhe bälu*) with eight syllables in a two-line verse, **ደንበኛ** (*dänbäñña*) with twelve syllables in a verse and **ሰንጎ፡ መገን** (*sängo mägän*) with ten syllables in a verse. The same classification proposes an additional group of ten mixed rhythmical patterns which are combinations of the above three basic patterns, each mixed type being a representation of some sort of *zäfän* ('song'). For example, the *bägäna sälamta* G. pattern is a combination of all the three basic patterns; a *ḥəgä-wäṭ bet* is a combination of *sängo mägän* and *dänbäñña bet*. Neither *bägäna sälamta* or *ḥəgä-wäṭ bet* rhymes (Mängəśtu Lämma 1963: 148f.). In fact, the list of mixed patterns is not yet closed: in the process of collecting oral literature, new examples of G. and *zäfän* are provided. On the basis of Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos 1948 and Klingenheben 1959, Kane recognizes up to 19 G. patterns (KaneLit 25f.).

Src.: BERHANU ABBEBE, "Hamina: distiques amhariques d'après une transcription d'Antoine d'Abbadie", *AE* 8, 1970, 89–101; ID., "Une chronique rimée, d'après un texte recueilli par Antoine d'Abbadie", *ibid.* 13, 1985, 45–53, pl. I–III; DTWDic 252f.; THMDic 1097f.; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez–amariña in onore di Re abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4ª, 5, 1889, 55–66; ELENA SENGAL, "Poemetto amarico in onore di San Quirico", in: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), *Studi Etiopici*, Roma 1945, 41–58.

Lit.: ARAAYA HAILU, *Ten Semantic Categories most Recurrent in Ethiopian Folk Poetry, their Sociolinguistic Bases*, Ph.D. thesis, Georgetown University 1972; GuiVoc 784; GETIE GELAYE, "Contemporary Amharic Oral Poetry from Gojjam: Classification and a Sample Analysis", *Aethiopica* 1999, 2, 124–43; ID., *Peasants and the Ethiopian State: Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives and Their Reflections in Amharic Oral Poetry; a Case Study in Yetnora, East Gojjam, 1975–1991*, Münster 2000 (Forschungen zu Sprachen und Kulturen Afrikas 7); FÄQADÄ AZZÄZÄ, የሥነ-ቃል መምሪያ (*Yäśənä qal mämriya*, 'Introduction to Oral Literature'), Addis Abäba 1991 A.M. [1999 A.D.]; KaneLit 25f.; AUGUST KLINGENHEBEN, "Zur Amharischen Poesie", *RSE* 15, 1959, 5–20; MÄNGƎŚTU LÄMMA, "የአማርኛ፡ ግጥም" (*Yäʾamarəñña gəṭəm*, 'Amharic Poetry'), *JES* 1, 2, 1963, 133–50; MÄRSƎᶜE ḪAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, የአማርኛ፡ ሰዋስው (*Yäʾamarəñña säwasəw*, 'Amharic Grammar'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.], 212–20; ALULA PANKHURST, "Amakkelech Denkʾu, the Amazing Jigger Flea: Amharic Couplets Interpreting a Settler Environment", in: *PNCES* 1, 461–78; SÄYFU MÄTTAFÄRIYA, "የፎክሎር (I)፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት – ጥንቀራ፡ ቅድመ-ዝግጅት (*Yäfoklor* [I] *mäzgäbä-qalat qədmä-zəggǧət*, 'A Folklore Dictionary: a Preliminary Collection')", *JES* 26–1, 1993, 73–116; TADDÄSÄ MULAT, "በሠርግ፡ ዘፈኖች፡ ውስጥ፡ የሚታዩ፡ የአማርኛ፡ ግጥሞች (*Bäśärg zäfänočč wəsṭ yämmitayyu yäʾamarəñña gəṭəmočč*, 'Amharic Verses Appearing in the Nuptial Songs')", *JES* 8, 2, 1970, 155–70; RicLett 851f. ["Letteratura in lingua amarica"].

Laura Łykowska

Getesemane Maryam

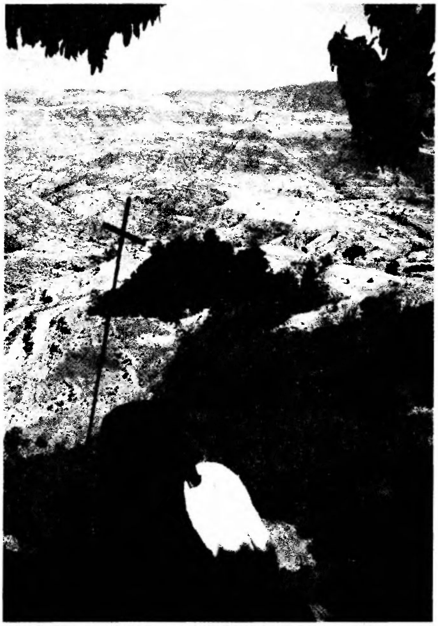
G.M. (**ጌቴሴማኔ፡ ማርያም**, also Getisemani) is a monastery in the Gonč̣a gorge (Moṭa), in the extreme north-east of ↗Goǧǧam (approximately 11°10'N, 38°40'E).

Once an important monastic establishment, it is now in decline. The early history of G.M. has been little studied, and the monastery seldom visited by Ethiopian or foreign travellers or scholars. Documents in manuscripts at ↗Däbrä Wärq indicate that the area around G.M. was given to the former by *aṣe* Dawit II (ca. 1380–1412), while traditions of ↗Däbrä Libanos attribute the foundation of G.M. to ↗Naᶜod Mogäsa (late 14th/early 15th cent.). Yet, the monastery seems to have been established only after the middle of the 15th cent. as a satellite of Däbrä Wärq. Hagiographies kept at the latter place mention the names of two monks active in its early period: the monastery's founder *abunä* ↗Śärṣä Peṭros from the district of Ǝnnäbäse, a disciple of *mämhər* Täklä Maryam of ↗Märṭulä Maryam, who lived during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Bäʾəda Maryam I, and *abba* Robel, who may have been a younger brother of Śärṣä Peṭros. An iron abbot's staff shown to visitors at G.M. is said to have belonged to abbot Robel. G.M. soon came to enjoy royal favor, for the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl mentions his visit to it in the 21st year of reign, i.e. 1529, in the course of a royal tour that included several other monastic formations of north-eastern Goǧǧam. The monastery's importance is attested by the fact that it was selected to receive one of the St. Luke icons allegedly brought by *aṣe* Dawit "from Egypt".

G.M. appears to have attracted the Italian artist Nicolò ↗Brancaleone, who was active in Ethiopia in the late 15th-early 16th cent. and may have spent several years there. Icons signed by him and others unsigned but in his style have been discovered there. Several of these are now in the possession of the Museum of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Abäba. Brancaleone's richly illustrated 33-folio modelbook is kept in the nearby monastery of Wafä Iyäsus. It has close affinity with the G.M. icons. The register of ↗*gʷəlt* possessions in the church at Däbrä Marqos reveals a late-19th-cent. dispute over seniority among the monasteries of north-eastern Goǧǧam to which G.M. was a party. It seems to have been settled by *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam.

Src.: interview with Habtamu Mängəśte, 2002; PAUL B. HENZE, *Trek into the Gojjam Back Country, 25 Jan–5 Feb 1995*, ms., 1995.

Lit.: ChojPaint 61, 110, 126, 161, 237, 293f., 315, 384, 388–92, 428, 443f.; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Field Trip to Eastern Gojjam", *IES Bulletin* 4, 1995, 6–10; MARCEL COHEN, "Dabra Warq", in: *Mélanges René Basset. Études*



View over the Gonč̣a Gorge from Getesemane Maryam; photo 2002, courtesy of the author

nord-africaines et orientales, Paris 1923 (Publication de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines 10) , vol. 1, 143–62, DIANA SPENCER, "In Search of St. Luke Icons in Ethiopia", *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 67–96; EAD., "Travels in Gojjam: St. Luke Icons and Brancaleon Rediscovered", *ibid.* 12, 2, 1974, 201–20.

Paul B. Henze

Geto

Geto language

The G. language (one of the *Säbat bet* ↗Gurage, s. map for Gurage) is known as G. by linguists, while its speakers, as well as the other *Säbat bet* Gurage, call it *Gʸäta*, or *Gʸät-ina*. G. is classified as part of the Peripheral Western Gurage branch of the South ↗Ethio-Semitic languages. G. is spoken south of ↗Čaha, east of ↗Ǝnnämor and west of ↗Səlṭi.

Palatalized and labialized velar consonants are phonemic. Some suffixes trigger processes of palatalization and labialization of all velar consonants. E.g., the suffix of the 2nd pers. sg. fem. subject causes palatalization, the suffix of the 3rd pers. sg. masc. brings about labialization and the impersonal suffix occasions both palatalization and labialization.

The verb agrees with the subject and with a efinite object. There are no case-, number- or gender-markers on the noun. However, there are few words where the singular is different from the plural, e.g. *äraŋ*, 'a cow' vs. *array*, 'cows'.

The independent pronouns are: *əya*, 'I', *ina*, 'we', *aḫä*, 'you (masc. sg.)', *aḫʾa*, 'you (fem. sg.)', *aḫwa*, 'you (masc. pl.)', *aḫma*, 'you (fem. pl.)', *ḫʷuta*, 'he', *ḫʾita*, 'she', *ḫuno*, 'they (masc.)' and *ḫənäŋa*, 'they (fem.)'. Demonstrative pronouns are: *zə*, 'this, these' and *ḫa*, 'that, those'.

The copula in its present tense is suffixed to its complement: *gʷad-u* 'it is white', *dengʸa-no* 'they are boys'. In the past and future tenses, it is an independent word: *gʷad banätä* 'it was white', *dengʸa yiḫrošä/yiḫärote* 'they may/will be boys'.

The G. elementary ten word-list is: *aat* 'one', *ḫʷet*, 'two', *soʾost*, 'three', *əsaat*, 'fire', *iḫa*, 'water', *ayät* 'sun', *bänä* 'moon', *däŋ*, 'blood', *anäät*, 'tongue', *šən*, 'tooth'.

G. is a Subject-Object-Verb language, e.g.

Maruta	*diinča*	*qäpärä*
Maruta	potato	plant

'Maruta planted potatoes'.

Lit.: WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*, vol. 1: *Individual Dictionaries*, Wiesbaden 1979, 619–750; ROBERT HETZRON, *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977 (Ricerche IUO 12).

Degif Petros Banksira

Geto ethnography

The G. (also Gʸeto, Gʸäta, Geta or Yäč̣ärät) were a member-group/district of the confederation of *Aməst bet* ↗Gurage ('Five Houses of Gurage') and later joined the *Säbat bet* Gurage ('Seven Houses of Gurage') confederation. The G. district is surrounded by the territories of the ↗Gumär, ↗Ǝndägañ, ↗Ǝnnämor, ↗Čaha and Azärnät-Bärbäre (↗Səlṭi). Today G. is part of Gumär and Geta *wäräda* of Gurage Zone (formerly it was part of the ↗Č̣äbo – Gurage *awrağğa*). The G. part of the *wäräda* is formed by around 13 *qäbälä*. The most important settlement is Qabul on the Ǝndəbər–Hossäyna road. Other significant locations in G. are Qʷante Səgba, the place of the traditional G. assembly, and the churches of Abo Giyorgis and Agata Maryam. In the 1920s G. was the residence of the Soddo Gurage princess *wäyzäro* Wällätä Śəllase, a mistress of *aṣe* Mənilək II (Azaïs – Chambard 1931:151ff.). The most-important river in G. is the river Wenqe. G. is characterized by a high population-density (today 366 inhabitants per km^2), and intensive agriculture with a strong role for ↗*ənsät* cultivation.

The G. migrated from Čaha and over a long period of time expanded eastwards, starting from Qʷante Səgba. The G. maintained a constant peaceful as well as hostile relationship with their neighbours, such as the Gumär and Azärnät-Bärbäre (and other Səlṭi-speaking groups), with whom they competed for the fertile highland west and north of Mount Mugo.

Like the other Gurage "houses", G. is composed of a number of sub-groups of different origin which have inter-group/inter-ethnic clan-relations with other regions in Gurage and beyond. The two main ancestors of the G. are Märawədäñe, who, in oral tradition, is linked to the army of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (r. 1434–68), and a certain Bäräsəye. Bäräsəye's origin is said to be either "Arabic" via *šayḫ* Bašīr, a co-combatant of Umär, the father of *ḥāǧǧī* Aliyye of Səlṭi, or, less supported by oral tradition, Oromo (Dənbäru Alämu et al. 1987:85f.; ShGurage 104). The Idik clan, which has a certain sacral role in traditional Gurage religion as well as in Islam, also derives itself from the line of *šayḫ* Bašīr.

Trimingham (TrIslam 186; cp. also ShGurage 36) reports a majority of "paganism" and (Orthodox) Christianity, but additionally Islam is the most recently established since the campaigns of *imām* ↗Ḥasän Ǝnǧamo and the conversion to Islam of the late G. leader *abagaz* (then *imām*) Hamdəno from the Humarad clan at the end of the 19th cent. Today, various Protestant and Catholic denominations are to be found as well. In the G.-Gurage folk-religion the spirit ↗*Waq* is called *Mando* (Shack – Habte Mariam Marcos 1974:54, note).

Src.: author's own data from Ç̣änç̣än and Sabola, Geto, November 2004.

Lit.: ShGurage 40, 104; WILLIAM A. SHACK — HABTE MARIAM MARCOS, *Gods and Heros, Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1974, 124, 126f., 134–41; BrHad 168, 189f., 190, 202; DƎNBÄRU ALÄMU et al., ጎጎት ፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብኄረሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ (*Gogot. Yägurage bəḫeräsäb tarik, bahələnna qʷanqʷa*, 'Gogot, the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.], 85f.; P. R. [FRANÇOIS] AZAÏS – ROGER CHAMBARD, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Éthiopie*, Paris 1931, 151ff.; TrIslam 186.

Dirk Bustorf

Gəyon ↗Wäliso

Geyz

G. is a rural production-oriented institution which serves as the ↗Gurage counterpart of the ↗*däbo* or *qərre* system common in other parts of Ethiopia (Aspen 1993; Kebebew Daka 1978). G. is an institution by means of which interested farmers pool together labour and other resources such as farm implements and construction tools in a work party that they organize, usually on a neighbourhood level. The main purpose of G. is to facilitate help among farmers during peak agricultural seasons. A G. work party could also be organized to help poor households or others who may need the help of such a group. Thus, households headed by women and others that have capacity constraints may get help through G.

According to a study conducted in 1998, among 300 households surveyed in the Čaha *wäräda* of Gurage zone, 91 % of farming households relied on others' help to perform major agricultural activities. From among the various labour sources, the largest proportion of households' labour access is facilitated by collective work arrangements. In the main agricultural production season preceding the survey, G. constituted the main labour source in land preparation for 37.2 % of the respondents, in ploughing/digging for 38.1 % of them, in planting/sowing for 23.4 % and in weeding for 28.1 % of them (Getinet Assefa 1999).

In a typical G. group, an average of 8 to 12 men work jointly in main agricultural activities. G. operates on a tacit understanding and agreement between people who want to help each other on such activities. A neighbourhood level of organizing G. is a common practice, although all neighbours may not necessarily work together in such an institution. It could be observed that the formation of a G. at a neighbourhood level offers advantages of economy of time and better access to farm animals and implements (author's own field-notes).

G.-based work is performed for group members on a rotational basis. When ready with his land, food and drinks to be provided on the work party, an individual member requests his G. partners to help him on a particular day. Usually, work schedules are agreed upon in advance. Most G.-based works are started in the morning and last for several hours, depending on the amount of work. A particular work party is concluded with coffee and *qolo* (roasted grain or beans) or *wusa* (*koččo*, s. ↗Bread) at the host's house. While having the coffee, the participants discuss the program for the next G. work and anything related thereto.

↗Agriculture

Src.: author's own field-notes.
Lit.: HARALD ASPEN, *Competition and Cooperation: North Ethiopian Peasant Households and their Resource Base*, Uppsala 1993 (Working Paper on Ethiopian Development 7); KEBEBEW DAKA, *The Cooperative Movement in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa University 1978; GETINET ASSEFA, *Indigenous Institutions and Local Development Initiatives: Cases from Gurage Areas of Ethiopia*, M.A. thesis, School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University 1999.

Getinet Assefa

Gəzaw Ḫaylä Maryam

G. (ግዛው፡ ኃይለ፡ ማርያም; b. 1910 Kabi, d. 1989, Addis Abäba) was a scholar and politician. Son of ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Śärabiyon and *wäyzäro* Mirgiya Zämädkun, he was baptized in Seyadäbrä Lədätä Maryam, northern Šäwa. After completing the first grade of traditional church education and Mənilək II Elementary school, G. was sent to Switzerland in 1923 for studying. From there, G. moved to Germany to pursue his education in agricultural science, but soon had to return to Ethiopia due to the political turmoil following Nazi accession to power.

During the Italian occupation (↗Italian war 1935) G. had to flee to a remote village in the district of Gəndbärät (western Šäwa) where he founded the first water mill and a dairy farm. Upon Ḫaylä Śəllase I's return G. got a post in the Ministry of Pen; later on he was transferred to the office of ↗Täʾammərat Amanuʾel as a senior advisor. In a few years G. was transferred to the Department of Antiquities and National Library.

From 1954, G. took an active part in the French-Ethiopian archaeological investigation, cooperating with Francis Anfray, Roger Schneider and other French archaeologists – mainly due to his good knowledge of Gəʿəz, Sabaic, Amharic, Təgrəñña and Oromiffa, as well as of foreign languages such as French, German, English and Italian. The historical and archaeological activity took him to historical places of Aksum, Yəḥa, Zula, Gondär, Sidamo, Harär and Šäwa (Awaš, Mälka Qunṭure) for over 16 years.

As a result of these archaeological expeditions and painstaking work G. produced several historical works and articles (e.g., his manuscripts on the History of Oromo or the History of Aksum); he also translated the resumes of Anfray's and Schneider's articles into Amharic for the ↗*Annales d'Éthiopie*.

After the collection of ancient manuscripts, coins, statue, and various artefacts assembled during the archaeological expeditions had been recorded in the *Annales d'Éthiopie*, a museum where the items could be displayed and safeguarded was conceived. G. was the founder of the Ethiopian National Museum and its first Director. The museum was located in the present Bankers Club, which was close to the office of the Archaeological Institute.

G. retired in 1972. During his service as a governmental civil servant he was awarded two Gold Medals and a certificate of Merit from the Ethiopian Government. He was buried at the Gännätä Ləʿul Iyäsus Church in Addis Abäba.

Src.: GƎZAW ḪAYLÄ MARYAM, የኦሮሞ፡ ታሪክ (*Yäʾoromo tarik*, 'The History of the Oromo'), ms.; ID., የአጼ፡ ሀይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ (*Yäʾaṣe Haylä Śəllase aç̣çər tarik*, 'A Short Biography of Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase'), 2 vols., ms.; ID., የአክሱም፡ ታሪክ (*Yäʾaksum tarik*, 'The History of Aksum'), ms.; ID., በአድዋ፡ አውራጃ፡ የተገኘ፡ የታሪክ፡ ቅርስ (*Bäʾadwa awrağğa yätägäñña yätarik qərs*, 'Historical Artefacts that are Found in Adwa'), Addis Abäba 1952 A.M. [1959 A.D.]; ID., የኢትዮጵያ፡ መንግስት፡ የጥንታዊ፡ ታሪካዊ፡ ቅርስ፡ አስተዳደር። የአርኪዮሎጂ፡ ቍፋሮ (*Yäʾityoṗya mängəst yäṭəntawi tarikawi qərs astädadär. Yäʾarkäyoloği Qʷəfaro*, 'Administration of Ancient Ethiopian Cultural Heritage. Archaeological Expedition'), Addis Abäba 1966; ID., "በአክሱም፡ ዙሪያ፡ በምላዞና፡ በመዶጌ፡ ስለተገኙት፡ ጥንታውያን፡ የታሪክ፡ ዕቃዎች፡ መግለጫ Objects Found in the Neighbourhood of Aksum", *AE* 1, 1955, 43–51; ID., ስለኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥነ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ እርምጃ። የኢትዮጵያ፡ ገደማት፡ በሥነ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ የነበራቸው፡ አገልግሎት (*Səläʾityoṗya śənä ṣəḥuf yänäbbäraččäw agälgəlät*, 'The Progress of Ethiopian Literature. The Contribution of the Ethiopian Churches towards Ethiopian Literature'), Addis Ababa 1963; ID., ዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ከታሪካቸው፡ እና፡ ከሙያቸው (*Dagmawi Mənilək kätarikaččäw ənna kämuyaččäw*, 'Mənilək II from his History and his Deeds'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963 A.D.]; ID. (tr.), "የደቡብ፡ ቁም፡ ድንጋዮች፡ በሸዋና፡ በሲዳሞ፤ በደቡብ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ስለተገኙት፡ ሀውልቶች፡ የቀረበ፡ አጠር፡ ያለ፡ ጥናትና፡ ምርምር፡ በፍራንሲስ፡ አንፍ The Stelae of South in Šäwa and Sidamo, a Short Study and Investigation about the Stelae Found in the South of Ethiopia, by Francis Anfray", *AE* 12, 1982, 9–42; ID. (tr.), "አንድ፡ ጽሕፍት፡ ያለበት፡ የኤዛና፡ ድንጋይ (ሀውልት) በሮዠ፡ ሽናይደር A Stela of Ezana Bearing an Inscription, by Roger Schneider", *ibid.* 12, 1982, 225–29; ID. (tr.), በየሐ፡ የተደረገ፡ የአርኪዮሎጂ፡ ቍፋሮ። በፍራንሲስ፡ አንፍሬ፡ ተጻፈ (*BäYäḥa yätädärrägä yäʾarkäyoloği qʷəfaro. BäFransis Anfre täṣafä*, 'The Archaeological Excavations Carried out in Yəḥa. Written by Francis Anfray'), Addis Abäba 1963.
Lit.: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 6, 1007.

Mekonnen Retta

Gəzrät ↗Circumcision

Ghistele, Joos van

G. (b. 1446, Gent, d. 17 April 1516, Zuiddorpe) was a Flemish nobleman and knight in the service of Charles II the Bold, Duke of Lorraine. In Cologne Cathedral, where the supposed relics of the

↗Magi (Mt 2:11) were kept, he read a booklet in which it was said that any pilgrim from the Low Countries would be well received in the land of the ↗Prester John if he were to bring gifts which had been in contact with the relics of the Three Wise Men. Together with the chaplain Jan (van) Quisthout and his friends Joris van Ghistele, Jan van Vaernewijck and Joris Palijnck, G. decided to travel to ↗Abyssinia. He departed on 15 September 1481 and returned on 23 June 1485. He travelled to Palestine (↗Jerusalem), ↗Egypt, the Sinai, Perim (Aden; ↗Yemen), Syria, Northern Persia, the Greek Archipelago and North Africa, never reaching the realm of Prester John. From 1492 to 1494 G. was the Lord Chamberlain of Gent. The coat of arms of his home town of Zuiddorpe (in Axel), three exotic plants on a yellow field, is meant to illustrate G.'s travel.

G. recorded what he saw and heard in the account he completed upon his return, ca. 1490. *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele* consists of eight books, subdivided into altogether 210 parts and containing many details he collected from the Ethiopians he met in Cairo and Jerusalem. In Book I, 2 (Gaspar 1998:34f.), dealing with Oriental Churches, G. gives a description of the "Abassinen" or "Indians" (↗"India"). Christians living in various kingdoms of Ethiopia and Nubia under the jurisdiction of "pape Jan" (Pope John, i.e. Prester John), they grow black in the course of life because of the burning sun, but are never as dark as the Saracens i.e. the ↗Moors. Healthy-looking, fine-limbed, lean and womanlike, they are sparing with words, usually barefooted, hard-working and living frugally.

G.'s "Abassinen" are devout and resemble the Jacobites in many respects. Their ↗eucharist is made of leavened bread, they give communion to young children, and at their services three stand together at the altar in honour of the three Magi, who are kept in high reverence because they came from their lands. Laymen, priests and clerics perform the ceremonies with chanting, jumping and hand-clapping, most of them holding sticks in their hands (↗*Däbtära*). At all their services they use censers (↗*Maᶜətänt*) to please the Lord with the ↗incense.

G. finds the Ethiopian church in Jerusalem most resembling a northern European one. He praises the Ethiopians' austerity and abstinence which they esteem above all other virtues and remarks upon their practices of ↗circumcision (in reverence of Christ who was also circumcized) and scarification (to mark off Christians; ↗Body ornamentation). The Christian "Indians" always carry or wear a ↗cross and are privileged in comparison to the "pagans" in everyday life. The priests wear black cloaks which remind G. of Portuguese style (↗Clothing) and headwear ("draped blue bandages"). In Book II, 18 and 24 (Gaspar 1998:88, 96) G. describes the Ethiopian monastery in Jerusalem (↗Dayr as-Sulṭān) and the chapel inside the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

G.'s account (Book III, 18, Gaspar 1998:192) mentions the role the Nile (↗Abbay) played in relations between Abyssinia and Egypt. The *sulṭān* greatly fears "pape Jan's" alleged ability to change the river's course – for if the Nile would not flow across Egypt most of the country would be inhabited and barren – and therefore tries to entertain friendly relations with the Christian ruler by sending him every year fine gifts and presents. Abyssinians in Egypt also enjoy great privileges. In Book III, 27 (Gaspar 1998:207ff.), G. provides a detailed description of a large monastery in "De Almarach" (↗Dayr al-Muḥarraq; Gaspar 1998:231 n. 139) where Mary and Jesus are said to have lived during their stay in Egypt, with ca. 30 "Abassinen", Greeks and Jacobites.

G. writes that from Aden merchants travel to Hormuz, and southwards to the lands of Abyssinia, in particular to the city of "Senwa" where "pape Jan" usually resides (Book VI, 12; Gaspar 1998:253ff.). The designation "Senwa" resembles "seuwa" of the 14th-cent. *Historia Trium Regum*. Gaspar (1998:269, n. 53) brings this latter term in relation with "Saba" which on the basis of Psalm 68:30 and 72:9–10 may be considered as the place of origin of the Three Wise Men. If, however, Senwa/Seuwa, as the latter form suggests, can be identified with the well-known kingdom of ↗Šäwa, G.'s information appears extraordinarily accurate.

Another merchants' destination is "Egrijsohulla", a place south-south-east of Aden where the body of St. Thomas is said to rest. According to Johannes van Hildesheim (ch. 11, cp. Gaspar 1998:269, n.54), it was a very famous island in the former kingdom of king Caspar of Tharsis. Gaspar (1998:149, n. 5) states that according to the legend St. Thomas first preached on the island of ↗Soqoṭra and successively in India.

Src.: R.J.G.A.A. GASPAR (ed.), AMBROSIUS ZEEBOUT, *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele*, Hilversum 1998 Lit.), 34f., 88, 96, 192, 207, 213 n. 139, 149 n. 5, 253, 269 n. 53, n. 54; RENÉE BAUWENS-PRÉAUX (ed., tr.), *Voyage en*

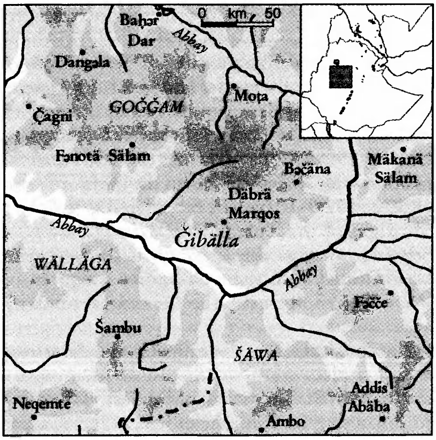
Egypte de Joos van Ghistele 1482–1483, Le Caire 1976; JOANNES OF HILDESHEIM, *Historia Trium Regum. The Three Kings of Cologne*, ed. by CARL HORSTMANN, Millwood – New York 1972; HENRY YULE – HENRI CORDIER (ed., tr.), *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, London 1903, 81f., 239.

Lit.: JULES DE SAINT GÉNOIS, *Les voyageurs belges du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle*, Brussel [1846], 155–92; PHILIP BLOMMAERT, *De Nederduitsche schryvers van Gent*, Gent 1861, 30–39; J. STECHER, "Josse van Ghistele", in: *Biographie nationale* vol. 7, Brussel, 1880–83, col. 733–38; MARIE-THERÈSE LENGER (ed.), *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*, vol. 3, Brussel 1964, 215–21.

Emeri van Donzel

Ǧibälla

The Ǧ. (ጂበላ) mountains, to the south-west of ↗Däbrä Marqos, are part of the volcanic plateau of ↗Goǧǧam (2,400 m A.S.L.), crossed by rushing streams that join the ↗Abbay more than 1,000 m below. The Ǧ. are flanked by the Mutara mountains, which give way to the canyon of the Blue Nile. This region belong to the Däbrä Marqos *awraǧǧa* until the administrative reforms of 1991. Today, it is part of the Däbrä Marqos *wäräda* in the East-Goǧǧam zone (Amhara *kəlləl*).


Baḥər Dar
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Moṭa
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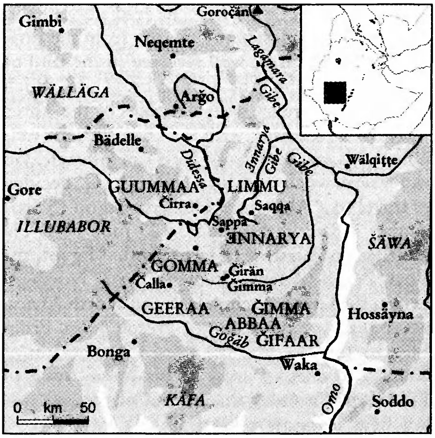
GOǦǦAM
Fənotä Sälam
Bəčäna
Mäkanä Sälam
Däbrä Marqos
Abbay
Ǧibälla
WÄLLÄGA
Abbay
Fəčče
Šambu
ŠÄWA
Addis Abäba
Neqemte
Ambo

Lit.: CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA, *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana (scala 1:1,000,000)*, Milano 1938; CSA 2000.

Alain Gascon

Gibe


Gimbi
Goroçän
Neqemte
Lagamara
WÄLLÄGA
Arǧo
Gibe
Bädelle
Didessa
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Wälqiṭṭe
Gore
GUUMMAA
LIMMU
Čirra
Saqqa
Sappa
ILLUBABOR
ƎNNARYA
ŠÄWA
GOMMA
Ǧirän
Čalla
Ǧimma
GEERAA
ǦIMMA
ABBAA
ǦIFAAR
Hossäyna
Gogäb
Bonga
Waka
KÄFA
Omo
Soddo
0 km 50

G. (ጊቤ) is the name of the ↗Omo river north of ↗Wälqiṭe. It is an endorheic river with a basin of 67,450 km^2 (second largest in Ethiopia), which flows into Lake ↗Turkana at the end of its 829 km course. The Gəlgäl G. ('Little G.') is formed by the Lagamara G. originating in Mount Goroçän (3,276 m A.S.L.) to the north, of the Ǝnnarya G. to the west and of the Ǧimma G. to the east, both running down the Sadderro mountains, which overlook the town of Ǧimma. The three G., after winding across the marshy ↗Guduru and Ǧimma plateaus, run through a number of falls, particularly downstream from Ǧimma.

The hydroelectric power-plant at Gəlgäl G. was planned to make use of the important level differences and of the abundant flow of the G., which are supplemented by their left bank tributaries, such as the Walga river descending from the Dändi-Wänči. This plant is now in use, a high voltage line linking the capital to Ǧimma has been erected and taken in operation.

The Oromo kingdoms of ↗Gomma, ↗Guummaa, ↗Geeraa, ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar and ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya emerged from 1810 to 1830. They nest in the loop of the G. which act as a protection to the north and they are separated from the former kingdom of ↗Käfa by the deep ↗Gogäb valley. To the east the former kingdom of Ǧanǧäro, where an Omotic language is spoken, enjoys the same natural protections. Their prosperity has relied upon the trade of coffee, ivory, slaves, musk, hides and skins sold in important markets (Sappa, ↗Hirmaata) in the hands of the ↗*afkalas*. These gradually converted to Islam the kings (↗*Mooti*), who, however, welcomed the Catholic mission of Guglielmo Massaja. Frequently at war, the sovereigns never united either behind ↗Abbaa Bagiboo I or behind the kings of Ǧimma in order to resist the Šäwan conquest. From 1882 to 1891 they had to submit to Mənilək II's generals (*ras* ↗Gobäna Dači; *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Aboyye). ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II, by paying a heavy tribute to the Emperor, kept his state autonomous up to his death in 1932.

Lit.: AbbGeogr; BendLang; GAÉTAN BERNOVILLE, *L'épopée missionnaire d'Éthiope, Mgr Jarosseau et la mission des Gallas*, Paris 1950, 212–19; CSA 2000; EMAtlas; GasEth; ALAIN GASCON, "'Fair Borders' for Oromiyaa", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 362–78; *Guida* 501, 521, 530; HuntGal; GEOFFREY CHARLES LAST, *A Geography of Ethiopia for Senior Secondary Schools*, Addis Ababa 1963; HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, *A Galla Monarchy, Jimma Abba Jifar (1830–1932)*, Madison 1965, 24, 40; MesfAtlas; MesfGeogr; MHasOr; JOHN W. TIFFIN, "Janjero. A Field Study", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 3, 2, December 1965, 21–42.

Alain Gascon

Ǧibrīl

Gärad Ǧ. (d. 1569) belonged to the Somali tribe of ↗Garre. He was the brother of ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid's wife. Ǧ. is first mentioned in the legendary *History of Nūr b. Muǧāhid* (Getatchew Haile – Wagner 1989) as one of the generals of Nūr, who participated in a battle near Burqa, in the Čärčär, against the Christians. This must have happened when Harär was raided by the army of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos (the legend speaks anachronistically of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob), between 1550 and 1559.

The next information can be found in the so-called *History of the Kings* (*Storia dei re*; s. Cerulli 1931). After Nūr's death, in 1567/68, *gärad* Ǧ. remained a defender of the strictly Muslim policy of Nūr. Such a policy was to be in complete contrast to that of Nūr's successor, the Ethiopian renegade and former slave, ↗ᶜUṯmān. ᶜUṯmān was licentious with respect to Islamic law. He negotiated a treaty with the non-Muslim Oromo which gave them permission to hold a market in the territory of ↗Harär. He appointed *gärad* Ǧ. to supervise the Oromo market. Ǧ. did so, but once the market was over he did not return to Harär. Instead, in 1569, he went to ↗Awsa, where he started a protest against ᶜUṯmān's non-Islamic behaviour.

An open conflict broke out when a woman, who originally had been Muslim, left the Oromo, sought refuge with Ǧ. and finally converted back to Islam. The treaty between ᶜUṯmān and the Oromo had a paragraph that obliged the inhabitants of Harär to extradite all Oromo deserters. But Ǧ. called ᶜUṯmān's attention to the Qurᵓānic prohibition of handing over Muslims to the enemy. Although ordered by ᶜUṯmān to implement the treaty, Ǧ. refused to do and rebelled against him.

Ǧ. successfully gathered followers from Awsa and ↗Zaylaᶜ. He managed to defeat ᶜUṯmān's army under the command of the *sīm garād* Bäläw Muḥammad near Zaylaᶜ (May 21, 1569) but died in the battle. ↗Ṭalḥa b. ᶜAbbās proclaimed himself head of the rebellion and brought it to a final victory. Ǧ. was buried near the sanctuary of ↗Barḫadle Yūsuf al-Akwān, on the road between Harär and Fadis.

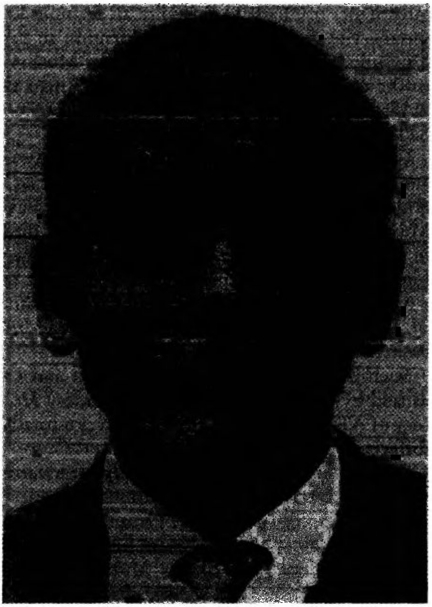
Such is the conflict between ᶜUṯmān and Ǧ. as told by the *Storia dei rei*. The legendary *History of Nūr b. Muǧāhid*, however, gives a totally different account: ᶜUṯmān resigned and Ǧ. took over the rulership in Harär. Shortly afterwards Ǧ. killed ᶜUṯmān. Bäläw Muḥammad retreated into the country of the Nole Oromo (↗Qottu). Ǧ. fought against him and forced him to flee into the Erär Valley. There Bäläw Muḥammad was captured by Ǧ. and died shortly after in prison.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ᵃ, 4, 2, [328], 1931, 39–101, here 53f., 63f. (text) = 58f., 66f. (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 153f., 165ff. (text) = 159ff., 169f. (tr.)]; KURT WENDT, "Amharische Geschichte eines Emirs von Harar im XVI. Jahrhundert", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 4, 1935, 484–501, here 492, 494f. (text) = 498, 500 (tr.); GETATCHEW HAILE – EWALD WAGNER, "Die Geschichte von Nūr b. Muǧāhids von Harar oder The History of Aẓe Zärᵓa Yaᶜeqob", *ZMDG* 139, 1989, 43–92, here 46, 49f. (Arab. text) = 55, 60, 62 (tr.), 71, 77, 80 (Amh. text) = 85, 87, 90 (tr.).
Lit.: TrIslam 96.

Ewald Wagner

Gidaada Solon

Qes G.S. (b. 1901, Aläqa Sotalo, near Sayyoo [Dambi Dolloo], Western Wälläga, d. 25 January 1977, Dambi Dolloo) was a prominent evangelical pastor. He lost his eyesight at the age of five as a result of a smallpox infection; two of his brothers and his sister died in the same epidemic. All attempts of his parents to have his sight restored through the *qaallu*-priests were costly and without result. As a boy G.S. spent some of his time with his grandmother, who had a remarkable memory for Oromo folklore and local history. The young G. steeped himself in these memories, becoming himself an authority on the history of Western Wälläga. At the age of 20 he encoun-



Gidaada Solon; photo courtesy of Nagaaso Gidaada

tered Thomas ↗Lambie. G.S., who wanted to beg for money from him, was deeply impressed by the words of the American missionary. G.S. started attending the Bible lessons for beggars.

When the missionaries became aware of G.S.'s proselyting skills, they invited him to move to the mission compound and preach to the patients at the clinic. He was enrolled in school, learned Amharic and English and, later, to read Braille in English and Oromo. During the rainy season he preached at Burka Badessa, on the main trade route to Gambella. G.S. became an influential evangelist and counsellor. He was ordained priest on 3 March 1940. On 8 August 1940 G.S. was arrested by the Italian authorities and taken to Ǧimma, together with *qes* ↗Mammo Čorqa, both accused of espionage. They were freed by the British troops on 3 June 1941.

During the 1940s G.S. did not merely render pastoral and educational services in Qəlləm *awrağğa*, he also played a leading role in founding the Evangelical Church Bethel in 1947 and in the Conference of Ethiopian Evangelical Churches, which tried to form a United Evangelical Church in Ethiopia. After much local harassment and even arrest for his religious activities, he got a chance in 1953 to talk to *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and obtain from him permission to reopen eight of the evangelical churches in the Sayyoo area.

In 1954 G.S. volunteered to go to Gəmira and take up pastoral and evangelical work there. Based in Gəmira, he also visited other places for preaching, counselling and teaching. In 1965 G.S. retired and returned to his native Dambi Dolloo, where he continued advising people until his death.

G.S. and his wife Dinse Šoli (whom he married in April 1924) had eight children. Three died in early childhood; the remaining sons held leading positions in the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. One of them, Solomon, became Ethiopian ambassador to London (d. 17 June 2003), another, Nagaaso, was President of the Federal Democratic Republic between 1995 and 2001, and the third, Elsai, was an administrator in Wälläga.

Src.: GIDADA SOLON, *The Other Side of Darkness*, New York 1972.

Lit.: ArEvang; DEBELA BIRRI, *History of the Evangelical Church Bethel*, Ph.D. thesis, Chicago 1995.

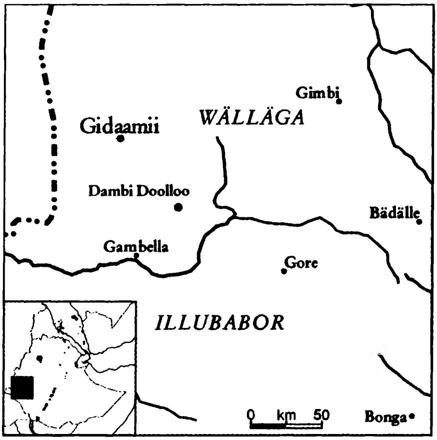
Johannes Launhardt

Gidaamii

G. (or ጊዳሚ, Gidami, 1,928 m A.S.L.) was previously the centre of G. *wäräda*, part of the Qälləm *awrağğa* in the ↗Wälläga province. Since 1991 it has become the capital of the Ǧimma-Gidaamii *wäräda* in the East Wälläga zone in Oromiyaa. It is a small town on the first slopes of Tulluu-Wälläl, a sacred mountain for the Oromo ↗Leeqa Qälləm, in the very west of Oromiyaa close to its border with the Beni Šangul-Gumuz *kəlləl*. It is poorly connected to the regional centre, ↗Dambi Dolloo.

The inhabitants of the surroundings of G. are agriculturists. They grow cereals on the territories cleared from forest. Coffee has been increasingly cultivated in the area, but progress is being hindered by the lack of proper infrastructures.

The area was already under Ethiopian domination in the 1890s and it was used as the base in the offensive against the ↗Beni Šangul, led in 1898 by *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mika'el. To the south of G., *däğğazmač* ↗Ǧootee Tulluu launched the attack against the Italian expedition of 1897 in which its leader, Vittorio ↗Bottego, was killed (Guida 507). During the Italian occupation the place was only a "large village". The population then grew considerably till the 1980s, reaching 3,540 in 1984 (CSA 1984); since then it has stagnated: in 1999 the number of inhabitants was 3,762 (CSA 2000), in 2004 it reached 4,557 (CSA 2004).



Src.: CSA 1984; CSA 2000; CSA 2004.
Lit.: LAMBERT BARTELS, *Oromo Religion*: *Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia. An Attempt to Understand*, Berlin 1983, 22, 380; EMAtlas; GasEth; ALAIN GASCON, "'Fair Borders' for Oromiyaa", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 362–78; *Guida* 507; MHasOr; MesfAtlas.

Alain Gascon

Gidāya

G. (arab. جداية, Ǧidāya, Amh. ግዳያ, Gədaya) is a historical Muslim region mentioned in the 14th-cent. Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon and in the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist I, 99 = II, 173). The Emperor reportedly sent his army to all the lands of the Muslims, those "which are called ↗Kʷəlgora, G., Kubät, Fadse [Fadis in today's Harär?], Qädse, Hargaya and Bəqulzar" (HuntAmdS). These regions might have been part of the ↗Ifat and later of the ↗ᶜAdal states. Most of them have not yet been identified. Wright suggests that all of them were located between Kʷəlgora and Bəqulzar (the latter being a Harari term, meaning 'vegetation along a river'; HuntGeogr 90).

In ↗Harär G. still exists as a family name, with oral traditions connected with it. According to the research of Mahdi G. Gadid (1979), G. and Hargaya were two Muslim principalities which were predominantly populated by Hararis, until they were absorbed by the Oromo and Somali. Oral tradition (as related by *āw* Abū Bakr) reports that these two principalities were located in the area of Ǧaarso-Oberra. Braukämper (2002: 33) places Hubat, G. and Hargaya on the Harär plateau as sub-provinces of ᶜAdal. According to Mahdi, these names have survived in the Nole region.

Mahdi also reports the oral tradition of a certain *amīr* G., a brother of Hargaya, who was fondly remembered in Harär for putting on a big marriage ceremony. A popular wedding song is also associated with G.:

Gidāya šamina	'G. is from Sham [Syria]
Aminina	He was an honest man
Märtuw zišeläwa	Decorated his daughter's hair
Wäśaraw zäborüda	And performed a wonderful marriage for his daughter called Sara.'

Tradition links the destruction of Šäwa, Sim, G. and Hargaya with a 16th-cent. famine and Oromo expansion after the wars of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. Wazir Muhammad Hargaya was appointed by *amīr* ↗ᶜUṯmān b. Badlāy for the rule of Harär in his absence.

Src.: interview with *āw* Abū Bakr, Harär; BassHist vol. 1, 99, vol. 2, 173.
Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia*, Hamburg 2002, 33; MAHDI G. GADID, *Feudalism in the Emirate of Harar upto 1887*, Senior Essay, Addis Ababa University 1979; HuntAmdS; HuntGeogr 89f.; CerIslam.

Ahmed Zekaria

Gideᵓo

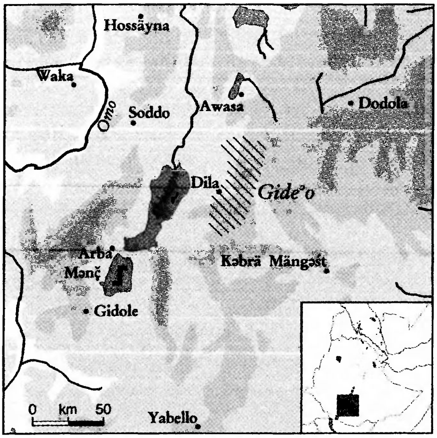
Gideᵓo language

G. (also Gedeᵓó, Gedeo, in Amh.: Därasa) belongs to the Highland East ↗Cushitic languages, formerly called the Sidaama group, and is therefore closely related to Sidaama, ↗Kambaata, ↗Allaaba, ↗Hadiyya, and ↗Burǧi.

The at least 700,000 G. speakers live in the western part of what was ↗Sidamo province, south of the ↗Sidaama people and east of Lake Abbayya (called Gidiččo by the G.).

The phonological system of G., besides voiceless emphatic stops (*p̣*, *ṭ*, *q*) and an emphatic affricate (*č̣*), contains an implosive *ɗ*, e.g., *roop̣o* 'hippo', *geɗebo* 'sheep'. Vowel length is distinctive. G. is not a tone language. Stress placement depends on grammatical/syntactical functions and vowel length (*ᵓisó* 'he' vs. *ᵓisóóᵓo* 'him').

The personal pronouns are (with object and subject case): sg.: 1st pers. object *ᵓané*, subject



ʾaní, 2nd pers. object *ʾaté*, subject *ʾatí*, 3rd pers. object *ʾisó*, masc. subject *ʾisí*, fem. *isé*, pl.: 1st pers. *noʾó*, 2nd pers. *haʾnó*, 3rd pers. *insaʾné*. The demonstrative pronouns for near objects are: masc. object *konne*, subject *kunni*, fem./coll. object *tenne*, subject *tinni*; for far objects: masc. object *ʾokkone*, subject *ʾikki*, fem./coll. object *ʾettene*, subject *ʾitti*. The *k/t* dichotomy is found elsewhere, but cf. masc. *anki* with fem. *anṭi* 'mine'. A noun is determined by *-a* (object case), *-i* (subject case): object *woraabeessa*, subject *-i* 'hyena(s)'. There is a singulative suffix: *haqqe* 'wood' > *haqq-iččo* 'stick, tree', *garba* 'slave' > *garb-ičča*.

The suffixes of the present-future tense are characterized by *-a*, *e.g. barat-a*, 'I learn, study', *-ta*, 'you', *-a*, 'he', *-ta*, 'she'; (**barat-na* >) *baranta*, 'we learn', *barat-tina*, 'you (pl.) learn', (**barat-na* >) *baranta*, 'they learn'. In the past tense the characteristic final vowel is *-e*: *barat-e*, *-te*, *-e*, *-te*; *barante*, *barat-tina*, *barante*. The jussive has final *-o*: *barat-o*, *-to*, *-o*, etc. To these basic forms several suffixes and auxiliary verbs are added, cf. the actual present form: *barat-a-ʾenne*, 'I really learn, I am learning', *barat-ta-ʾette*, 'you', *barat-a-ʾnee*, 'he', *barat-ta-ʾnee*, 'she' etc.; the actual perfect form: *barat-e-ʾenne*, 'I (have) learnt', *barat-te-ʾette* 'you', *barat-e-ʾee* 'he', *barat-te-ʾee*, 'she' etc. The suffixed *-t* (of 2nd pers. sg. and pl. and 3rd pers. fem. sg.) is assimilated to the final consonant of the root morpheme: *bt* > *bb*, *ṭt* > *ṭṭ*, *ɗt* > *ṭṭ*, but *mt* > *nd*, *lt* > *ld*, *ʾt* > *ṭ*; *-n* (of the 1st pers. pl.) undergoes a metathesis with the preceding root consonant: *gn* > *ng*, *tn* > *nt*, but *rn* > *rr*, *ln* > *ll*.

Derived verb stems are formed through affixation of *-(i)s(s)/-sis/-išš/-ess/-čč* (causative), *-(e)ɗ* (reflexive) and *-em* (passive); e.g., *meʾʾ-* 'go' > *meʾʾ-išš-* 'cause to go', *ʾib-* 'fall' > *ʾib-is-* 'cause to fall'; *ʾanš-* 'wash' > *ʾanš-eɗ* 'wash oneself' (**ʾanš-eɗ-nanne-n* > *ʾanš-eʾ-nanne-n* 'we washed ourselves'), *fil-* 'comb' > (**fil-ɗʾ-* >) *fiʾl-* 'comb oneself'; *ʾeebb-is-* 'bless' > *ʾeebb-is-em-* 'be blessed'.

The word order is typically Subject-Object-Verb. Adjective, relative clause, genitive etc. precede their head-noun. There are postpositions, e.g. *hadi-ʾa* 'at (*-ʾa*) home', *hiyy-a-ʾni* 'as (*-ʾni*) he said (imperfect-present) so'.

G. ten-word list: *mitte*, 'one', *lame*, 'two', *sase*, 'three', *giira*, 'fire', *wedeʾe*, 'water', *ʾarisso*, 'sun', *ʾagenǧo*, 'moon', *ʾisso* (sg. *ʾissiččo*), 'tooth', *munde*, 'blood', *ʾarrabo*, 'tongue'.

Lit.: Ernesta Cerulli, *Peoples of South-West Ethiopia and its Borderland*, London 1956 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, North-Eastern Africa 3); Barbara Grimes (ed.), *Ethnologue. Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{14}2000, vol. 1; Armido Gasparini, *Grammatica gedeʾo*, Trieste – Roma 1994; Grover Hudson, "Highland East Cushitic", in: *BendNon*, 232–77; Id., *Highland East Cushitic Dictionary*, Hamburg 1989 (Cushitic Language Studies 7); Charles W. McClellan, "The Ethiopian Occupation of Northern Sidamo – Recruitment and Motivation", in: *PICES* 5b, 513–24; Martino Mario Moreno, "Appunti sulla lingua Darasa", *RRALm* ser. 6^{a}, 13, 1937, 211–40; Klaus Wedekind, "Sidamo, Gedeo (Derasa), Burji – Phonological Differences and Likenesses", *JES* 14, 1976–79 [1980], 131–76; Id., "Derasa Verb Morphology and Morphophonemics", *AAP* 2, 82–109, 142–43; Id., *Generating Narratives* [in Gedeo, Burji and Sidamo], Berlin – New York 1990.

Rainer Voigt

Gideʾo ethnography and history

The G. (also Därasa) are a people and territory along the eastern slopes of the Rift Valley escarpment, directly opposite Lake Abbayya, which constituted Därasa (after 1974 – Gideʾo) *awraǧǧa* in Sidamo province of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region. The *awraǧǧa* consists of Dilla, Yərga Çäffe and Amaaro *wäradas* with Dilla as the administrative centre. Ethnically G. borders the ↗Sidaama to the north and the ↗Guǧǧi Oromo elsewhere. Population pressure, land expropriation and economic opportunities pressured G. expansion towards the town of Hagärä Maryam and Lake Abbayya in recent generations.

The G. claim descent from a common ancestor, Därässo, and his seven sons, who fathered the G. clans (*torbanigosa*): Darašša, Gogošša, Hanoma, Doobba, Hembaʾa, Lagoda and Bakarro (Wedekind 1990:22), or in Gasparini's version (1994: ii): Gedeʾo, Rikʾata, Subbo, Bakarro, Hanuma, Dobboʾa, and Gorgorša. Cerulli (1965:119) gives the following seven tribes: Emma, Logoda, Bakarro, Darašā, Dobbo, Anuma, and Gorgoša. Two asymmetrical moieties of three and four clans respectively resided dispersed over three territorial divisions (*sasseroga*). Each clan claimed territory, but migration and intermarriage have disguised settlement patterns. Only males inherited land; unique G. land-measurement units existed. Under the rule of the Ethiopian Empire, these traditions gave way to cultural practices originating in the north.

The G. shared many similarities with the Guǧǧi. They practised their autochthonous religion, centring on the god of creation (↗ *Waaqa*). Mediums remain important, expediting interaction with spirits. Historically, the most powerful religious figure was the Guǧǧi ↗ *qaalluu* the G. consulted and gave gifts to. Like the Oromo, the G. maintained a ↗ *gadaa* system. Although unique, theirs compared strikingly with that of the Guǧǧi in organization, ideology, and function. The ↗ *abbaa gadaa* and subordinates influenced politics substantially. The *abbaa gadaa* bore responsibility for G. well-being and mediated, but the *heiyča* (esteemed elders who performed the function of local ritual leaders and mediators) handled local affairs, resolving most ordinary conflicts. Their relevance outlasted that of the *abbaa gadaa* under the rule of the Ethiopian Empire, and they remained vital late into the 20th cent.

Traditionally subsistence farmers, the G. cultivated primarily ↗ *ənsät*, in addition to sorghum, corn, potatoes, yams and other vegetable crops. Sheep, goats, and chickens were domiciled in G. homesteads with an occasional cow, horse or donkey, providing easy access to manure, essential for *ənsät* production. G. farmers exchanged *ənsät* with the Guǧǧi for bovine products and also for animal-salt (*bolee*) from the Lake Abbayya marshes. In the early 20th cent., coffee became an important G. cash-crop as farmers semi-domesticated wild trees to meet increasing Ethiopian and international demand.

Events in the late 19th and early 20th cent. brought considerable change to the G. The conquest in 1890 by *aṣe* ↗ Mənilək II forced the G.'s incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire, requiring dramatic social, political and economic reorientation. Following the Italian War of 1935–41, Western Christianity arrived. Although resisted initially, Christianity was fully embraced by some, an effort to "modernize", while resisting "Ethiopianization". Western Christianity eroded traditional G. institutions such as polygamy, *gadaa* and animism. Missionaries introduced the first Western schools and clinics, building a strong and vibrant Western-Christian presence. Lastly, the overthrow of the Ethiopian imperial system after 1974 also weakened traditional institutions, substituting new ones that have not taken (and may not take) permanent hold. The G. aspire to fuller integration into the nation as equals, while resisting domination from the centre, particularly policies that destroy or diminish their unique culture, language and local economic resources.

Lit.: ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN, *Im Lande des Gada*, Stuttgart 1936, 96–125, 315–34, 413–17, 493–558; VSAe II, s. index; ERNESTA CERULLI, *Peoples of South-East Ethiopia and its Borderland*, London 1956 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, North Eastern Africa 3); CHARLES W. MCCLELLAN, *State Transformation and National Integration: Gedeo and the Ethiopian Empire, 1895–1935*, East Lansing, MI 1988; ID., "The Tales of Yoseph and Woransa: Gedeo Experiences in the Era of the Italo-Ethiopian War", in: MELVIN E. PAGE et al. (eds.), *Personality and Political Culture in Modern Africa*, Boston, MA 1998, 181–94; ID., "Coffee in Centre-Periphery Relations: Gedeo in the Early Twentieth Century", in: DONALD DONHAM – WENDY JAMES, *The Marches of Southern Ethiopia: Essays in History and Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986, 175–95; ALBERT E. BRANT, *In the Wake of Martyrs: a Modern Saga in Ancient Ethiopia*, Langley 1992; KLAUS WEDEKIND, "Sidamo, Gedeo (Derasa), Burji – Phonological Differences and Likenesses", *JES* 14, 1976–79 [1980], 131–76.

Charles W. McClellan

Gideon Force

On 7 November 1940, Major Orde ↗ Wingate, Royal Engineers, arrived in Khartoum and started to organize an army that he called G.F. The unit eventually comprised 50 British officers, 20 British non-commissioned officers, the 2nd Ethiopian battalion (800 troops) and a Sudan Defence Force Frontier battalion (800 troops).

In late January 1941, the unit crossed into Ethiopia at Umm ʿƎdla, where *aṣe* ↗ Ḥaylä Śəllase I joined the G.F. Less than four months later, on 5 May 1941, Wingate accompanied the Emperor on his triumphant return into Addis Abäba. On 1 June 1941, General Alan G. ↗ Cunningham, fearing that Wingate would get involved into Ethiopian politics, informed him that G.F. no longer officially existed.

↗Italian War 1935–36

Lit.: ANTHONY MOCKLER, *Haile Selassie's War: the Italian-Ethiopian Campaign, 1935–1941*, New York 1984, 293, 310, 338, 340–59, 382; TREVOR ROYLE, *Orde Wingate: Irregular Soldier*, London 1995, 192ff.; DAVID SHIRREFF, *Bare Feet and Bandoliers*, London – New York 1995, 77f.

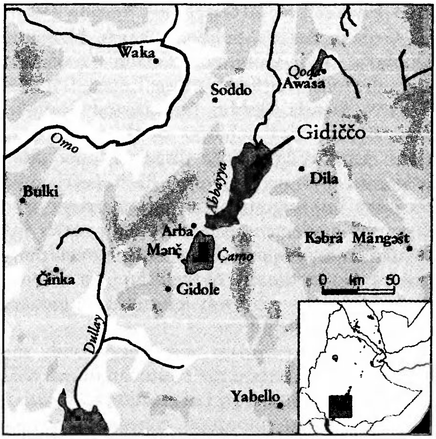
Thomas P. Ofcansky

Gidiččo

G. (ጊዲቾ) is a mountainous island (mainly basalt relief with rhiolotic arees) in the northern part of Lake ↗Abbayya. According to McClellan (1988: 24), the ↗Gide'o use the word "G." to refer to the entire Lake Abbayya. The highest elevation of the island measures 1,242 m A.S.L., 73 m above the lake. The soils are rather poor and shallow and subject to very intense erosion, both in the mountains and at the coastal part.

Haberland (VSAe II, 688) reports having seen traces of terraces and thus presumes an ancient intense agriculture. According to Raunet (1977), only the eastern part is suitable for some land use. The natural milieu here consists of semi-humid combretum-savannah while thorn thicket (↗acacia, ↗euphorbia, aloe, sansevieria) presides in the western part. In 2000, the dry surface of the whole island distinguishes it clearly from its neighbouring islands, which are covered with thick forest. Streams or sources are not mentioned, while the salty lake water is hardly suitable as drinking-water.

The island is inhabited by two ethnic groups, ↗Bayso (sometimes also referred to as G.) in the villages of Bayso and Šigima and Haruro (↗Harro) in the village of the same name. All three villages are situated at the eastern shoreline.



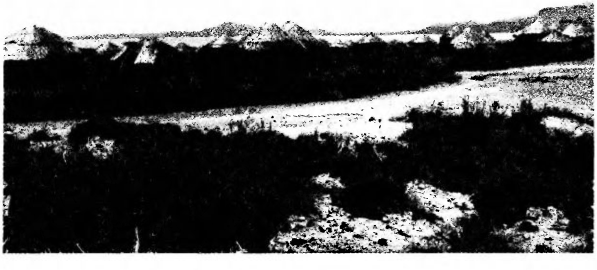
While the B. cultivate small fields on the island and trade ↗cotton-cloth to either side of the lake, the Haruro are said to live on ↗hippopotamus hunting, ↗fishing and ↗weaving (Haberland – Straube 1979:110). Goats, sheep and donkeys are left running free on the whole island.

G. is also the name of the local variety of the ↗Harro language.

Lit.: EIKE HABERLAND – HERMANN STRAUBE, "Nordost Afrika", in: HERMANN BAUMANN (ed.), *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre traditionellen Kulturen*, Wiesbaden 1979, 69–156; VSAe II, 688f.; MICHEL RAUNET, *Ethiopia: Southern Rift Valley: Sidamo Province: Gidabo Basin Morpho-Pedological Survey*, Vivrières 1977; CHARLES W. MCCLELLAN, *State Transformation and National Integration: Gedeo and the Ethiopian Empire, 1895–1935*, East Lansing, MI 1988, 24.

Nicole Poissonnier

Gidole ↗Diraaša ↗Gardula



A view from the north over hamlets of Bayso village (Gidiččo); Lake Abbaya and Amaaro mountains in the background, photo by Eike Haberland, 1954/55, courtesy of Frobenius-Institut, no. 27-Ha074-14

Gifts

The fact that the giving of G. or G. exchange is not only part of an economic system, but also a social system in which the items exchanged take on a social significance beyond their net worth was one of the most important insights Marcel Mauss provided in his seminal anthropological work *Essai sur le don* (1925). By giving G. one demonstrates that one is generous and worthy of respect; by accepting them one shows respect for the giver; by reciprocating the G., one shows that one's honour is equal to that of the original giver.

G.-giving and G.-exchange in Ethiopia is, therefore, best understood as a prism for the understanding of social and political relations. Among the Arbore, the transition of power from one ↗age group to another is marked by the act of rewarding with a G. of coffee the generation leaving power. Among the Muguǧi (Kʷegu-Muguǧi) and the Hor (Arbore) bond-friends or partners traditionally exchanged G., in the case of the former most commonly ↗honey because it is their special product. The Betä Ǝsraʾel gave G. of knives to their Christian neighbours' weddings, while the Christians bring live sheep as G. to weddings of the Betä Ǝsraʾel.

One of the most common occasions of G.-giving in Ethiopia is at the time of ↗marriage. According to the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* (Paulos Tzadua 1968:138–41), presents are given both to mark an engagement and on the day of the marriage. The former belong to the betrothal and if the marriage does not take place they are to be returned to her intended spouse. In contrast, G. given on the day of the marriage belong to the bride. Similarly, betrothal G. can be taken by creditors, but not the dowry. In Dokko, the bride's clan-sisters do not let her be taken away by the groom until they receive G., traditionally butter (↗Milk and milk products) and more recently money. Pankhurst (2002:135) notes that the practice of grooms offering brides G. of clothing was disrupted during resettlement under the *Därg* but re-instituted (in some cases even retroactively) as a sign of commitment to marriage.

Another occasion for G.-giving is the birth of a child: neighbours and relatives provide good food (e.g., chicken, flour for *gänfo* porridge, yoghurt) or money. In different areas (e.g., in Goǧǧam, Səlṭi) it is common to give a cow (*yäʾaras lam*) as a present for the new-born child to supply it with milk. A child is provided by the godfather with clothes, including the cloth in which it is wrapped after baptism. For the occasion the guests bring different kinds of food.

The *Fətḥa nägäśt* distinguishes between donations which are made to those who are not poor and ↗alms which are given to the poor. The former is considered less commendable than the latter (Paulos Tzadua 1968:156ff). Prominent in this respect were offerings given to churches and other ecclesiastical institutions (↗Donors). These ranged from royal donations of land (↗*Gʷəlt*), books and church vessels to G. of money, food and animals offered by even the very poor on feast days and other holidays. In the 15th cent. Zärʾa Yaʿəqob forbade payments to priests in return for services such as baptism, but permitted the giving of presents (Getatchew Haile 1992:136–39).

Among the Oromo votive G. brought to a ↗*qaallu* represent an important contribution to his income. ↗Salt bars are often given by those who seek his advice or assistance.

The refusal to accept G. implied a criticism of the honour or legitimacy of the giver. Thus, in the 14th and 15th cent. rebel clergy seeking to express their independence of secular rulers often refused their benefices. In the course of time, as relations improved, G. were accepted.

G., however, should not be idealized or romanticized. Items exchanged and labelled as G. are often a form of taxation or other payment described as a G. to disguise the less-than-voluntary nature of the giving. In northern Šäwa on the eve of the 1974 revolution, it was customary for landlords and government officials to receive G. of sheep, butter, wood, *dəfo dabbo* (a kind of bread) and honey on holidays, ↗weddings etc. Peasants who did not submit such G. could be evicted from their land.

Among south Ethiopian peoples, such as the Bäšada and Hamär, the custom of *miska* shows how G.-giving defines social relations and even serves as a form of economy. Bäšada women can ask each other to give goods they are in need of (salt, coffee or pepper). There is only general reciprocity, things just can be given to other women. The one who does not take part in the *miska* circulation causes *wupha* ('gossip'; Epple 1995:83f.). In times of poor harvest, people visit relatives and bond-friends in other regions as their *miska* partners. Preferably, relatives are asked for a *miska* G., but also unrelated women can be asked. The amount of G. demanded can be considerable. In a case observed by Epple

(1995:83f.), *miska* demanders from a starving area stayed for an entire week and took one-third of the sorghum.

Although G. are mentioned in many ethnographies of Ethiopian peoples, they have yet to be the subject of systematic study, either as the organizing theme of a work or as a comparative theme.

↗Sacrifice; ↗Dǝrgo

Lit.: MARCEL MAUSS, *Essai sur le don: forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaiques*, Paris 1925; ALULA PANKHURST, "Surviving Resettlement in Wellegga: the Qeto Experience", in: WENDY JAMES – DONALD L. DONHAM – EISEI KURIMOTO – ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia Socialism and After*, Oxford – Athens, OH – Addis Ababa 2002, 133–50; DENA FREEMAN, *Initiating Change in Highland Ethiopia: Causes and Consequences of Cultural Transformation*, Cambridge 2002, 62; HAGAR SALAMON, *The Hyena People: Ethiopian Jews in Christian Ethiopia*, Berkeley – Los Angeles, 1999, 41–45; *abba* PAULOS TZADUA, *The Fetha Nagast: the Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 138–41, 156ff.; GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Mariology of Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob of Ethiopia: Texts and Translations*, Roma 1992 (OrChrA 242), 136–39; KapMon 37; SUSANNE EPPLE, *Life in Gunne. Social Relationships in a Village in Bashada, South Ethiopia*, M.A. thesis, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz 1995.

Steven Kaplan – Dirk Bustorf

Gigar

Wag šum G. (ጊጋር, r. 1747–71) was the son of *wag šum* ↗Nä'akʷǝto Lä'ab. When *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II led an expedition to subdue Wag, Nä'akʷǝto Lä'ab and his son G., who was an official under his father, confronted the Emperor's army. They were defeated, however, and retreated into the region of Wäfla, east Wag. Iyasu then removed Nä'akʷǝto Lä'ab from office and appointed one of the latter's kinsman as *wagšum*. Within a very short while, G. and his father submitted to the Emperor, and G. was appointed *wagšum*.

In the early period of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafǝnt*, G. refused to pay tribute to *ras* ↗Mika'el Sǝḥul, king maker in Gondär, instead he joined forces with the governor of Bägemdǝr. G. frequently changed alliances, and in December 1770 he allied with *ras* Mika'el and allowed Mika'el to march through Wag to Gondär. In the final struggle against Mika'el at the battle of Sarbakusa (1771), G. assembled his troops on the side of Mika'el. Nevertheless, G. did not want to fight against his countrymen, the troops of Lasta – under *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wänd Bäwäsän, rival of Mika'el – and was instead positioned against the Amhara soldiers. According to James Bruce, the defeat of Mika'el was due to the Lasta troops' defection, who joined the side of their kinsman, Wänd Bäwäsän. These soldiers could very well be the troops of G.

Lit.: BlunChr 18, 81, 88; BruNile vol. 2, 543; vol. 4., 50f., 63, 105, 111f., 152, 203; Guilyas 128–32, 139–43, 148, 164, 169, 176f., 197, 221, 228, 252f.; WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, c. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 88–91, 96f.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Gigar

Aṣe G. (ጊጋር, r. 1821–26, 1826–30) claimed Solomonic descent from *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs. He was a brother of his predecessor, *aṣe* ↗Iyo'as II. G. ruled at the height of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafǝnt*, when power was held, not by the emperors, but by a constellation of regionally-based nobles.

G. was placed on the throne by *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa. He was briefly displaced, in 1826, in the struggles which followed the latter's death in 1825, but then restored to rule until 1830, when he was deposed by *ras* ↗Dori Gugsa.

The only European to meet G. was Samuel ↗Gobat, who claimed that G. had previously been a monk. Gobat was told that G. was 86 years old, but estimated rather that he was "somewhere between 65 and 70". Gobat's summary judgement was that "... he has neither temporal grandeur, nor spirit, nor heart" (Gobat 1834:89f.).

G. made a number of land grants which are recorded both in the *Liber Axumae* (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum*) and in the marginalia of manuscripts in the British Library. Some of these grants were made to individuals, the most prominent of whom was *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu of Tǝgray, a grant which G. made in consort with *ras* Gugsa Märsa (CRAxum 54f.). He made grants directly to churches, one of them in Tǝgray. A number of his grants to individuals were on behalf of the Gondär churches ↗Däbrä Bǝrhan Śǝllase and Gǝmǧa Bet Maryam. There is essentially no literature about him.

Src.: WrBriMus, mss. 139, 327, 350, 365 [Orient. 549, 745, 777, 799]; CRAxum 54ff. (text); CRNuov 13, 19, 23f., 365, 368, 371, 377; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La cronaca reale abissina dall'anno 1800 all'anno 1840", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916, 779–923, here 836, 847, 897, 905; SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia in Furtherance of the Objects of the Church Missionary Society*, London 1834, 89f.

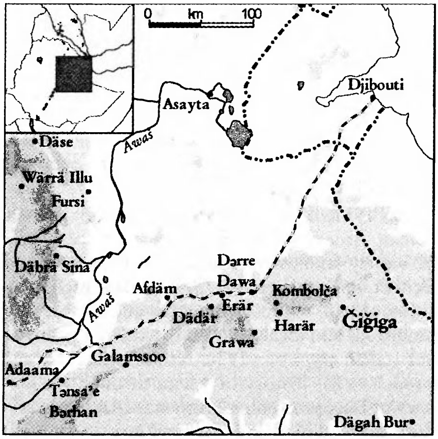
Donald Crummey

Ǧiǧǧa

Ǧ. (Amh. ጂጂጋ, Somali Jigjiga, 1,696 m A.S.L.), is the capital of the Ǧiǧǧa zone in the ↗Somali *kəlləl*. It is located on the piedmont of the Harär mountains, at the edge of the Ogaden plateau. It lies 150 km east of Harär and 150 km west of the Somali–Ethiopian border. Thus, it is an important strategic point on the road to ↗Hargeisa, capital of Somaliland, and ↗Berbera, principal port of the area. Ǧ. is also the starting point of the road, laid by the Italians, that connects the valley of the ↗Wabi Šäbälle and Mogadishu.

Before the conquest of Harär by ↗MəniləkII in 1887, Ǧ. was a significant commercial crossroad, visited by stock-breeders and farmers of the ↗Daarood clan-family, who inhabited the valley of the seasonal Ǧärrär river. *Ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel made Ǧ. the base for his expeditions to Ogaden to subjugate the Somali. In 1900, *sayyid* ↗Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Ḥasan (known by the British as the Mad Mullah) defeated the Ethiopian garrison of Ǧ. At the time of the Italian–Ethiopian war (1935–36), *däǧǧazmač* ↗Nasibu Zäʾemanuʾel, commander of the Ethiopian army in Harär, made Ǧ. his headquarters. In 1938, the town, then attached to the government-general of Harär, had 11,000 inhabitants, a high estimate which also included the Italian garrison (*Guida*). In 1940, the Italian troops left the place to conquer British Somaliland, which had been pre-emptively evacuated by the British. The next year, they positioned at Ǧ. to stop the advance of the liberation armies coming from Mogadishu.

Following the Italian defeat, Ǧ. was ruled by a British officer who controled the "Reserved Areas" before their return to Ethiopia in 1948. This was the occasion for violent Somali demonstrations, which were renewed when Ethiopia recovered Hawd in 1954. Ǧ. was then divided into two areas: the Somali town, with its mosques and tombs of saints, and the town that housed the Ethiopian army, with its own barracks, bars, churches and schools (Nega Mezlekia 2001). During this time the road to Harär suffered several attacks by Somali guerrilla fighters, who enjoyed the support of the population. Smuggling was also a flourishing activity, especially to Somalia and Djibouti. In July 1977, the Somali offensive forced the Ethiopian troops to evacuate their garrison. However, in the spring of the following year, a parachuting counter-offensive, with Soviet, Cuban and Ethiopian troops, forced the Somali army to withdraw. Until the signing in 1988 of the peace treaty between the two countries, Ǧ. (23,183 inhabitants in 1984) remained a garrison town, also having camps for refugees driven out by the drought and the civil war in Somalia. In 1987 it was attached to the Somali autonomous area of Dərre Dawa.



Since the federal administrative reform of 1991, the town belongs to the Somali region; Ǧ. replaced Gode in Ogaden as the capital of the regional state. Its population reached, in 2004, 89,531 inhabitants, having, thus increased by nearly four times since 1984. The military activities remain paramount (barracks, deposits, aerodrome, residences). The place is used by the Ethiopian army to keep a watch on the political instability in Somalia. Besides, the town shelters many assistance agencies and non-governmental organizations engaged in helping the refugees fleeing from food-shortages, famines and from the fights in Ogaden. Hotels, garages, restaurants and representatives of the Ethiopian administration are also found in Ǧ.

Src.: CSA 1998; CSA 2000; CSA 2004; CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE (PROVISIONAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA), *Results of the National Sample Survey*, 2nd round, vol. 5: *Land Area and Utilization*, Addis Ababa 1975; *Guida* 438–41; EMAtlas.

Lit.: LEE VINCENT CASSANELLI, *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People, 1600–1900*, Philadelphia 1982; MARCEL DJAMA, "Trajectoire du pouvoir en pays somali", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 146, 37, 2, 1997, 403–28; GasEth; DAVID D. LAITIN – SAID S. SAMATAR, *Somalia, Nation in Search of State*, Boulder, CO – London 1987, 34, 55, 57, 65, 142f.; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *A Modern History of Somalia. Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, Harlow 1980 [²1982], 71, 89, 102, 106, 108, 116, 129f., 230ff., 238f., 245; MHasOr; MesfAtlas^2; NEGA MEZLEKIA, *Dans le ventre d'une hyène. Mon enfance en Éthiopie*, tr. by LORI SAINT-MARTIN – PAUL GAGNÉ, Montréal – Arles 2001, 13–240; EVELYN WAUGH, *Waugh in Abyssinia*, London ^{2}1984, 61–80.

Alain Gascon

Giglio, Carlo

G. (b. 1911, Apecchio, d. 1976, Milano) was an Italian historian of Africa and ↗colonialism. G.'s early studies were dedicated to Britain and British imperialism. He praised the high performance of white civilization and shared the ambitions and ideals that led to the foundation of the Italian empire in 1936. Nonetheless, G.'s approach to the history of Africa through the history of European colonialism was adamantly scientific, based on documents and written sources. He engaged later in a fierce polemic with Sven Rubenson on the legal effects of article 17 of the Wəčale Treaty (↗Italo–Ethiopian convention; s. Giglio 1965).

After the end of the Italian empire, he presided over a committee for selecting, publishing and editing documents on Italy's presence in Africa; a number of volumes concern Ethiopia and the Red Sea. G. held the first chair of African History at the University of Pavia, thus introducing in Italy the teaching of Africa's history from a post-colonial – albeit not necessarily anti-colonial – perspective.

Src.: CARLO GIGLIO, *L'impresa di Massaua (1884–1885)*, Roma 1955; ID., "Article 17 of the Tretaty of Uccialli", *JAH* 6, 2, 1965, 221–31.

Giampaolo Calchi Novati

Ǧihād

According to Islamic tradition and law, the world is divided into two spheres. The first, *Dār al-Islām*, the 'land of Islam', is the part in which Muslim rulers implement the law and traditions of Islam. The other, *Dār al-ḥarb*, the 'land of war', represents the part that remains to be annexed to the land of Islam, preferably by peaceful persuasion (دعوة, *da*^{c}*wa*), but alternatively through the holy war, Ǧ. (جهاد). The "holy war" against non-Muslims was accepted at the very beginning of Islam as one of its fundamental principles and continued to determine much of Islamic foreign relations. In this context, however, Ethiopia, though a Christian state, has enjoyed a special status.

The uniqueness of Ethiopia in Islamic tradition stems from the initial story of ↗Muḥammad's mission. All Islamic sources agree that the Prophet was appreciative of Ethiopia as a land of a monotheistic religion. When his first group of followers, the *ṣaḥāba*, were persecuted by Mecca's rulers, he told them to seek asylum with the *nağāšī*, the *nəguś* of Aksum "a king who oppresses no-one". The first emigration of Muslims (الهجرة الاولى, *al-Hiğra al-ūlā*) left for Ethiopia in 615 A.D. and was given shelter by *nägāśi* ↗Aṣḥama. The Ethiopian King righteous not only saved Islam, but, according to Islamic sources, later in 628 A.D. personally accepted Muḥammad's call and embraced Islam. In gratitude, the Prophet ordered his believers to "leave the Ethiopians alone as long as they leave you alone" (Abū Dā'ūd 1988:4, 112 [*ḥadīṯ* 4309]; s. van Donzel in StudAeth 109–14). This *ḥadīṯ* was interpreted by most Islamic jurists as implying that Ethiopia was exempted from Ǧ., that she had the right to exist in spite of her Christianity, as long as she does not take the offensive against Muslims. Thus Ethiopia constituted a third case, in between the two aforementioned spheres, usually called *Dār al-ḥiyād*, 'land of neutrality'. There were very few similar cases, namely, neutrality declared by the Muslims themselves, and the Ethiopian case was considered the classical one.

None of the major Islamic dynasties declared a religious war on Ethiopia. The *rāšidūn*, the immediate successors of the Prophet, turned their attention away from the Red Sea area. They avoided invading Ethiopia because of military and practical considerations and also because of the aforementioned legal and moral exemption. The same was true of the Umayyads of Damascus and the Abbasids of Baghdad. The Islamic dynasties of Egypt, the ↗Fāṭimids and the ↗Mamlūks, never sent armies to the Horn of Africa. Because of their concern for the Nile as a water supply, they were more appreciative of Ethiopia's power. The Ottomans (↗Ottoman Empire) also "left the Ethiopians alone", with the exception of their occupation of Massawa (1557) and establishing the *Habeš eyaleti* ('Province of Ethiopia') along the coast. However, the Ottomans invested little in this enterprise with respect to both manpower and religious motives and were duly defeated.

The next invasion of a Middle Eastern army occurred three centuries later. Egypt's *ḫidīw*

Ismā^{c}īl (1863–79) dreamt of a Nile–African empire and threatened to occupy northern Ethiopia before he was defeated by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs (the battles of ↗Gundät and ↗Gura^c, 16 November 1875 and 7–9 March 1876). However, this Egyptian campaign was initiated by a spirit of western Imperialism and was not a religious conquest, nor a declaration of Ǧ. on Ethiopia.

The early formative story of the *naǧāšī*–Muḥammad dialogue, however, also left a different message: Ethiopia's illegitimacy. Two elements in the legacy of that episode combined to justify a Ǧ. against Ethiopia. One was the contention that the *naǧāšī* converted to Islam and that Ethiopia was therefore already a part of the "land of Islam". The refusal of the Ethiopians to follow their Muslim king was seen by the Muslim radicals as Islam's first defeat. They advocated the *Islām an-naǧāšī* policy, calling for the installation of a Muslim king over Ethiopia. The second element was the conditional nature of the famous *ḥadīṯ* to leave the Ethiopians alone "as long as they leave you alone". Since Christian Ethiopia departed from the righteousness of the *naǧāšī* and oppressed Muslims, she must face Ǧ.

This counter-argument about Ethiopia's illegitimacy was raised by the more militant Muslims whenever the country was on their agenda. But it was mainly Ethiopia's immediate Muslim neighbours who actually declared holy wars against her. The most important instance occurred with Ethiopia's conquest (1529–43) by *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ), who had united the Muslims of today's southern Ethiopia and was inspired by both the rise of the Ottomans in the Red Sea and the influence of Muslim holy men from Arabia. The chronicle of the conquest, ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, is replete with Ǧ. phrases (e.g., BassHist vol. 2, 32, 40). Another important instance was the war on Ethiopia launched in 1888 by *ḫalīfa* ^{c}Abdallāhi at-Ta^{c}āʾišī, the leader of the ↗Mahdist state in the Sudan. The Mahdi's chronicler of the war left a description of a discussion held in the *ḫalīfa*'s court on the principal issue of Ǧ. against Ethiopia. The *ḫalīfa* announced that the Prophet told him in a dream that, in spite of the *ḥadīṯ* to "leave the Ethiopians alone", he could and should fight Ethiopia because of her aggression. A somewhat different justification to islamicize Ethiopia given in a dream through special authorization from the Prophet himself was described by the chronicle of Grañ.

Notwithstanding modern nationalistic concepts of the 20th cent., Middle Eastern–Ethiopian history continued to recycle this old inner-Islamic argument about Ethiopia's legitimacy. It was forcefully raised in the 1930s when Mussolini declared war and destroyed the Christian Empire. With the resurfacing of radical Islam in the mid-1970s, the proper interpretation of the *naǧāšī*–Muḥammad story continues to fuel the discussion of Ethiopia and Ǧ.

There is no evidence that throughout history any Ethiopian statesman was aware of this Islamic conceptual complexity regarding Ethiopia. Many Ethiopian rulers conceived Islam uni-dimensionally, acting on the premise that Islam was just after waging a holy war against them. In modern times this was especially true of *aṣe* Tewodros II, Yoḥannəs IV and Mängəstu Ḫaylä Maryam.

↗Hiǧra

Src.: Muḥammad ^{c}Abdalfattāh ^{c}Alīyān, *Al-hiǧra ilā l-Ḥabaša wa-munāqašāt qaḍīyat Islām an-naǧāšī* ('The *Hiǧra* to Abyssinia and the Discussions of the Issue concerning the Islam of the *naǧāšī*'), Cairo 1987; Aḥmad Ḥifnī al-Qināʾī, *Kitāb al-ǧawāhir al-ḥisān fī taʾrīḫ al-ḥubšān* ('The Book of Beautiful Jewels in the History of Abyssinians'), Cairo 1321 H. [1903 A.D.]; BassHist vol. 2, 32, 40; Abū Dāʾūd Sulaymān b. Aš^{c}aṯ, *Sunan*, vols. 1–4, Cairo 1408 H. [1988 A.D.].

Lit.: Haggai Erlich, *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder, CO 1994; Id., *The Cross and the River: Ethiopia, Egypt and the Nile*, Boulder, CO 2002; Peter Malcolm Holt, *The Mahdist State of the Sudan, 1881–1898, a Study of its Origins, Development and Overthrow*, Oxford ^{2}1970; Ismā^{c}īl b. ^{c}Abd al-Qādir al-Kurdufānī, *Aṭ-ṭirāz al-manqūš bi-bušrā qatl Yuḥannā malik al-hubuš* ('The Coloured Brocade: on the News of the Murder of Yuḥannā King of Ethiopians'), ed. as: Muḥammad al-Qaddāl – Muḥammad Abū Salīm (eds.), *Al-Ḥarb al-Ḥabašīyya l-Sūdānīyya* ('The Ethiopian-Sudanese War'), Bayrūt 1991; Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, Baltimore 1955; TrIslam; Émile Tyan, "D̲jihād", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 1, 538–40 (Lit.); Emeri Johannes van Donzel, "'Leave the Ethiopians Alone as Long as they Leave you Alone', utrukū l-ḥabaša mā tarakūkum. Some Reflections on a *ḥadīṯ*", in: *StudAeth* 109–14.

Haggai Erlich

Gihon

According to the ↗Bible, the G. (Gə^{c}əz ግዮን, *Gəyon*) is one of the four rivers of Eden or Paradise: Pison, Hiddekel (or Tigris), Euphrates and Gihon (Gr. Γιών, Lat. *Gehon*, *Gyon* with variants; Hebr. *Gîḥôn*). In Gen 2:13, the G. flows round the land ↗Kush, the name of which is rendered in Gə^{c}əz version as *Ityopya*

('Ethiopia'; ↗Aithiopía): **ወስሙ፡ ለካልእ፡ ፈለግ፡ ግዮን፡ ዘየዐውድ፡ ኵሎ፡ ምድረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ** (*wäsəmu läkaləᶜ fäläg Gəyon zäyäᶜawwəd kʷəllo mədrä Ityop̣ya*, 'And the name of the second river is Gihon, which flows round the whole land of Ethiopia'). In the Bible G. has also connections with Jerusalem (2 Chr 32:30, 33:14; in 1 Kings 1:33, 38, 45 it is a toponym). In the Ethiopian tradition, G. was used as a name for the ↗Abbay, i.e. the Blue ↗Nile.

Interested in the earthly identity of the four rivers of Eden (which appear frequently in early Christian art as life-giving streams flowing from the foot of the Cross or from the Fountain of Life), the Church Fathers locate the G. in Ethiopia (e.g. Severianus of Gabala, *De creatione mundi*), and equate it with the Nile, as do Josephus (Arbel 2000:105), St. Ambrose and St. Augustine (Vantini 1999:343). Medieval writers seek out the source and stream of the Nile in the Red Sea and Ethiopia respectively. In the 12th cent., Gervase of Tilbury openly states: "The Gihon, also called the Nile, rises near Atlas but is soon absorbed back into the earth, and runs through a hidden channel underground until it re-emerges again on the shore of the Red Sea; it then heads eastwards and flows round Ethiopia, and so it comes to glide through Egypt until, dividing into seven channels, it enters the Great Sea near Alexandria" (*Otia imperialia*, II, 13, after the *De imagine mundi* of Honorius Inclusus in Leibnitz 1707:911; s. also Gervase of Tilbury 2002:182f.). In the first half of the 14th cent., Jacob of Verona did not hesitate to qualify the Nile as "Giyon, one of the four rivers of the paradise" (*Liber peregrinationis*, 5, in Monneret de Villard 1950:60). The 15th-cent. Anonymous of Loos simply says: "Le fleuve que l'en dit en Latin Gion et en commun parler le Nille, qui part du Paradiz Terrestre ..." (Moravillé 1905:83f.; CerPal vol. 1, 225). The equation G./Abbay was accepted by European travellers to Ethiopia until the 17th cent. (Lobo 1728:105; Pais 1945, vol. 1, 214; BecRASO I, 274). Hiob ↗Ludolf was the first to distinguish between truth and legend, considering the Nile just as a most significant, but earthly river (Ludolf 1681:76–102).

In the Ethiopian tradition, apart from the Bible, there is a number of texts referring to the G. as a river of Eden, cp., e.g., the pseudo-epigraphical *Book of ↗Jubilees* (Jub 8:15, 23; Vanderkam 1989:52–55). In local commentaries to the O.T. (↗*Tərgʷame*), especially to Gen 2:13, and some other works, such as the ↗*Aksimaros* (Trumpp 1882:190, 234) or the Vita of ↗Filmona (de la Fuÿe 1958:12) the G. is equally deemed to be one of the rivers of Paradise.

In some sources the geographical dimensions of the G. appear more precise: in a miracle of Mary (↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*) the G. is mentioned as a river the Virgin saw from above when flying on a cloud over Ethiopia (Six 1999: 55). In fact, the Ethiopian apocryphal *Vision of Mary* (↗*Dərsanä Maryam*) depends upon the Apocalypse of Paul (chs. 13–44), in which the G. is described as a river flowing through Egypt and Ethiopia (chs. 23, 45; s. Duensing 1989:668; Chaîne 1955:65; Erbetta 1981:455–70). The identification of the biblical G. with the Nile could also mirror the belief that Ethiopia had the authority to interrupt the Nile's flow (UllBibl 2, 5; Pontani 1985:324; Six 1999:66).

In this connection, and hardly fitting with its origin from Paradise (yet directly applying the name G. to the Abbay), some Ethiopian documents present the G. as a source of troubles and a border-river or natural frontier separating the Christian empire, mainly ↗Gondär, from the non-Christian regions, such as that of the Mäč̣č̣a Oromo. The "short chronicle" describes how in 1682 *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I arrived at the bank of the G., looking for the Oromo (DombrChr 213, 235, 244). In addition, in Ethiopian history the G. is chiefly related to the province of ↗Ač̣äfär and the Gəlgäl Abbay ('Little Abbay'), important for the province of Goǧǧam (Bairu Tafla 2000:156). According to a local tradition still known around Lake Ṭana, G. is a name for the Nile springs (UllBibl 2). G. also designates a small town to the south of ↗Addis ᶜAläm.

Src.: JAMES C. VANDERKAM, *The Book of Jubilees*, Louvain 1989 (CSCO 510, 511 [SAe 87, 88]), 52–55 (text); HUGO DUENSING, "Aurelio de Santos Otero, Apokalypse des Paulos", in: WILHELM SCHNEEMELCHER (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, Tübingen 1989, vol. 2, 644–75, here 668; MARIUS CHAÎNE, *Apocrypha de B. Maria Virgine*, Roma 1909 [repr. Louvain 1955] (CSCO 39, 40 [SAe 22, 23]), 51–80, here 65 (text); MAURICE ALLOTTE DE LA FUŸE, *Actes de Filmona*, Louvain 1958 (CSCO 181, 182 [SAe 35, 36]), 12 (text); MARIO ERBETTA, *Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, Bologna 1981, vol. 3, 455–70; DombrChr, s. index; LudHist 76–102; HIOB LUDOLF, *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 119–21; VERONIKA SIX, "Water – the Nile – and the *Täʾamrä Maryam*. Miracles of the Virgin Mary in the Ethiopian Version", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 53–68, here 65f.; ERNST TRUMPP (ed.), *Das Hexaëmeron des Pseudo-Epiphanius. Aethiopischer Text verglichen mit dem arabischen Originaltext und deutscher Übersetzung*, München

1882 (Abhandlungen der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, I. Cl., XVI., II. Abth.), 190, 234; JERONIMO LOBO, *Voyage historique d'Abyssinie*, Traduite du Portugais, continuée de plusieurs Dissertations, Lettres et Memoires par M. Legrand, Paris – Den Haag 1728, 105; PÉRO PAIS, *História da Etiópia*, Porto 1945, vol. 1, 214; BecRASO I, 274; GODEFRIDUS GUILIELMUS LEIBNITZ, *Scriptores rerum Brunsviciensium*, Hannover 1707, vol. 1, 911; GERVASE OF TILBURY, *Otia imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, ed., tr. by S. E. BANKS – J. W. BINNS, Oxford 2002, 182f.; JACOPO DA VERONA, *Il Liber peregrinationis*, ed. by UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, Roma 1950, 60 ; H. MORAVILLÉ, "Un pèlerinage en Terre Sainte et au Sinaï au XV^{e} siècle", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 66, 1905, 70–106, here 83f.

Lit.: HuntGeogr, s. index; CerPal vol. 1, 225; OSBERT GUY STANHOPE CRAWFORD, "Some Medieval Theories about the Nile", *The Geographical Journal* 114, 1949, 6–29; UllBibl 2, 5; ANNA PONTANI, "Paralipomeni dei Turcica: gli scritti di Giano Lascaris per la crociata contro i Turchi", *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 27, 1985, 213–338, here 324ff. (Lit.); BENJAMIN ARBEL, "Renaissance Geographical Literature and the Nile", in: HAGGAI ERLICH – ISRAEL GERSHONI (eds.), *The Nile: Histories, Cultures, Myths*, Boulder 1999, 105–19; BAIRU TAFLA, "The Father of Rivers: the Nile in Ethiopian Literature", *ibid.*, 153–70; GIOVANNI VANTINI, "La conoscenza del Nilo nei classici greci e romani", *Nubica et Aethiopica* 4/5, 1999, 337–46, here 343.

Verena Böll

Ğiila

Ğ. is an Oromo word for any sacred ceremony or festival, of which normally an animal ↗sacrifice is an essential component. Ğ. range from short and simple family festivals to complex national ritual journeys and ↗pilgrimages which require a series of ceremonies and sacrifices and may last several months as, for example, those to the ↗*abbaa muudaa* or ↗*qaalluu*. The word Ğ. has been reported as also being applied to the pilgrims themselves. Since the time of d'Abbadie most travellers and ethnographers have mentioned pilgrimages (Knutsson 1967:142–55). The Imperial Government actively discouraged pilgrimages but nevertheless the ↗Boorana, ↗Gabbra, ↗Guǧǧi- and ↗Arsi, using discretion, managed to maintained those to the *abbaa muudaa*. Since the fall of the *Därg* pilgrimages, along with other aspects of Oromo tradition, have been enthusiastically and actively revived in some parts of Oromo lands.

Lit.: P. MARIO BORELLO, *Dizionario Oromo–Italiano*, Hamburg 1995; MHasOr; KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change: a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Göteborg 1967.

Paul T.W. Baxter

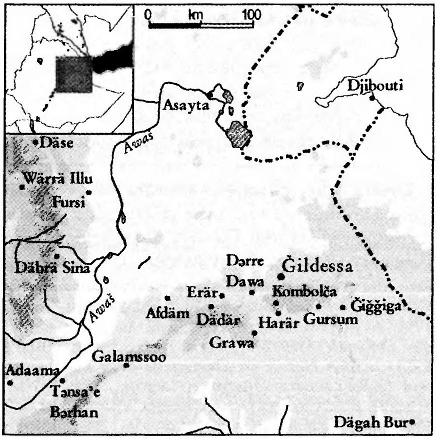
Ğildessa

Ğ. (Amh. ጂልዴሳ, also ጃልዴሳ, Ğaldessa,) is a small town situated about 45 km north of ↗Harär at 9° 42' N 42° 10' E and at an elevation of 1,065 m A.S.L. Its name is derived from the Oromo word for monkey (*jaldeessa*, 'monkey, baboon'; GraggDic 232), which were plentiful in that area. Its population is mixed and consists of Somali, Oromo, Amhara and other peoples.

The town was founded by the Egyptians after their conquest of Harär in 1875 as a fort to secure their logistics from the coast. They chose a place in a valley naturally provided with water, though of poor quality, in the territory of the ↗ᶜIssa Somali, just bordering on Nole (↗Qottu) lands. Here the camels and the drivers had to be changed because the Somali were not allowed to enter Oromo territory and vice versa (Harris 1894:359). The Egyptians built a caravanserai or fortification of stones and thorn-hedges (*ẓarība*) in which they stationed a contingent of Sudanese soldiers with an Egyptian officer.

The place soon emerged as an important centre of trade on the route from the coast to Harär, Šäwa and Käfa. A market was established and people erected their huts, the Somali on one side of the caravanserai and the Oromo on the other. Also, the *ugas* of the ᶜIssa, Roble Farah, transferred his kraal to Ğ. The number of inhabitants grew to 1,500, which doubled or tripled on market days.

When the Egyptians had to leave Harär in 1885, the British took possession of Ğ. and placed there a garrison of 19 Indians and about



20 Arabs and Somali. These soldiers, however, were taken prisoner by the troops of the *amīr* ↗ᶜAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad of Harär when they proceeded northwards to fight the ↗Porro expedition. Before the massacre of the Italians on 9 April 1886, Ǧ. was the place of some unsuccessful negotiations between the commander of the Harär troops and Umberto Romagnoli from the Italian side. Shortly afterwards, the ᶜIssa revolted in Ǧ. and freed the British soldiers.

After *aṣe* ↗Mənilək's occupation of Harär in 1887, Ǧ., along with Darmi and ↗Ǧiǧǧiga, became one of the Ethiopian border forts against the Somali. It often had governors of foreign origin (Harris 1894:359), like the Armenian Sarkis Terzian, who led from Ǧ. several successful campaigns against the ↗Ogaden (Pankhurst 1981:367f.).

Though much afflicted by the ↗famine in the early 1890s (Harris 1894:360), Ǧ. remained an important place of trade on the route from ↗Zaylaᶜ to Harär. The route is mentioned in several treaties of the European powers, which proposed that Ǧ. should be open for international traffic. Though this was repeated in the Anglo–Italian Protocol of 5 May 1894, Ǧ. itself was ceded to Italy as part of its sphere of influence (Buonomo 1894:62). Already in 1890 Crispi had asked Mənilək to be allowed to hoist the Italian flag in Ǧ. to prevent a British or French advance in that area (Salimbeni 1956:151f.). The Italian aspirations, however, were not realized at the time. The building of the ↗railway up to ↗Dərre Dawa in 1902 diverted part of the trade from Ǧ. The custom was transferred from Ǧ. to Dərre Dawa (van Gelder de Pineda 1995:269ff.). Even then, the transit traffic did not totally collapse at once because the British subsidized the camel caravans from Zaylaᶜ to Harär, to make them cheaper than the railway (Rozis 1908:473). In the long run, nevertheless, the importance of Ǧ. diminished, together with that of Zaylaᶜ.

During the Somali–Ethiopian war, Somali troops conquered Ǧ. in the fall of 1977. It was reconquered by the Ethio–Cuban offensive in February 1978 (Valdés 1980:55).

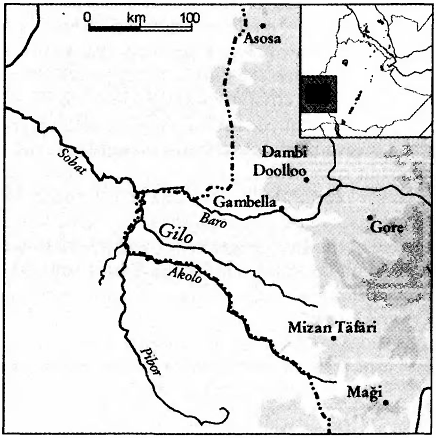
Src.: AUGUSTO SALIMBENI, *Crispi e Menelich nel diario del Conte Augusto Salimbeni*, ed. by CARLO ZAGHI, Torino 1956; ALFRED BARDEY, *Barr-Adjam. Souvenirs d'Afrique Orientale 1880–1887*, Paris 1981, 129–32; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somal- und Galla-Ländern Ostafrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 153–66; WALTER BURTON HARRIS, "A Recent Visit to Harrar", *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 156, 1894, 350–69; CHARLES MICHEL, *Mission de Bonchamps, vers Faschoda. à la rencontre de la Mission Marchand a travers l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1900, 48; HERBERT VIVIAN, *Abyssinia: through the Lion-Land to the Court of the Lion of Judah*, New York 1901, 90–97.

Lit.: GIACOMO BUONOMO, "Protocollo anglo-italiano de 5 Maggio 1894 relativo alla delimitazione delle sfere d'influenza fra l'Italia e l'Inghilterra nel Golfo di Aden", *Bolletino della Società africana d'Italia* 13, 1894, 61–64; A.G. ROZIS, "Une Mission commerciale en Abyssinie", *ibid.* 1, 1886, 156–60; ID., "Rapporto sul massacro della nostra spedizione", *ibid.* 169–72; SOTIROS KONSTANTINU CHRYSEOS, "Lettera sull'eccidio della spedizione Porro", *ibid.* 175–77; ID., "Über die Ermordung der Porro'schen Expedition", *Das Ausland* 59, 1886, 439–40; *Guida* 430; NELSON P. VALDÉS, "Cuban Foreign Policy in the Horn of Africa", *Cuban Studies* 10, 1980, 49–89; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Ethiopian–Armenian Relations 3: the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *Revue des Étude Arméniennes* 15, 1981, 355–400; PankHist II, 187; 270; ROSANNA VAN GELDER DE PINEDA, *Le Chemin de fer de Djibouti à Addis-Abeba*, Paris 1995; MARC FONTRIER, *Abou-Bakr Ibrahim – Pacha de Zeyla, marchand d'esclaves: Commerce et diplomatie dans le Golfe de Tadjoura 1840–1885*, Paris 2003, 18, 43, 160.

Ewald Wagner

Gilo

The river G. is, together with the Akobo, Pibor and Baro, a tributary of the ↗Sobat, which downstream joins the White Nile at Malakal in the Sudan. With a length of more than 300 km, it collects the abundant rainfall over the western highlands of ↗Illubabor (now divided between the Oromiyaa and the Gambella regions to the east and west, respectively). The G. flows westwards, leaving on its right bank the swamps covering most of the Baro salient. This area was



annexed to Ethiopia at the end of the 19th cent. by *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw.

Up to the Italian conquest, coffee and skins produced in the western regions were exported along the Baro and the Nile to Khartoum through the fluvial port of Gambella. The banks of the upstream G. are inhabited by the Oromo. The plains are the home of the Nuer, whilst in the confluence with the Akobo dwell the Añwaa (*Guida* 510). These Nilotic-speaking peoples are mainly dedicated to agro-pastoralism and, during the high waters of summer, to fishing. Although they have recently acquired the status of a national park, the swamps are gradually being eroded in their outer parts by cotton-plantations and Sudanese refugee settlements.

Src.: EMAtlas; *Guida* 510f.

Lit.: DONALD L. DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986 (African Studies Series 51), passim; MesfGeogr; ZerEmp.

Alain Gascon

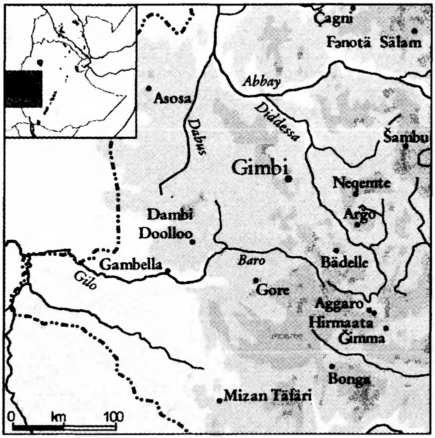
Gimbi

G. (Amh. ገምቢ Gəmbi, also Giimbii; 1,930 m A.S.L) is a town in western Ethiopia, built on a plateau between the Diddessa basin to the east and the Dabus basin to the west. G. is where the road from Neqemte and Addis Abäba divides into two branches, the northern leading to Asosa and the southern to Gambella.

According to d'Abbadie (AbbGeogr 232), G. was the name of a king. It first appears on the 1903 map by Hughes Leroux as Mount G. The town was most probably founded in the 1910s. First it served as a *gəbbi* of the local Oromo *Leeqaa* administrators of ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Moroda (cp. Balsan 1947:131). During the time of the Italian occupation, there was a Catholic mission in the vicinity.

G. is one of the larger collecting-centres of coffee, hides and skins. The Oromo of western Wälläga have been forced to extend coffee-cultivation, mainly by the new masters of the land, who were granted concessions by the conquerors from Šäwa. Cattle-breeding is practised on the lowlands to the west, near the Dabus river. The area also boasts deposits of precious and rare metals, which are occasionally mined.

G. had as many as 6,000 inhabitants in 1938 (*Guida*). It was a well-known market which attracted foreign merchants, mostly Greeks. After the war of 1936–41 the population-growth slowed down considerably so that there were only 13,098 inhabitants in 1984 (CSA 1984). The census of 2003 counts 33,329 inhabitants (CSA 2004). It was primarily a result of the competition with Neqemte and Ǧimma: both closer to Addis Abäba, the towns overshadowed G., which at that time had no administrative function at the provincial level (Neqemte being the capital of the Wälläga region). It was only the capital of the G. *awrağğa*, a subdivision of the region. In 1991, however, G. became the capital of the *wäräda* by the same name in the West Wälläga zone of Oromiyaa *kəlləl*.



Despite its important coffee production, West Wällägga suffers from its location next to Beni Šangul-Gumuz and to Gambella. These two peripheral *kəlləl* are sparsely populated and have been land-locked since the closing of the Sudanese border.

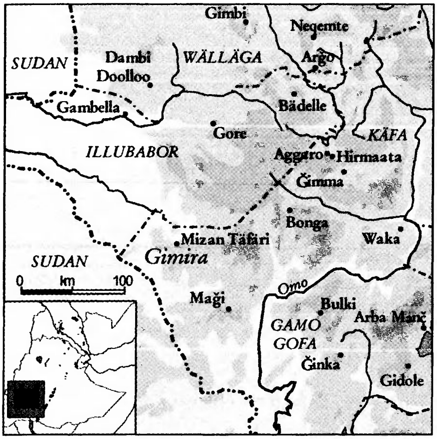
Src.: CSA 2000; CSA 1984; CSA 2004; EMAtlas; *Guida* 505; AbbGeogr 232.

Lit.: DONALD L. DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (ed.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986 (African Studies Series 51); GasEth; MesfGeogr; FRANÇOIS BALSAN, *Poursuite vers le Nil blanc*, Paris 1947, 131; JEAN BRUNCTEAU, *Des pyramides au "guébi" du négus. Odyssée automobile* (*Égypte–Soudan–Éthiopia*), Paris 1931, 193, 196; LAMBERT BARTELS, *Oromo Religion: Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia – an Attempt to Understand*, Berlin 1983, 59, 359.

Alain Gascon

Gimira

G. (Amh. ጊሚራ, also ገሚራ, *gəmira*) was the name given by outsiders to three Omotic-speak-



ing groups in south-west Ethiopia, who called themselves ↗Benč̣, ↗Še and Mer (also known collectively as Dizu). The Šeko (Čako), Nayi (Na'o) and Ç̣ara are also considered G. groups (also named Tolu). The Benč̣ are the largest group, with ca. 173,000 people (CSA 1998:66), while the Še and Mer are numerically modest and are being absorbed among the Benč̣ and the ↗Käfa. The Ethiopian census (*ibid.*) identified 13,290 people as "Še" and 1,370 as "Mer". In addition to the groups mentioned above, across the G. area lives a hunting-caste, called the Band or Menǧa.

Since the conquest and inclusion of these peoples into the Ethiopian Empire in 1897–98, their territory has been referred to as G. The term probably derived from the old word "Gimbir", a word that several neighbouring peoples, such as the Me'en, use for the Benč̣ and related highland people, but without a derogatory intention. Others assert that G. was the name the Oromo applied to the local people when they arrived (Lange 175:4f.). Today G. has meaning only as a historical term and its use is widely rejected. The district town of Šäwa-G. was renamed Šäwa-Benč̣ in 1994.

About a century ago, the G. region was considered an "uncivilized" country of dark-skinned people from which slaves and serfs could be taken. Before that, G. was the area where the kingdom of Käfa took most of its slaves. The post-1898 imperial domination and exploitation by highlanders and traders seriously affected the region, leading to a severe economic disruption and substantial loss of life. At this time the G. country was also raided for other resources, such as cattle and various forest products (e.g., civet cats for their musk and skins). Soon after imperial rule was established, the ↗*gäbbar* system was introduced. The plight of the G. people was recorded by Montandon, a contemporary observer who travelled the area in 1910. A notorious event in G.'s history was the large slave-raiding expedition led by *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu shortly after he was designated ↗Mənilək II's successor (1912). After a devastating campaign, tens of thousands of G. (mostly Benč̣ and Nayi) were taken away to the north (BZHist 93; GebMolIyas 335).

Within the G. area, spirit-possession cults such as ↗Gäramanǧo were widespread. The cult-leaders played an important role in redistributing the area's economy. Apart from spirit-mediums, the Benč̣ and Čako in particular also had powerful local chiefs who, unlike those in the Ometo-speaking areas, were not considered divine kings. Most peoples in the G. area had a dual structure of high, aristocratic clans and commoner clans.

Today, the G. country is a densely populated, productive farming area in which most of the original forests have disappeared. The people are predominantly sedentary subsistence-cultivators who also keep livestock and engage in small-scale trade. A form of shifting cultivation is also practised, the main products being *ənsät*, maize, beans, pumpkins, cereals, fruits, tubers, cabbages and peppers; some cotton and coffee are produced as cash-crops and apiculture is also widespread. The *ənsät* culture, while important, is much less developed than among the Gamo and Gonga peoples. Some large state coffee-plantations are also found in the area, e.g., Bebeqa. Until ca. 1992, G. was an *awraǧǧa* in the Käfa Region. At present there is no longer any administrative division or group called G.

Src.: CSA 1998.

Lit.: BZHist 93; GebMolIyas 335; VSAe III, 11–71; GEORGES MONTANDON, "Notes sur l'ethnographie des Ghimirra", *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie* 3, 1912, 149f.; ID., *Au Pays Ghimirra*, Neuchâtel 1913; WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *Gimira (Remnants of a Vanishing Culture)*, Frankfurt a. Main 1975; ID., "Geburts- und Totenfeiern bei den Cheka in Äthiopien", in: *Kleine Beiträge aus dem Staatlichen Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden* 6, 1984, 29–35; GIRMAYE KEBBEDE, *An Exploratory Study of Production Practices among the Bench*, Addis Ababa 1993.

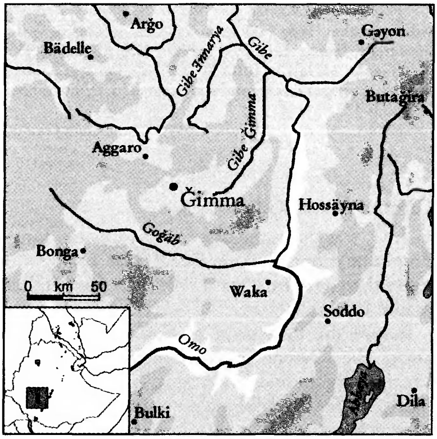
Jon Abbink

Ǧimma

Located 335 km from Addis Abäba at 1,750 m A.S.L., Ǧ. (ጂማ, or ጅማ, Ǧəmma, 144,748 inhabitants in 2004) is the most important town in south-western Ethiopia and one of the biggest urban centres in Oromiyaa. It is the capital of the Ǧ. Zone, which has a population of 2.4 million inhabitants on an area of 18,000 km², hence a density of 127 inhabitants per km² (in three *wärädas* it reaches over 240 inhabitants per km²).

The present attraction of this urban area goes beyond the limits of the Zone and of the former kingdom of ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar to cover part of the territory of the ↗Käfa region, of which it was the capital from 1942 to 1987. (This is not to be confused with the kingdom of Käfa south of the ↗Goǧäb river, which had Bonga as its capital.) Ǧ.'s exclusive influence stretches over the Highlands, limited by the course of the Goǧäb to the south, of the ↗Didessa to the west and of the loop of the ↗Gibe river to the north. The mountains, which seldom culminate above 3,000 m, have largely kept their forest cover. Small farms which were partly developed at the expense of pre-existing forests and are still dotted with the occasional huge remnant of a sycamore, produce cereals and ↗*ənsät* as staple crops, but mainly coffee as a very lucrative cash-crop. These products are harvested in the rich region of western Oromiyaa as well as in the Southern Nations', Nationalities' and Peoples' region and reach the town through a converging network of roads and tracks.

In order to promote the modernization and expansion of the agricultural sector, the Ǧimma College of Agriculture (second in importance in Ethiopia after ↗Alämayya) was founded and served as a nucleus for the development of the University. Ǧ.'s airport has daily flights to Addis Abäba and is also the gateway to other towns further west. In the town-centre a monumental cityhall, topped by a lofty bell-tower, overlooks a rectangular piazza. The surrounding arcade and the converging wide and straight avenues could not offer a better setting for military parades and reviews. This urban character, which boasts a cinema as well as the urban landscape, in general bears the lasting imprint of Italian-inspired architecture.



It has to be remembered that in order to build their capital of the "Governo di Galla e Sidama", the Italians had restored the kingdom of Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar, already annexed by ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1932. The European town was to be erected a short distance away from the traditional market of Hirmaata, and the Royal Residence at Ǧiren. In accordance with the 1938 racial laws, a grandiose urban plan was to establish a strict segregation between the Italians and the natives. This architectural heritage, which was unfinished due to the fall of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, was taken over by the Ethiopians, who find it difficult to maintain in a hot and humid climate all year round. Nevertheless, it gives Ǧ. a decisive advantage in imposing itself as a capital, not only of western Oromiyaa, but also of the highlands and lowlands as far as the ↗Abbay to the north and the Rift to the south.

No other town south-west of Addis Abäba, with the possible exception of Awasa much further south, can hope to rival Ǧ., which relies on its prosperous agricultural area. In this context the recent opening of an all-weather road between Ǧ. and Soddo through the spectacular Omo gorges provides a new outlet for its surplus agricultural production.

Src.: CSA 2000; CSA 2004; EMAtlas; MesfAtlas.

Lit.: AbbGeogr 63, 70, 78ff., 90, 95, 98, 101f., 111, 117, 119, 122, 134f., 213, 258, 284, 295, 311, 390; CerEt; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gimma", in: *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. 17, Roma 1933, 116–17 (Lit.); GasEth; ALAIN GASCON, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie : les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanisation contemporaine", in: BENOÎT ANTHEAUME – FLORENCE PINTON (eds.), *Tropiques. Lieux et liens: Florilège offert à Paul Pelissier et Gilles Sautter*, Paris 1989, 435–44; ID., "'Fair Borders' for Oromiyaa", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 362–78; ID., "Éthiopie, Érythrée: la ville, expression d'un destin messianique en hautes terres rurales", in: JEAN-LOUIS CHALÉARD – ALAIN DUBRESSON (eds.), *Villes et campagnes dans les pays du Sud: Géographie des relations*, Paris 1999, 151–68; *Guida* 522–26; HuntGal; GEOFFREY CHARLES LAST, *A*

Geography of Ethiopia for Senior Secondary Schools, Addis Ababa 1963; HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, *A Galla Monarchy, Jimma Abba Jifar (1830–1932)*, Madison 1965; MesfGeogr; MHasOr; JOHN W. TIFFIN, "Janjero. A Field Study", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal*, 3, 2, December 1965, 21–42.

Alain Gascon

Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar

Ǧ.A.Ǧ. was the name of a famous Oromo kingdom that flourished in the ↗Gibe region for more than a century (ca. 1790–1932; for detailed map s. Gibe).

Before the formation of the nucleus of the state, the Oromo clans Diggo, Badi, Lalo, Harsu, Hagalo and five other clans had a common ↗*čaffee* assembly at a strategically located place known as Hulle. Every eight years the ten clans elected *gadaa* leaders, who settled disputes among themselves, marshalled their resources for common cause, declared war and concluded peace. Their territory was known as Ǧimma Kakka ('Ǧimma of common oath'), probably because the ten clans had taken an oath to defend each other and their territory. The ten clans of Ǧimma Kakka had common ↗*abbaa gadaa* (i.e. ↗*abbaa bokkuu*) and, correspondingly, a common ↗*bokku*. While the *abbaa gadaa* was the president of the *čaffee* assembly, the *bokku* was the emblem of his authority. As such, the *bokku* represented the independence of the ten clans of Ǧimma Kakka and served as a symbol of their unity, common government and common law.

King Abbaa Ǧoobir of Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar, Ǧirän; photo 1972/74 by Werner Jürgen Lange; courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (37–La045–14 M–ON)

During the second half of the 18th cent., all major clans, such as the Diggo, the Badi, Lalo, Harsu, Hagalo and five others, each started having their own *bokku* and *abbaa bokkuu* (Guluma Gemeda 1996:72). This growing disassociation of the clans undermined the peace in Ǧimma Kakka: to deal with inter-clan conflicts, wars replaced the peaceful dialogue. Under this circumstances during the last two decades of the 18th cent. the institution of *motumma* ('kingship') developed in the Ǧimma Kakka area.

The nucleus of the state was formed some time in the early 1790s. According to a popular tradition, all the clan members assembled at the Hulle *čaffee* assembly, where they chose Abbaa Farroo, probably an ↗*abbaa dulaa* of the Diggo clan, as their new leader (Guluma Gemeda 1996:17; Tesema Taʾa 1986:87f.). Oral tradition presents Abbaa Farroo as a humble person; however, he was able to provide what the *čaffee* assembly failed to ensure: safety, security, law and order. The *čaffee* had no unified army to enforce its decisions. With the support of the Diggo clan, at that time the most powerful clan in Ǧimma Kakka, Abbaa Farroo was able to maintain a permanent military force (Guluma Gemeda 1996:72). The army not only helped him execute his power by establishing systems of taxation, corvee labour and trade, it also ensured his success in the conquest of further territories. The first to be conquered was that of the Lalo clan (Guluma Gemeda 1996:73, Tesema Taʾa 1986:88). On their land, in ↗Ǧirän, Abbaa Farroo established his capital (Tesema Taʾa 1986:88f.). After Abbaa Farroo's death, his eldest son, ↗Abbaa Magaal, succeeded to power, legitimizing hereditary rule in Ǧimma Kakka. He defeated the Badi clan, with its fertile lands around the great market of ↗Hirmaata. Abbaa Magaal was succeeded by his son Sanna (↗Abbaa Ǧifaar I), who gained considerable experience in the war of his father. His military abilities and diplomatic skills enabled him to defeat all the Ǧimma Kakka war leaders one after another (Abbaa Ǧoobir n.d. 33; MHasOr 111f.). Gradually, the name of Abbaa Ǧifaar eclipsed that of Ǧimma Kakka, and the kingdom became known as Ǧ.A.Ǧ. after its king.

The fertility of the soil, combined with intelligent activities in the fields of agriculture, commerce, industry and trade, made Ǧ.A.Ǧ. a land of great wealth and the centre of Islamic learning during the second half of the 19th cent. (cp. Grühl 1922:166). It was with that wealth that ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II was able to obtain internal autonomy from *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa in 1882. The autonomy was abolished in 1932, when *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I detained King ↗Abbaa Ǧoobir Abbaa Dulaa and appointed Amhara governors over Ǧ.A.Ǧ., which became an *awraǧǧa* of the Käfa region; but then restored by the Italians (↗Ǧimma).

Src.: unpublished ms. of Abbaa Ǧobir Abbaa Dula, the last King of Ǧimma [in possession of the author]; Cec-Zeila vol. 2; MasMis vol. 6, 5f.

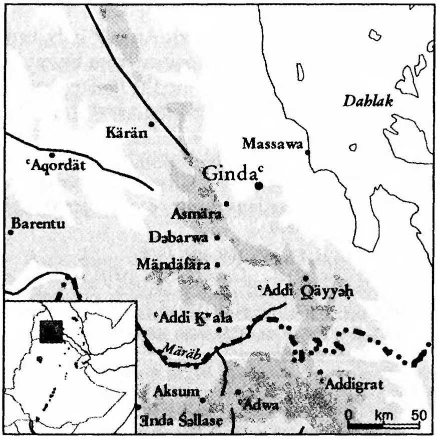
Lit.: HERBERT S. LEWIS, *Jimma Abba Jifar. An Oromo Monarchy: Ethiopia 1830–1932*, Asmara 2001; GULUMA GEMEDA, *Land, Agriculture and Society in the Gibe Region: Southwestern Ethiopia, c. 1850–1974*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 1996, passim; MAX GRÜHL, *The Citadel of Ethiopia: the Empire of the Divine Emperor*, London 1932, 166; MHasOr 111f.; TESEMA TAʾA, *The Political Economy of Western Central Ethiopia from the mid-16th to the Early 20th Centuries*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 1986, 87ff.

Mohammed Hassen

Gindaᶜ

G. (**ጊንዳዕ**, ital. Ghindà), a small town and railway-station in Sämhar, Eritrea, lies half-way between Asmära (50 km) and Massawa (70 km), in the mountains between the highlands and the hot ↗Sämhar plains, 890 m A.S.L. The city's name is etymologically connected to the *gindaᶜ* plant (*Calatropis procera*), a slightly poisonous bush with air-filled green fruits, which grows abundantly in the area.

G. enjoys a favourable climate. Due to its geographical position, in May and July to September it receives the highland rains and in November to February the rains of the rainy season of the lowlands. Therefore, it has a rich vegetation. In 1904 G. is described as lying in a valley, surrounded by forests of sycamores, acacias, fig trees etc. (Schoenfeld 1904:23). In addition to different grains, sisal was produced in an agave plantation (Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana 1956:333). The population (1,250 in 1956, 15,000 in 1998, s. KilHDic 232) originally was Sāho and Təgre, but today it is composed mostly of Təgrəñña speakers, the first of them having migrated to G. during the construction of the railway, which reached G. in 1904. The workers lived in an area called today still Färobiya (from It. *ferrovia*).



In 1874 G. became the capital of a new province. *Aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV accorded the "life-governorship of Ghinda" to his general (*däǧǧač*) John Charles ↗Kirkham, as a reward for his diplomatic efforts to obtain support against Egyptian expansion in the 1870s. This title was an implicit challenge to Egypt, G. being a border town claimed by ↗Egypt (Longrigg 1945:107; KolTrad II, 165). Kirkham's governorship included the coastline from Annesley Bay to Anfile Bay, Zula, the Sāho and Arho country up to the edge of the highlands, joining the district of G. south of ᶜAylät. This appointment was, however, partially theoretical, the coast being controlled by Egypt. The project of a new sea province, tributary to Ethiopia, aimed at the creation, as an alternative to Egyptian Massawa, of an Ethiopian port with British help (↗United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland). Kirkham established his seat in G. and in December 1874 ran up the British flag. The idea of establishing a neutral British territory between Ethiopia and Egypt in this new G.-Anfile province, however, was not followed by Great Britain (Dye 1880:127).

Facing growing tension with Egypt, Kirkham was called to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs's capital ᶜAdwa in October 1875. Only a few days later G. was occupied by the Egyptian forces under Colonel Arendrup and the English flag substituted with the Egyptian (ibid. 128). After the ↗Egyptian-Ethiopian war of 1875-76, G. was claimed by *ras* Alula. *Ras* ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel of Ḥamasen, who joined the Egyptians, stayed for some time in 1876 in G. (KolTrad II, 169). After ↗Italy had taken over the Massawa province from Egypt in 1885, G. was incorporated into the Italian *protettorato* (later Colonia Eritrea) and a fort was built above G. in 1889 (KilHDic 231). Later, agriculture in G. was promoted through concessions, e.g. for citrus crops. The railway, destroyed in the 1970s, has partially been reconstructed and reached G. in 1999.

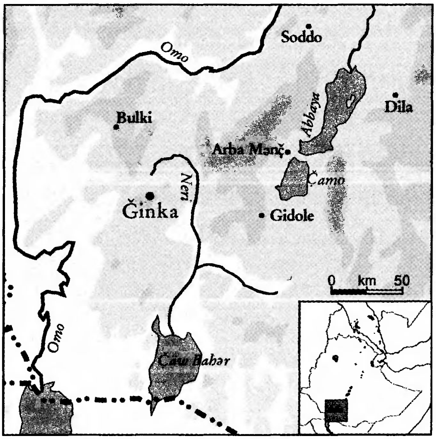
Src.: KolTrad II, 12, 165, 169, 194, 196f.
Lit.: KilHDic 231f.; *Guida* 191; Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana (ed.), *Dizionario enciclopedico Italiano*, vol. 5, Roma [1956], 333; William McE[ntyre] Dye, *Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia, or Military Service under the Khedive, in his Provinces and beyond their Borders, as Experienced by the American Staff*, New York 1880, 126ff.; Dagobert Schoenfeld, *Erythräa und der Ägyptische Sudan*, Berlin 1904, 23f.; Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, *A Short History of Eritrea*, Oxford 1945, 107.

Wolbert Smidt

Ǧinka

Ǧ. (ጂንካ, also Alga) was the administrative capital of the Gäläb and ↗Hamär Bakko *awraǧǧa* of ↗Gamo Gofa province. When Gamo Gofa in the late 1980s was divided into the provinces of North and South Omo, Ǧ. became capital of South Omo. Today Ǧ. is the administrative capital of South Omo Zone within the Southern Nations', Nationalities' and Peoples' Regional State.

Ǧ. is a small thriving town established in the early 1950s along the Neri River, which flows through the town to the lowlands to join the Maki and later the ↗Omo River. Located on the south-western edge of ↗Aari country, Ǧ. is 785 km by road from Addis Abäba and today has a three-time weekly flight connection with Addis Abäba via Arba Mənč̣ and a daily bus service connecting it with Arba Mənč̣.



Ǧ. was preceded by the nearby Bakko as a political and military centre. The southernmost garrison-settlement on the Buska hills, Koke, received commands from Bakko. It was later totally abandoned and left without a trace in favour of Dimeka and Turmi. From Bakko many *däǧǧazmačes* (governors) have taken turns to manage the area between Bakko, Lake Č̣äw Baḥər (at that time Lake Stephanie) and the borderlands to colonial Kenya and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Ǧ. was established as an inheritor of that tradition, but its role was limited. Its mandate was the pacification of the pastoral peoples of the region.

Prior to Ǧ.'s constitution under the Gamo Gofa province, it was administered by the governor-general of the ↗Käfa province from the then capital Ǧimma. It was the late *däǧǧazmač* Amməro Śəllase Abäbbä who negotiated with the imperial court for its proclamation as administrative capital of the Gäläb and Hamär Bakko *awraǧǧa*. The choice of Ǧ. instead of Bakko brought hope to the people, who associated Bakko with their traumatic experiences after Mənilək II's conquest, such as the loss of their autonomy, terror, slavery and fief-service, only a few decades earlier. At the initial stage, Ǧ.'s role was that of a police-garrison from where attacks could be launched on pastoral peoples whenever there were inter-group clashes.

The ultimate expression of state power in Ethiopia, that of confining people crudely in a prison for pastoralists, has been one defining feature of Ǧ. The prison, located across the Neri River since the establishment of Ǧ., became a way through which members of pastoral groups could understood not only the meanings of state power, but also what other distant pastoralist groups are. As inmates in the Ǧ. prison, they, as the first of their communities, learned the Amharic language, weaving, sewing, basket- and mat-making.

With the increasing number of students from pastoral areas and of educated former pastoralists holding government positions, Ǧ. is beginning to be more friendly and welcoming to the surrounding people.

Ǧ.'s attracts the surrounding pastoralists and the Aari and ↗Maale agro-pastoralists with the weekly market, where they sell honey, cattle and small stock, coffee, butter, spices, clay pots and pans and various natural products. In exchange, the Ǧ. market offers people various essentials, "exotic" meals and alcoholic beverages. Former slave-traders and ivory-poachers have gradually evolved into ivory-, spices- and coffee-traders and have added old-style rifles and Kalashnikov assault rifles to these trade goods. A small Muslim group of merchants controls much of the trade in Ǧ. and in the pastoral lowlands as itinerant firearms-traders.

Today Ǧ. accommodates a number of religious institutions, such as Protestant chapels, a newly built mosque, a number of Ethiopian Orthodox churches, a museum (the South Omo Research Centre), a hospital built by the Mekane Yesus Church with Norwegian assistance, a Catholic Mission, around four hotels and a couple of petrol stations.

For the tourists, Ǧ. has recently become the window to the indigenous cultures of the South Omo area, who have not yet begun fully to reap the benefits from this development. Ǧ. is increasingly becoming the gateway to the Mago National Park and Omo National Park (↗National Parks), which are abundant with game and cattle.

Src.: ALEXANDER BULATOVICH, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes: Country in Transition 1896–1898*, tr., ed. by RICHARD SELTZER, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 2000; J.G. VANDERHEYM, *Une expedition avec le negous Menelik: Vingt mois en Abyssinie*, Paris 1896.

Lit.: HENRY DARLEY, *Slaves and Ivory in Abyssinia: a Record of Adventure and Exploration among Ethiopian Slavers*, New York 1935, ²1969; DONALD L. DONHAM, *History, Power, Ideology: Central Issues in Marxism and Anthropology*, Cambridge 1990; ID., *Work and Power in Maale Ethiopia*, New York 1994; ID., *Marxist Modern. An Ethnographic History of the Ethiopian Revolution*, Oxford 1999; DONALD L. DONHAM – WENDY JAMES, *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986; JEAN LYDALL – IVO STRECKER, *The Hamar of Southern Ethiopia*, 2 vols., Hohenschaftlarn 1979; ALEXANDER NATY, "Memory and the Humiliation of Men: the Revolution in Aari", in: WENDY JAMES – DONALD L. DONHAM – EISEI KURIMOTO – ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and after*, Oxford 2002, 59–73; WOLDE GOSSA TADESSE, "Evading the Revolutionary State: the Hor under the Derg", *ibid.*, 37–58; ID., *Warfare and Fertility: a Study of the Hor (Arbore) of Southern Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, London School of Economics 1999; T. WIDLOK – WOLDE GOSSA TADESSE, *Property and Equality*, vol. 2: *Encapsulation, Commercialization, Discrimination*, New York 2005.

Wolde Gossa Tadesse

Ǧinn

Ǧ. is an Arabic word occurring in the Qurʾān, together with its synonym *ǧānn*, with a collective meaning (sg. *ǧinnī*; fem. *ǧinniyya*) and of very uncertain etymology (Arab lexicographers have it derive form *iǧtinān*, 'to be hidden'; the hypothesis of a loan-word from Latin genius is not entirely to be dismissed; cf. Nöldeke 1910:63, who highlights the link between *ǧinn/ǧānn* and Ethiopic *ganen* [↗Demons] without going any further).

According to preserved Islamic tradition, as kept in the Qurʾān, the Ǧ. are a group of reasoning beings God created from smokeless flame (*sūra* 55:15 – *min māriǧin min nār*). They are made of vapour, air or fire, are normally invisible, but show themselves to humans by appearing under different forms. Ǧ. can not be seized, but can work and they can even manage to do hard tasks.

The Prophet Muḥammad, after he came back from his unfortunate stay in Ṭāʾif in 620, was sent to preach to the Ǧ. (*sūra* 46:29). Some of them consequently accepted Islam (*sūra* 72:1) and in their turn spread the faith among their kin (*sūra* 46:29–32). These Muslim Ǧ. will therefore enter paradise. The Qurʾānic data are not univocal about the relationships between the Ǧ. and Iblīs (*sūra* 2:32; 18:48), thus giving way to the flourishing of conflicting hypotheses and legends.

On the basis of the Qurʾānic passages, Islamic tradition even nowadays fully recognizes the existence of the Ǧ., at its learned as well as at its popular level.

In particular, Islamic Law discusses the legal status of the Ǧ. As they are considered to be able to have relations with human beings and also to have sexual intercourse with them, questions related to marriage and property are examined in detail. Saints are considered to have a privileged way to get in touch with the Ǧ. Many different classes of good and evil Ǧ. are believed to exist, especially in popular belief (*ġūl*, *ʿifrīt*, *siʿlāt*) and their role in magical practices of healing, fortune-telling and governing the future of individuals cannot be overestimated (Panetta 1940:16–59).

As for Ethiopia, the available data (Griaule 1930:135ff.; Leris 1934:339; 1934b:99; 1958:14; Rodinson 1967:60f.) seem to indicate that the word ጅን (*ǧənn*, also ጂን *ǧinn*, ጂኒ *ǧinni*,), a loanword from Arabic, lost its Islamic religious connotation and is currently used in magic to name the spirits of waters, that dwell in rivers, brooks, pools, lakes and the like.

These spirits sometimes make their presence known by the sound of a kettledrum. Ethiopian *ǧənn* may attack people who cross water, who wash their clothes and who go to take water. They prefer to strike at noon and their favourite targets are travellers and foreigners. The person possessed by Ǧ. fells ill and must have recourse to a magical medical treatment. People try to gain the favour of the *ǧənn* in order to avoid their possession by throwing grass in the water before crossing a river or a pool.

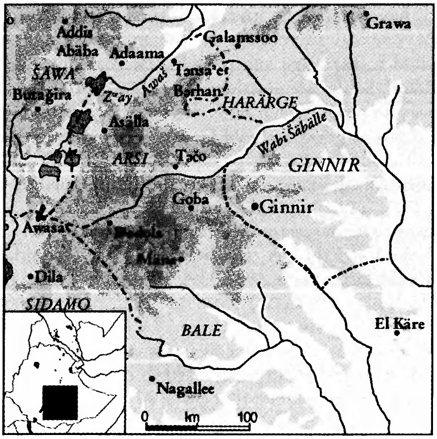
↗Spirits

Lit.: MARCEL GRIAULE, *Le livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin*, Paris 1930 (Université de Paris. Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 12); MICHEL LEIRIS, *L'Afrique fantôme*, Paris 1934; ID., "Le culte des zârs a Gondar (Ethiopie septentrionale)", *Aethiopica. Revue Philologique* 2, 1934, 96–123 and 125–36; ID., *La possession et ses aspects théâtraux chez les Ethiopiens de Gondar*, Paris 1958 (L'Homme, Cahiers d'Ethnologie, Géographie et Linguistique, nouvelle série, 1); D.B. MACDONALD (H. MASSE), "D̲jinn", in: *EI*²; THEODOR NÖLDEKE, *Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strasbourg 1910; ESTER PANETTA, *Pratiche e credenze popolari libiche. Testi in arabo bengasino tradotti e annotati*, Roma 1940; MAXIME RODINSON, *Magie, médicine et possession à Gondar*, Paris – La Haye 1967 (Le monde d'outre-mer passé et présent, 2ème sér., Documents 5).

Alessandro Gori

Ginnir

G. (**ጊኒር**; 1,986 m A.S.L.) is a town, a *wäräda* and an *awraǧǧa* in the ↗Bale *kəflä hagär*. In 1978 the *awraǧǧa* took the name of Wäbe (**ዋቤ**) after the river ↗Wabi Šäbälle, whose higher course forms its northern and eastern borders. Its territory is bordered to the south-west by the course of the Wäyb in the high plateaus of carstified limestones crossed by the caves formed by the underground river of the Sof Omar.



The G. *awraǧǧa* is inhabited by the Oromo, mainly farmers. Its present borders coincide with the historical areas occupied by the Oromo before the migrations of the 17th and 18th cent. The tomb of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn is the centre of a great pan-Oromo pilgrimage which gathers together all the Muslims of southern Ethiopia. Between 1963 and 1967, the province was the scene of combats between groups menaced by deportation and the army. The G./Wäbe *awraǧǧa* covers an area of 27,000 km², and its population grew from 181,000 inhabitants (6.5 inhabitant/km²) in 1970 to 184,800 in 1984 only. The stagnation of the population was due to the disorders caused in the province by the settlement in the area of a few troops of the Somali-Abbo Front. In addition, the government of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam banned for a time the pilgrimage to ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn.

The G. town, a caravan station, had 3,500 inhabitants in 1938. It was not connected by an asphalt road until the 1970s. In 1984, there were 8,594 inhabitants (11,200 in all the Wäbe). By 2000, the population doubled and reached 16,225. Before 1991 it was the capital of G./Wäbe *awraǧǧa*, today it is the administrative centre of eastern Bale. The disparities in the density of population between the different *wärädas* are significant: 50 inhabitants/km² in G., 45.1 in Gasära – Gololča and only 7.7 in ↗Läga Hida.

Lit.: CSA 1998; CSA 2000; CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE, *Results of the National Sample Survey*, 2nd round, vol. 5: *Land Area and Utilization*, Addis Ababa 1975; EMAtlas; GasEth; GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest. Peasants Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 1991, 125–29; *Guida* 468; MHasOr; MesfAtlas².

Alain Gascon

Giovio, Paolo

G. (b. 1483 or 1486, Como, d. 1552, Florence), after studying medicine, was active first as a teacher and then as a diplomat at the pontifical court in Rome since ca. 1512, under the protection of Popes Julius II and Leo X; ↗Clement VII appointed him bishop of Nocera de' Pagani (today Nocera Inferiore, Salerno). He had the opportunity of travelling widely abroad at the service of Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, after whose death in 1535 he was protected by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Pope Paul III refused to give him the bishopric of Como, where from 1537 to 1543 he had his "Museo" built, a gallery of painted portraits of famous men, including *aṣe* Dawit III, i.e. ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, whose deeds he had described in short inscriptions or *Elogia* ('Encomiums') – first appended to the portraits and then published in two series (Basle 1546 and 1551). G. left Rome in 1549 and spent his last years in Florence at the court of Cosimo I.

As an erudite collector and a man of large political and international experience, G. wrote numerous works devoted to the history, politics and biographies of personalities of his time. In his main work, the *Historiarum sui temporis libri* (2 vols., Firenze 1550–52), on contemporary history (1494–1544), he devoted a large part of book XVIII (ed. Visconti 1957:415–56) to Ethiopia, mixing reliable news with medieval legends and beliefs (cf. Lefevre 1941). In his *Elogia* (1551) he gives a physical, moral and historically reliable portrait of Ləbnä Dəngəl (ed. Meregazzi 1972: 473f.; cf. Tedeschi 1985:105ff., 1989).

G. also has a part in the fortunes of ↗Alvares's materials and writings on Ethiopia: on the occasion of the Bologna concistory in 1533, where he also met the Portuguese envoy, he translated into Latin Ləbnä Dəngəl's four Portuguese letters brought by Alvares and addressed to the kings of Portugal Dom ↗Manoel and Dom ↗João III, and Pope Clemens VII (and then published by Damião de ↗Góis in his *Fides, religio moresque Aethiopum*). G. seems to have been also charged with the never-accomplished translation of a large work in five volumes devoted to the geography, nature, history and institutions of Ethiopia, written by the same Alvares and presently lost, the long-disputed existence of which seems now well established (cf. Tedeschi 1985:97–102; Beckingham 1987:174f.).

Src.: PAULI IOVII *Opera*, cura et studio Societatis historicae Novocomensis denuo edita, III: *Historiarum tomus primus*, ed. by DANTE VISCONTI, Roma 1957; VIII: *Elogia Virorum Illustrium*, ed. by RENZO MEREGAZZI, Roma 1972.

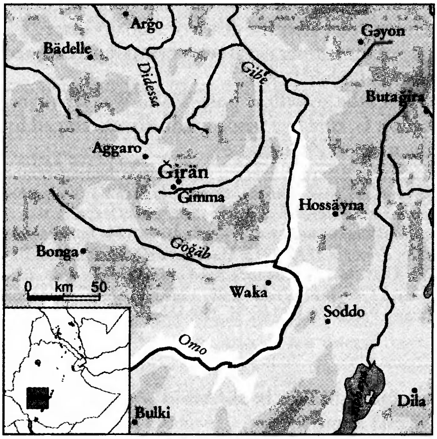
Lit.: CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM, "European Sources for Ethiopian History before 1634", *Paideuma* 33, 1987, 167–78 (Lit.); RENATO LEFEVRE, "Realtà e leggenda dell'Etiopia nelle «Historiae» di Paolo Giovio", *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana* 4, 1941, 1189–99; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Paolo Giovio e la conoscenza dell'Etiopia nel Rinascimento", in: *Atti del Convegno "Paolo Giovio. Il Rinascimento e la memoria"* (*Como, 3–5 Giugno 1983*), Como 1985 (Società storica comense. Raccolta storica 17), 93–116 (Lit.); ID., "Le portrait inédit du negus Lebnä-Dengel ayant appartenu à l'historien Paolo Giovio", in: *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art ...*, London 1989, 44–52; T.C. PRICE ZIMMERMANN, "Giovio, Paolo", in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 56, Roma 2001, 430–40.

Alessandro Bausi

Ğirän

Ğ. was a royal settlement 5 km north-east of modern ↗Ğimma. Established by the early-19th-cent. Oromo leader ↗Abbaa Magaal, founder of the Ğimma Abbaa Ğifaar kingdom, on the flank of the Ğinčo mountains, the town expanded significantly during the reign of his son ↗Abbaa Ğifaar I, also known as Muḥammad b. Dāwūd.

Ğ. was not, however, described until the late 1880s, when it was visited by Jules Borelli and Leopoldo Traversi. The town, on a small hill, was then the site of many houses. The most important, the palace of ↗Abbaa Ğifaar II, was an immense circular structure, with a tall pointed thatched roof. The building was divided into two concentric rooms. The inner, presumably the monarch's abode, was occupied by the chief eunuch and servant girls; the outer, a large gallery with columns, served as the throne, reception, and dining room. It was decorated with carpets, coloured curtains, mirrors, and buffalo horns, and had Abbaa Ğifaar's favourite rifle and spear on the wall. The ruler sat on a throne cut in the wall, his courtiers on three-legged wooden stools in two or three lines to his right and left. In the palace he devoted his time to government affairs, receiving visitors, and dispensing justice. In close proximity to the main building, were those of the king's



Ǧirän, palace of the *sulṭān* of Ǧimma; photo 1972/74 by Werner Jürgen Lange, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (37–La045–68)

wives, separated from each other by tall fences, and, on slightly lower ground, smaller houses for the principal chiefs, head of the provincial governors (↗*Abbaa qorro*), and the king's brothers. The finer structures were decorated with ostrich eggs, which, Traversi says, gave a "fantastic effect". The palace compound was surrounded by a high bamboo fence, and divided into five large courtyards. The central were for the king, courtiers and palace personnel, the last but one for travellers under royal protection, and the outer for the soldiers. Each palisade had a gate, guarded by armed guards. The palace compound like that of other Ethiopian potentates, was crowded by hundreds of people, including courtiers, merchants and envoys, servants, eunuchs, and labourers.

Herbert Lewis noted in 1965 that because Ǧ., with a diameter of about one kilometre, has existed "only to serve the king" and had never been "a centre of trade", it had soon declined. Thirty years after the death of Abbaa Ǧifaar "little" of the former royal settlement thus remained (Lewis 1965:61f., 72).

With the growth of post-World War II urbanization Ǧ. is in fact being gradually enveloped by the town of ↗Ǧimma.

Lit.: JULES BORELLI, *Ethiopie méridionale. Journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo, et Sidamo. Septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 286–90; CerEt vol. 1, 69ff.; HERBERT S. LEWIS, *A Galla Monarchy: Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia 1730–1932*, Madison 1965, 68–73; LEOPOLDO TRAVERSI, "Excursione nel Gimma", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 25, 1888, 901–23; *Guida* 526f. [map]; PankHist I, 314f.; II, 250; MHasOr 158, 173.

Richard Pankhurst

Ǧirǧis al-Makīn b. al-^{c}Amīd ↗Giyorgis Wäldä Amid

Girirra

The G. (also sp. Gariirre, Garirrä, Gherirre, and Gērīrē) are a little-known Somali tribe whose main group lives near ↗El Käre, between the ↗Wabi Šäbälle and the ↗Weyb in present-day southern Oromia. According to Mohamed Abdi Mohamed (1990:961) they are one of the so-called "pre-Hawiye" lineages that claim to be direct descendants of Samaale, like the better-known Irir, Mayle, Yahaabur, Gardheere and Garre. Cerulli (1957:67, 164) mentions local traditions depicting the G. as the offspring of ↗Digil groups that did not move further south into the interriverine plains of central Somalia.

The G. are farmers and pastoralists. Besides sorghum and maize, they also cultivate barley and wheat, which are said to have been introduced only in the first decades of the 20th cent. by Ḥasan Ali of the Zenbur subclan, when he was their *ugaas* (chief). There are also tanners, blacksmiths and potters, as well as adopted groups of different origin, called *giši*. According to Abdurahim Aden (1993:1) the G. are looked down on by the surrounding Somali and Oromo, with whom they do not intermarry. Yet this may apply only to the lower castes of the G. Small groups of G. are also known to live among the ↗Boorana as traders and herdsmen. According to Askale Lemma (1994:1) their main political gatherings take place at the *Badɗana*, while their most important religious meeting-place is the *Obowu-sanbur*, where they also come together every five years for the initiation ceremonies of young people. Yet they are all Moslems and several religious settlements (Somali *ǧamē*^{c}*o*) were founded by them.

Aspects of the language of the G. were described only by Abdurahim Aden (1993), who also provided a short word list, and by his wife Askale Lemma (1994). Their data show that G. has lost the pharingeals **ḥ* and *ᶜ, e.g., in *madi*, 'head', *siddi*, 'three', *migi*, 'name', *gini*, 'hand', and has causatives in *-š-* and *-s-* like *ga-š-*, 'to cut' or *k'ib-is-*, 'to break'. Its peculiar palatalization pattern is shown by *šeᵓ-*, 'stand up' (cf. Rendille *kah-*, Somali *kaᶜ-*, Oromo *ka'-*), while the original velar stops are preserved in *kᵓib-is-*, 'to break' (cf. Rendille and Somali *ǧeb-i-*, Oromo *cab-s-*), *kᵓanin-*, 'to bite' (cf. Rendille *khaniin-*, Somali *qaniin-*, Oromo *cinin-*), and *gilib*, 'knee' (cf. Rendille and Somali *ǧilib*, Oromo *ǧilba*).

The items of the ten-word list are the following: *hal*, 'one', *namo*, 'two', *siddi*, 'three', *dab*, 'fire', *biyi*, 'water', *eri*, 'sun', *bil* or *hidgini*, 'moon', *diig*, 'blood', *enrab*, 'tongue' and *ilig*, 'tooth'.

More research is needed both on their language, that seems to have rather peculiar features within the Somali cluster, and on their culture. Almost no other Somali group has periodic initiation ceremonies that mark entrance into adulthood.

Src.: ANON., "I Gherire", *Il Corriere della Somalia*, 6 January 1954; ABDURAHIM ADEN, *The Phonology of Girirra*, M.A. thesis, School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa 1993; ASKALE LEMMA, "Word Formation in Girirra", M.A. thesis, School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa 1994.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Somalia*, vol. 1, Roma 1957, 67; vol. 2, Roma 1959, 167; VSAe II, 265; MOHAMED ABDI MOHAMED, *La Somalie aux hautes periodes*, Besançon, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Franche-Comté 1990.

Giorgio Banti

Giulietti, Giuseppe Maria

G. (ᶜAfar *Kulēdá*; b. 18 December 1847, Casteggio [Pavia], d. 25/26 May 1881, Đaḍḍāᶜṭó [ᶜAfar]) was an Italian traveller and explorer. He studied at the Collegio Nazionale in Pavia; in 1866 he volunteered for Giuseppe Garibaldi's military campaign to annex the Austrian Trentine region to the newly-born Italian state. Since 1870, he devoted himself to commerce in Genoa. There he frequented the cultural milieu around the Museum of Natural History, befriending with the illustrious naturalist Giacomo Doria, later president of the Società Geografica Italiana, and the Lazarist Father Giuseppe ↗Sapeto. On account of these acquaintances, G. was able to join at ↗Zaylaᶜ the expedition that was led by Count Pietro ↗Antonelli and supposed to reach Marquis Orazio ↗Antinori in Šäwa and return to ↗ᶜAsäb via the ↗Awaš valley. As the opposition of ↗Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm Šaḥīm made the project unfeasible, G. crossed by himself the desert from Zaylaᶜ to ↗Harär, producing an impressive report of his journey (Giulietti 1880b).

G. moved to ᶜAsäb where he was to direct the local activites of the ↗Rubattino company – which gave him the opportunity to perform geological and natural surveys of the neighbouring regions. In June 1880 he had to return to Italy, but towards the end of the year he was appointed secretary to the "regio commissario" of ᶜAsäb, Giovanni Branchi.

G. was entrusted with preparing a mission to ↗Muḥammad "Illálta" (Ḥanfaḍé) of ↗Awsa, so as to open a new trade-route from ᶜAsäb to Šäwa trough the Oromo territories. The diffidence of the local rulers, who had even mistaken G. for a brother of Werner ↗Munzinger (killed by the ᶜAfar in 1875) impeded the mission. It was only on 10 April 1881 that G., escorted by ten sailors from the ship "Ettore Fieramosca" under the command of Vessel Lieutenant Giuseppe Biglieri and accompanied by two Italian workers, a Sudanese interpreter, a servant and two local guides, could set off. Ten days later G. and his companions arrived at ↗Baylūl, then under Egyptian sovereignty, and on 2 May they headed to the ᶜAfar sultanate of Bīḍu advancing into the Gʷalima valley. At the beginning of June it became known that the entire group had been massacred by the ᶜAfar in the night of 25 May. The slaughter might have been a result of underevaluated divergences with the *sulṭān* of Baylūl, Muḥámmad Akito, and his son Omar, possibly offended by G. undiplomatic and tactless manners.

The two subsequent Egyptian enquiries into the matter proved to be useless. In 1929 Riccardo ↗Franchetti, crossing the ᶜAfar/↗Danakil territory, found the exact place of the massacre at Đaḍḍāᶜṭó, in the zone of Egrerr (where he left an inscribed memorial stone), and took the remains of the victims to Italy. The nearby Lake Afḍera was then renamed Giulietti in memory of G.'s unfortunate expedition.

Src.: GIUSEPPE MARIA GIULIETTI, "Viaggio di GMG da Zeila ad Harar", *Cosmos* 8 1880a, 370-82; ID., "Lettera da Harar", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 2ª, 17, 1880b, 55; ID., "Una lettera e due disegni", *ibid.* 18, 1881, 844-51; ID., *Memorie*, pubblicate dalla sorella (ELENA GIULIETTI VENCO), Firenze 1882.

Lit.: LUDOVICO MARIANO NESBITT, *Abyssinia Unveiled: Desert and Forest*, Hamburg – Paris – Bologna 1935, 8;

Guida 336; ALESSANDRO VOLTERRA, "Giulietti, Giuseppe Maria", in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 56, Roma 2001, 792–94 (Lit.); DIDIER MORIN, *Dictionnaire historique afar (1288-1982)*, Paris 2004, 112–17, 169.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Giyorgis

G. (**ጊዮርጊስ**, Ar. Ğirğis), a monk of Dayr Anbā Maqār (Wādī Ḥabīb), was consecrated Bishop of Ethiopia by Patriarch ↗Michael IV of Alexandria (1092–1102) in the year 818 of the Coptic calendar [1102 A.D.]. According to the *History of the Patriarchs*, his appointment was meant to comply with the urgent request for a metropolitan by an unnamed Ethiopian emperor. G. was probably the immediate successor of *abunä* Sawiros. Yet, as soon as he reached Ethiopia, his behaviour caused him to be arrested by the king of Ethiopia for "infamous affairs and ... vile deeds" unbecoming to his rank (SawHist 394). He was then sent back to Egypt by the same emperor, with an explanatory note asking that he be punished. Thus, the Egyptian *wazīr* al-Afḍal consigned him to the "Prison of the Guard" in Cairo, where G. remained for several years.

Src.: SawHist vol. 2, part 3, 394 (tr.).
Lit.: ARTHUR K. IRVINE, "Giyorgis", in: *DicEthBio* 74; TedEthPrel [II] 1006; MHAlex 160f.

Stuart C. Munro-Hay

Giyorgis

G. (**ጊዮርጊስ**) was a ↗Zagʷe-period bishop who appears in two interesting contexts. He is mentioned in the colophon of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* as the bishop at the time when the colophon was written during the reign of Lalibäla Gäbrä Mäsqäl, year of Mercy 409 [1224/25 A.D.]. He is also named with the three ecclesiastics *qalä pappas* Abet, the *qes haṣani* Zäᵓdonaya and the *eppisqoppos* Harayo, in a 16th-cent. copy of a land grant of ↗Lalibäla on 25 March 1225. He apparently was the successor of Metropolitan ↗Yəsḥaq I, consecrated on 11 *Barmahāt* [4 *Mäggabit*] 926 [1202] A.M. [7 March 1210 A.D.]. The date of the end of his metropolitanate is unknown.

Src.: BezKebr 172 (text) = 138 (tr.); CRDLib 190.
Lit.: ARTHUR K. IRVINE, "Giyorgis", in: *DicEthBio* 74f.; TedEthPrel [II] 1008f.; MHAlex 187.

Stuart C. Munro-Hay

Giyorgis the Egyptian

G. (**ጊዮርጊስ፡ ዘግብጽ**, *Giyorgis zä-Gəbṣ*) was a member of the delegation which, in 1744, during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II, was sent to the Patriarch of Alexandria in order to obtain a new metropolitan to replace ↗Krəstodolu III, who had died in 1735 or 1738. Iyasu II's chronicle suggests that a special role was played by Iyasu's mother Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa). From all over the country 450 ounces of gold had been collected as a present for the authorities in ↗Egypt. Other members of the delegation were *aläqa* Tewodros of Däbrä Ṣälalo, *abba* Lukyanos of ↗Azäzo and three Muslims (*Ǝslamočč*): Ǝmädᶜali (Aḥmad ᶜAlī), ᶜAbdäla (ᶜAbdallāh) and ᶜAbdalqader (ᶜAbdalqādir). They travelled from Gondär to Ḥamasen where they spent the rainy season because the Muslims refused to proceed to ↗Massawa. No reason is given for the refusal. Fearing to disobey the Emperor's orders, the Muslims finally descended to Massawa, where they quarreled with *abba* Tewodros because he had gone to Massawa without them. While they were there, Iyasu and Məntəwwab ordered *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Səḥul, *däǧǧazmač* Basəlyos and *baḥər nägaš* Solomon to attack Massawa. When the news reached the ↗*näᵓib* – the Annals call him "a devil incarnate" (*Šäyṭan səggawi*) – and the merchants of the port, they put the members of the delegation, said to be five in number, in chains and threatened them with their weapons. If the delegation, while in Massawa, indeed counted five members only, it would seem that G. was no longer among them. After six months they were released because Iyasu in a letter had promised to spare the inhabitants if the envoys were set free. Half of the Emperor's money, which had been taken from them, was then restored.

The journey to Jedda took a month and seven days. The ships for Egypt had already left. A few days on their arrival, *abba* Lukyanos embraced Islam because of a disagreement with Aḥmad ᶜAlī. Lukyanos made many allegations against *abba* Tewodros and the three Muslims before the *šarīf* of Jedda, but without success. The envoys also quarrelled with ᶜAbdalqādir because he had squandered the Emperor's money. The *šarīf* ordered him to return the money and, when he refused, put him in chains for a year and six months. After a ten-months stay in Jedda, *abba* Tewodros, ᶜAbdallāh and Aḥmad ᶜAlī embarked for Egypt. ᶜAbdallāh died at sea and Aḥmad ᶜAlī in Suez, on the seventh day of the journey. The delegation spent three months and seven days at sea. In Alexandria the remaining part of the Emperor's money and his letter were handed over to the Patriarch Yoḥannəs. After three months, the Patriarch, in an assembly of the metropolitans, bishops, priests and deacons, appointed ↗Yoḥannəs, a monk of the monastery of Scete (Askät), against his own will, Metropolitan of Ethiopia.

With *abba* Tewodros Yoḥannəs left for Jedda, from where they took ᶜAbdalqader in chains with them to Massawa. They informed *aṣe* Iyasu, *ətege* Bərhan Mogäsa and *ras* ↗Wäldä Ləᶜul of their arrival, but the *naʾib* held them in custody. After five months *abba* ↗Ewosṭatewos and *abba* Gäbrä Maryam arrived from Däbra Bizän. At the demand of *abba* Tewodros they assisted Metropolitan Yoḥannəs in escaping from Massawa during the night. He took with him the meron or Holy Oil, priestly garments and the Book of Rituals for the consecration of the *tabot* and the ordination of priests and deacons. He stayed in Däbrä Bizän for two months. Meanwhile the *naʾib* had put Tewodros in shackles for having assisted Yoḥannəs in his escape and several times threatened to kill him. After two months *abba* Tewodros, by paying a ransom of sixty ounces of gold to the *naʾib* and the Turkish *paša*, was able to leave Massawa by way of Dägsa. The Metropolitan in his turn went from Däbrä Bizän to Ḥamasen, where he remained for a few days. In Särawe (↗Säraye?) he met with *abba* Tewodros. Both were well received by At Anbäsa and then by Ǝmḫabä Ab, who accompanied them as far as Adyabo. They finally met the Emperor in Šire.

Src.: GuiIyas 127 l. 25–130 l. 40; TedEthPrel II, 1028ff.
Lit.: TrIslam 105.

Emeri van Donzel

Giyorgis

Balambaras G. (ጊዮርጊስ; Greek: Geórgios Fotis; b. ca. 1815/30, d. between 1910 and 1920, Neqemte) came from ↗Greece to Ethiopia at a young age, between 1865 and 1870. There he met Kaśa Mərč̣a (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannes IV). Accused of stealing something from Kaśa's camp, he was expelled from Təgray and arrived in Gondär. There he married Bogaläčč, by whom he had more than six children, and pledged allegiance to *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II.

In July 1871, in ᶜAdwa, G. fought with Täklä Giyorgis against Kaśa, but Täklä Giyorgis was defeated and Kaśa was crowned as Yoḥannəs IV. After a short exile in the Sudan at Kässälä, G. came back to Gondär. He was then under the protection of *ras* Adal Täsämma, governor of Goǧǧam, the future *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot. At the end of the 1870s, when G., during his fighting against the Oromo in Ǧimma, defeated the governor of Nunu, *fitawrari* Qädida Wänabet, Adal granted G. the title of ↗*balambaras* .

Later on, G. had close relationships with *däǧǧazmač* ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Moroda. In 1888 G. initiated the construction of the Däbrä Ṣəyon church in Neqemte, but during the work he quarrelled with Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer. In 1896 he was still present on the battlefield at ↗ᶜAdwa on Mənilək's side. After the ᶜAdwa battle the Emperor gave him a pension and G. lived for some years in Addis Abäba with his family.

G. had been a very close friend of the Irishman MacKelby, who assisted him in his numerous activities. Together they had been gunsmiths and also merchants, selling weapons, hides and skins and antiquities, among other goods.

As he knew Greek, Gəᶜəz, Amharic, Arabic and Italian, G. was employed as an interpreter, but also worked as a physicianand wrote some historical and astronomical texts (mss. Addis Ababa National Library 199; Vat. Aeth. 128) and four autobiographical works. Two of these are composed of pictures (ms. BN Éth. 205; 210) and the other two are collections of songs (ms. Vat. aeth. 113; 118).

Src.: ChMonV 10f., 13f. [mss. Éth. 205, 210]; GreTisVat 436–43, 475–79, 504–19 [mss. Vat. Aeth. 113, 118, 128]; *Kəbrä ahəgur wä-Kəbrä nägäśt*, ms. 199, Addis Abäba National Library; GUSTAVO BIANCHI, *Alla terra dei Galla. Narrazione della spedizione Bianchi in Africa nel 1879–80*, Milano 1886, 528; SIMONE BRETON-GRAVEREAU – DANIÈLE THIBAULT (ed.), *L'aventure des écritures. Matières et formes*, Paris 1998, 118 [BN Eth. 205, note by Anaïs Wion]; ALEXANDER BULATOVICH, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes: Country in Transition, 1896–98*, tr. by RICHARD SELTZER, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 2000; EDWARD GLEICHEN, *With the Mission to Menelik, 1897*, London 1898, 206; LINCOLN DE CASTRO, *Nella terra dei Negus*, Milano 1915, vol. 1, 224; PAUL MÉRAB, *Médecins et médecine en Ethiopie*, Paris 1912, vol. 2, 17, 33, 187; JACQUES MERCIER (ed.), *Le Roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard: art et médecine en Ethiopie*, Paris 1992, 28; PERCY HORACE GORDON POWELL-COTTON, *A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia* ..., London 1902, 118–19; ACHILLE RAFFRAY, *Afrique Orientale: Abyssinie*, Paris 1875–77, 4 vols., 304; AUGUSTO SALIMBENI, *Crispi e Menelich, nel diario inedito del conte Augusto Salimbeni*, ed. by CARLO ZAGHI, Torino 1956, 119–26, 147; JEAN-GASTON VANDERHEYM, *Une expédition avec le négus Ménélik, vingt mois en Abyssinie*, Paris 1896, 99; ZerEth 467.
Lit.: THÉODORE NATSOULAS, *The Hellenic Presence in Ethiopia: a Study of a European Minority in Africa*, Ath-

ens – Addis Ababa 1977, 8, 131; RICHARD PANKHURST – TSEHAY BERHANE SELASSIE, "Balambaras Giyorgis and his Scholarship", *Abba Salama* 2, 1971, 179–88; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Una nuova narrazione amarico-gĕᶜĕz de fatti di Nağrān", *Annali IUO*, 1949, 3, 417–29; ID., "Balambaras Giyorgis a Laqamti", *Paideuma* 36, 1990, 216–47; STEPHAN STRELÇYN, "Un magicien grec en Ethiopie", *JA* 239, 1951, 175–91; ANAÏS WION, "Un Grec en Ethiopie à la fin du XIXème siècle: le *balambäras* Giyorgis", *AE* 16, 2000, 309–38.

Anaïs Wion

Giyorgis Ḥaddis ↗George the New

Giyorgis of Sägla

G. (**ጊዮርጊስ**) of Sägla was one of the most prolific Ethiopian authors of religious texts in Gəᶜəz, with liturgical and pastoral works as well as doctrinal tracts. This profusion of works may have been one of the sources of confusion concerning G. of Sägla and G. of Gasəčča, Sägla and Gasəčča being historical sites in Šäwa lying next to each other (Schneider 1983:106; ↗Däbrä Bahrəy). Today it is generally believed that there was only one G., a contemporary of emperors Dawit II, Yəsḥaq and, maybe, Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (cp. TadTChurch 222; EMML V, 339; Colin 1987:VI–IX; Derat in OrbAethChoj 51). Some scholars, however, still contend that G. of Gasəčča was another person who lived during the time of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, several decades before his namesake from Sägla (YaqBeyGiy I, v).

G. is venerated as saint. His life is recounted in his Acts (↗*Gädl*), written in the 15th cent., shortly after his death. His father, Ḥəzbä Ṣəyon, was a "priest of the tabernacle" (*kahənatä däbtära*), one of the clergy at the royal court. His mother, Ǝmmənä Ṣəyon, came from the ruling family of ↗Wäläqa. G. was educated in the monastery of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos. He succeeded his father as a *kahənatä däbtära* and became the tutor of the Emperor's sons and their companions. His appointment as ↗*nəburä əd* of ↗Däbrä Damo by Dawit II permitted him to travel the country visiting monasteries and hermits. From his childhood, G. demonstrated a unique devotion to the Virgin ↗Mary, reflected in certain of his writings and in the *sälam* dedicated to him in the *Sənkəssar* for 7 *Ḥamle* (GuiSyn II, 209).

In opposition to the communities of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa and Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, G. played an active part in the establishment of the celebration of the first ↗Sabbath, a practice enforced by *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob. On account of his theological views and court intrigues, G. was imprisoned. When pardoned, he received a land grant at Gasəčča, the site of ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓel, where he became the abbot of the monastic community and was buried.

G.'s writings pose a problem. His principal work is undoubtedly the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məsṭir.* Written ca. 1424, this voluminous theological opus, which shows a deep acquaintance with ancient sources and can be in some ways considered the Ethiopian *Summa theologica*, had a remarkable impact on Ethiopian culture and religious thought. Numerous copies of the text went quickly into circulation and its language influenced that of G.'s Acts. Some of its arguments were used in the 17th cent. during the religious conflicts between the ↗Jesuits and the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Besides, G.'s Acts ascribe the following works to the Saint: *Arganonä wəddase* (↗*Arganonä Maryam*); ↗*Fəkkare haymanot*; *Wəddase mäsqäl* ('Praise of the Cross'); *Wəddase dəngəl* ('Praise of the Virgin'); *Wəddase ḥawaryat* ('Praise of the Apostles'); *Mäṣḥaf səbḥat zämäᶜalt wäzälelit* ('The Book of the Glory of Day and Night', usually identified as the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*säᶜatat*, the work to which the problem of G.'s "double identity" is linked) and *Ṣälotä fättəto* ('The Prayer of the breaking [of the bread]'). There is also a reference to some (untitled) minor ↗hymns and homilies of G. (s. Colin 1987:xf.). One particular type of the ↗*Ǝgziᵓabəḥer nägśa* is also ascribed to G.

Other sources provide slightly differing lists of G.'s works (s. EMML V, 339f.; KurMoa 35); in many cases, the attributions remain uncertain whereas some texts mentioned in the sources have not been yet identified. It cannot be excluded that more G.'s works will be discovered. A thorough study of his writings, with the analysis of language and style, remains a desideratum.

Src.: GÉRARD COLIN, *Vie de Georges de Saglā*, Louvain 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]); YaqBeyGiy I, II; EMML V, 339f., no. 1838 (Lit.); KurMoa 35 (text) = 28 (tr.), s. index; GuiSyn II, 209.
Lit.: TadTChurch 222; GuiSLett 49, CerLett 195; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes éthiopiennes", *JES* 16, 1983, 105-14; MARIE-LAURE DERAT, "La sainteté de Giyorgis de Sägla: une initiative royale?", in: *OrbAethChoj* 51-62, here 51.

Gérard Colin

Giyorgis Wäldä ᶜAmid

G. (**ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወልደ፡ ዓሚድ** or Ar. جرجس المكين بن العميد, Ǧirǧis al-Makīn b. al-ᶜAmīd, or Ibn al- ᶜAmīd, Al-Makīn; b. 1206, Cairo, d. 1273) was a Christian Arab historian, whose works were incorporated into Ethiopian tradition (↗Gəᶜəz literature).

There is limited information about G.'s life. A descendant of an Iraqi merchant, he held, like his father, high offices in the military administration under the Ayyubids in Egypt and in Damascus. In Syria he spent several years in prison. The reasons for that are unknown, but there seems to be a connection with the takeover of the Mamluk sultan ↗Baybars I in 1260. Although he never returned to his homeland, G. remained in close contact with other Egyptian scholars like the Awlād al-ᶜAssāl (↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*).

Between 1262 and 1268 G. wrote his universal chronicle المجمع المبارك (*al-Mağmaᶜ al-mubārak*, 'The Blessed Collection'), generally known by the title of *History*, which was translated during the reign of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl (1508-40) as ታሪከ፡ ወልደ፡ ዓሚድ (*Tarikä Wäldä ᶜAmid*, 'The History of Wäldä ᶜAmid'). The work is divided in two major sections: the pre-Christian history from Adam to Tiberius Caesar and the Christian history with a description of the life of Jesus Christ followed by the succession of Roman emperors down to Heraclius. The sources of this part are above all biblical, but also literary data of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine origin are involved.

The second part of the *History* seems largely dependent on the famous Arab historiographer aṭ-↗Ṭabarī (838–923). It describes the history of Islam from the life of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad to the succession of the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs and the Muslim dynasties in Egypt, ending with Baybars II. Besides, G. used more recent sources concerning the history of Egypt and Syria. There are also frequent correspondences between Ibn ar-Rāhib's *Kitāb at-Tawārīḫ* ('The Book of Chronicles'), another Christian universal history written in Arabic from the 13th cent., and G.'s own work.

Chronological lists concerning historical events outside Ethiopia are integrated with Ethiopian dates from the conversion of the Aksumite kings to Christianity to modern times (↗Chronography). Further to the lists of kings, the *History* provides information on political and ecclesiastical history in Ethiopia. The section dealing with the series of the Patriarchs of Alexandria is extended by the Ethiopian translator to the 95th patriarch Gabriel, "who sat in the time of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl". The information about the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, otherwise rather scanty, is complemented by a legend emphasizing that this dynasty was descended from Moses.

In order to refute the allegation that their own dynasty was illegitimate and usurpatory, the Zagʷe rulers circulated a legend focusing on the Biblical passage (Num 12:1) in which Moses married an "Ethiopian" woman. Details of this marriage are given in the history of G.: while Moses was in Egypt war broke out between Ethiopians and Egyptians. The Ethiopians tried to divert the course of the ↗Nile by building a dam on the Täkkäze River. The Pharaoh called Moses to lead an expeditionary force with 200,000 men against the Ethiopians, defeated them and destroyed the dam. Moses then married the daughter of the Ethiopian king (SerHist 241; for the relevance for Ethiopian ↗historiography s. also Kropp 1986:319).

Different parts of the *History* (chronology or historical notes) are found in several manuscripts, especially in connection with lists of kings and other chronological items (e.g., mss. EMML 2114, fol. 32b-33b; 2345, fol. 54b-62a; 3981, fol. 102a, 145a; London, BritLib, Orient. 814, 815). The text also indicates its source for the biographies of Alexandrian patriarchs: e.g., ↗Cyril of Alexandria and ↗John Chrysostom.

The book shows the interest the Ethiopians of the time took in this kind of literature, which is attested not only by the transmission into Gəᶜəz of Arabic historiographical works, but also by the composition of indigenous chronicles.

Src.: ANNE-MARIE EDDÉ – FRANÇOISE MICHEAU (tr.), *Al-Makīn ibn al-ᶜAmīd, Chronique des Ayyoubides (602–658/1205–6–1259–60)*, Abbéville 1994 (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 16); EMML 2114, 2345, 3981; WrBriMus 226f., no. 339 [Orient. 815]; 293f., no. 388 [Orient. 814]; SixTana III, 144-47, no. 25 [Ṭānāsee 136 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 25], (Lit.).

Lit.: CLAUDE CAHEN – RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN, "Al-Makīn ibn al-ᶜAmīd", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 6, 143–44; CLAUDE CAHEN, "La chronique des Ayyoubides d'al-Makīn b. al-ᶜAmīd", *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 15, 1958, 109–84; ID., "Al-Makīn ibn al-ᶜAmīd et l'historiographie musulmane: un cas d'interpénétration confessionelle", in: J. M. BARRAL (ed.), *Orientalia Hispanica, sive Studia F.M. Pareja octogenario dicata*, vol. 1: *Arabica – Islamica*, Pars Prior, Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden] 1974, 158–67; MANFRED KROPP, "Arabisch-äthiopische Übersetzungstechnik am Beispiel der *Zena Ayhud* (*Yosippon*) und des *Tarikä Wäldä ᶜAmid*", *ZDMG* 136, 1986, 314–46; OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Chronography in Ethiopic Sources*, Wien 1989; ID., *Abu Shaker's 'Chronography'. A Treatise of the 13th Century on Chronological, Calendrical, and Astro-*

nomical Matters Written by a Christian Arab, Preserved in Ethiopic: a Summary, Wien 1988; SerHist 241.

Ute Pietruschka

Ǧizya

Ǧ. is an Arabic term (جزية,'tax', from the verb جزى, *ǧazā*, 'to reward', but probably originating from Aramaic) used to indicate the poll-tax which, according to the traditional Islamic law (↗*Šarīᶜa*), has to be levied on individuals of the communities of the so-called *ahl al-kitāb* ('people of the Book', i.e. adherents of a revealed religion, Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians) who live under Islamic rule.

The origin of the term and of the legal concept is most likely to be found in the Qurʾānic passage 9:29. The last section of this verse contains the theological basis of the practice of taxing non Muslims permanently dwelling in the Islamic world. The passage has long been subject of interpretations by traditional Islamic commentators and Western Islamologists. The most reliable exegetical hypothesis is that the Qurʾānic verse intended the Ǧ. as a concrete sign of gratitude due by non-Muslims, for they had their lives spared by the Islamic government and they could remain followers of their ancestors' religion. Ǧ. could also represent a kind of compensation that non-Muslims had to pay as they did not embrace ↗Islam. It is true that by paying the Ǧ. non-Muslims living in Islamic territories were granted the status of *ḏimmī* ('protected'), which allowed them a certain religious freedom and personal security. Converts to Islam were automatically exempted from the payment of the Ǧ. The Ǧ. as a poll-tax was levied every lunar year on mentally and physically sound adults, free men, women, children, slaves, lunatics, old, handicapped, poor people, beggars, whilst needy monastic communities were exempt. Non-Muslim foreigners who did not stay permanently in lands under Islamic rule were obviously not obliged to pay the Ǧ. Christians, who were sometimes enrolled in the Islamic army, were also exempted from it during the period of their military service.

Ǧ. was normally collected at the beginning of the Islamic lunar year (under the Mamluk rule in ↗*Ramaḍān*) and was paid in cash (but payment in kind was also possible). Since the tax was imposed on individuals, the collection of the Ǧ. was carried out by the financial administration on the basis of a previous census of the non-Muslim population. From the political point of view, the payment of the Ǧ. represented for each non-Muslim the acknowledgement of being a subject of Islamic rule and a citizen of an essentially lower status.

In Ethiopia, we may logically surmise that Muslim rulers conformed to the traditional Islamic practice of levying on non-Muslim subjects Ǧ. whenever they had the political and military strength to do so. However, many of them were often obliged to pay a tribute to the Christian emperor. After ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's conquest of the Christian lands, Muslims had the opportunity to collect Ǧ. (TrIslam 88) and the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* bears witness of the circumstances in which non-Muslims submitted to such a rule: the people of Wag and Gäbärge, who surrendered without fighting (BassHist 267 [text] = 363 [tr.]); after the conquest of Abba Gärima (*ibid.* 321 = 425); in the region of Däbrä Hallelo (Däbrä Halleluya), whose inhabitants were given full security (*amān*; BassHist 335 = 445:46); after the final conquest of Säraye (*ibid.* 337 = 448); the Fälaša (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel) in Səmen (ibid. 343 = 459; in this passage the Qurʾānic verse 9:29, related to the Ǧ., is expressly quoted); the whole of conquered Bägemdər (*ibid.*); as for Aksum, the *Futūḥ* (322 = 428) relates that the monks asked the *imām* to extend his stay in the town so that they could pay him the Ǧ. in gold, but Aḥmad rapidly moved on to Mäzäga.

Src.: BassHist.

Lit.: MEIR MAX BRAVMANN, "A propos de Qurʾān IX–9: Ḥattā yuᶜtū l-ǧizyata wa-hum ṣāġirūna", *Arabica* 10, 1963, 94–95; CLAUDE CAHEN, "Ḏjizya", in: *EI*^{2}; ID., "Coran IX, 29: Ḥattā yuᶜtū l-ǧizyata ᶜan yadin wa-hum ṣāġirūna", *Arabica* 9, 1962, 76–79; ID., "A Note to Meir M. Bravmann, à propos de Qurʾān IX–9: Ḥattā yuᶜṭū l-ǧizyata wa-hum ṣāġirūna", *ibid.* 10, 1963, 95; ANTOINE FATTAL, *Le statut légal des non-Musulmans en pays d'Islam*, Beirut 1951; SHLOMO DOB GOITEIN, "Evidence on the Muslim Poll Tax from Non Muslim sources. A Geniza Study", *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 6, 1963, 278–95; M.J. KISTER, "'ᶜAn yadin' (Qurʾān, IX/29). An attempt at interpretation", *Arabica* 11, 1964, 272–78; FRANZ ROSENTHAL, "Some Minor Problems in the Qurʾan", in: ABRAHAM G. DUKER et al., *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume: Studies in History and Philology*, New York 1953, 68–72; RUDI PARET, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart 1971; TrIslam 88.

Alessandro Gori

Glaser, Eduard

G. (b. 15 March 1855, Deutsch-Rust, Bohemia, d. 7 May 1908, Munich) was an Austrian orientalist and explorer of South Arabia. G. studied Arabic, other Semitic languages, especially ↗Epigraphic South Arabian, and astronomy in Vienna. Between 1882 and 1894 he made four extensive journeys to the ↗Yemen, where he explored the country, acquired Arabic manuscripts and collected nearly 1,800 Sabaean, Minaean and Qatabanian inscriptions. After his travels, G. lived in Munich, evaluating his researches in the Yemen, publishing inscriptions and writing works on the history and geography of Arabia.

In his book *Die Abessinier* (1895), G. reasonably compared the proper name *ḥbšt* in Sabaean inscriptions with the Arabic *al-ḥabaša* and thus provided the explicit epigraphic proof for the connection of these two terms (↗Abyssinia; ↗Ḥabašat). He also made the first detailed reconstruction of pre-Aksumite Ethiopian history with particular reference to South Arabian sources. In the publication *Zwei Inschriften* (1897) he treated for the first time the famous inscription CIH 542 of King ↗Abraha from the year 544 A.D. which reports on the restoration of the Mārib dam and other historical events.

Src.: EDUARD GLASER, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Propheten Muhammad nebst einem Anhange zur Beleuchtung der Geschichte Abyssiniens im 3. und 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. auf Grund der Inschriften, der Angaben der alten Autoren und der Bibel*, vol. 2, Berlin 1890; ID., *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika auf Grund neuentdeckter Inschriften*, München 1895; ID., *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Marib*, Berlin 1897; Lockot I, index.

Lit.: OTTO WEBER, *Eduard Glasers Forschungsreisen in Südarabien*, Leipzig 1909; EGON V. KOMORZYNSKI, "Eduard Glaser (1855–1908)", in: *Grosse Österreicher. Neue Österreichische Biographie ab 1815*, Wien 1957, 96–106; WALTER DOSTAL, *Eduard Glaser – Forschungen im Yemen: eine quellenkritische Untersuchung in ethnologischer Sicht*, Wien 1990 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 545, Veröffentlichungen der Arabischen Komission Nr. 4); WALTER WILHELM MÜLLER, "Der böhmische Südarabienreisende Eduard Glaser (1855–1906) und seine Bedeutung für die Erforschung des antiken Jemen", in: *Schriften der Sudetendeutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste* Band 23: *Forschungsbeiträge der Geisteswissenschaftlichen Klasse*, München 2002, 195–220.

Walter W. Müller

Goa

G. is a town in India and former capital of the Portuguese dominions in the East. Its situation at the centre of the west coast of the Indian subcontinent (15° 48' –14° 53' N, 74° 20' –73° 40' E), natural resources, and privileged commercial links were strategically important for the builder of the Portuguese empire in the east, Afonso de ↗Albquerque, who conquered the town on 25 November 1510 from the Sultan ᶜĀdil Šāh of Bijapur, after a failed attempt some months earlier. Prior to the Portuguese, the town had seen over a dozen different ruling dynasties, both Muslim and Hindu. G. was the first territory in the East to come under direct Portuguese sovereignty. In 1530 it became the headquarters of the Portuguese "Estado da Índia", in 1533 was created the G. Diocese, raised to Archdiocese in 1577, with suffragan dioceses scattered all over the East, as part of the Portuguese "Padroado" (ecclesiastical jurisdiction) in the Orient. G.'s jurisdiction extended to four provinces until the late 18th cent., when seven other provinces were added as "New Conquests".

The "Old Conquests" of G. were subject to an intense missionary drive, particularly since the arrival of the ↗Jesuit Francis Xavier in 1542. The first printing-press reached G. from Portugal in 1567 (Rodriguez 1931:537, n. 3). Originally meant for the Jesuit Ethiopian mission, due to political problems it was retained in G. and contributed to the intensification of the missionary activities. In the Jesuit College of St. Paul (created about 1541) resided the first contingent of missionaries aiming at Ethiopia, together with the "Patriarcha" João Nunes Barreto (d. 1562). The college became a main regional centre that provided education to a multiethnic community – including "Abyssinian" children (s. Wicki 1948:89) – and offered as well a full university curriculum (theology, arts and pilosophy) to most of the missionaries sent to preach the Orient. Among the Jesuits who preached in Ethiopia having studied there were Manoel de ↗Almeida, ↗Barradas, ↗Lobo and ↗Paez (on the role of G. for this mission s. Pennec 2003:73–100).

The suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1759 resulted in a decline of the missionary activity. This was further reduced later with the rise of liberal politics in Portugal and the suppression of other religious orders in 1832–34. Portuguese colonial rule ended on 19 December 1961 and in 1974 Portugal's new democratic regime recognized the integration of G. into the Indian Union renouncing its Padroado rights over the Indian Church. In 1986 G. became the 25th State of the Indian Union, with Konkani as its official language.

↗Portugal

Src.: IOSEPHUS WICKI (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. I (1540–1549), Romae 1948, 89.
Lit.: V.T. CUNE (ed.), *Goa, Daman and Diu District Gazetteer*, Panaji 1979; AMARO PINTO LOBO (ed.), *Memória histórico-eclesiastica da Arquidiocese de Goa*, Nova Goa 1933; A. DA SILVA REGO, *O Padroado Português no Oriente e a sua historiografia*, Lisboa 1978; TEOTÓNIO R. DE SOUZA, *Medieval Goa*, New Delhi 1979; ID., *Goa to Me*, New Delhi 1994; FRANCISCO RODRIGUES, *Historia da Companhia de Jesus na assitencia de Portugal*, Tomo I, vol. II, Porto 1931, 537 n. 3; HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean (Ethiopie)*, Paris 2003, 73–100.

Teotónio R. de Souza

Gōbaʿád

The ↗ʿAfar Sultanate of G. occupied approximately the western territory of the present-day Republic of ↗Djibouti. This old traditional chiefdom was populated by the pastoral ʿAfar groups Debne and ʿAbdarrasūl. The Debne and ʿAbdarrasūl belong to the ʿAdohyammára 'white men', who constitute one of the two moieties into which the ʿAfar society is divided, the other being the ʿAsahyammára 'red men' (↗ʿAdohyammára and ʿAsahyammára).

The Debne were nomads dwelling in the plain of G. and the plateau of Dakka. The ʿAbdarrasūl populated the south of Hanlé, an important date-grove in ↗Dikhil, with a well and pasture, the plain of Gaggadé and the area of Ghoubet and Lake Assal. Besides pastoralism (with herds of goats, sheep and camels), trade was also an important activity: the ↗salt collected from the salt-works of Lake Assal (↗ʿAfar Depression) was transported abroad in caravans; merchandise from the port of ↗Tağūra was transported to central south-western Ethiopia; and the area also forwarded exports from Šäwa and ↗Awsa (cereals, butter, leather, slaves etc.).

The political evolution of G. has gone through several ups and downs, before its definitive decline in the 1930s due to the French colonization. Until the end of 15th cent., the ʿAfar "nation" was split into two kingdoms: ↗Dankali in the north and ↗ʿAdal in the south. With the fall of these two kingdoms in the 16th cent. came the emergence of the sultanates as autonomous political entities. The southern border of the territory suffered also a double pressure, from the ↗Oromo and the ↗Somali. After the defeats endured by the *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ) against Christian Ethiopia, the southern ʿAfar were confronted with Oromo expansion. At the end of the 16th cent., following Oromo invasions into the Harärge, the *amīr* of ʿAdal took refuge in the Awaš area, taking the name of "*sulṭān* of Awsa".

During the 18th and 19th cent., the ʿAfar re-occupied large regions of G. south-east of Lake Abbe and in the valley of the Awaš. The Debne gained control from there of one of the trade routes which, with the aid of caravans using the pass of Yokobi and the Abbé depression, connected the port of Tağūra, via Lake Assal – where salt was and is still today collected – with the Awaš. This was a period of prosperity for the sultanate, which – with Tağūra, Raḥayta and Awsa – was one of the four powerful ʿAfar chiefdoms.

The sultanate was a political and territorial unit, with the *sulṭān*, chosen from the Arbahinto family (not by direct father-son but by collateral succession, the brother succeeding the late *sulṭān*), as the supreme head. The *sulṭān* had a fixed residence in the date-grove of Dikhil and, assisted by a council of elders, governed, decided on issues of peace and war and refereed litigations. In addition, he had an assistant, the vizier, who was one of his younger brothers. The *sulṭān*, as protector of the country, was also a landlord. After payment for a right of use and keeping for himself a right of way on the caravan traffic, he granted the use of the lands to tribes and factions.

The G. sultanate, which covered the south of the ʿAfar area up to the gulf of southernmost Tağūra, to the depressions of Lake Abbe, was a buffer zone. Stockbreeders from G. were there in direct contact and shared pasture areas both with the ʿAfar from the sultanate of Awsa and with the ↗ʿIssa, which was a cause of rivalry and disputes. Frequent clashes used to arise between, on the one hand, the ʿAdohyammára of G. and, on the other, the ʿAsahyammára of Awsa and the Somali ʿIssa. However, at times, alliances between the ʿAfar from G. and the ʿIssa devoted against the powerful sultanate of Awsa were also secured.

French colonization profoundly affected traditional polities. Initially, the relations with the French were peaceful. Thus, the governor Léonce de ↗Lagarde, a month after his arrival at ↗Obock, contacted *sulṭān* Hummad ↗Loʿoyta, and on 9 August 1884 signed a friendship-treaty by which the *sulṭān* engaged himself to protect the passage for French caravans as well as to facilitate their recruitment of caravaneers. In exchange, the *sulṭān* would receive a thaler per animal and per European traveller. However, on 2 January 1885 a second treaty was signed, transforming the former declaration of friendship into an official donation. There the *sulṭān* obliged himself "to give his country to the French government who in its turn would protect the *sulṭān* from foreign intruders". This was a direct reference to the ʿIssa and ʿAsahyammára ʿAfar who, stronger than the G., used to invade the Debne lands and make raids on herds.

The protectorate was finally transformed into a colony in 1896 and new political borders were drawn. Whilst the southern border ratified the separation between the ʿAfar of the Côte française des Somalis (CFS) and the Somali of Somaliland, its concrete design, ratified in the convention of 20 March 1897, stipulated that "the border between Ethiopia and the CFS is fixed according to a line on the basis of the Anglo-French border at Djalelo, passing through Kahali, Gobaad, Airoli, the edge of Lake Abbé, Mergada, the edge of Lake Alli ...". This meant the de-facto division of the territory of the sultanate of G. and the placement of the summer-pasture areas within Ethiopian territory. In addition, the opening of the railway (↗Railways) connecting Djibouti to Dərre Dawa in 1902 had a negative effect on Dikhil. The new railway-station at ↗Ali Sabieh drained the trade, to the detriment of the caravan trade which used to call at the traditional halt in the oasis of Dikhil. As a consequence, the resources and means of control of the *sulṭān* dramatically deteriorated.

As long as colonial administration was distant, focused in the capital Djibouti, *sulṭān* Loʿoyta and his vizier Ḥāǧǧ ʿAlī showed a good disposition towards the French. However, as from 1924, the interest of the governor Capon-Baissac in the interior areas became manifest: in March 1928, a colonial station was opened in Dikhil, where the *sulṭān* of G. resided, a move that encountered the opposition of the *sulṭān*. Following this, France replaced the traditional authorities in control of the strategic area, in the limit of the zones occupied by ʿIssa and ʿAfar groups and the borders of the contiguous CFS of Ethiopia. Beside territorial control, the colonial authorities aimed at stopping the slave-trade, which still existed in the area of Dikhil. The position and power of the *sulṭān* was therefore in jeopardy. His territory was jammed between the ʿIssa and the ʿAsahyammára of the sultanate of Awsa, the latter ruled by Muḥámmad Yāyyó (who in 1927 had succeeded his father Yāyyó Muḥámmad Illalta Ḥanfaḍé), a skilled player both with the French established in the CFS and the Italians from ↗Eritrea. The *sulṭāns* of G. of the Arbahinto family were fervidly hostile to any direct negotiation between the Awsa and the French administration, because it would have reduced their role as intermediaries.

As a consequence, Loʿoyta, hostile to the French presence, fomented resistance among his subjects. In 1930, he and his vizier Ḥāǧǧ ʿAlī were deposed and, accused of endangering the safety of the State, were convicted to ten years of detention and deported to Fort Dauphin, Madagascar. The *sulṭān* died in exile on 19 July 1932. Since his death, both the titles of *sulṭān* and of vizier ceased to exist and the sultanate was abolished.

Lit.: Édouard Chédeville, "Quelques faits de l'organisation sociale des Afars", *Journal of the International African Institute* 36, 2, 1966, 173–95; Colette Dubois, *L'or blanc de Djibouti. Salines et saunier XIX^{e}– XX^{e} siècles*, Paris 2003; M. Albospeyre, "Les populations de la Côte française des Somalis", in: Id. [et al.], *Mer Rouge, Afrique orientale: études sociologiques et linguistiques, préhistoire, explorations, perspectives d'avenir*, Paris 1959; Ioan Myrddin Lewis, "The Afar", in: *LewPeople* 155–73; Mohamed Elmi Osman, "Chronologie de la Corne orientale de l'Afrique 1820–1980" [Institut Supérieur d'Études et de Recherches Scientifiques et Techniques, Djibouti], August 1988; Philippe Oberlé – Pierre Hugot, *Histoire de Djibouti. Des origines à la République*, Paris – Dakar 1996.

Colette Dubois

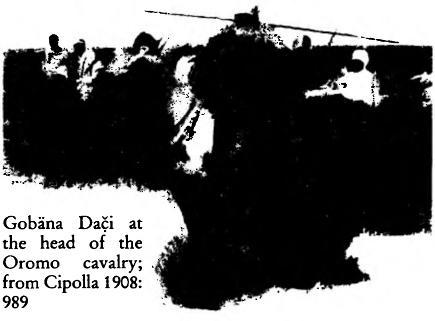
Gobäna Dač̣i

Ras G.D. (ጎበና፡ ዳጪ, Orom. Goobana Daacii, horse name Abba Ṭəgu; b. 1821, d. 1889) was an Oromo military and political figure who played an important role in modern Ethiopian history. He was born to an Oromo chiefly family that was converted to Christianity and was allied by marriage to *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəlasse of Šäwa. When *nəguś* Mənilək (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II), the grandson of Śahlä Śəlasse, escaped from *aṣe* Tewodros's prison in 1865 and returned to Šäwa, G.D. not only submitted to him but also put his wealth at the disposal of Mənilək. Mənilək, in return, invested G.D. with the title of ↗*abägaz*. This was the beginning of G.D.'s spectacular rise to power. Mənilək, perceiving G.D.'s remarkable talent, promoted him to the rank of ↗*däğğazmač*, commander of the armed forces. In 1878 G.D. was made ↗*ras*, the highest title below the rank of prince. He was probably the first Christianized and culturally Amharized Šäwan Oromo to receive such a title.

Inspired by his own career, G.D. launched the conquest of his own people, becoming Mənilək's greatest empire-builder. He won for Mənilək the battle of ↗Ǝmbabo in 1882 and was responsible as well for the peaceful submission of all Oromo leaders in the ↗Gibe region, in ↗Wälläga and ↗Illubabor – the three richest regions which henceforth became the economic backbone of Mənilək's empire. Mənilək rewarded G.D. by entrusting him with the administration of the Gibe region and also appointed him *nəguś* of ↗Käfa, a province which was not yet conquered.

His popularity and rapid career-growth aroused envy among the officials around the Emperor. As a result, Mənilək not only withdrew the title of *nəguś* of Käfa from G.D., but also removed him from the administration of the Oromo Gibe region. A rebellion of the Oromo followed. After it was suppressed, only the kingdom of Ğimma survived. The territories of Limmu Ǝnnarya, Gomma, Guummaa and Geeraa became a part of Mənilək's empire.

G.D., whose son Wädağo was married to the daughter of Mənilək and whose descendants were integrated into the heart and soul of the Ethiopian system, is a controversial historical figure. On the one hand, as a general and a foremost empire-builder he is regarded as a hero in modern Ethiopian history. On the other, for the Oromo he is a traitor, who worked against the interests of his people. For Oromo nationalists G.D. was the "Trojan horse" that was planted at the heart of Oromiyya to destroy the unity and the nation from within.



Gobäna Dači at the head of the Oromo cavalry; from Cipolla 1908: 989

The policy of working against the interest of its own people is still known among the Oromo as the "Gobanist phenomenon".

Lit.: Bairu Tafla, "Three Portraits: Ato Aṣma Giyorgis, Ras Gobäna Dači and Ṣähafé Tezaz Gäbrä Sellasé", *JES* 5, 3, 1967, 133–50; BTafA, s. index; Arnoldo Cipolla, "L'Abissinia e Menelik", *La Lettura* 12, 1908, 989–98; Getahun Delibo, *Emperor Menelik's Ethiopia, 1865–1916: National Unification or Amhara Communal Domination*, Ph.D. thesis, Howard University, Washington DC 1974; Jules Borelli, *Éthiopie méridionale*, Paris 1890; Alessandro Triulzi, "The Background to Ras Gobäna's Expeditions to Western Wälläga in 1886–1888: a Review of the Evidence", in: *USCES* 143–56; Guluma Gemeda, *Gomma and Limmu: the Process of State Formation among the Oromo in the Gibe Region, c. 1750–1889*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa 1984; Mohammed Hassen, "The Oromo Nation and its Resistances to Amhara Colonial Administrations", in: Hussein Mohamed Adem – Charles Lee Geshekter (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress of Somali Studies*, Atlanta 1992, 546–99; MHasOr; CerFolk.

Mohammed Hassen

Gobat, Samuel

G. (b. 26 January 1799, Crémines, Switzerland, d. 11 May 1879, Jerusalem) entered the seminar of the Basel Mission, then in close contact with the ↗Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) in England, at the age of 22. In 1825 G. was sent to London to prepare for a C.M.S. mission to Ethiopia. As part of his preparation G., who already knew Arabic and Hebrew, studied Gəʿəz. In 1826 he and his colleague Christian ↗Kugler arrived in Alexandria. During the trip G. learnt Amharic from an Ethiopian monk.

In February 1830 the missionaries reached ʿAddigrat and were cordially received by the ruler of Təgray, *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu, whose friendship G. immediately won. In March he travelled to Gondär in order to see the country and distribute the Amharic Bibles the missionaries had brought with them. There G. committed himself to persuading priests and lay people of the need to reform the Orthodox Church. He spent his time discussing religious questions, most prominently the nature of Christ and the sinfulness of the Virgin Mary.

The reforms G. advocated comprised the institutionalizing of theological education, the renewal of the establishment of several Ethiopian-held bishoprics (s. ↗*Eppisqoppos*), the removal of images from Ethiopian churches and the abolition of the veneration of saints. Despite being a convinced Protestant, G. won the sympathy of many Ethiopians; as a result he was even considered, according to his own account, as a candidate for the vacant Ethiopian bishopric (Gobat 1884:149). The missionary's ample knowledge of the Scriptures attracted the admiration of the Ethiopian clergy, among them *əč̣č̣äge* Filəp̣p̣os. In Gondär G. made the acquaintance of Habtä Śəllase, son of the Šäwan ruler ↗Śahlä Śəllase, who asked him to send a mission to the "heathen" Oromo in Šäwa, a task that was to occupy G. and his successors for many years.

G. left Gondär in October 1830 and returned to ᶜAdwa, Təgray. There, the circumstances were less favourable to his mission. Since G. did not understand Təgrəñña, he remained isolated from the population. Soon after G.'s return, Kugler died in a hunting-accident. In early 1831 Säbagadis Wäldu fell in battle. His death threw Təgray into turmoil and G. had to flee ᶜAdwa and spend the following months hiding in ᶜAddigrat and in the monastery of ↗Däbrä Damo. His missionary activity was more or less confined to two young men of respectable background, Ḥädarä and Kidanä Maryam, whom he had accepted as disciples.

When his health deteriorated during 1832, G. returned to England. There he managed to gain support for his plan to renew missionary activity in Ethiopia.

In 1834 he and his young Swiss wife left for Ethiopia with the intention of setting up a missionary station. They were accompanied by Carl Wilhelm ↗Isenberg, another Basel Mission graduate. During the journey, G. fell seriously ill and subsequently had to give up his dream of being a missionary in Ethiopia.

Nonetheless, Ethiopia remained central to his missionary outlook. In 1846 he was chosen as bishop for the newly established Anglican Lutheran bishopric of ↗Jerusalem, which included "Abyssinia" as well. In this function he was asked by *ras* ↗Ali Alula in 1850 to supervise the Ethiopian Convent in Jerusalem. Under G.'s direction, four young missionaries of the ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission near Basle took up missionary work again in Ethiopia in 1856. Yet contact between the brethren and the mission-board in Jerusalem headed by G. was only sporadic. In 1868, after years of political unrest, in the course of which *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II imprisoned the missionaries, the mission had to be abandoned. Only a few months later G. undertook a last attempt at evangelizing the Ethiopians by sending the Pilgrim missionaries Christian ↗Bender and Johannes ↗Mayer back to Təgray. Their work, however, bore no fruit. During his last years G. concentrated on missionary work in the Levant.

Samuel Gobat; courtesy of Basler Mission21 (QS–30 003 0042 01)

Src.: SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal d'un séjour en Abyssinie pendant les années 1830, 1831 et 1832*, Genève 1834, 149; ID., *Evangelischer Bischof in Jerusalem: sein Leben und Wirken meist nach seinen eigenen Aufzeichnungen*, Basel 1884; Archives of the Basler Mission 21, Basle, Switzerland.

Lit.: CrumMis; ArEvang; MARTIN LUCKHOFF, *Anglikaner und Protestanten im Heiligen Land: das gemeinsame Bistum Jerusalem 1841–1886*, Wiesbaden 1998 (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina Vereins, Band 24); BARBARA STREBEL, *'… den blinden Abessyniern die Augen aufzuthun'. Chrischona-Pilgermissionare in Äthiopien (1856–1868): Geschichte eines gescheiterten Missionsprojektes*, Lizentiatsarbeit Universität Zürich 1999; ID., "Leben auf dem Missionsfeld. Chrischona-Pilgermissionare in Äthiopien (1856–1868)", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 121–57.

Barbara Strebel

Gobaze ↗Dullay

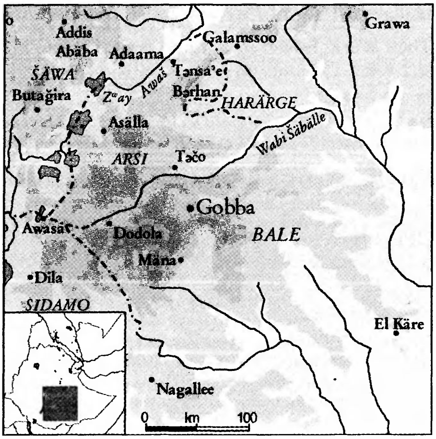
Gobäze Gäbrä Mädḫən ↗Täklä Giyorgis II

Gobba

G. (**ጎባ**, also Goba) is the capital of the G. *wäräda* and the Bale zone within the Oromiyaa *kəlləl*, housing the administrative and commercial services of a still-remote highland region. It is located at 2,500 m A.S.L., on a mountain pass between the upper ↗Wabi Šäbälle to the west and the basin of the Wälmäl and Wäyb rivers running east towards the Juba. Standing at the bottom of the Mount Batu range in the ↗Bale National Park, G. boasts a new touristic function due to its proximity to the Sof Omar caves in the Wäyb valley.

G. was the capital of the Bale region and of the ↗Fasil/Mändäyo *awrağğa* from the late 1950s to 1991. It was not served by an all-weather road until the mid-1960s, when the road from Šašämänne was opened, while aeroplanes had to land on a field in the middle of the town. Between 1963 and 1970, following a rebellion of Oromo farmers who had only survived precariously as tenants since they were defeated by Mənilək's troops, Ḫaylä Śəllase I's government used G. as a military base. The town, for a time, regained the status of a fortified settlement, as it had been during the Šäwan conquest at the end of the 19th cent. (Dehérain 1931:56, 79; Gascon 1989).

In 1901, the du Bourg de Bozas scientific mission described it as a "a crowded sprawl of huts housing a dense population … The 'guébi' [↗*Gəbbi*] stood on top of a hill with the town climbing up its slopes" (Maurette 1906:144). *Däǧǧač* Ləʿul Sägäd was still living in the fortress, which, at an altitude of 3,020 m A.S.L., overlooked and controlled the town down below. With the imposition of the "Pax Aethiopica", the authorities abandoned both *gəbbi* and *kätäma*.



In 1938, G. had a population of 3,000 inhabitants (Guida 464) and in 1970, after the revolt was over, the figure stood at 11,776. In 1984, like the population of the Mändäyo *awrağğa* as a whole, it had doubled to 22,693 inhabitants. The 1987 administrative reform confined the Oromo-populated territory of Bale to the highlands. The 1991 federal partition kept these boundary lines, but reduced Bale to the status of a "zone". A few Oromo Liberation Front fighters have sought to settle in the mountains, but they seem to be a lesser threat than the fires which damaged the forests on the outskirts of the town in 2000. The expansion of G. has continued and the population reached 38,089 inhabitants in 2000 and 46,106 in 2004, with an increase-rate higher than the rest of the *wäräda* (CSA 2004). Administrative buildings, hotels and housing, both planned and spontaneous, have gradually urbanized the former airfield.

Src.: OFFICE OF THE POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS COMMISSION, *Ethiopia 1984. Population & Housing Census Preliminary Report*, vol. 1, 1, Addis Ababa 1984; CSA 2000; CSA 2004; CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE, *Results of the National Sample Survey*, 2nd round, vol. 5: *Land Area and Utilization*, Addis Ababa 1975; EMAtlas.

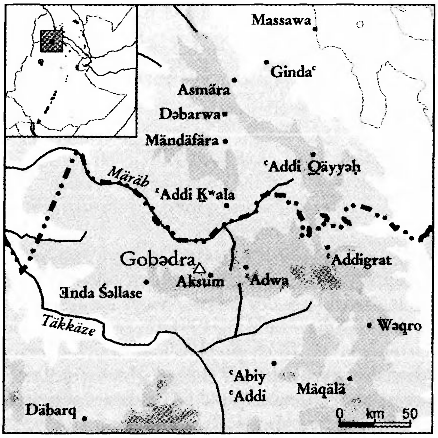
Lit.: HENRI DEHÉRAIN, *Figures coloniales françaises et étrangères*, Paris 1931, 56, 79; GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest. Peasants Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 1991; JEAN GALLAIS, *Une géographie politique de l'Éthiopie. Le poids de l'État*, Paris 1989; ALAIN GASCON, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie. Les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanisation contemporaine", in: FLORENCE PINTON (ed.), *Tropiques. Lieux et liens: florilège offert à Paul Pélissier et Gilles Sautter*, Paris 1989, 435–44; GasEth; PATRICK GILKES, *The Dying Lion. Feudalism and Modernisation in Ethiopia*, London 1975; *Guida* 464; MesfAtlas²; MesfGeogr; FERNAND MAURETTE, *Mission scientifique du Bourg de Bozas, de la mer Rouge à l'Atlantique à travers l'Afrique tropicale (octobre 1900–mai 1903)*, Paris ²1906, 144.

Alain Gascon

Gobədra

G. (**ጎበድራ**, also Gobo Dura) is a prominent 200 m-high rocky ridge/hill area located approximately 4–6 km west of ↗Aksum, just north of the main Aksum–Gondär road in Təgray. G. contains a variety of archaeological sites ranging from Stone Age lithic scatter areas to post-Aksumite settlement sites. Re-deposited Early Stone Age (late Acheulian) and Middle Stone Age lithic artefacts are documented at localities on the north-eastern and southern flanks of G. hill, suggesting early human occupation of the zone. Several rock shelters and a number of Late Stone Age lithic scatter areas recorded by archaeological surveys in the early 1970s and mid-1990s suggest a significant late-prehistoric human presence at G. In 1974 the deepest strata of a 4-m² test excavation of the "G. rock shelter" on the southern side of G. hill revealed a *Mode 4* long-blade lithic industry, which was dated by an associated charcoal radiocarbon sample to 8,000 ± 140 B.C. This Late Stone Age *Mode 4* industry is overlain by a microlithic industry with two phases, the more recent of which is associated with pottery and dates (via associated bone apatite) to ca. 5,000 B.C. Non-carbonized seeds of finger-millet and a single camel tooth were found in the earliest ceramic-bearing stratum of the G. rock-shelter test excavation. However, a subsequent accelerator mass-spectrometry (AMS) date of the finger millet suggests that the seeds are intrusive to the stratum and, rather, date to the post-Aksumite period. Possible cattle faunal remains (genus *Bos*) were found in association with pottery, microliths and scrapers in the upper portion of the rock-shelter test excavation and may date to the first millennium B.C.

A number of other archaeological sites have been documented in and immediately adjacent to G. A regional archaeological survey investigation performed in 1974 located 15 archaeological sites dating from the pre-Aksumite, Aksumite, and proto-Aksumite culture periods. Among these sites are hamlets (less than 1ha) and village-sized settlements (1–3ha), lithic workshops and elite residences. A large carving of a lioness on the face of a boulder at G. measures 3.27m long and may date back to the Aksumite period. Research performed in the mid-to-late 1990s suggests that five ancient rock-quarry locations are also present at G. These quarries most likely provided raw materials for the monolithic stone stelae of Aksum. In addition, some of the quarries may have provided material for building-blocks, lintels and ceiling- and paving- slabs used in the construction of buildings in the Aksum area.



Lit.: Francis Anfray, "L'archéologie d'Axoum en 1972", *Paideuma* 18, 1972, 60–78; Niall Finneran, *Post-Pleistocene Socio-Economic Developments in the Northern Ethiopian/Eritrean Highlands: a Case Study from Aksum, Tigray*, Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University 1999; DAE I, 73f., fig. 155; Joseph W. Michels, "Regional Political Organization in the Axum-Yeha Area during the Pre-Axumite and Axumite Eras", in: *PICES* 10, 61–80; David W. Phillipson, "The Excavation of Gobedra Rockshelter, Axum", *Azania* 12, 1977, 53–82; Id. (ed.), *The Monuments of Aksum: an Illustrated Account based on the work in A.D. 1906 of the Deutsche Aksum-Expedition …*, Addis Ababa 1997, 160ff.; Id. – Andrew Reynolds, "The B.I.E.A. Excavations at Aksum, Northern Ethiopia, 1993–1995", *Azania* 31, 1996, 99–147; Jillian B. Phillips – Jennifer P. Ford, "The Aksumite Quarries at Gobedra Hill and Adi Tsehafi", in: David W. Phillipson (ed.), *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993–97*, London 2000, 229–46; David W. Phillipson – Jacke S. Phillips 1998, "Excavations at Aksum, 1993–96: a Preliminary Report", *JES* 31, 1998, 2, 1–56.

Matthew C. Curtis

God-kings ↗Kingship, divine

Godinho, Nicolao

G. (also Godigno, b. 1561, Lisbon, d. 7 December 1616, Rome), albeit not a missionary, produced the first comprehensive history of the ↗Jesuit mission to Ethiopia. G. joined the Society of Jesus in Coimbra when he was 14 years old. In this renowned University he taught Humanities, Philosophy and Theology. Later he was called to Rome, where he worked for his last ten years as censor of the works written by the Portuguese Jesuits. In the papal capital he had access to the numerous accounts from the overseas missions, among which were those coming from Ethiopia. G. published in 1612 a history of Gonçalo da Sylveira, a Jesuit missionary martyred in Monomotapa (Makaranga, nowadays Zimbabwe).

Three years later, stimulated by the *cartas annuas* he was encharged to revise and by ↗Urreta's "anti-Jesuitic" diatribe (1609), G. issued his *De Abassinorum rebus* (1615). This was a global Latin compilation of facts on "Abyssinia" and the Jesuit missionaries, the first of its kind, as until then this had only been partially treated by such chroniclers as de ↗Barros or the historians of the order, Giovanni Pietro Maffei and Fernão Guerreiro. The *De Abassinorum rebus*, in three books, opens with an accurate overview chapter on all the material so far published on Christian Ethiopia. G. is particularly critical of ↗Ṣägga Zäʾab's *Confessio* (s. Uhlig – Bühring 1994:49–52; ↗Góis) and Urreta's book. 18 chapters follow, which contain extensive treatments of the geography, political nature and structure of the "Abassinorum Imperium", as well as hints at flora and fauna.

With its 414 pages, the *De Abassinorum rebus* is an outstanding work, an intelligent summary of the main informations Europe had so far gathered on the Ethiopian Christian kingdom, and an example of the erudition and literary skills of the Jesuits. The work also provided Europe with some of the first references to Ethiopian literary works, such as the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (Budge 1932: xxxii). It can be seen as the starting point of the subsequent comprehensive accounts on Ethiopia by Manoel de ↗Almeida, Pedro ↗Paez, Alfonso ↗Mendes and others.

Src.: NICOLAU GODINHO, *De Abassinorum rebus, dèque Æthiopiae Patriarchis Ioanne Nonio Barreto, & Andrea Oviedo, libri tres*, Lugduni 1615; SIEGBERT UHLIG – GERNOT BÜHRING (eds.), *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glaube und Sitten der Äthioper*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 39), 49–52 (tr.) = 90 (text).

Lit.: CARLOS SOMMERVOGEL (ed.), *Bibliographie de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 2, Bruxelles – Paris 1892, 1520; ERNST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and her only Son Menyelek* (I), London ^{1}1922 [^{2}1932], xxxii.

Andreu Martínez

Gofa

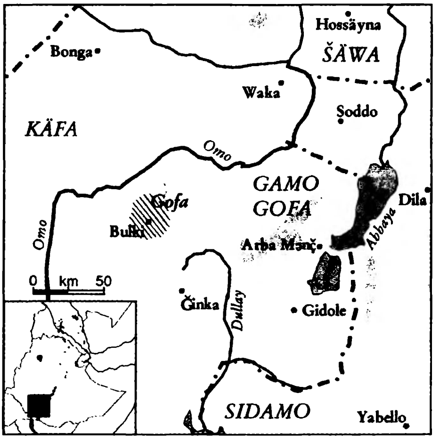
Gofa language

G. belongs to the North-Ometo branch of Omotic. It is spoken by 230,685 speakers in south-west Ethiopia (CSA 1994). According to Bender (2003), G. shares 100 % lexical correspondence with Wälaytta and Gamo, 96 % with Kullo and 94 % with Dorze. The only published materials on G. are Moreno (1938) and Alemayehu Abebe's preliminary analysis, published on the website of SIL. Data for the present report are drawn from these two sources and from the comparative notes of Cerulli (1929) and Alemayehu Abebe (1993).

The (common) Ometo five short vowels, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* and *a*, and the longer counterparts of these are present in G. The consonant inventory includes bilabial and alveolar implosives (*ɓ* and *ɗ*) and a series of ejectives and affricates (*ṣ*, *ʦ*, *č*, *č̣*, and *q*).

Two morphological core cases are identified: 1) the nominative, which is marked by *-i* on masculine singular and all plural nouns and by *-a* on feminine nouns; 2) the absolutive, which is marked by *–a* on masculine singular and all plural nouns and by *–o* on feminine nouns. The Genitive is marked by juxtaposition, in possessor-possessed order. Peripheral cases ("adpositions") include: instrumental *–ra*, Ablative *–pe*, dative *–s* and locative *bolla*. Nouns are marked for plural-number (singular is unmarked) by the suffix *–ta*, e.g. *ketta* 'house' vs. *kettata* 'houses'.

The verb in G. makes person, number and gender distinctions of the subject as well as imperfective, perfective and future tense/aspect distinctions. For example, for *b-* 'go', the following perfective forms are reported: ***badsi*, *badsa*, *bidsi*** and ***badsu***, respectively, used with 1st, 2nd, and 3rd (masc./fem.) pers. sg. subject ('I/you [sg.]/he/she went'). The plural counterparts of these are: ***bidsa*, *bidseta*, *bidsona*** 'we/you[pl.]/they went'. The imperfective form of *b-* 'go' differs from the perfective only by the absence of *-d-*, thus: ***basi*, *basa*, *bisi*, *basu*, *bisa*, *biseta*, *bisona***, 'I/you/he/she/we/you[pl.]/they go'. The future form is invariably marked by *-ana*. Accordingly, ***baana***, 'will go' is used with all subjects. 2nd pers. sg. and pl. imperative is indicated by *-a* and *–ite*,



whereas the optative mood for 3rd pers. sg. masc., fem. and pl. are respectively marked by *–oo*, *-uu* and *–ona*. Examples: *ma* 'eat [2nd pers. sg.]!', *mite*, 'eat [2nd pers. pl.]!'; *moo*, *muu* and *mona*, 'let him/her/them eat!'.

The following subject, object and possessive pronouns are reported for G.: *tani/tana/ta* (1st pers. sg.), *neni/nena/ne* (2nd pers. sg.), *ʾi/ʾa/ʾa*(3rd pers. masc. sg), *ʾa/ʾo/ʾi* (3rd pers. fem. sg.), *nuni/nuna/nu* (1st pers. pl.), *ʾinte/ntena/ʾinte* (2nd pers. pl.) and *ʾenti/ʾentina/enti* (3rd pers. pl.). Question words in G. include: *ʾone*, 'who?', *ʾays*, 'why?', *ʾode*, 'whose?', *ʾawde*, 'when?', *ʾawna*, 'where?' and *ʾaybe*, 'what?'. Only two demonstrative forms are reported in Alemayehu's work: *ha* and *hini*, used as in *ha miizza/miizzata*, 'this cow/these cows', *hini miizza/miizzata*, 'that cow/those cows'. However, in Moreno (1938) we also find *háysa*, 'this [masc.]'.

The word order in simple clauses is Subject–Object–Verb; accordingly modifier-head order is attested in noun, adjective and verb phrases. An example from Moreno (1938:71):

ta gúʣa mač̣č̣a naʾ-íya hayq-ana-s han-aus
1sg:GEN village fem. child-F:ABS die-FUT-DAT happen-3FS:IPF
'In my village a girl is going to die'

Sample word-list of G. from Alemayehu (1993):

'one'	*issino*	'moon'	*agena*
'two'	*nammʾa*	'sun'	*awa*
'three'	*heeʣa*	'blood'	*suʦa*
'fire'	*tama*	'tongue'	*inʦarsa*
'water'	*haʦe*	'tooth'	*ačča*

↗Gamo Gofa

Lit.: ALEMAYEHU ABEBE, "Ometo Dialect Survey: a Pilot Survey Report", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 4, 1993; ID., *Notes on the Gofa Language*, SIL 2005; M. LIONEL BENDER, *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*, Carbondale 2003; ENRICO CERULLI, "Note su alcune popolazioni Sidama dell'Abissinia meridionale 2: I Sidama dell'Omo", *RSO* 12, 1929, 1–69; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, *Introduzione alla lingua ometo*, Milano 1938; CSA 1994.

Azeb Amha

Gofa ethnography

G. (ጎፋ) is one of southern Ethiopia's least-known ethno-cultural groups that linguistically forms part of the wider North Ometo unit (within Omotic). The 1994 Ethiopian census mentions the G. as a subdivision of the Wälaytta, numbering 241,530 people (CSA 1998:67). The population of the "Gofa Zuriya *wärädä*" (with its capital Bulki) was listed at 166,050 (CSA 1998:27), the vast majority of whom can be presumed G. The G. region is bordered by the Omo River and the ↗Dawro, ↗Malo, ↗Basketo and Zala (↗Gamo) people. The country is densely populated, and the highland area is well watered, providing fertile soils and good pasture for livestock. The G. keep a limited amount of livestock and cultivate *ənsät*, maize, *ṭef*, sorghum, taro, yams, potatoes, tobacco and cabbage. Iron bars (*marǧo*) were used as an important means of exchange and could effectively be described as the local ↗currency of the past.

Gofa landscape, view from Fälägä Nəway; photo by Eike Haberland, 1970–71, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (034–Ha007–08)

G. was a kingdom with a sacred or "divine" king whose court was in Lote. Legitimacy for this ↗kingship was based on claims of supernatural origins from the *Gošanaa*, a trans-ethnic clan also found among neighbouring peoples like the Konta (Dawro). Though G. had contacts with the Ethiopian highland state and was partly inspired by its religious and kingship ideology, G. was an independent state. Since the mid-17th cent., G. notably expanded towards the south from its original core area of Wurki, near the Omo River. Its biggest expansion, however, occurred after the late 18th cent. under the kings Gamo and Ole. The last king of the Gofa, *kawo* Kamma, who descended from a long royal line – Gamo, Goba, Zulla, Kanṣa, Dada and Quste, – was killed fighting *aṣe* Mənilək II's army in 1891, and the expansion stopped. Kamma's son Ayge was baptized and became the local ↗*balabbat*. Also the other successors in the line, Loqa and Sinṣa, later served as representatives of the Ethiopian emperor.

The old leadership-system of the G., like among several related Ometo-speaking societies such as the Dawro and Gamo, was marked by a dual structure with a "land chief" or king (*kaʾo* or *kati*) and a "rain king" (*ira-kati*) responsible for rainfall, with the latter predominantly residing in the lowlands (the former developed into the G.

divine kingship). Each represented a different descent-line within the dominant clan. The *kati* had a range of advisers and administrators below him. When G.'s existence as a political entity ended, the position of the rain king increased in importance. They were, however, prohibited from performing their ritual activities during the *Därg* period, but have staged a cautious revival since 1991.

G. was an hierarchical society, with the potters (*oto mana*), tanners (*wogatše*) and blacksmiths (*gita mana*) occupying the lowest ranks, despite their importance in performing ritual functions. The G. have ca. 60–70 patrilineal clans, six of them "indigenous" and the remainder "newcomers". They had an intricate customary legal (*woga*) system, which has now been largely superseded by modern state law.

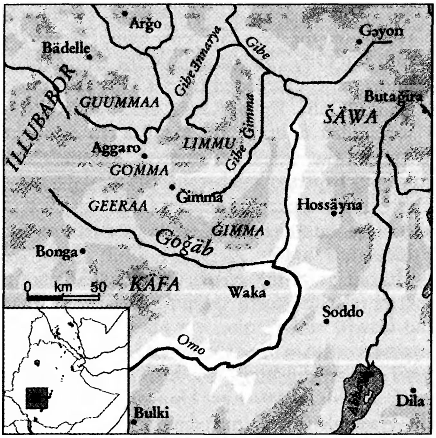
Src.: CSA 1998, 66.

Lit.: EIKE HABERLAND, "Mündliche Überlieferungen über die Geschichte von Gofa", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 100, 1975, 27–39; FRIEDRICH KLAUSBERGER, "Die Bedeutung von Religion und Magie im Rechtsleben der Gofa", *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 28, 1974, 45–59; ID., *Woga – Recht und Gesellschaft in Süd-Äthiopien*, Bern 1981, 20–87 ["Die Gofa"].

Jon Abbink

Goǧäb

The G. (ጎጀብ) is a major tributary of the ↗Omo. It has its source in the north-western hills of Käfa (Mt. Gešа or Gäsäya) at about 7°30' N and 35°40' E. After flowing for about 230 km eastwards, forming border between the Käfa and Oromiyaa provinces, the G. joins the Omo. The G. is home to ↗fish and ↗hippopotamus. A town on the G. northern shore bears the same name.



The Goǧäb river bridge, from Bieber 1948:127

The G. (which some scholars identify with the Gädäb of historiographic sources) had historical significance for Käfa kingdom as its northern border (with ↗Ǝnnarya and later with the Gibe states, namely those of ↗Geeraa and ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar). After the ↗Oromo migration of the 16th cent., the G. played a role as a line of defence against many intruders of the north, particularly from the Oromo that occupied the Ǧimma area during their south-westerly migration. Many Oromo, on the other hand, fled to Käfa across the G. escaping internal rivalries and wars. G. was also an important trade route for the ↗Afkala and ↗Ǧäbärti traders, in particular the former during the first decades of the 19th cent., enjoyed a near monopoly of the trade beyond the G.

One of the miracles of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn of Bale tells that on his flight from Käfa to Gomma he crossed the flooded G. by striking the waters with his staff and dividing them.

Src.: GueCopMen 462, 581; MasMis vol. 5, 11; PerChron 33, 46, 48; DillmZarY 13; *Guida* 536; CecZeila vol. 2, 239.

Lit.: BTafA 251, 921f., 932, 935, 988; MHasOr 49, 56, 78ff., 91, 115, 139f., 148, 155, 180, 192; OTTO BIEBER, *Geheimnisvolles Kaffa: Im Reich der Kaiser-Götter*, Wien 1948, 127.

Amanuel Karlo Gano

Gogälä

A group called G., personified by the ↗Hadiyya title ↗*gärad*, is referred to in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob. It is listed among the allies of the Muslim Hadiyya leader Mahiko who revolted against the rule of his Christian sovereign. After Mahiko's defeat, the G., unlike most other groups of this alliance, do not seem to have persisted as an important territorial or ethnic entity. The name is not remembered in the oral traditions of the Hadiyya or neighbouring groups.

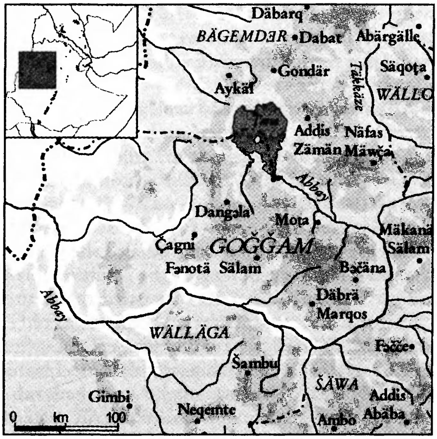
Src.: PerrZarY 18.

Ulrich Braukämper

Goǧǧam

G. (ጎጃም, also Gʷäzzam, Gʷäžžam or Gožžam) is a major region of Ethiopia, immediately to the south of Lake ↗Ṭana. It is separated from the rest of the country in the north-east, east and south by the immense curve of the ↗Abbay, or Blue Nile, which takes its source around the lake and, after running ca. 1,000 km in the deep gorge, crosses the Sudanese border. To the west of Lake Ṭana, the river Šinfa, a tributary of the Abbay, rising some 15–20 km west of Lake Ṭana, forms the border of G. with ↗Čəlga *awraǧǧa* (historical ↗Qʷara). The landscape of the western part of G. is shaped by the ↗Čoqqe mountain chain (with the peaks of Arat Makaraka, 4,150 m and Amädamit, 3,619 m A.S.L.), which are intersected by the Abbay's numerous tributaries. To the east, the mountain slopes crossed by the ravines of the Gəlgäl Abbay ("Small Abbay"), Tämča, Dura, Bäläs, Dinder and other rivers open into the Sudanese plains.

The remarkable ethno-linguistic composition of the Goǧǧame population is a product of several large-scale migrations and many centuries of intermixing. At least as early as in the 14th cent., the name G. seems to refer to the eastern and south-eastern part of the later province only – the area along the Abbay, populated mainly by the Semitic- (Amharic-) speaking people who were migrating from beyond the Abbay. The account about *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon's campaign against the Muslims mentions the *nägaśi* of Goǧǧam (MarAmdS 52f.) as the monarch's official in the area, possibly having submitted in ca. 1316–17 (TadChurch 189f.). Later, the troops from G. were included in ʿAmdä Ṣəyon's army (MarAmdS 114–17), though he had to carry out a (punitive?) campaign against G. before the campaign against ↗Ifat in 1332 (*ibid.* 86–89; TadChurch 190). Besides, one should recall also Zan Ḵəmər of G. in the old-Amharic "soldier songs" (Guidi 1889: 62f.; Zankəmər may also be an old title of the traditional G. rulers, cp. *ibid.*, 64).



Around the same time, monks from the monasteries on Lake Ṭana initiated the Evangelization of the "proper G." – the area from Lake along the western bank of Abbay up to the river's curve to the west. Occasionally, Zan(a)kəmər, who was ruling around 1323/24 (TadChurch 191, n. 2, referring to a record in the 17th-cent. ms. Kebrān 19), appears to have been unfriendly to *abba* ↗Yafqərannä Ǝgziʾ (Wajnberg 1936:18f.). Ǧan Čuhay, the local *śəyyum* of the ↗Agäw, arrested *abba* ↗Zäyoḥannəs and imprisoned him at Adämamit; but he was killed by the host of ʿAmdä Ṣəyon (Schneider 1972: 15ff.). Wədəm, another *nägaśi* of G., seems to have greatly respected *abba* Yafqərannä Ǝgziʾ (Wajnberg 1936:24–27). The same Wədəm is likely to appear as a commander of troops from G. in the army of ʿAmdä Ṣəyon (MarAmdS 114f.; cp. TadChurch 192, n. 1, 2). The Vita of Näʾakʷəto Läʾab mentions yet another traditional ruler of G., Ṣärä Qəməs – a name "translated" by the hagiographer as 'the enemy of God' – and his son Mäʿat Goni (s. Conti Rossini 1943:141). In fact, "Ṣärä Qəməs" may be an epithet for Zankəmər (TadChurch 191), but Mäʿat Gone appears as the "*nägaśi* of Gozzam" and a contemporary of *abunä* ↗Bärtolomewos also in *aṣe* ↗Dawit II's decree concerning the commemoration of his father Säyfä Arʿad (s. ms. Kebrān 1, fol. 3ra).

Though in the 15th cent. "the proper G." was neither a political nor a religious centre of the Ethiopian monarchy, it certainly was one of the important provinces. In the 15th cent. royal governors were sent to G., but there was apparently a political equilibrium with the local ruling family (perhaps represented by the *nägaśi/nägaš*). G. seems to have been relatively stable and less involved in the political upheavals. While the "proper G." and the areas around Lake Ṭana were dependencies of the Christian monarchs, large territories to the west and southwest, populated predominantly by the Agäw, were out of the Emperor's reach.

Attempting to unify and centralize the administration of the provinces, *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob appointed a governor with the title *raq masäre* (↗*Ṣärag masäre*) in G. and settled contingents of ↗*čäwa* there; later he appointed over G. his relative *wäyzäro* Aṣnaf Sämra (PerrZarY 15, 47, 95). When *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam revealed the plot of the *čäwa*-regiment of Tannač, he resettled them from ↗Bale to G.; later he entrusted the future emperor Ǝskəndər to Anbäsa Dawit, *nägaš* of G. (PerrZarY 160f.). However, Taddesse Tamrat (in: PICES 12, vol. 1, 959) suggests that *aṣe* Ḥəzbä Näñ (↗Täklä Maryam), might have had substantial support through family ties in eastern G., unlike his successor Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob. When Ḥəzbä Näñ was enthroned, he brutally punished *abba* Sinoda of Däbrä Ṣəmmuna as a supporter of Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob.

Although 15th-cent. hagiographies sometimes mention G. as a region where the spread of ↗Christianity was hampered by the deeply rooted traditional beliefs and magical practices, important monasteries, churches and royal residences were established there. Gonč (Gonǧ) and ↗Qʷälala were the old domain of *ətege* ↗Ǝleni while her residence was at the church of Mängəśtä Sämayat. Later, *ətege* Säblä Wängel hid the young Śärṣä Dəngəl there from the rebellious nobles. Mängəśtä Sämayat still was a royal residence in the time of *aṣe* ↗Minas. The church of ↗Mərṭulä Maryam (in Ǝnnäbäse) was founded – or rather refounded – perhaps around 1510 by *ətege* Ǝleni (s. Bell 1988), who is reported to have been associate to the local nobles of Ǝnnämay and Ǝnnäbse (Taddesse Tamrat in: PICES 12, vol. 1, 959). Other local foundations were ↗Getesemane Maryam (in Moṭa, traced to ↗Naᶜod Mogäsa, but probably not prior to the 15th cent.), ↗Däbrä Mäwiʾ (Yəlmana Densa), ↗Dima Giyorgis (Ǝnnämay, ↗Bəčena) and Däbrä Ṣəmmuna. While ↗Däbrä Wärq (and then a few other monasteries) claimed affiliation to *abba* ↗Ewosṭatewos and the movement of the ↗Ewosṭateans, most local foundations considered themselves to belong to the monastic line of ↗Täklä Haymanot; as early as the 16th cent. ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa exerted some direct influence on the south-eastern part of G., in Šäbäl (EMML 2134, fol. 139). Among few Goǧǧame saints, the most celebrated is *abunä* ↗Zärʾa Buruk of Ṣima, whose cult pivots around the source of the Nile – Gəš (Gəlgäl) Abbay, and may have origins in the old Agäw religious practices (Kriss – Kriss-Heinrich 1975:56–66).

Imām ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's troops invaded G. in 1534 and 1536, each time coming from Dämbəya. According to the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, Gregory (Gorgoryos?), the *goǧǧam nägaš*, was captured by the Muslims in the battle of Ayfärs (31 March, 1531); he soon managed to fle but later was killed (BasHist 203, 205). Another *goǧǧam nägaš*, Täklä Ḥawaryat, was also killed (BassHist 264f.) while fighting in the south of the Empire. But on the whole, G. suffered from the wars less than the other regions of the Empire due to its natural isolation through the Abbay.

After the Muslim wars, the first consequence of the large-scale migrations of the ↗Oromo during the Mulʾata *gadaa* (1578–86) was the resettlement of portions of the "old" ↗Damot population across the Abbay, establishing the "new" Damot. They were followed by some other Omotic-speaking communities (such as the ↗Gonga) and the ↗Gafat people, who settled, apart from the territory that became known as Gafat, also in ↗Wämbärma, ↗Ačäfär and Damot (MHasOr 50f.). In 1587, *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl struck a heavy blow on the Warantiša Oromo (*History of the Galla*, in: BeckHuntAlm 122; CRHist 127; DombrChr 186) who penetrated deeply into G. territory. Later the emperors utilized G. in their campaigns across the Abbay, but from the late 16th cent. onwards Oromo pressure was growing. As the centre of the Christian monarchy moved to the Lake Ṭana, the situation in G. was more stable than in the southern provinces.

The emperors were frequently successful in their fight against the Oromo, though the raids could not be stopped for all. In 1603 *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl defeated the Liiban in G. (DombrChr 189; yet it was also in G. that *ras* Zäśəllase organized a mutiny against the Emperor, *ibid.*, n. 284). *Aṣe* ↗Susənyos undertook expeditions against the ↗Awŋi-Agäw of Dangəla and also against the Oromo, who regularly invaded G. The stone bridge over the Abbay, built around 1626, improved communications between G. and Dämbəya, the royal domain, yet some time around 1628 the Oromo killed *däǧǧazmač* Buko, *säḥafe lam* of Damot (DombrChr 195). Already Zädəngəl's campaign against the Liiban demonstrated a new pattern: having fought the Liiban, Zädəngəl led his troops against Agäw Anbäs Gama, to reward the soldiers with booty. While the Oromo danger remained vital, this event marked the extension of the Christian monarch's power into the Agäwland, which was intensified during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs. One can recall, e.g., the combined campaigns of 1639–41, with the invasions led into ↗Mätäkkäl behind the Agäwmədər and Dura rivers and repeated attacks against the ↗Šanqəlla (↗Šinašša), further to the west of the Agäw. In 1644 Fasilädäs went through the entirety of G. and crossed the Abbay, successfully fighting the Akako-Oromo; in 1645 he defeated the Hankäša-Agäw and returned to ↗Zage, Ṭana (DombChron 199). The later Gondärine emperors intensified their raids against the Agäw: in 1671–72 *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I invaded Mätäkkäl, pillaging Dən, Säqut, Banǧa and Gam, and repeated the raid in 1672 when he learnt that the Agäw of Č̣ara and Mätäkkäl rebelled. However, in 1680 "Čəhway, chief of Mätäkkäl", together with some Oromo, was dispatched by the King to raid the Šanqəlla (GuiIohan 14f., 17, 46). In the Chronicle of ↗Iyasu I, Čəhway is depicted as the King's true servant, providing a secure base for his campaign against the Šanqəlla and Gonga (GuiIohan 114, 142, 178, esp. 225).

Some Oromo groups remained in G. and in the next two centuries were gradually involved in the politics of the ↗Gondärine kingdom, allying with the emperors and fighting in their campaigns, but sometimes participating in the mutinies against them or in feuds. They were gradually assimilated, intermixing with the Amhara, Agäw and Gafat: the Ǧawi of Damot, Basso, Gudru, Mäč̣č̣a and Elmana Densa. The flourishing of the Gondärine kingdom influenced G.: new churches and monasteries were built, especially around Lake Ṭana; e.g., after successful campaigns, Fasilädäs founded Gəmǧa Bet (Maryam) and Iyäsus churches in Dərdəra and gave large land grants to ↗Däbrä Daga Əsṭifanos and ↗Kəbran (DombrChr 200). ↗Yəbaba on the southern cost of Lake Ṭana became the place of important church councils. In the 18th cent., however, the political struggle in Gondär and religious controversies in which G. remained the fortress of the ↗*Qəbat* movement (↗Christology; ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church) started to charge G. with heavy costs. After Iyasu I's assassination on 10 October 1706, the bridge of Fasilädäs was destroyed by the adversaries of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot I. He himself was killed in Agäwmədər only two years later, this having been preceded by an almost full-scale war and the defeat and massacre of the allied forces of Täklä Haymanot's Goǧǧame enemies in October 1707 (DombChr 245).

From the 18th cent. onwards, the ruling family of G. became prominent, stemming from the marriage of ↗Wälättä Əsraʾel (daughter of Məntäwwab [↗Bərhan Mogäsa] and *grazmač* Iyasu, son of *aṣe* Iyasu I) and *däggazmač* ↗Yosedeq Wäldä Abib, obviously of Basso-Oromo origin (GuiIyas 12; BTafA 426–29, 994). His son *daǧǧazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq "the Great" was one of the principal rulers of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. *Ras* Ḫaylu's son ↗Märəd died in 1799, fighting, along with *ras* ʿAśrat, the latter's brother *ras* ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel – an event which endorsed the establishment of the ↗Yäǧǧu dynasty's direct influence in Gondär. Märəd was succeeded by his son *däǧǧazmač* Gʷalu, who was waging war with *däǧǧazmač* ↗Zäwde of Damot. After Tädla Gʷalu, G. was ruled by *däggazmač* ↗Goššu Zäwde, son of Dənqənäš, daughter of Märəd, until he fell in November 1852, fighting *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa, the future ↗Tewodros II. Tewodros appointed over G. Tädla Gʷalu, who soon rebelled. Adal Täsämma (since January 1881 known also as *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot) was the great-grandson of Dənqənäš, in childhood being cared at by Tädla Gʷalu, who, in fact, was never subdued by Tewodros. Already the age of 19, Adal started to fight Tädla, enjoying popular support, especially in Damot.

After the short reign of *däǧǧazmač* Nəguśe (one of Tädla's sons), prolonged rebellion and a number of battles, Adal Täsämma captured *däǧǧazmač* Dästa, Tädla's other son, and delivered him to *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot II. Adal Täsämma was than appointed governor of the entire of G., and married the Emperor's sister in 1870. He was loyal to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV too, gradually becoming the most powerful local ruler of Ethiopia. This brought him to serious rivalry with Mənilək of Šäwa, also in the matter of territorial expansion (cp. ↗Däräso Tabo, ↗Gobäna Dač̣i), which culminated in the 1882 battle of ↗Əmbabo. After defeat, he withdrew and spent some years consolidating the administration of his realm, building his capital ↗Däbrä Marqos (↗Dämbäč̣a and ↗Moṭa being two other important settlements) and churches and improving the state of trade and communications (e.g., the second bridge across the Abbay was constructed, with the help of Gustavo ↗Bianchi, cp. Guidi 1891:285–91). Due to the isolated position of G., communications with the European powers were somewhat difficult. The position of Täklä Haymanot deteriorated after his unsuccessful campaign against the ↗Mahdists (followed by the destruction of Gondär in January 1888). Angered, Yoḥannəs invaded G., but had to interrupt his punitive expedition to go to ↗Mätämma for his last battle (Bairu Tafla 1973). As to Täklä Haymanot, he managed to preserve his authority and the status of G. also in Mənilək II's time.

During a period of instability in the time of *ras* ↗Bäzzabbəh Täklä Haymanot, Mənilək made cautious attempts to dismantle the large province, but due to his illness he could not complete this task. *Ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot, one of the most controversial figures in Ethiopian history, was able to consolidate his power over the entire province of G. (with a population of ca. 2 million) in *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu's reign. A powerful and cruel ruler, he accumulated immense wealth, but was hated because of his heavy and sophisticated taxation. Ḫaylu was engaged in a strategic game with *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən; his strategic miscalculation led him to participate in the attempt to organize *ləǧ* Iyasu's escape, which resulted in Ḫaylu's deposition and imprisonment in 1931.

Subsequent events demonstrated that G. is much more than its ruling house. During the Italian occupation, G. soon became an area where the ↗Resistance raged, producing such outstanding leaders as *daǧǧazmač* ↗Bälay Zälläqä, and the guerrillas managed to keep large territories out of Italian control. In January 1941 Ḫaylä Śəllase I entered Ethiopia through G. and went to Addis Abäba via Däbrä Marqos. However, soon the joy at the Liberation gave place to bitterness and resentment, as in the subsequent years the population of G. witnessed exploitation and a growing tax burden, as well as arrogance, corruption and large-scale abuses by the police and imperial administrators (such as *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ṣäḥayu Ǝnqʷä Śəllase, the governor of G. in 1960–68). The imperial officials were tightening their grip on the province (formed, in the early 1960s, by Agäw Mədər, Baḥər Dar, Bəčäna, Däbrä Marqos, Moṭa and Mətəkkəl *awraǧǧas*), considering it one of the most independent and obstinate regions. This state of affairs resulted in prolonged peasant revolts that reached their peak in 1968–69 and, in the end, contributed to the fall of Ḫaylä Śəllase's regime.

Src.: BasHist, s. index; BeckHuntAlm, s. index; BTafA, s. index; ChTana passim; DombrChr 186, 189, 195, 200; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Gli Atti di Re Naʾakuĕto La-ʾAb", in: *Scritti dedicati alla memoria di Francesco Gallina*, Roma 1943 (= *Annali IUO*, nuova ser. 2); EMML 2134; Girma Getahun (ed., tr.), *The Goǧǧam Chronicle by* aläqa *Täklä Iyäsus Waqǧera*, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS University of London 1991; Ignazio Guidi, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di Re abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4ª, 5, 1889, 55–66, here 62f.; Id., "Documenti amariña", *ibid.* 7, 1891, 285–300; GuiIohan 14f., 17, 46, 114, 142, 178, 225f., 236 (text); GuiIyas; HamTana I, 84–91, Ṭānāsee 1 = Kebrān 1, fol. 3ra; 126, ms. Ṭānāsee 19 = Kebrān 19; HuntGeogr s. index; MarAmdS 51f., 85f., 114–17, 133f., 161f.; PerrZarY 15, 47, 95, 160f.; PerChron; Madeleine Schneider, *Actes de Za-Yoḥannes de Kebrān*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 332, 333 [SAe 64, 65]), 15–17 [text] = 14–17 (tr.); Isaak Wajnberg, *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerana ʾEgzīʾ*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), 18f., 24–27.

Lit.: Abdussamad Hajji Ahmad, *Gojjam: Trade, Early Merchant Capital and the World Economy, 1901-1935*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois 1986; Sevir B. Chernetsov, *Efiopskaja feodalnaja monarhija v XVII veke* ('The Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 17th Century'), Moskva 1990, s. index; Stephen Bell, "The Ruins of Mertulä-Maryam", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 125–29; Alessandro Lusana, "L'Acefer e il Meccià", *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana* 1, 2, August 1938, 595–615; Rudolf Kriss – Hubert Kriss-Heinrich, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, here 56–81 (Lit.); Taddesse Tamrat, "Ethiopia in Miniature: the Peopling of Gojam", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 951–62; TadTChurch, s. index; Bairu Tafla, "Two of the Last Provincial Kings of Ethiopia", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 29–55; MHasOr, s. index; ZewYohan, s. index; BZHist 173ff., s. index; Gebru Tareke, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest: Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford 1991 (African Studies Centre 71), 160–92.

Denis Nosnitsin

Gogot

G. is the term that comes from the Səlṭeñña language where it means "alliance for waging war between ethnic groups" (Gutt — Hussein Mohammed 1997:813).

The decline of the central power during the *Zämänä mäsafənt* (ca. 1769–1855) affected also the ↗Gurage region. Quarrels regarding the usage of land, cattle-raiding and religious campaigns yielded a situation of ongoing warfare between the several Gurage groups and between the Gurage and their neighbours (s. Dənbäru Alämu et al. 1987 A.M.:216f.).

In the second half of the 19th cent. ↗Mənilək II used these quarrels in his expansion policy towards the south and started to rule in this area. At least at this time Gurage elders and famous warriors (bearing the title of *abägaz*) from several subdivisions of the Gurage started to struggle for a unified Gurage people and the establishment of peace in the area. The Kəstane (↗Soddo) Solla Odda (also Sill Odda) played an important role among them. Probably at the end of the 19th cent. Solla Odda persuaded most of the Gurage to take part in a peace assembly (Dənbäru Alämu et al. 1994/95:218). The first assembly of all Gurage-speaking groups – except the ↗Mäsqan and ↗Səlṭi, who were quarrelling on border matters at that time – took place at the Mulg plateau in Mount Zäbidar in the bordering area of the ↗Dobbi and ↗Muḫər (ibid. 218). This assembly was named G. (ibid. 219).

The main result of this assembly was a treaty to stop the mutual raids. If now one group tried to invade its neighbour's territory, all of the remaining members of the G. alliance had the duty to punish the invader (Dənbäru Alämu et al. 1994/95:218f.). This treaty was re-established during a second assembly in Božžäbär and again during a third meeting in Atazo in the ↗Geto region (ibid. 219). The last G. assembly, known as the "Big Gogot", was held in ↗Ənnäqor in 1928 A.M. [1935/36 A.D.]. All Gurage groups, as well as the neighbouring Hadiyya, Allaaba, Kambaata, Qabeena and the Amhara governors or representatives took part in it. Beside the reconfirmation of the peace treaty in the Gurage area, possibilities of resistance against the Italian invaders were also discussed (ibid. 219ff.). After the last assembly no further meeting of the G. took place but as a term G. is sometimes used also for later military alliances.The existence of G. as a unification alliance of different Gurage groups and their neighbours is not commonly accepted. Except Dənbäru Alämu (1994/95) only Braukämper (BrHad 185) mentions the G. alliance.

Lit.: BrHad 185; DƎNBÄRU ALÄMU et al., ጎጎት፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብሔረሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ (*Gogot: yägurage bəḫeräsäb tarik, bahələnna q^wanq^wa*, 'Gogot: the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.] 218–21; EEVA H.M. GUTT – HUSSEIN MOHAMMED, *Silt'e–Amharic–English Dictionary* (*with a Concise Grammar by* ERNST-AUGUST GUTT), Addis Ababa 1997.

Ronny Meyer

Gogot

G. (or Goggot) is the name used by linguists (s. Grimes 2000; Hetzron 1977; Leslau 1979) for the language spoken by the ↗Dobbi, who refer to their language as *yädobbi qal* or *yädobbi q^wanq^wa* ('language of the Dobbi'; s. map for ↗Gurage). The name G. originates from a unity-treaty of several Gurage groups. Alternative names are Däga-Dobbi, Dobbi-Gogot. G. is spoken by approximately 4,000 people (Grimes 2000) in an area west of Butağira. The entire population is bilingual. Besides G. they know ↗Muḫər, ↗Wäläne, ↗Soddo or ↗Mäsqan and also ↗Amharic as second languages. G. is not used as second language by other Gurage peoples and due to this sociolinguistic situation it belongs to the endangered languages of Ethiopia.

G. is a Gunnän-Gurage language but its genetic affiliation is still controversial (cf. ↗Gurage languages). According to Hetzron (1972:119) G. and Soddo build a subgroup within the *n*-group of Outer South Ethiopic, which is relatively far from the Western Gurage languages. Leslau (1992 [1968]:248), however, classifies G., Muḫər and Mäsqan together as one branch of Western Gurage. Based on typological features, especially on the survival of the so-called main verb markers, Hetzron (1968; 1972:6, 57ff.; 1977: 23f.) postulates a convergence area consisting of Soddo, Muḫər and G., which he called Northern Gurage. Furthermore, Grimes (2000:109ff.) classifies Kəstane and G. together as two varieties of a single Soddo Gurage group.

G. has seven vowels (*ä, a, e, ə, i, o, u*) and two vowel clusters (*e^{y}ä, e^{y}a*; Leslau 1979:xvi). The vowel clusters emerged due to the phonetic reduction of the lateral **l* to *e^y* in base-final position, as in *däbbe^y-ä* 'add, repeat' < **dbl* (Leslau 1979:liii; also Hetzron 1977:76). With regard to consonants, the existence of rounded labials (b^w, f^w, m^w) and velars (g^w, k^w, q^w, x^w) is remarkable. In some verbs a diachronic change from geminated *ll* to *n*(*n*) took place (s. Hetzron 1968:157), e.g. *bänna-m* < **bälla-m* 'he ate' vs. *ʾambeya* < **ʾan-bäla* 'he did not eat'. The sound change from **l* to *n* also occurred with the benefactive complement suffix (*-n-* < **-ll-*) and with the negative marker in the perfective (*ʾan-* < **ʾal-*; s. Hetzron 1968:157, 162; 1972:121; 1977:40).

The so-called main verb markers (MVM) are a remarkable feature in the morphosyntax. They are suffixed to a main affirmative verb in the perfective and imperfective to make it finite. The shape of the MVM (*-i, -u* or *-n*) is phonologically conditioned (Hetzron 1968:158f., 1977:88ff.).

The verb can appear in three different paradigms that are basically used to express a perfective, an imperfective and a jussive/imperative (Hetzron 1977:83ff.). G. has an innovative suffix *-nä* as an additional marker for the 1st pers. in the imperfective and jussive (s. Hetzron 1972:119ff.). Subject agreement markers distinguish gender in the second and third persons singular and plural. There are two sets (light and heavy) of object agreement markers on the verb (Hetzron 1968:161).

While affirmative type A verbs in the perfective have a geminated second radical, negative type A verbs do not geminate (*säç̣ç̣ä-m*, 'he drank'/*ˀan-säç̣ä*, 'he did not drink'). Type B verbs are either marked by a vowel *e* after the first radical (*seffä-m*, 'he sewed') or by a palatalized radical word initially or medially (Hetzron 1977:70). The negative marker for the 3rd sg. masc., for the 3rd pers. pl. masc., and for the 3rd pl. fem. in the imperfective and jussive, is *ˀe-*: *ˀe-säbər*, 'he will not break'. All other persons have the negative marker *ˀa*(*n*)-, which assimilates to the prefixed subject marker: *ˀattəsäbər* (< **ˀan-t-säbər*), 'she/you [sg.masc.] will not break' (Hetzron 1977:87). The main verb in the affirmative perfective can either appear with suffixed MVMs to express a perfective (e.g. *säbbäro* < **säbbärä-u*, 'he broke') or with a suffix *-m* to express a perfect (*säbbärä-m* 'he has broken'; s. Hetzron 1968:158f). The suffix *-m* is also used as converb marker.

With regard to nouns there seems to be no morphological plural marking. The plural marker *-očč* mentioned in Hetzron (1977:52) is most probably an Amharicism. Plural is often indicated by the quantifier *bəžžä*, 'many': *bəžžä säb* (many man), 'men'. Some nouns and adjectives, however, mark plurality by reduplication: *gälləf* (sg.) vs. *gällalləf* (pl.), 'long' or *gobbe* (sg.) vs. *gobbabit* (pl.), 'brother'. Certain nouns have a lexical plural form, e.g., there exist different words for singular and plural of the same entity, e.g. *təkä* (sg.)/*denga* (pl.), 'child' (Hetzron 1977:53).

The definite article is a suffix *-i*. The accusative marker is an optional prefix *yä-*: *käbbädä yä-ˀalmaz wäddä-na-m* (K. ACC-A. love:PV: he-her-PF), 'Käbbädä has been loving Almaz'. This prefix functions also as genitive and dative marker (Hetzron 1977:54).

The basic word order is Subject–Object–Verb. Genitives, relative sentences as well as adjectives precede the head noun. There are prepositions and postpositions. The preposition *bä* is used to express both locality 'in, inside, from' (e.g. *bä-bet*, 'inside the house') as well as the instrumental (*bä-qällät*, 'with the spear'). A prepositional phrase can be also marked by using postpositions: *bä-bet-kuta ˀiftlift* (from-house-his in front), 'in front of his house', *bä-čəbān-i mʷärä* (from-pillar-the around), 'around the pillar'. Direction is expressed by a circumposition *tä-…-t*, 'towards': *tä-gäbäya-t*, 'to the market'.

The personal pronouns for the third persons are: 'he' *kʷa*, 'she' *kiya/kʸa*, 'they (fem.)' *kənnäma* and 'they (gender unmarked)' *kənnämʷ*.

A gender distinction seems only to exist in regard to humans. Female animals agree with the 3rd person masculine on the verb: *ˀənnam-i ˀäga yə-säç̣-u* (cow-the water 3sg.masc.-drink:IPV-MVM) 'The cow is drinking water'.

Demonstrative pronouns do not distinguish gender. The pronoun *zi* refers to near and *za* to far object(s) or individual(s): *zi məss*, 'this man', *za mišt*, 'that woman'. Plural can be optionally marked by prefixing *nä-* to the respective demonstrative pronoun: *näzi ˀənšəta*, 'these women'.

The present tense copula consists of an element *-n*(*ä*)- with suffixed agreement markers (s. Hetzron 1977:105). In the 3rd pers. sg. masc. no agreement marker appears: *kʷa näggade-n* (he trader-COP), 'he is a trader'. For the negative the verb *kʷänä* 'to be' is used in the negated perfective: *kiya näggade ˀan-kʷän-ät* (she trader NEG-be:PV-3sg.fem.), 'She is not a trader'.

Question words can appear as basic interrogative pronouns (*məˀe* 'what', *ma* 'who', *ˀet*(*t*) 'where (direction)', *mäčä* 'when') or as derived forms (*yä-ma* 'whose', *yä-məˀe* 'why', *mən-käm* 'how', *b-et*(*t*) 'where'). The basic word list contains the following items: one *ˀatt / quna*, 'two' *ḫʷett*, 'three' *sost*, 'fire' *ˀəsat*, 'water' *ˀäga*, 'sun' *č̣et*, 'moon' *ṭärraqqa*, 'blood' *däm*, 'tongue' *ˀallämät* and 'tooth' *sənn*.

There exists no comprehensive grammar of the language. However, there is some scattered information available, especially in Hetzron (1968, 1972 and 1977) and Leslau (1979 and 1992 [1968]; 1979:531ff. contains a word list on G.). The only published texts in G. are three folktales (s. Hetzron 1977:158–67).

Src.: interview with TÄRRÄFÄ TÄFÄRI, G. native speaker from Butağira, ca. 52 years old in 2001.

Lit.: BARBARA F. GRIMES (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the world*, online version 2000; ROBERT HETZRON, *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977; ID., *Ethiopian Semitic*: *Studies in Classification*, Manchester 1972; ID., "Main Verb-markers in Northern Gurage", *Africa* 38, 2, 1968, 156–72; WOLF LESLAU, "Toward a Classification of the Gurage Dialects", in: ID., *Gurage Studies*: *Collected Articles*, Wiesbaden 1992 [1968], 246–59; ID., *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (*Ethiopic*), vol. 3, Wiesbaden 1979, xv–xcii, 531–618.

Ronny Meyer

Goha Ṣəbah

G.Ṣ. (**ጎሃ፡ ጽባሀ**, 'The Dawn') is a book written and published in 1919 A.M. [1926/27 A.D.] by *blattengeta* ↗Ḫ̮əruy Wäldä Śəllase. With 294 pages, the work is composed of eleven major sections. In the preface, the author lauds the quest for knowledge through the reading of diverse books, idea that forms the foundation of the entire work.

The title can be said to reflect Ḫəruy's view of the epoch in which he lived: the opening of a new era. He used it in other ocasions: in a literary journal he published in 1917 and that knew only one issue (Pank Econ 677); in the establishment of the Goha Ṣəbah printing press, that he helped to found (MolLit 18); in the paper entitled *Aṭbiya Kokäb*, which was run by the well-known Greek Kavvadias (↗Greece, relations with).

The various essays in each section of the book deal with an assortment of worldly and spiritual issues of seminal importance to the author. Chapter one deals with Genesis, the Ten Commandments, the six commandments of the Gospels (Matt 5:21–24), and the books considered holy in the Orthodox Church. Chapter two deals with an assortment of religions and beliefs, including matters concerning: prayer, fasting, *səgdät* ('genuflection'), alms, love, *təḥtənna* ('modesty'), and *fərhat* ('fear of God'). The third chapter concentrates on the palace and the church. Numerous issues are addressed in the fourth chapter: a brief history of Constantine's life and the feud between Christians and pagans, the power and honour of bishops, the education and the knowledge of the kings, the light of the Gospel, and marriage and hermitage. Chapter five focuses on married life and issues related to fertility. Matters associated with spiritual and bodily health, the idea of rulers and the ruled in this world, the merits and demerits of health, and the value of good and bad news are treated in the sixth chapter. The seventh deals with the natural tasks of animals, while the eighth covers issues pertaining to the nature of growth and change in both knowledge and ignorance. Chapter nine addresses slavery and being black, and the tenth chapter concerns the futility of worldly life. The last chapter is about the reward of Heaven, the punishment of damnation, and the place where one performs penance and purgatory.

Src.: ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, ጎሀ፡ ጽባሀ (*Goha Ṣəbah*, 'The Dawn'), Addis Abäba 1919 A.M. [1926/27 A.D.].
Lit.: MolLit 1–27; PankEcon 677–84.

Fekade Azeze

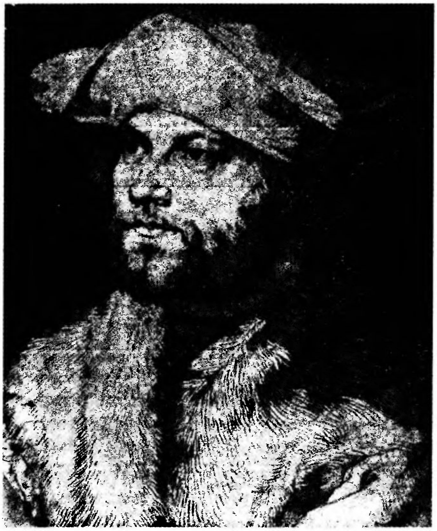
Góis, Damião de

G. (also Goes; b. 1502, Alenquer, Portugal, d. 30 January 1574), agent of the Portuguese crown and Renaissance humanist, was the author of one of the first comprehensive narratives on Ethiopian Christianity.

The son of Rui Dias de Góis and Isabel de Limi, of Flemish origin, G. was born to a noble family serving the Portuguese kings – his grandfather, Gomes Dias de Góis, had been in the entourage of Prince Henry the Navigator. In 1511, G. joined the service of Dom ↗Manuel I, first as page and later as moço da câmara. In 1523, Dom ↗João III sent him to Ambers as secretary and treasurer of the Portuguese feitoria (commercial office). Thereafter, carrying out different missions for that king and guided by his curious and open mind, G. travelled widely (Poland, Lithuania, Denmark, Germany, Sweden, France, Italy) and met important figures, including Sebastian Münster, Erasmus – who entertained him in Freiburg, – Ramusio, Melanchthon, Luther, Albrecht Dürer, Joan Lluís Vives and Pietro Bembo; in Portugal he was a friend of the writers João de ↗Barros and André de Resende. G. attended courses at the Universities of Louvain and Padua, wrote on a variety of topics (e.g., the condition of the Laponians) and translated some classical works (including Cicero's *Cato maior* or *De senectute*) into Portuguese. He was also a composer with some musical pieces to his credit and the owner of a private collection of paintings.

At the request of his friend Johannes Magnus (Gothus), archbishop of Uppsala, G., always interested in the Portuguese overseas exploits, translated into Latin a Portuguese opuscle on ↗Mateus's embassy to Portugal. The translation appeared, without his consent, in 1532 in the book *Legatio Magni Indorum Imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis* (Góis 1532; s. 1540:16f.), which also included a summary of Ethiopia's faith and the famous "Letter of Prester John": i.e. ↗Ǝleni's letter to Dom Manuel I (1509). John More, the son of another "utopianist", Thomas More, produced an English edition of it (London 1533; the two are published in Blackburn 1967; s. Uhlig – Bühring 1999:31, note 59).

In 1533, during an official visit to Lisbon, G. met and befriended ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl's envoy ↗Ṣägga Zäʾab (Góis 1926, part III, chs. 40–41). The latter engaged himself in writing a treatise on the Ethiopian faith that G. should translate into Latin. The text, an extraordinary and solid defence of Ethiopia's religious traditions, reached G. in Padua, where he studied from 1534 to 1540 (Góis 1926, part III, ch. 40), and was published



Possible portrait of Damião de Góis attributed to Albrecht Dürer, Österreichische Staatsgalerie Albertin, from Hirsch 1967, frontispiece

in 1540 as the main section of his famous *Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopum* (Góis 1540:54–88). In the book, Ǝleni's letter to Dom Manuel I was reprinted, along with four other missives of Ləbnä Dəngəl (1521, 1524) translated from their Portuguese version by the Italian humanist Paolo ↗Giovio. Thus, the *Fides*, written in Latin and more than an original account, was a "stage" from which Ethiopian personalities were enabled to reach the wider European public. G. held at the time an exemplar of Francisco ↗Alvares' text (Góis 1540:51), which was to serve as the main source for Ramusio's edition (BeckHuntAlvar 5–9). However, he does not seem to have positively met Alvares whilst the later was in Bologna (on a possible use of Alvares's text by G. s. Uhlig – Bühring 1999:164, n. 42).

The *Fides* enjoyed widespread diffusion in Europe, in both Catholic and Protestant circles, and had subsequent editions (Uhlig – Bühring 1999: 34). Its main section by Ṣägga Zäᵓab, however, also earned G. the criticisms of the powerful cardinal infante Dom Henrique, who, as *inquisidor geral* of Portugal, banned its circulation in the kingdom (ibid. 36f.). The ↗Jesuits proved to be equally critical; G. was accused of Lutheranism before the Inquisition by their Portuguese provincial, Simão Rodriguez, and in 1545 a process was opened against him – he was soon acquited, though. Likewise, Jesuit historians like ↗Godinho and ↗Tellez openly refuted Ṣäga Zäᵓab's religious contentions as "false" and "heretical".

In 1548, G. was named head keeper ("guarda mor") of the Torre do Tombo (Royal Archives) and ten years later was entrusted by Cardinal Dom Henrique to write the chronicle of Manuel I's reign. The work, completed in some seven years, was his major achievement. It unfolds further details on Christian Ethiopia and the Portuguese relationships with the Solomonic dynasty (Góis 1926, part III, chs. 58–62). In 1571, a new inquisitorial process opened against G., who was then sent to jail. He died shortly after, free but ill, in obscure conditions. G. had eight sons.

Src.: DAMIÃO DE GÓIS, *Legatio Magni Indorum imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis ad Emanuelem Lusitaniae regem* ..., Antwerp 1532 [new ed. in: ELIZABETH B. BLACKBURN, "The Legacy of 'Prester John'", *Moreana* 4, 1967, 37–98]; ID., *Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopum : sub imperio Pretiosi Ioannis* ..., Lovanii 1540 [German tr. by SIEGBERT UHLIG – GERNOT BÜHRING, *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glaube und Sitten der Äthiopier*, Wiesbaden 1999 (AeF 39), esp. 22–52, 164]; ID., *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, Lisboa ^{1}1566–67, ^{2}1619, Coimbra 1926, part III, chs. 58–62.

Lit.: JEAN AUBIN, "Damião de Góis dans une Europe Évangelique", in: ID., *Le latin et l'astrolabe*, Lisboa – Paris 1996, 211–35; MARCEL BATAILLON, "Le cosmopolitisme de Damião de Góis", in: ID., *Etudes sur le Portugal au temps de l'humanisme*, Coimbra 1952, 149–96; ID., "Damião de Góis", in: MARCEL BATAILLON – JOSE V. DE PINA MARTINS (eds.), *Damião de Góis: humaniste européen*, Paris 1982, 1–16; JORGE BORGES DE MACEDO, "Damião de Góis et l'historiographie portugaise", *ibid.* 55–243; "Góis, Damião de", *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. 12, Lisboa – Rio de Janeiro 1932, 494–97; BeckHuntAlvar 5–9; ROBERTO ALMAGIÀ, *Contributi alla storia della conoscenza dell'Etiopia*, Padova 1941; ELISABETH FEIST HIRSCH, *Damião de Góis: the Life and Thought of a Portuguese Humanist, 1502-1574*, The Hague 1967; *Congresso Internacional: Damião de Góis: na Europa do Renascimento. Actas*, Braga 2003.

Andreu Martínez

Gold

The presence in Ethiopia of both local and imported G. is attested to in the archaeological evidence from pre-Aksumite and Aksumite sites (↗Aksum), mostly in the form of coins (↗Coinage). In the 6th-cent. account of the Aksumite kingdom by ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes, caravans of local and foreign traders went to exchange iron, cattle and salt to the "G.-panning country of Sasu" – region along the Sudan border southwest of Lake Ṭana (cp. Fiaccadori 1992:76f.). A

Berta women washing gold; photo courtesy of Christof Herrmann

round-trip journey from Aksum required six months (Wolska-Conus 1968:362; Munro-Hay 1989:210, 221; MHAksum 35, 146, 174). Trade for G. from the south using cattle, salt and other commodities is also reported in the 17th-cent. account of the Jesuit Manoel de ↗Almeida (BeckHuntAlm 149).

Except for references to the Sudan borderlands, the precise locations of G. and other mineral deposits in Ethiopia are not well documented. Most early travellers referred only to G. coming from the "interior". Mansfield Parkyns in the 19th cent. is the most specific, noting that the G. found in Ethiopia came in three distinct forms: rings or links that he called Sinnār G. from the Sudan; G. in grains or beads; and also in ingots from Ethiopia (Parkyns 1856, vol. 1, 338; Silverman – Sobania 2004). Areas where G. was found in the past may be indicated by locations of G. deposits known today: central and western Eritrea, the western borderlands of Goǧǧam and the Sudan, central and western Wälläga, the lowlands of western Käfa and central Sidamo (EMAtlas, map 56). Historically, the vast majority of G. found in Ethiopia was obtained by searching along, or panning, in river-beds, and not from mines (PankEcon 232). Only in Sidamo is G. mined, at sites that today include Adola and Laga Dimbi (Ofcansky – Berry 1992:192).

Throughout the 19th cent., G. was among the most sought-after items that traders from Gondär procured from the Gibe states, Käfa and Ǧanǧero, in exchange for salt, mules and sundry imported textiles (PankEcon 351–55). Similarly, G. was also reported as a principal export-item passing through ᶜAdwa in the second half of the century (PankEcon 355f.), but, as with the trade that passed though Gondär, the actual value and extent of this trade in G. is difficult to assess. When ↗Mənilək II expanded his empire, especially to the west and south in the last two decades of the 19th and the first of the 20th cent., he granted mineral concessions to European interests to prospect and mine G., silver, iron, copper and nickel. These concessions were located principally in central and western Wälläga where both alluvial and reef-G. was found along the many tributaries of the Abbay, Dabus and Baro rivers. In none of the concession-areas, however, were foreign interests to prevent the local peoples from searching for and collecting G. as they had always done (PankEcon 231–35). Under ↗Ḥaylä Śəllase I, the mining industry expanded further and for the first time included individual Ethiopian concession-holders (PankEcon 235ff.). Today individuals in parts of Ethiopia still pan for G. and exploration to discover new fields continues, but there are no large-scale deposits and G. makes only a small contribution to the country's overall economy.

G. was used in the past, as it continues to be today, for adornment (↗Goldsmiths; ↗Jewellery), coins and for the fabrication of ecclesiastical and ceremonial objects, although iron, bronze, brass, copper and silver were more commonly employed. When G. was used for processional ↗crosses, it was rarely the entire cross, but used instead to gild other metals. Likewise, crowns of G. used in coronation rituals are described in some chronicles, as is the scattering of G. among the people, but the authenticity of such accounts is sometimes questionable. What is clear is that G. was hoarded, used in long-distance trade and worn for the prestige.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 149; EMAtlas map 56; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia, being Notes Collected during*

Three Years' Residence and Travels in that Country, 2 vols., 1856; WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed.), *Kosmas Indikopleustes. Topographie chrétienne. Introduction, Texte Critique, Illustration, Traduction et Notes*, vol. 1, Paris 1968 (Sources chrétiennes 141), 362.

Lit.: GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992, 76f.; MHAksum 35, 146, 174; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Excavations at Aksum*, London 1989, 210, 221; THOMAS P. OFCANSKY – LAVERLE B. BERRY (eds.), *Ethiopia: a Country Study*, Washington, D.C. 1992, 192; PankEcon 232, 235ff., 351–56; RAYMOND SILVERMAN – NEAL SOBANIA, "Gold and Silver at the Crossroads in Highland Ethiopia", *The International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 1, 2, 2004, 76–104.

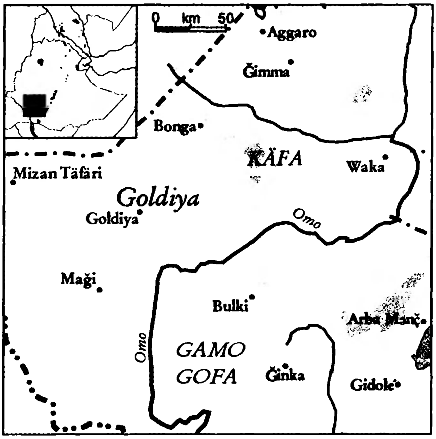
Neal Sobania

Goldiya

G. (**ጎልዲያ**, also Golda) is the name of a district in the ↗Käfa area. Up until 1991 it formed an *awrağğa* together with the ↗Maği district. According to the Ethiopian census of 1970, the Goldiya-Maği *awrağğa* covered an area of 15,900 km² and had 131,200 inhabitants. The 1984 census only lists 59,974 inhabitants, with the density of population down from 8.2 to 3.7 inhabitants per km².

The name G. probably originates from the ↗Konta people who live east of the G. region, across the Omo River. The ↗Meʾen agro-pastoralists who moved into the lowlands along the Omo in the early 19th cent. were called "G." by the Konta. *Ras* Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye, a general of *aṣe* Mənilək II, conquered the area in 1898 and founded the present village of Bačuma. This village was later also called G. by local people living east of the Omo.

The meaning and origin of the term G. is not certain, but one tradition claims it was the name of a small river in the Meʾen country south of Bačuma that formed the border between the Benç and the Meʾen in the 19th cent. The Käfa and some of the Ometo-speaking groups also used the term G. for the Meʾen people, who were then powerful and often raided the highland peoples.



Very few written sources referring to the G. exist. It first appears as a reference to the territory of the Meʾen (called "Šuro") in Antoine d'Abbadie's *Géographie de l'Ethiopie*, an account of his travels in Ethiopia during the 1840s (AbbGeogr). Bulatovitch (1900), citing local oral traditions, refers to the G. as a powerful territorial unit. The oral traditions of the Konta people recorded by Haberland in 1974 (Haberland 1981) frequently refer to the G. (even to a G. king) and state that the Konta kingdom finally defeated them and drove them to the western lowlands along the Omo river; from this position of retreat, however, they continually raided the Koyša highlands.

After the 1991 political changes in Ethiopia and the concomitant redrawing of local administrative boundaries, the term G. disappeared, although the Konta and ↗Dawro peoples in the Koyša area still refer to the lowland Meʾen as such. The latter are still feared as raiders, and the last major confrontation between these groups occurred in 1999. In spite of the Konta and Dawro's reference to the lowland Meʾen, there is currently no official G. people or identity.

Src.: AbbGeogr 118; CSA 1970; CSA 1984.

Lit.: EIKE HABERLAND, "Notes on the History of Konta: a Recent State Formation in Southern Ethiopia", in: *2000 Ans d'Histoire Africaine. Le Sol, la Parole et l'Écrit – Mélanges en Hommage à Raymond Mauny*, Paris 1981, 740–43; ALEXANDRE KSAVERIEVITCH BULATOVICH, "'Dall' Abissinia al Lago Rodolfo per il Caffa", *Bollettino della Società geografica italiana* ser. 4ª, 1, [24], 1900, 121–42.

Jon Abbink

Goldschmidt, Lazarus

G. (b. 17 December 1871, Plungiany, Lithuania, d. 1950, London [?]) was a versatile Jewish Semitist who in his early career made a number of contributions to Ethiopian studies.

G., whose original Jewish name was Eliezer ben Gabriel, received a traditional rabbinical education in a reputable Talmudic school in Slobodka (Kaunas) in his native Lithuania. Thus shaped by one living Semitic tradition, he went to Berlin in 1890 to study Semitics academically. G. remained in Germany (Berlin?) until 1933 when, after the

Nazis' ascent to power, he emigrated to London.

G.'s early scholarly preferences lay with Gəʿəz and Ethiopian literature, to which he devoted himself under the guidance of August ↗Dillmann. As a result, between 1892 and 1897 in quick succession he published four works concerned with topics from these fields (Goldschmidt 1892; 1893; 1897; Goldschmidt – Esteves Pereira 1897).

After 1897 G. turned away from Ethiopian studies. From that time onwards he devoted his scholarly efforts mainly to the monumental task of translating into German, for the first and only time, the entire Babylonian Talmud; this was achieved in 1936. Another major accomplishment of G., in yet another linguistic and cultural domain of Semitics, was his translation of the Qurʾān into Hebrew (1916).

Src.: Lazarus Goldschmidt, *Das Buch Henoch aus dem Äthiopischen in die ursprünglich hebräische Abfassungssprache zurückübersetzt*, Berlin 1892; Id., *Bibliotheca Aethiopica. Vollstaendiges Verzeichnis und ausfuehrliche Beschreibung saemmtlicher Aethiopischer Druckwerke*, Leipzig 1893; Id., *Die abessinischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Frankfurt am Main* (*Rüppell'sche Sammlung*) …, Berlin 1897; Lazarus Goldschmidt – Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, *Vida do Abba Daniel do mosteiro de Sceté. Versão etiopica*, Lisboa 1897.

Lit.: Gotthard Deutsch – Lazarus Grünhut, "Goldschmidt, Lazarus", in: Isidor Singer – Cyrus Adler (eds.), *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 6, New York – London 1904 [repr. 1965], 26; "Goldschmidt, Lazarus", in: Cecil Roth (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 7, Jerusalem 1971, 370.

Michael Kleiner

Goldsmiths

Evidence of the fabrication of ↗gold objects in the northern highlands of Ethiopia reaches back to the last half of the first millennium B.C. Archaeological research has yielded gold finger rings, earrings and beads from the pre-Aksumite sites of ↗Yəḥa and ↗Ḥawəlti (MHAksum 240ff.). More abundant evidence of local goldworking has been found at Aksumite sites (↗Aksum; ↗Aksumite culture). To date, the most important find is a cache of gold ↗jewellery discovered at ↗Mäṭära in a 6th-cent. A.D. bronze vase that included gold necklaces, pendant ↗crosses, beads and Roman coins fitted with small suspension loops. These and other finds demonstrate that pre-Aksumite and Aksumite smiths utilized a number of metalworking technologies, including hammering, gilding, casting, wire-pulling, riveting and soldering/welding.

Until recently, gold has been a prerogative of the political and religious elite in the Christian highlands. Silver, which today sells for roughly one-twelfth of the price of gold, has been the metal of choice for commoners, especially those living in rural areas. Three categories of gold or silver objects are produced by G. (Amh. **አንጥረኛ**, *anṭəräñña*; Tgn. **አንጥረይና**, *anṭəräyna*): political regalia (including crowns), ecclesiastical paraphernalia (including processional crosses, hand-crosses, neck-crosses, "golden drums", which were most probably made of silver and gilded, chalices, ornaments for processional umbrellas and the baskets that hold the Sacrament, gilded silver covers of religious texts and prayer-stick finials), and a wide variety of jewellery (including different types of bracelets, armlets, anklets, necklaces, pendants, earrings, rings, pins and ear-picks). The price of objects made of gold (and silver) is based on weight — all G. sell their wares at a regulated fixed price (per gram) that incorporates the cost of the metal, labour and overheads.

With the exception of archaeological material, the oldest surviving examples of gold (and silver-work) are processional crosses dating from the 12th–13th cent. that are maintained in various churches in Ethiopia and in museums and private collections around the world. These early crosses, being products for the Ethiopian Orthodox, share affinities with objects coming from other parts of the Orthodox world (i.e. Eastern Mediterranean). However, many forms unique to Ethiopia have evolved over the centuries. Jewellery, similarly, reveals a mélange of local and foreign traditions. Some of the most sumptuous works utilize filigree designs that were introduced by Greek and Armenian G. who emigrated to Ethiopia in the 18th cent. Some of these foreigners lived and worked in ↗ʿAdwa and Aksum, two towns in Təgray that are renowned for their fine goldwork. Indeed, these two towns have been for several centuries the source of the country's best G. A recent survey (Johannes Kinfu 1997:73) on G.-working in Addis Abäba showed that the majority were from Təgray.

Proscriptions against the use of gold in Muslim societies are manifest in the use of silver instead of gold in Muslim communities throughout Ethiopia. The melding of foreign and local traditions is seen in the jewellery worn by the ↗Harari, ↗Somali and ↗Argobba in eastern Ethiopia. Jewellery, worn primarily by women in this region, has close affinities with forms produced by Bedouin and Jewish silversmiths of the Arabian Peninsula, evidence of a long history of exchanges between Muslim peoples from both sides of the Red Sea.

Throughout the highlands of Ethiopia, G. traditionally have been members of an endogamous group of artisans with whom the concept of the "evil eye" (↗*Buda*) is associated. Despite their importance in the towns in which they live, they have been socially marginalized, often forced to live in segregated communities and denied many of the rights (such as owning land) aforded to farmers and the clergy. At present, the antiquity of these cultural values is unknown, however there is documentary evidence that they are at least as old as the 15th cent. It seems that the social stigma attached to working gold and silver has relaxed to some extent. Today, one finds non-hereditary G. working in cities and towns who have taken up the trade because of its economic benefits.

Outside Addis Abäba, most jewellery produced by G. shows forms that have been popular for at least several hundred years. However, new "modern" designs are also part of the G.'s repertoire. But in the capital, the preferences seem apparently to have changed. Recent discussions with several G. working in Addis Abäba revealed that, whereas ten years ago roughly 70 % of the jewellery they sold was locally produced, today 90 % of the sales are imports that the G. resell.

Lit.: MHAksum 240ff.; JOHANNES KINFU, "The Anteregnoch in Ethiopia: Jewellers from Axum. Role and Status in a Peasant Society and Transitional Economy", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 71–88; RAYMOND SILVERMAN – NEAL SOBANIA, "Mining a Mother Lode: Early Ethiopian Travel Literature and the History of Precious Metalworking in Highland Ethiopia", *History in Africa* 31, 2004, 335–55; IID., "Gold and Silver at the Crossroads in Highland Ethiopia", *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 1, 2, 2004, 76–104; IID., "Silverwork in the Highlands: the Life and Work of Gezahegn Gebre Yohannes and Abib Saʾid", in: RAYMOND SILVERMAN (ed.), *Ethiopia: Traditions of Creativity*, Seattle, WA – East Lansing, MI 1999, 183–99; RONALD A. REMINICK, "The Evil Eye Belief among the Amhara of Ethiopia", *Ethnology* 13, 1, 1974, 279–91.

Raymond Silverman

Goldsmith Täwäldä Bərhan Wäldä Maryam working on a pedant in his shop in Aksum (detail); photo December 2001, courtesy of the author

Golǧa Nablä

G.N. (ጎልጃ፡ ናብለ; b. ca. 1863, Zaydäkolom, Säraye, d. 1939, Mändäfära [ᶜAddi Wəgri], Säraye) was one of the trusted followers of *däǧǧač* Kəfläyyäsus, one of the major Eritrean resistance leaders during the Italian occupation. The personal attachment and harmonious relationship with him lead to a family bondage: G.N. became Kəfläyyäsus's son-in-law.

After all Eritrean resistance was suppressed and *däǧǧač* Kəfläyyäsus, together with several other Eritrean chiefs, had been made prisoner in Nak̠ura, G.N. submitted to the Italian governor of Eritrea. He joined the Italian army and the governor appointed him *šaläqa* in the 4th Italian Battalion. With the Italian army G.N. took part in the battles of Koᶜatit, Ḥalay, Mäqälä, Ambalage, ᶜAqordät and ᶜAdwa. For his brave actions, which later gave birth to legends about his military skills and physical strength, he was awarded several silver and bronze medals.

In 1897, G.N. was made the head of Dämbälas district. Later, between 1899 and 1928, he served in the same position in Zaydäkolom, his native district. He received several important titles from the Italian authorities, including those of *barambaras* (1896), *azmač* (1902) and *däǧǧazmač* (1920). In 1928, accused of abuse of authority, G.N. was dismissed from the office.

Src.: ErDizBio 157.

Mussie Tesfagiorgis

Gollango ↗Dullay

Gomma

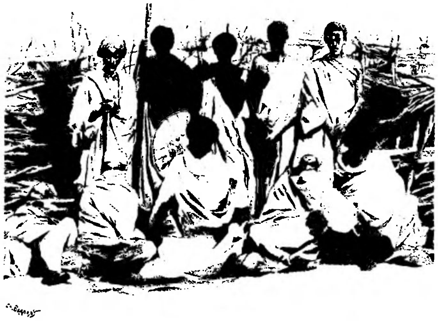
G. was one of the earliest Oromo ↗Gibe states to be formed – probably before the 1770s – and the first whose ruling dynasty accepted ↗Islam and championed its cause. According to tradition, the founder of the G. state and its ruling dynasty, Awalani, was a Muslim ↗holy man. In reality, Awalani was the clan that started the dynasty, one of the nine G. clans (each with its own ↗*çaffee* and leaders elected every eight years). The tradition was invented to enhance the Islamic credential of a dynasty instrumental in the spread of Islam in the Gibe region.

The founder of the nucleus of the state of G. in the second half of the 18th cent. was Abbaa Bokke, ↗*abbaa dulaa* of the Awalani clan. Oral tradition depicts him as a wise and respected man (Guluma Gemeda 1984:50), with power, wealth, knowledge of Oromo law, organizational capacity and the ability to inspire his followers and take timely decisive action. He was able to defeat every rival clan leader, emerging as the most powerful leader in the land. Abbaa Bokke made himself a hereditary leader, thus challenging and ignoring the ↗*gadaa* principle of rotating office. The *çaffee* assembly recognized the land he captured in military campaigns as his private property so he could distribute it among his followers and those who sought his protection (The Jimma Interview Program 1974:17, 35). Thus, in G., like in other Gibe states, the state power crystalized around access to land and the struggle to control more lands (MHasOr 11).

The task of uniting the region of Qottu with G. was left upon Abbaa Bokke's death to his youngest and ablest son, Abbaa Maano. He came to power at the mature age of 40 in 1800 (Guluma Gemeda 1984:50) and ruled for four decades. He provided G. with ideological unity, political stability and economic prosperity. With its agriculture, rich coffee fields, extensive trade and abundant cattle, G. earned a reputation for a high degree of civilization (CecZeila 238f.).

Abbaa Maano also immortalized his name in the history of the Gibe region as the promoter of Islam. He built mosques, established schools and attracted Muslim scholars to G. and other states, provided land to the *Qādirīya* and *Tiğānīya* brotherhoods and encouraged them to intensify proselytization.

Abbaa Maano found in Islam an ideological justification for abolishing such Oromo traditional celebrations as ↗*buttaa* festivals, which were pivotal to the *gadaa* system and the traditional religious cycle. He also first stopped sending gifts by the hands of ↗*ğiila* who went to the land of ↗*abbaa muuda* in southern Ethiopia. G. was the first Gibe state to ban offerings to ↗Waaqa, marking the definite transition to an Islamicized society, and to abolish slavery. Following G.'s example, all the Gibe kings abandoned the practice of enslaving their own people.



Abbaa Fuugi, the king of Gomma in the late 19th cent.; drawing by Henry Audon, 1889; from the collection of Volker Matthies

G. thus became the first state in the Gibe region where Islam became a universal religion (HarAeth vol. 3, 601), profoundly altering the spiritual life and ideological orientation of the people, having fully replaced the traditional Oromo religion.

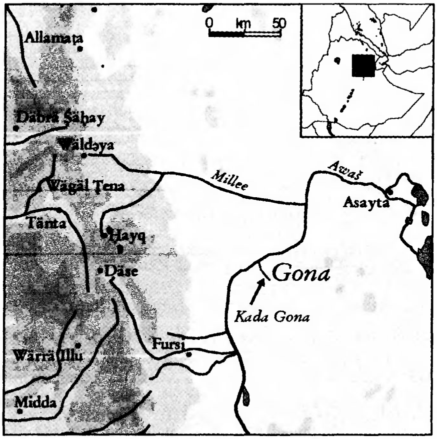
Src.: CecZeila vol. 2, 238f.; HarAeth vol. 3, 601.

Lit.: GULUMA GEMEDA, *Gomma and Limmu: the Process of State Formation among the Oromo in the Gibe Region, c. 1750–1889*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, 1984, 50; MHasOr; *The Jimma Interview Program*, ms. 1974, 17, 35.

Mohammed Hassen

Gona

G. (ጎና) is an area of more than 500 km^2 in the west-central ᶜAfar region, Ethiopia. The G. area contains sedimentary exposures of the ↗Awaš River basin and includes Plio-Pleistocene sediments with abundant artefact and fossil-bearing deposits. Between 1992 and 1994, the Paleoanthropological Research Project's (GPRP) archaeological and geological surveys and excavations recovered more than 3,000 lithic artefacts of the Oldowan tool tradition from 15 site locations east and west of the Kada Gona river. Radiosotopic (^{40}A/^{39}A) and magnetostratigraphy dating suggest that the Oldowan assemblage from G. dates to between 2.6 and 2.5 million years ago. The Oldowan lithic assemblage from G. is characterized by simple cores, whole and broken flakes and angular fragments; it is generally similar in composition and form to Plio-Pleistocene



Oldowan assemblages documented elsewhere in eastern Africa.

Lit.: SILESHI SEMAW, "The World's Oldest Stone Artefacts from Gona, Ethiopia: their Implications for Understanding Stone Technology and Patterns of Human Evolution between 2.6–1.5 Million Years Ago", *Journal of Archaeological Science* 27, 2000, 1197–1214; ID. et al., "2.5-million-year-old Stone Tools from Gona, Ethiopia", *Nature* 385, 1997, 333–36.

Matthew C. Curtis

Gondär

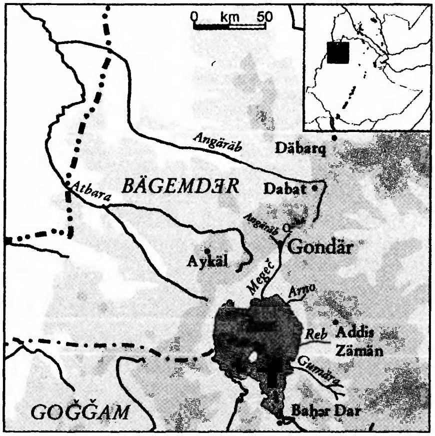
The town of G. (ጎንደር, also ጐንደር, Gʷändär; 12°61' N, 37°46' E), one of the largest cities in Ethiopia, is located in the historical ↗Bägemdər province (today North Gondär Zone). It evolved from an obscure 17th-cent. market-town into the flourishing capital of the Ethiopian monarchy, passed through an era of decline and destruction and underwent a slow renaissance in the mid-20th cent.

The term "G.", apparently of ↗Kəmant origin, is first mentioned during the reign of *aṣe* ʿAmdä Ṣəyon (1314–44) as the name of a regiment of soldiers stationed most probably in ↗Wägära to guard nearby trade routes and to control a restive population (MarAmdS 68f.; TadTChurch 91, 192f.). It subsequently designated a small-market town inhabited by Muslim traders and Fälaša craftsmen (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel). In 1636/37 *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs selected G. as his camp, certainly for the purpose of directly supervising the collection of customs on the Red Sea – Ṭana – Ǝnnarya trade routes. This was seemingly the same reason that induced his immediate predecessors, beginning with *aṣe* ↗Särṣ̌ä Dəngəl in the 1570s, to locate their capitals on Lake Ṭana's north-eastern flank, along with a concern for safety in view of ↗Oromo conquests in the central highlands. Situated about 35 km due north of the lake in the midst of Kəmant country, G. was on, or close to, the point at which the main caravan track from ↗Mätämma to Ṭana joined the route from Ǝnnarya to the Red Sea. Other advantages were a semi-circle of mountains that afforded protection, nearby fertile agricultural lands and a permanent water supply. Popular legends, however, maintain that Fasilädäs was led to the site by prophecy and miraculous events.

Tradition holds that Fasilädäs purchased land on a small plateau between the ↗Angäräb and Qaha rivers from two peasants, Wäyne and Sayne, on which he constructed a stone castle. Close by he founded two churches, Gəmǧa Bet Maryam and Ǝlfəñ (also Makkabäbiya) Giyorgis, and surrounded the whole with a stone wall, the beginning of what would become a substantial royal enclosure during the next century. Further afield, he established five other churches, including Mädḫane ʿAläm and Fit Abbo (the latter close to the church of Arbaʿətu Ǝnsəsa, one of the four local churches that predate G.'s founding). The pleasure-pool with stone pavilion beside the Qaha river known as the "Bath of Fasilädäs" and several bridges are also commonly attributed to him. In 1648 a Yemeni envoy, ↗Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī, found Christians and Muslims residing in separate communities and living in straw huts, whereas the castle was "... a lofty structure, among the most wonderful of splendid constructions and ... built of stone and lime ... This castle ... is on the outside of the city and at the highest spot in it; it comprises numerous buildings and large squares" (DonHaySirat 149, 151). Fasilädäs's son, *aṣe* Yoḥannəs I (1667–82), and grandson, *aṣe* Iyasu I (1682–1706), elected to remain at G., building their own castles and churches. By the late 17th cent., G. had become a permanent and sizeable settlement where Ethiopia's rulers resided when not campaigning and where the Empire's pre-eminent commercial, political and religious classes gathered around the throne, in contrast with the peripatetic camps of pre-17th-cent. rulers.

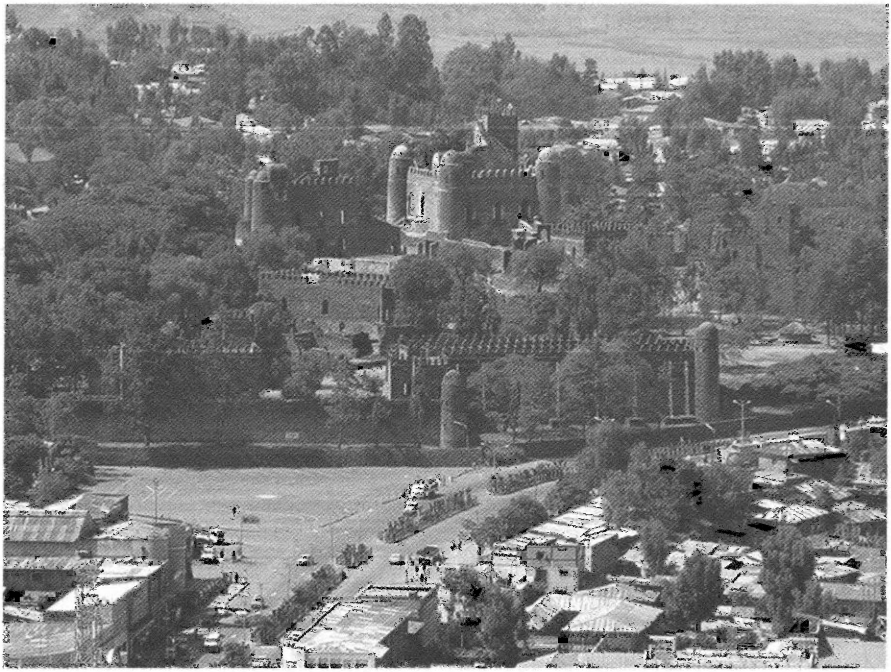
From the beginning, the population of G. fell into two broad groupings – the royal household and nobility, on the one hand, and merchants, craftsmen and commoners, on the other, all eventually residing in separate neighbourhoods. In 1668 Yoḥannəs decreed that the Muslims and the Fäläša (Kayla) should live separately from Christians throughout the whole ↗Gondärine kingdom. The decree, reissued in 1676, meant that almost all Muslims in G. subsequently resided in the lower part of the town beside the Qaha, a quarter known as Ǝslam Bet or Ǝslamge. The Betä Ǝsraʾel were assigned four quarters, two of them, Abärra and Kayla Meda, beside the Qaha. Aside from the royal enclosure, known as the Makkabäbiya or Fasil Gəmb, other significant quarters were the Addäbabay, a public square on the south of the royal compound, a place of assemblies and the Monday market; ↗Abun Bet, north-west of the castles, residence of the *abun*, or Metropolitan, and a place of asylum; ↗Ǝč̣č̣äge Bet, west of the castles, residence of the ↗*əč̣č̣äge* and also a refuge for offenders; Qäññ Bet, east-south-east of the castles and home to many nobles; and Dəngay, further south-west and inhabited by Christian merchants. To the far south-south-east lay the main (Saturday) market and beyond it, Ǝslamge at the foot of the G. plateau.

Trade and commerce, the economic mainstay of the city, lay in the hands of G.'s Muslims (↗*Ǧäbärti*). They organized the caravan trade north to the Red Sea coast, west to Mätämma and south to Ǝnnarya, as well as trade within the kingdom. They made G. the major emporium of northern Ethiopia beginning in the 17th cent., importing foreign manufactures in exchange for civet, coffee, gold, hides and slaves. By the mid-19th cent., G. was home to a large number of traders, the majority Muslims. Retail transactions lay in the hands of Christians as well and were carried out partly by itinerant hawkers in weekly markets and partly in merchants' houses. Salt bars (↗*Amole*) served as the medium of exchange. Aside from long-distance traders, the commercial class encompassed Muslim weavers, tailors, millers, weapons-makers, tanners and leather workers and Fäläša potters and smiths. G.'s Muslims also organized royal military expeditions but were not themselves warriors. Muslims belong either to the Ḥanafī or Šāfiᶜī law school. The Ḥanafīes venerate a number of shrines dedicated to local sheikhs, most of them in Ǝslamge, a source of tension with the Šāfiᶜīes, who object to such veneration.



G. gained fame for its churches, which served as educational and cultural centres, as well as havens of asylum and refuge. Ecclesiastics, a prominent part of the population, attracted large numbers of students, who studied reading, calligraphy, law, theology and such liturgical specialities as ↗*aqʷaqʷam* and *sankʷa* (clerical chant with instruments and movement). A distinctive style of painting evolved that was used to illuminate icons, manuscripts and interior walls of churches. ↗Crosses, sistra (↗*Ṣänaṣəl*), and other liturgical implements were locally manufactured to supply the large demand. Churches and their parishes determined the geographic bounds of G. At its greatest extent, "G." encompassed parishes within the city itself, on the mountain ridges to the east, west and north of the city and as far south as Mənzaro, a distance of almost 30 km. These parishes, 44 in all, became known as the "44 churches of G.". Among them was Azäzo Täklä Haymanot, home of the monastic community of ↗Däbrä Libanos that, like the royal court, relocated from Šäwa to Lake Ṭana region.

Two officials, both appointed by the reigning monarch, helped to administer the city. The ↗*näggadras*, "head of the merchants", was a Muslim who resided in Ǝslamge. He organized all caravans, collected customs from traders and adjudicated civil, but not criminal matters. The ↗*käntiba* was the governor of ↗Dämbəya before becoming in effect the mayor of G. in the 17th cent. He supervised local markets, levied taxes, dispensed justice and maintained public order with a force of up to several hundred soldiers. As central authority declined during the 19th cent., the *käntiba* assumed responsibility for the city's defence.



Gondär, view from the Goha–Hotel on the palaces and a part of the city; photo 2004, courtesy of Merdassa Kassaye

During the 18th cent., the royal compound was completed with the construction of castles by ↗Dawit III (r. 1716–21), ↗Bäkaffa (r. 1721–30) and ↗Iyasu II (r. 1730–55), the church of Aṭṭaṭami Mika᾽el by ↗Dawit III and various subsidiary buildings, the whole surrounded by a double wall with twelve gates and reinforcing towers. The castles and churches in G. were constructed almost entirely by local Fälaša craftsmen, assisted by Kəmant and Muslim workmen and by at least some foreign artisans and architects. Although fashioned in an architecture of semi-military style known today as Gondärine architecture, the castles were not intended as defensive structures. Rather, these two-storey, stone- (basalt) and mortar- buildings with domed corner towers and battlements were seemingly designed to celebrate the identity and achievements of each of the kings who built them and to enhance the "image" of Solomonic kingship. Royally commissioned churches, built of stone and mortar and encircled with battlemented walls with towers as at ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase, enhanced their founders' claims to distinction and piety.

By mid-century, additional G.-style structures had been built close to the "Fasilädäs Bath" on the Qaha and *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa), wife of Bäkaffa and regent to Iyasu II and Iyo᾽as (1755–69), had completed a third complex farther west at Qʷəsqʷam consisting of a reception hall, small apartments and the adjacent church of ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam. North-east of the royal enclosure, a miniature castle known as the Ras Bet or Ras Gəmb served as headquarters for various noblemen who, by this era, effectively governed the kingdom. In 1770 the Scottish traveller James ↗Bruce reported that "Gondar … consists of about ten thousand families in times of peace; the houses are chiefly of clay, the roofs thatched in the form of cones … On the west end of the town is the king's house, formerly a structure of considerable consequence … [a] great part of this house is now in ruins" (BruNile vol. 3, 380). Bruce mentions that other quarters, including Ǝslamge, comprised of 3,000 dwellings (elsewhere he speaks of only 1,000), "some of them spacious and good" (ibid. 198).

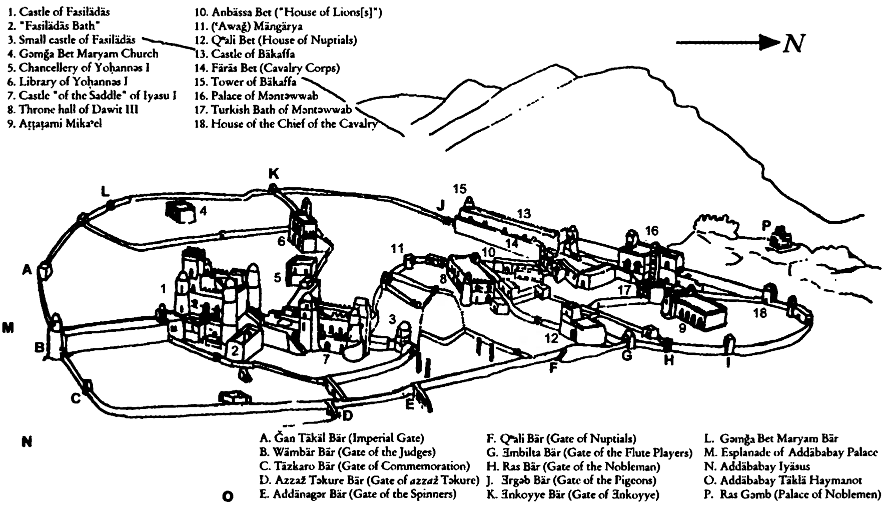
No more castles were built after the reign of Iyasu II, although at least nine major churches were commissioned in the later 18th cent. (among them, e.g., Bäʾatä Lämaryam). By then, control of the city had passed into the hands of a provincial nobleman, *ras* ↗Ali Gʷangul, and his heirs, who governed from Däbrä Tabor from the second decade of the 19th cent. G. remained the ceremonial, commercial and religious centre of the ↗Gondärine kingdom, but emperors were reduced to figureheads without means for maintaining their courts or the city's monuments. Pillaging and destruction became common. In the early 1830s, the German traveller Eduard ↗Rüppell found only abandoned ruins in the royal compound, the reigning monarch holding court in quite modest quarters beside the Fasilädäs castle. The city had shrunk to about 1,000 houses with perhaps 6,500 inhabitants, 2,000 in Ǝslamge, 1,300 in Ǝč̣č̣äge Bet, and 400 in Kayla Meda. The population doubled or tripled on market-days or in times of trouble, when the city offered a measure of security to a fearful populace (cf. PankHist; Crummey in CentAddis).

G.'s fortunes declined further as the locus of the kingdom shifted south-east to Šäwa. After the mid-1850s, no more emperors reigned in G. *Aṣe* ↗Tewodros II refused to live there and he suspected its population of disloyalty. In early 1864, he sought to compel Muslims to convert to Christianity, a decree that fell heavily upon G.'s numerous Muslims, most of whom complied, if only nominally. Later that year, Tewodros sent his soldiers to sack the city. Confronted with further opposition, Tewodros and his army plundered and burned G. in December 1866. Most churches were looted and destroyed and their treasures – gold and silver crosses, chalices, nearly 1,000 manuscripts etc. – were carted off to Däbrä Tabor, Tewodros's capital, that he intended to become the "new G." (most of these manuscripts eventually ended up in the collections of the ↗British Library). Yoḥannəs IV, renewing Tewodros's drive for religious uniformity, razed the mosque in Ǝslamge in 1881 and in its place built the church of Ǝgziʾabəḥer Ab. In response, many Muslims fled both the city and the kingdom. Yoḥannəs also compelled the metropolitan and *əč̣č̣äge* to reside in his camp, so that they, like him, were henceforth absent from G.

In January 1888 and again in June 1889, the Sudanese Dervishes (↗Mahdists) burned what was left of G., including even Ǝslamge. By the early 20th cent., the population had dwindled to perhaps 1,000 or fewer. Muslims still controlled the caravan trade, which was confined mostly to the regional level, and some had begun to settle in the upper town close to the castles. A German traveller Felix Rosen labelled G. "a dead city that belongs wholly to the past" (1907:399). The 1920s, nonetheless, brought some rebuilding of churches and also, it appears, of Ǝslamge, known by now as ↗Addis ʿAläm. The population of a few thousand was clustered around Ǝč̣č̣äge Bet and the Saturday market.

On 1 April 1936, Italian troops occupied G. For the next five years, the city served as the capital of Amhara Province, one of six that formed the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana. Italian colonial officials set about remoulding the city along lines that are familiar even today. Local inhabitants were segregated into districts west and south of the castle enclosure, Italians settling in northern and north-eastern areas. New commercial and government buildings were erected north-east of the castles and a retail district, known henceforth as the "piazza", was laid out adjacent to the castle compound, all in 1930s "modernist" architecture. A central artery linked the Italian quarters, piazza, Ethiopian merchant quarter, and Saturday market. Another new road ran west of the Fasilädäs "bath" and on to Azäzo, where a landing-strip provided an air service with Asmära. Other new roads connected the city with Goǧǧam and with Eritrea, the latter a paved, all-season roadway. Colonial authorities, seeking to curry favour with local Muslims, built a mosque (for the first time with minaret) beside the Saturday market, authorized the appointment of a *qāḍī* for matters involving the ↗*Šarīʿa* and permitted Muslims to settle outside Addis ʿAläm. The castle enclosure was converted into a park and in May 1938 restoration work was initiated on the Fasilädäs castle and "bath" and later on the Ras Gəmb, seat of the Italian Vice-Regal authority. In 1938 G.'s population totalled 14,000, 2,000 of them Italians.

After the defeat of the Italian forces in 1941, G. became the capital of the Province of Bägemdər and Səmen. The imperial government took over the Italian government buildings and established a municipal administration under a *käntiba* and a council with both Christian and Muslim members. Muslims and, increasingly, Christians engaged in commerce and trade and the city's markets continued to flourish. Although Addis


1. Castle of Fasilädäs
2. "Fasilädäs Bath"
3. Small castle of Fasilädäs
4. Gəmğa Bet Maryam Church
5. Chancellery of Yoḥannəs I
6. Library of Yoḥannəs I
7. Castle "of the Saddle" of Iyasu I
8. Throne hall of Dawit III
9. Aṭṭaṭami Mika'el
10. Anbässa Bet ("House of Lions[s]")
11. (ʿAwağ) Mängärya
12. Qʷali Bet (House of Nuptials)
13. Castle of Bäkaffa
14. Färäs Bet (Cavalry Corps)
15. Tower of Bäkaffa
16. Palace of Məntəwwab
17. Turkish Bath of Məntəwwab
18. House of the Chief of the Cavalry
N
A. Ǧan Täkäl Bär (Imperial Gate)
B. Wämbär Bär (Gate of the Judges)
C. Täzkaro Bär (Gate of Commemoration)
D. Azzaž Təkure Bär (Gate of *azzaž* Təkure)
E. Addänagər Bär (Gate of the Spinners)
F. Qʷali Bär (Gate of Nuptials)
G. Ǝmbilta Bär (Gate of the Flute Players)
H. Ras Bär (Gate of the Nobleman)
J. Ǝrgəb Bär (Gate of the Pigeons)
K. Ǝnkoyye Bär (Gate of Ǝnkoyye)
L. Gəmğa Bet Maryam Bär
M. Esplanade of Addäbabay Palace
N. Addäbabay Iyäsus
O. Addäbabay Täklä Haymanot
P. Ras Gəmb (Palace of Noblemen)
M
N
O

Gondär, royal enclosure; sketch after Monte della Corte 1938, adapted from Doresse 1972: 64f.

^{c}Aläm remained the principal Islamic quarter, Muslims began to diffuse throughout the upper city. Primary schools and a new secondary school were opened and in 1953 a public health college was established on the grounds of the former Italian Consulate. In April 1946, ↗Ethiopian Airlines initiated a service to G. and in early 1964 the last segment of the all-weather road to ↗Baḥər Dar was completed. Foreign tourists began to visit the city's monuments, which in 1969 were undergoing major restorations with the help of UNESCO. By 1974 G. had an estimated population of 43,000 (ca. 81,000 in 1980) and had begun to recover from two centuries of neglect and decline.

Src.: AbbSéjour vol. 1, 159–71; BassEt 134, 181, 185 (tr.); BegCron 49, 81f., 92, 95, 99f., 107 (tr.); BlunChr 319–32, 358–63, 390ff., 418, 428–32, 449–55, 470–78, 488–92; BruNile vol. 2, 622f., 633, 573, vol. 3, 195–247, 380ff., 622ff., vol. 4, 77–83; 112f.; 138 (map), 276f., 683; DonHaySirat 143–51; GuiIohan 8, 16, 25, 37, 40, 60, 82–89, 99, 176f., 191, 237, 313f., 335f. (tr.); GuiIyas 89f., 95–114, 127, 227, 236 (tr.); MarAmdS 68f., 205; RasTheo vol. 1, 230f.; J.H. ARROWSMITH-BROWN (ed., tr.), *Prutky's Travels in Ethiopia and Other Countries*, annot. by RICHARD PANKHURST, London 1991; HENRY BLANC, *A Narrative of Captivity in Abyssinia; with Some Account of the Late Emperor Theodore, his Country and People*, London 1868, 1970, 312–16; ETHIOPIA, CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE (ed.), *Statistical Abstract, 1976*, Addis Ababa 1975, 32; WILLIAM FOSTER (ed.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Lands at the Close of the Seventeenth Century as Described by Joseph Pitts, William Daniel and Charles Jacques Poncet*, London 1949 (Publications of the Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, part 2, no. 100); Millwood, NY, ^{2}1990, 115–30; interviews with GÄRIMA TAFFÄRÄ, Gondär 1972; FELIX ROSEN, *Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft in Abessinien*, Leipzig 1907, 398–433; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1838–40, vol. 2, 79–126, 236ff.; HENRY A. STERN, *The Captive Missionary: Being an Account of the Country and People of Abyssinia*, London 1868, 175–83, 298ff.; JEAN DORESSE, *La vie quotidienne des éthiopiens chrétiens aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1972, 64–65 (ill.).

Lit: ABDUSAMMAD AHMAD, "Trade and Islam: Relations of the Muslims with the Court in Gondar, 1864–1941", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 128–37; BAHRU ZEWDE, "A Social Profile of Gondar Town in the Early Twentieth Century", in: *PICES* 10, 603–10; LAVERLE B. BERRY, "Gondar-style Architecture and its Royal Patrons", in: RICHARD PANKHURST (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*, London 1989, 123–30; DONALD CRUMMEY, "Some Precursors of Addis Ababa: Towns in Christian Ethiopia in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", in: *CentAddis* 9–31; CrumLand 73–114, 144–61; FREDERICK GAMST, *The Qemant. A Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, New York 1969, frontispiece, 9–16; MARILYN HELDMAN, "The Late Solomonic Period: 1540–1769", in: *AfrZion* 193–255; MELLESSA GHIYORGHIS, "Gondar Yesterday and Today", *EthObs* 12, 3, 1969, 164–76; GuiVoc 758–62; *Guida* 350–62; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Gondar and Adwa: a Tale of Two Cities", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 57–66; PankHist I, 115–38, 142–79, 247–64; II, 41–56, 342–46; ALESSANDRO AUGUSTO MONTI DELLA CORTE, *I castelli di Gondar*, Roma 1938, 11–62, 99–102; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Ethiopia. The Unknown Land. A Cultural and Historical Guide*, London – New York 2002, 69–164; JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia 1992, 49f., 89–109; RubTew 73–79, 81f.; SOLOMON ADDIS GETAHUN, "Addis Alam: Nucleus of Gondar", in: *PICES*

13, vol. 1, 3–16; TrIslam 147, 102–05; TadTChurch 91, 192f.

LaVerle B. Berry

Betä Ǝsra'el in Gondär

The city of G., founded in the early 17th cent., played a key role in transforming the relationships of the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel with the Ethiopian state and broader society. The city was in fact built in the midst of the area of the Betä Ǝsraᵓel, who since the 14th cent. had had contact and conflict with the State.

After their final military defeat in the 1620s, the Betä Ǝsraᵓel began to be incorporated into the political-economic structure of the new city. They continued their previous occupations as blacksmiths, potters and weavers, but also developed somewhat more prestigious roles as carpenters, masons and soldiers, working under royal patronage. Both oral and written sources suggest that they provided the skilled carpenters and masons building the royal castles and churches for which G. became famous. They also formed separate squadrons of soldiers under Emperors Fasilädäs, Yoḥannəs I and Iyasu I.

A secular elite among the Betä Ǝsraᵓel in the greater G. area was rewarded with new land rights, titles such as ↗*azmač* and ↗*bäǧərond* and a degree of respect from the dominant society higher than they had at any time before or since. Despite these roles and rewards, the Betä Ǝsraᵓel even in the city area maintained a high degree of physical, social and cultural separation, enforced by their own desires and by royal segregation decrees when necessary, such as those by Yoḥannəs I.

They lived in three major enclaves – Kayla Meda, Abwara and Däfäça – near the two rivers that enclose G. They also lived in two areas near the Christian churches, a little further out of town, of Abba Ǝnṭonyos and Gondäročč Maryam.

Despite their working for and close to the emperors, and a certain degree of social interaction with Christians and others in the urban environment, their traditions assert that they kept their societal integrity, including an indigenous ↗Agäw language and special religious practices. The Betä Ǝsraᵓel outside of greater G. maintained an even higher degree of separation under the leadership of their traditional priests and monks.

The strength of the State and the royal support for the Betä Ǝsraᵓel in the G. area left them with positive memories of the period. In their only written chronicle, dating from the time of ↗Mənilək II, they recalled that "during the reign of all the kings of Gondar, Israel lived in peace and welfare" (Leslau 1947:80).

Src.: Guilohan; Guilyas; HIOB LUDOLF, *A New History of Ethiopia being a Full and Accurate Description of the Kingdom of Abessinia ...*, tr. by J.P. GENT, London 1682.

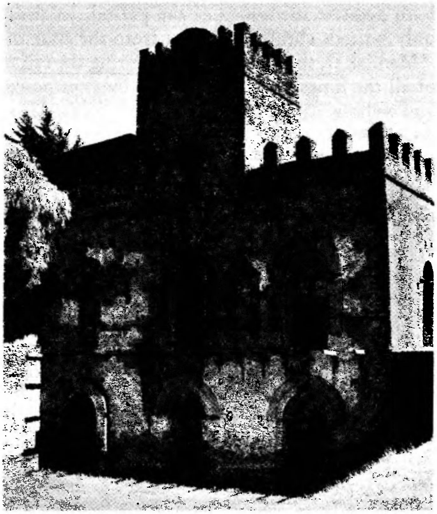
Lit.: WOLF LESLAU (ed.), "A Falasha Religious Dispute", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 16, 1947, 71–95; JAMES QUIRIN, "Caste and Class in Historical North-West Ethiopia: the Beta Israel (Falasha) and Kemant, 1300–1900", *JAH* 39, 1998, 195–220; ID., *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia 1992; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia: from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1992; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Notes for the History of Gondar", *EthObs* 12, 1969, 177–227; GHIORGHIS MELLESSA, "Gondar Yesterday and Today", *ibid.* 164–76.

James Quirin

Gondär-style architecture

G.a. initially appeared in the later 16th cent. in the Lake ↗Ṭana basin, so far as present evidence indicates. Almost all Gondär-style buildings were subsequently built on the northern, eastern and southern shores of Lake Ṭana during the next two centuries, although a few examples of the style are found as far north as ↗Aksum, as far south as central ↗Goǧǧam, and on Lake Ṭana's western shore. Some construction may have continued into the 19th cent. bridges, castles, and churches were erected in this monumental style, but the castles embody the features of the style most completely and are themselves a major innovation associated with this architecture. Building-materials consisted of rough brick-sized pieces of basalt and lime mortar, the latter in use in the northern highlands for the first time in perhaps a millennium. Walls are uncoursed and were left in the rough, the brown basalt and white mortar producing a mottled, sombre appearance characteristic of Gondär-style construction. Some interior walls were finished with lime plaster.

Castles resemble two-storey keeps and feature round corner-towers with domes and a slight batter, battlemented parapets, square towers that rise high above terraced roofs, monumental entrance staircases, doors and windows in full, decorated arches resting on double-bracket capitals, string courses, wooden balconies and barrel-vaulting. Churches, both round and rec-



Gondär, Palace of Məntəwwab; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

tangular (↗Church buildings), are noteworthy for encircling stone-walls with battlemented towers and monumental entrance gates, the same as those surrounding the castles in ↗Gondär. Among the few still extant, ↗Aksum Ṣəyon, Däqʷa Kidanä Məhrät and Gondär Aṭṭaṭami Mikaʾel resemble fortresses more than churches, whereas Kəbran Gäbrəʾel and ↗Narga Śəllase in Lake Ṭana typify the graceful aspect of the style. Bridges, all in ruin today, consisted of roadways resting on arched piers strengthened by buttresses. Other features included parapets and bastions, possibly battlemented, at one or both entrances. The oldest is probably the single arch over the Gärno (Arno) River in Ǝnfraz.

The earliest G.a. seems to be the castle that *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl built ca. 1575/76 at Guzara (↗Gubaʾe) in Ǝnfraz (traditions that attribute the present church of ↗Baḥrəy Gəmb Qəddus Mikaʾel at Mənzəro to the early 16th cent. are in all likehood apocryphal). Although it displays all of the distinguishing features of G.a., the building is not well proportioned and looks as if it were an experiment in new materials and design. Subsequently, castles in stone and mortar were constructed at ↗Ayba for *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl in 1589/90 and at ↗Dänqäz for *aṣe* Susənyos in 1628/29, the latter by Egyptian, Indian, and Levantine workmen, who introduced innovations not duplicated in later constructions. The castle of *aṣe* Fasilädäs in Gondär, ca. 1640, is a virtual copy of Guzara except that it is larger and better proportioned. It was the first of eight castles, numerous churches and subsidiary buildings constructed during the next century in or near the royal enclosure, on the Qaha River, and at Qʷəsqʷam (↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam) an ensemble so prominent that the architecture has become known as "Gondärine style", even though its earliest examples lie elsewhere.

The origins of G.a. remain to be investigated, but it was clearly imported into the kingdom. It has no direct antecedents in Ethiopian monumental architecture. No developmental or intermediate stages in its creation are known and, when it first appeared, it did so in full-blown form. The style underwent only minor evolution in its two-century course. It is probably no accident that it appeared within two decades after the Ottoman Turks arrived in the southern Red Sea and fortified the island of ↗Massawa, Dəḥano on the opposite shore and ↗Dəbarwa on the edge of the Təgrayan escarpment, all on the main trade route into the northern highlands. These Turkish fortifications may have inspired or served as models for the new style of architecture. Merchants and soldiers would have brought news of them to Śärṣä Dəngəl's camp, and "Turks" are sometimes identified as having built some Gondär-style buildings. Whatever the specific models or agents, it seems clear that G.a. drew on eclectic architectural traditions of the Red Sea-Indian Ocean area traditions with which it shows strong affinities.

The builders were Ethiopians and foreigners. Fälaša (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel) masons and carpenters, particularly from the Kayla clan, certainly played a large role, as did the ↗Kəmant and doubtless local skilled Muslims. ↗Indians, Egyptians, ↗Armenians, ↗Greeks, "Arabs", "Turks" and others were also involved at various times, perhaps most importantly in the architecture's early stages. By the mid-17th cent., design and construction seem clearly to have lain in Ethiopian hands, at which time an Ethiopian master builder, Wäldä Giyorgis, erected castles for the Emperors ↗Yoḥannəs I and ↗Iyasu I.

The significance of G.a. appears to be twofold. First, each Gondär-style castle and church testifies to the achievements and status of its sponsor. For this reason, all Gondär-style buildings are individually distinct. They are monuments to the reign and deeds of the specific emperors who built them. Second, and more importantly, the architecture seems to have been consciously used to enhance the image of Solomonic kingship, an institution that enjoyed a reputation of near-military invincibility before the disastrous Muslim wars of the mid-16th cent. By the reign of Śärṣä Dəngəl, the reconsolidation of the kingdom was well under way. At this crucial point, a semi-martial style of architecture was introduced into the kingdom. Śärṣä Dəngəl, apparently realizing its symbolic potential in the reconstruction of the royal office, seems to have enlisted the new style in an effort to restore the warrior image of the kingship and to strengthen his possession of it. He seems to have employed it in a deliberate effort to impress and overawe his subjects by raising first one, and then a second castle that, like all later such buildings, projected an image of might and majesty, even if the martial aspects of the architecture were purely decorative and not functioned. His successors apparently understood these twin applications of the architecture, for during the next two centuries every monarch who could afford to build a castle and one or more churches in the Gondärine style, did so, producing the panoply of monuments to be seen in and around Gondär today.

G.a. was a royal prerogative. When the monarchy lost all pretence to power and military function in the mid-18th cent., the patronage that had sustained monumental construction evaporated as well, resulting in the abandonment of the G.a. tradition. It survives, however, in some motifs of contemporary art and architecture that are reminders of deeply held cultural values and of the achievements of the Gondärine age.

↗ Architecture

Src.: BassEt 117, 119, 134 (tr.); BégCron 35f., 38, 49 (tr.); BruNile vol. 2, 622f., 633, 663f.; vol. 3, 195–247, 380ff., 386, 622ff.; vol. 4, 77–83, 112f., 276f., 683; CRHist 89, 95, 133, 148, 156 (tr.); DonHaySirat 143–51; GuiIohan 60, 89, 237, 334ff.; GuiIyas 52ff., 89f., 95–114, 127; PerChron 224, 239–42 (tr.); interview with GÄRIMA TAFFÄRÄ, Gondar, 20, 23, 30 March, 6 May, 29 June, 5 October 1972.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Vestiges gondariens", *RSE* 28, 1980–81, 5–22; ID., "Les monuments gondariens des XVIIᵉ et XVIIIᵉ siècles: une vue d'ensemble", in: *PICES*, 8, vol. 1, 9–45; ID., "Chronique archéologique (1960–1964)," *AE* 6, 1965, 17–25; GUY ANNEQUIN, "Trésors méconnus d'une Thébaïde à l'abandon", *Les dossiers de l'archéologie* 8, 1975, 81–115; LAVERLE BERRY, "Gondar-style Architecture and its Royal Patrons", in: *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*, London 1989, 123–30; ID., "The Bahri Gemb and the Genesis of Gondar-style Architecture: a Review of the Evidence", in: PAUL B. HENZE (ed.), *Aspects of Ethiopian Art from Ancient Axum to the 20th Century*, London 1993, 83–92; LAVERLE BERRY, "Ethiopian and Jesuit Monumental Stone Architecture in the Lake Ṭana Basin: a Preliminary Assessment", in: MANUEL JOÃO RAMOS – ISABEL BOAVIDA (eds.), *The Indigenous and the Foreign in Christian Ethiopian Art: on Portuguese–Ethiopian Contacts in the 16th–17th Centuries*, Hants 2004, 16–29; FASIL GIORGHIS, "Foreign Influences and Local Contribution in Gondarian Architecture", in: *ibid.* 30–36; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "I castelli di Gondar", *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 7ª, 4, 1939, 165–68; JEAN DORESSE, *Ethiopia*, London ²1967, 186-91; OTTO A. JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia*, Stuttgart ²1974, 35-82; GHIYORGHIS MELLESSE, "Gondar Yesterday and Today," *EthObs* 12, 3, 1969, 164–76; JULES LEROY, *L'Éthiopie: archéologie et culture*, Bruges 1973, 221–37; BERNHARD LINDAHL, *Architectural History of Ethiopia in Pictures*, Addis Ababa, 1970, 68–86; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Society and Technology in Ethiopia: 1500–1800", *JES* 17, 1984, 134–37; ALESSANDRO AUGUSTO MONTI DELLA CORTE, *I castelli di Gondar*, Roma 1938, 11–62, 105–11; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Ethiopia, the Unknown Land: a Cultural and Historical Guide*, London – New York 2002, 69–164; PankHist I, 95f., 99, 115–38, 142–79, 247–64; RICHARD PANKHURST, "A Tale of Four Cities: Late-16th and Early 17th-Century Ethiopian Capitals and their Turkish, Portuguese and Indian Connections", in: *ibid.* 5–15; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 15; JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia, PN 1992, 89–109; MARIO DI SALVO, *Churches of Ethiopia: the Monastery of Nārgā Śellāsē*, Milano 1999, 97–131.

LaVerle B. Berry

Gondärine kingdom

From the 1630s to the 1760s, the city of ↗ Gondär was the capital of the Ethiopian empire, its instituons being, in large part, in continuity with those of the first Solomonic period (1270–1527). In addition to political capital, Gondär played the role of religious, cultural and intellectual capital, retaining the latter status into the 1850s, long after the G.k.'s political eclipse. The kingdom lasted roughly 130 years, a period which, combining both political and cultural criteria, we may subdivide into three: 1) foundation, 1630s to 1706; 2) transition and insecurity, 1706 to 1720s; 3) revival, 1720s to 1760s.

1) Gondär was founded by *aṣe* ↗ Fasilädäs, son of *aṣe* ↗ Susənyos. The accession of Fasilädäs was preceded by intense conflicts arising from his father's formal conversion to Catholicism and his attempts to impose the new faith on his subjects. These conflicts continued into the new era and it was not until 1646 that Fasilädäs succeeded in suppressing the violent opposition of his rebellious brother ↗ Gälawdewos (Wion 2005). Prior

to the 1630s, Gondär was already a site of some importance, marked both by a major market and by a church dedicated to Jesus (Merid Wolde Aregay in PICES 8). Its choice, in the mid-1630s, as a new capital was built on these assets, was also driven by the desire to escape from the increasing outbreaks of disease (principally ↗malaria), which now afflicted the lower regions, closer to Lake Ṭana, favoured by Ethiopia's rulers beginning with *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Gāzī ("Grañ"). Gondär is situated over 400m above the level of the lake and less susceptible to malaria. For much of the period, certainly throughout the 17th cent., Gondär was essentially a rainy-season residence, the court re-enacting the ancient practice of dry-season itineration. Associated with Gondär were two dry-season royal camps, ↗Aringo and ↗Yəbaba, similarly positioned on the high plateau east and south-east of the Ṭana basin. History remembered these as the sites from which the court drew seasonal tribute and sustenance from different hinterland territories (ZanLitTheod 27ff.). In founding the town, Fasilädäs built a castle, which was to become the centre of a royal compound, and established, near to the castle, the Church of Mädḫane ᶜAläm (CrumLand 77). His successors, to the bitter end, emulated him by building palaces and establishing churches, starting with his son *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I and grandson *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I. Iyasu I founded the rich and influential ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase. These foundations were essential features of the G.k. and created the greatest, fixed concentration of political and cultural resources since at least the days of ↗Lalibäla, and possibly since ↗Aksum.

The throne passed peacefully from Fasilädäs to his son and grandson. However, a major expedition by Iyasu south of the ↗ᶜAbbay, in 1704 (GuiIohan 220ff. [text] = 233ff. [tr.]), made clear just how radically the territory under the rule of the Gondär kings had shrunk to the lands within and north of the great bend of the ᶜAbbay. None of Iyasu's Gondärine successors were to venture so far. The Christians of Šäwa were now cut off from Gondärine rule by intervening lands controlled by the Oromo. The core of the G.k. was the land within the great bend of the Abbay, the highlands east and north of Lake Ṭana, and central Təgray, including ᶜAdwa and Aksum, where Fasilädäs re-built the church of Aksum Ṣəyon of Zion, which had been destroyed during the Aḥmad Grañ's *ǧihād* of the 1530s, although its reach extended to the northern edge of the plateau. With the movement of the centre of the kingdom towards the north-west, the lands on and below the western escarpment acquired new strategic importance and Iyasu campaigned regularly there.

2) The death of Iyasu I in 1706 brought to the fore the factionalism and conflict (Berry in PICES 5b), which had simmered since the death of Fasilädäs. Iyasu was assassinated at the instigation of court figures associated with Goǧǧam and with the ↗*Qəbat* doctrinal tendency, which was particularly strong in Goǧǧam and amongst the ↗Ewosṭateans (the monastic followers of *abba* ↗Ewosṭatewos). It was generally opposed by the monastic followers of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, the house of Däbrä Libanos (of Šäwa), with their centre established at ↗Azäzo. Conflicts internal to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church over ↗Christology had broken out during the reign of *aṣe* Susənyos and grew in intensity through the century. None of the Gondär rulers proved able to master these controversies, although some tried to avail themselves of the support of one or another of the parties to the disputes. Continuing intense conflict within the church was a major factor undermining the G.k. Iyasu was succeeded by three sons (↗Täklä Haymanot; ↗Dawit III; ↗Bäkaffa), a brother (↗Tewoflos), and a more distant relative (↗Yosṭos). Their reigns were unsettled, marked by social unrest and by the appearance of rebels and pretenders. For a period the palace guards determined the succession. Like his father, Täklä Haymanot was assassinated. Tewoflos and Dawit both supported *Qəbat*, doctrinal conflict reaching a pitch of intensity at the end of the reign of Dawit in an episode in which as many as one hundred monks of Däbrä Libanos were killed by palace troops (BassEt 73, 187–90; Guidi 1899:19f.). The accession of Bäkaffa in 1721 inaugurated five decades of dynastic stability.

3) Bäkaffa contributed less to this achievement than did his consort (she was never his wife), Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa), mother of his son Iyasu II. On Bäkaffa's death, Məntəwwab and her kin controlled the succession and, with the coronation of her son, Məntəwwab followed suit and had herself crowned as ↗*ətege*, with the regnal name of Bərhan Mogäsa. Məntəwwab, through the skilful deployment of kin, known collectively as the *qʷäräññočč* (the Qʷarans) after their home province of ↗Qʷara,

dominated the G.k. throughout the reigns of her son *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II and grandson, *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas I. Her major ecclesiastical foundations, ↗Däbrä Ṣ̂äḥay Qʷəsqʷam and ↗Narga Śəllase, were notable contributions to the tradition of royal churches. They were also *Qəbat* in their doctrinal orientation. The rich lands with which they were endowed provided for the support, not only of the clergy serving these churches, but also of Məntəwwab's numerous kin and retainers (CrumLand, ch. 4). She was an active patron of the arts and fostered the flowering of what has become known as the second period of Gondärine ↗painting. Of particular interest is the portrait of herself and her family, which she commissioned (Bosc-Tiessé 2005). With the marriage of her grandson, Iyoʾas, to an Oromo woman from Wällo, the Oromo were integrated into the factional conflicts of the court. However, the death of key *qʷaräññočč*, not least Məntəwwab's brother, ↗Wäldä Ləʿul, in 1767, and of her cousin, Ǝšäte, the following year, and the ageing of Bərhan Mogäsa herself meant an increasing loss of control and a gradual descent into conflicts no longer centred on the court, but driven by the ambitions of powerful regional nobles, the prototype of whom was *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul of Təgray, who, called to Gondär by Məntəwwab to strengthen her hand against the increasing influence of Iyoʾas's Oromo in-laws, ended up by assassinating the king and provoking still more intense opposition, and initiating a downward spiral in the power and prestige of the royal court (GuiIyas 221–27; BruNile vol. 2, 660–700).

Gondär came to have a notional 44 churches, of which at least 14 were richly endowed with agricultural lands, the revenue from which allowed them to retain hundreds of clergymen. Leading foundations of the Gondärine period were: Mädḫane ʿAläm (Fasilädäs); Ṭädda Ǝgziʾabəḥer Ab (Yoḥannəs I); Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase (Iyasu I); Ḥamärä Noḫ (Tewoflos); Lədäta (Yosṭos); Aṣṣaṣṣame [Aṭṭaṭṭame] Qəddus Mikaʾel (Dawit and Bäkaffa); Däfäča Kidanä Məhrät (Bäkaffa); Däbrä Ṣ̂äḥay Qʷəsqʷam (Məntəwwab); Bäʿata (Täklä Haymanot II); and Däbrä Məṭmaq (Täklä Giyorgis). The lands which they received for the support of their clergy were known as ↗*rim*, and, from the 1740s onwards, a lively market in *rim*-land developed (Crummey in PICES 5b; Bausi – Dore – Taddia 2001). Many of the clergy were distinguished scholars of Ethiopia's Christian tradition and their presence made the town a centre of religious learning, a status which it retains to this day. The patronage of the royal court and the churches supported a flowering of the arts-building (↗Gondär-style architecture) and painting most notably, but also music, poetry, metal-working and weaving.

Politically, the G.k. turned away from the West, epitomised by Roman Catholic Jesuit missionaries, and back to the Solomonic legacy. *Aṣe* Fasilädäs pursued an active foreign policy, seeking links with the Yemen (DonHaySirat) and to the major regional Muslim powers: the Turks in Istanbul; and the Mughals in India. The 17th-cent. rulers were also interested in commercial relations with the Dutch (DonMurad). By the 18th cent. the rulers Yosṭos and Məntəwwab were again prepared to entertain the possibility of relations with the European Catholic powers, but their overtures in this direction were rapidly curtailed by popular opinion (CrumMis 7ff.; Prutky 1991:306-23). Political and religious conservatism did not, however, preclude innovation in many fields, including that of Orthodox theology, the entire period being marked by the strife of clerical factions. At the height of the G.k., the Gondärine market was probably the largest market anywhere in the highlands. The G.k. declined rapidly in the late 1760s and, in 1769, it plunged into decades of political conflict, power now being held by provincially based noblemen.

Src.: BassÉt 73, 187–90; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Uno squarcio di storia ecclesiastica di Abissinia", *Bessarione* [anno 5] 8, 49–50, 1900, 10–25; GuiIohan 220ff. (text) = 233-36 (tr.); GuiIyas 221–27 (text) = 231–37 (tr.); BruNile vol. 2, 660–700; DonMurad; DonHaySirat; REMEDIUS PRUTKY, *Prutky's Travels in Ethiopia and in Other Countries*, tr., ed. by J.H. ARROWSMITH-BROWN, annot. by RICHARD PANKHURST, London 1991, 306–23; ZanLitTheod 27ff.

Lit.: LAVERLE BERRY, *The Solomonic Monarchy at Gonder, 1630–1755: an Institutional Analysis of Kingship in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Boston University 1976; ID., "Factions and Coalitions during the Gonder Period, 1630–1755", in: *PICES* 5b, 431–41; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, "Mentewwab in her Mirror: Polysemic Images and Reflections of Royal Power of an Eighteenth-Century Ethiopian Queen", *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, 3/4, 2004, 294–316; CrumLand 7ff., 77 [ch. 4]; SEVIR B. CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskaya feodalnaya monarhiya v XVII veke* ('The Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 17th Century'), Moscow 1990, s. index; DONALD CRUMMEY, "Gondarine *Rim* Land Sales: an Introductory Description and Analysis", in: *PICES* 5b, 469–79; CrumMis 7ff., s. index; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Un «atto feudale» del negús Bakâffâ (1721–30)", in: *MiscAethKur* 63–69 (Lit.); MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Gondar and Adwa: a Tale of Two Cities", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 57–66; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANNI DORE – IRMA TADDIA (eds.), *Materiale antropologico e storico sul "rim" in Etiopia ed Eritrea*, Torino 2001; ANAÏS WION, "Why did King Fasilädäs Kill his Brother? Sharing Power in the Royal Family in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Ethiopia", *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, 3/4, 2004, 259–93.

Donald Crummey

Gonğ Tewodros

The monastery (*gädam*) of G.T. (full name ጎንጅ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ ደብረ፡ ጥባብ, Gonğ Tewodros Däbrä Ṭəbab) is located in western Goğğam, Addet *wäräda*. The main *tabot* is dedicated to Tewodros, the second to ↗Kidanä Məḥrät. G.T. has a renowned ↗*qəne* school, following the tradition of Täwanäy, which is entitled to confer a diploma (*yäqəne məsäkər*). G.T. rivals the other prominent and near-by *qəne* school of Wašara. As far as ↗*zema* is concerned, G.T. used to sing *qomi zema,* but is now turning to *betäləḥem zema.*

There are no written sources for the history of its foundation, the oral tradition dating it back to the 13th cent. A *Mäṣḥafä näbiyät* ('Book of the Prophets') of G.T. contains a list of the first 49 *liqawənt.* The first *mämhər, abunä* Gərma Śəllus, is commemorated on 10 *Mäskäräm.*

G.T. has been mentioned in literature since the early 17th cent. Its head, *abba* Ləbso or Ləbsä Krəstos, headed the ↗*Qəbat* party at the council of Fogära, held in 1620 by *aṣe* ↗Susənyos (PerChron I, 237, II, 182). In the years to follow, G.T. became a Catholic stronghold (BecRASO IV, 15; XII, 277). Ləbsä Krəstos was even ordained a Catholic priest by the Jesuit patriarch ↗Mendes; on account of that, in ca. 1636 he was sentenced to death and executed by *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs (BecRASO XIII, 110). A giant sycamore on the cliff above G.T. still bears his name: Abba Ləbso. It also marks the place where the first Kidanä Məḥrät church is said to have been erected. After the restoration of the Orthodox faith, *aṣe* Fasilädäs and above all ↗Yoḥannəs I donated numerous objects and manuscripts to the church. The patriarch *abunä* ↗Krəstodolu is buried there. His grave is located in the northern part of the *qəddəst.*

During *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I's reign, religious councils turned to the advantage of the Unionist doctrine and in 1686 a strong religious and political crisis, headed by *däğğazmač* Wäle from Mäčča, erupted in Goğğam. The spiritual leader of the rebels was *mämhər* Ṭäbdän Dəngəl from G.T., also a head of the *Qəbat* party at this time. In 1688, after a long and difficult synod, Ṭäbdän and his followers were excommunicated and exiled (GuiIohan 99, 103–07, 110–17, 121–26; BassÉt [II] 294ff.). Following this defeat, G.T. lost its leadership in the *Qəbat* party and never again played an important role in synods opposing *Qəbat* to ↗*Täwaḥədo.*

During Iyasu II's reign, *mämhər* Ṣewa Dəngəl of G.T. was chosen to represent the monastery. He found a place in the monastic ↗genealogy of famous *qəbat* intellectuals as the spiritual son of the sons of the monks Zəkre and Pawli, active during *aṣe* Gälawdewos's reign (GuiIyas 16). The monastery possesses a short modern manuscript with *mälkəʾ* and *sälam* to Gərma Śəllus and Ṣewa Dəngəl (ARCCH no. G-IV-346). The two monks are depicted together on 18th-cent. mural paintings. This association of the first *mämhər* Gərma Śəllus with Ṣewa Dəngəl can be interpreted as a way of dismissing the unpleasant memory of Ṭäbdän. An exceptional portrait of *abba* ↗Ewosṭatewos, present among the murals that ornate the western wall of the *mäqdäs,* confirms the rehabilitation of the *Qəbat* commitment of G.T.

The monastery was looted in 1862/63 after the defeat of ↗Tädla Gʷalu by the forces of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros. G.T. still managed to preserve its patrimony, including two triptychs of the Virgin with the Child, possibly of Italo-Cretan origin, dating to the 15th or 16th cent., at least one of them being a royal endowment (ARCCH nos. G–III–20 and 38).

Src.: BassÉt [II] 294ff.; BecRASO IV, 15; XII, 277; XIII, 110; GuiIohan 99; GuiIyas 16; PerChron I, 237, II, 182; *Gädlä Ewosṭatewos*, ms. from Gonğ Tewodros, ARCCH [Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage], no.G–IV–364 = EMML ms. no. 8577, fol. 121rv; *Sənkəssar*, ms. from Gonğ Tewodros, ARCCH G–IV–334 = EMML 8523, fols. 15v–16r; *Mälkəʾ Gərma Śəllus wä-Ṣewa Dəngəl*, ms., ARCCH G–IV–346, 10 fols.; *Fətḥä nägäśt*, ms., ARCCH G–IV–343 = EMML 8584, fols. 193v–194r.; *Mäṣḥafä näbiyät*, ms., ARCCH G–IV–363; interviews with *afä mämhər* Bərhanu Šəffäraw, *märigeta* Haymanot and *ato* Kasahun Mängəśtu, Gonğ Tewodros 2004.

Anaïs Wion

Gonga

Gonga languages

G. (Amh. ጎንጋ, also Käfoid) is a small ↗Omotic language family of west and south-west Ethiopia. There are three main varieties, following information mainly from Bender (2000:96f.; 2003: 2) and Hudson (1999): 1. so-called Southern G., comprised of ↗Käfa, with ca. 570,000 speakers, including its dialect ↗Šakačo (s. Fleming 1976); 2. Central G.: ↗Anfillo, with ca. 500 speakers

(Grimes 1996:257); 3. Northern G., including ↗Šinašša, a dialect cluster of south-west Goǧǧam and west Wälläga as well as the dialects or regions Amuru, Guba, Naga, Wämbära, spoken by ca. 20,000 people (Hudson 1999).

The above varieties form a language family, not a dialect cluster. In Bender (2003:156), the three varieties are calculated to share from 50 % to 57 % common basic lexicon, well below the mutual-intelligibility level.

Of the three varieties, Käfa has been designated as an official literary language and has some translated ↗Bible portions. The sources on G. languages may be second in quantity only to those on Ometo within Omotic. (The bibliography to this article is not intended to be exhaustive. Brief mentions with little linguistic content are not included here. For more details, s. the individual languages: Käfa, Anfillo, and Šinašša.)

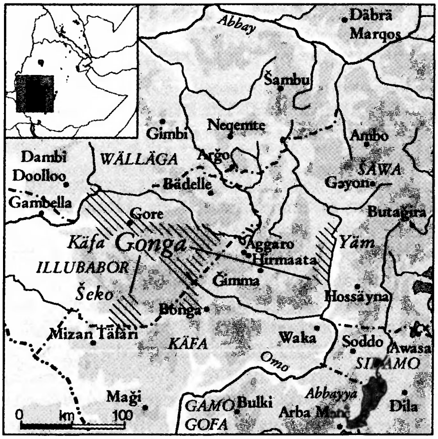
A Proto-Käfoid segmental phonology, based on Fleming (1985), is presented in Bender (2003:181ff.):

Stops: *b, p, d, t, g, k,* ʾ
Ejectives: *p, t, (t)ṣ, č̣, q*
Implosives: *ɓ, ɗ, ɠ*
Affricates: *ʦ, č*
Fricatives: *f, z, s,* $\check{s}_1$, $\check{s}_2$, *h*
Nasals: *m, n*
Liquids: *l, r*
Semivowels: *w, y*
Vowels: *i, ii, e, ee, a, aa, o, oo, u, uu*

The consonant inventory is somewhat extensive, but Fleming lists as "probable" alternatives: *p* or *f*; *p* or *ɓ*, *s* or *ʦ*, *ṭ* or *ɗ*, *č* or *ʦ* , *q* or *ɠ*, and as "possible" *r*. In addition, $\check{s}_1$ may merge with *s*. The vowels are a typical system for the area. Gemination of consonants is probable in Proto-G. and a two-tone system is likely.

G. languages share the well known *ta-ne* characteristic of having independent pronouns 1st/2nd pers. sg. of form *ta/ne*. 3rd pers. sg. usually has *b*, while plural is typical Afrasian 1st/2nd pers. pl. *no/i(n)t*. Gender-marking in nouns masc./fem. *o/e* is strong, though not universal. The attempt to correlate this with Afrasian *k/t* is unconvincing for lack of supporting evidence. Several derived forms are reconstructable in G.: infinitive/verbal noun *+o, causative **s*, passive/reciprocal **y*, and perhaps others (Bender 2000:142). Syntax is based on the universal Subject–Object–Verb order of Omotic languages (↗Ethiopian Language Area).

Lexically, Bender (2003) is more concerned with larger groupings and there is no listing of distinctive G. lexical items. But Lexicon 4 (ibid. 158–78) reveals many candidates. Among the list of ten used for comparison in these articles, three stand out: 'blood' *ṣaʦ+*, 'one' *ikk-*, and 'two' *gut-*. Others are not hard to find: 'ashes' *tull+*, big *oog-*, 'black' *aaq-*, 'bone' *šawuš+o*, etc. Within the *ta/ne* family, G. is found in a group with Macro-Ometo and Gimira, but a bit closer to Gimira than to Macro-Ometo, while ↗Yäm is more distant.



Lit.: Marvin Lionel Bender, *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000 (LINCOM Studies in African Linguistics 19); CerStud IV; Harold C. Fleming, "Kefa (Gonga) Languages", in: *BendNonSLang* 351–76; Id., "Proto – Gonga Consonant Phonemes: Stage I", in: Hans G. Mukarovsky (ed.), *Leo Reinisch: Werk und Erbe*, Wien 1987, 141–60; Barbara F. Grimes (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas ^{12}1996; Grover Hudson, "Linguistic Analysis of the 1994 Ethiopian Census", *NEASt* 6, 3, 1999, 89-107; Marcello Lamberti, "Some Phonetic Laws of the Gonga Languages, Part 1", *RSE* 36, 1992, 57–76; "Part 2", *ibid.* 37, 1993, 89–114; Id., *Die Shinassha-Sprache: Materialien zum Boro*, Heidelberg 1993 (Studia Linguarum Africae Orientalis 4); Lemma Alga – Micha Wedekind, "Boro Wordlists", *S.L.L.E. Reports* 26, 1995, 42–52; Wolf Leslau, "Moča: a Tone Language of the Kafa Group in South – Western Ethiopia", *Africa* 28, 2, 1958, 135–47; Id., *A Dictionary of Moča*, Berkeley – Los Angeles, CA 1959; Martino Mario Moreno, "Appunti di caffino", *RSO* 18, 1940, 373–85; Herma Plazikowsky-Brauner, "Schizzo morfologico dello šinaša", *RSE* 9, 1950, 65–83; Leo Reinisch, *Die Kafa-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*, 2 vols., Wien 1888 (Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 156); Franz Rottland, "A Sketch of Shinasha Morphology", in: Richard Hayward (ed.), *Omotic Language Studies*, London 1990; Klaus Wedekind, "Note on 'Amuru'", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 29, 1995, 1–7; Micha Wedekind, "A Survey of Boro (Shinasha)", *ibid.* 26, 1995, 37–41.

M. Lionel Bender

Gonga ethnography

The name G. (**ጎንጋ**) is essentially a linguistic term and refers to a number of related Omotic-speaking peoples, some of whom formed independent states in south-central and western Ethiopia: the ↗Käfa (Käfiččo), Boša, ↗Šinašša, ↗Ǝnnarya (called by the G. Hinnaryo), ↗Anfillo, ↗Šakačo (or Moča) and Šeka. The original G. area was between the Blue Nile (↗Abbay) and the Omo River.

In his monograph (1982) Lange mentions four important G. states: Boša, Käfa, Hinnaryo and Šeka, which were not natural allies, but often vied for supremacy. The G. were one of the few groups—along with a few of the Gurage—who resisted the large-scale Oromo migrations and conquests of the 16th and 17th cent. In 1540, for instance, the Käfa kingdom defeated a large Oromo army, forcing them to move northwards. In subsequent years, however, a series of victories by the Oromo caused many of the G. groups to be incorporated into Oromo society; only Käfa escaped this process. Hinnaryo was defeated by the Oromo in the early 18th cent. and Boša in ca. 1880 by the Ǧimma Oromo (after that date it was called Garo). Šeka, the most western G. state that surrounded today's Bonga, was defeated by the Oromo in the mid-18th cent., but survived and revived as a state. In 1898, however, the Šeka king, Teči Goˀeči, had to succumb to the imperial Ethiopian army.

G. kings were the symbolic centre of the state and had several golden regalia (bracelets, rings, breast plates, necklace etc.) and a gold-plated throne. They had to appear physically and mentally perfect and were usually separated from the common people when eating and travelling.

Among the G., the kingdom of Käfa was the most important state; it had a fully-fledged centralized state with an elaborate court and hierarchical structure in addition to a "divine" king. There was a free peasantry, but also extensive slave- and serf-labour, as in the other G. states. Many surrounding peoples paid tribute to Käfa. The Käfa state under its last king ↗Gaki Šeročo was conquered in 1898 by the imperial forces of Mənilək II.

Historically, the G. states were densely populated, intensely hierarchical and had a high level of agricultural development. Their agriculture was characterized by stone-terraced fields, crop-alternation, irrigation, natural fertilization and a rich diversity in crops (e.g., coffee, fruits, *ənsät*, grains, cabbage, spices and various tuber-crops). In addition to the high-quality wood from indigenous trees, bamboo was plentiful and much used for house-building, fencing and furniture. Other aspects of G. material culture were also well-developed; for example, Käfa and Šeka had their own centres for iron-smelting and gold-production. Animal husbandry (cattle, sheep and goats) was an important subsidiary activity and often performed by lowland peoples. Overall, the Käfa kingdom was an especially rich and important regional centre, respected by many of the surrounding kingdoms.

The G. religion recognized a sky god (*Yero*), a caste of priests and ritual officiators and a variety of initiation- and possession-cults. The G. states were partially introduced to Christianity via trade and other contacts with the central Ethiopian highland state from the late 15th cent. onwards – before the Oromo expansion – but especially since the late 18th cent. The political elite was predominantly of immigrant origin (the Bušašo and Minǧo).

The G. states declined after domination and conquest by the Oromo (from the 16th cent. onwards) and the imperial Solomonic state (late 19th cent.), after which the memory of Hinnaryo and Boša was virtually extinguished.

During *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I's reign (1930–74) and the *Därg* (1974–91), Käfa was a province of Ethiopia. In the post-*Därg* period, Käfa ceased to be an administrative designation and the region was incorporated into the Southern Ethiopian Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State in 1994. Pockets of G.-speaking people still live across western Ethiopia. Lange (1902:1) mentioned that in the 1970s a small community of Hinnaryo existed in central Käfa just south of Goǧäb river. The Käfiččo and Šakačo and other groups still exist, but the ethnic term G. is only used in the oral traditions of the oldest generation: there is no longer an ethnic or territorial unit of that name.

Lit.: FRIEDRICH JULIUS BIEBER, *Kaffa. Ein Alt-Kuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, 2 vols., Münster – Wien 1920–23; WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *Dialects of Divine "Kingship" in the Kafa Highlands*, Los Angeles 1976; ID., *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61); VSAe III.

Jon Abbink

Ǧoote Tulluu

Däǧǧazmač Ǧ.T. (Amh. ጆቴ፡ ቱሉ; d. 1918) was the ruler (↗*Mooti*) of the ↗Leeqa Oromo of

↗Qälləm in western ↗Wälläga during the second half of the 19th cent. It is reported that his father, who was from Goğğam, left Ğ.T.'s mother who then married a ↗Leeqa. Ğ.T. grew up among the Leeqa. Bartels (1970:146) suggests that Tulluu was the name of his "adoptive father". Ğ.T.'s centre of power first was Qumbabi and later the nearby market settlement of ↗Gidaamii.

Ğ.T.'s opponent in the north was *šayḫ* ↗Ḫʷāğalī of Asosa who frequently made slave raids into his territory, especially the Beggi area. Nonetheless Asosa was an important counterpart for the maintenance of trade to the Sudan. Ğ.T. had, initially, little military power, but succeeded to gather wealth by gradually gaining control over trade routes, which he exploited vigorously. Probably in the early 1880s, Ğ.T. submitted to *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa and started to pay tribute to him but retained partial independence. He helped *ras* ↗Gobäna in extending the Šäwan power in the region.

In 1886 the ↗Mahdists started a *ğihād* against Ğ.T. For a short time he accepted Mahdist supremacy and, according to some oral traditions, for some time nominally converted to Islam. Trapped between Mahdist oppression and ↗Anfillo attacks Ğ.T. had to flee to his father-in-law, the Leeqa leader ↗Moroda Bakaree. The joint forces of Gobäna, Moroda and Ğ.T. defeated the Mahdist forces and subjugated the area including the territory of ↗Anfillo. In 1896 Ğ.T. was granted the title of *däğğazmač* and a year later his troops killed Vittorio ↗Bottego.

Ğ.T. became a promoter of Orthodox Christianity in Qälləm. His family was the first to be baptized and some of his kinfolk and subjects followed. During his rule twelve churches were built in the area.

In the course of time Ğ.T.'s reign became increasingly oppressive and cruel. His harsh treatment of his own subjects, oppression of the Busase dynastic clan of Anfillo and his overweening ambition led to his downfall. His territories were taken from him and he was summoned to Addis Abäba where he was kept in prison until after the death of Mənilək in 1913. Ğ.T. was reinstalled as ruler of Qälləm in the same year and *ləğ* Iyasu even married his daughter Askalä. When Iyasu lost his power this affected Ğ.T.'s position and in 1917 he was deposed. In March 1918 *däğğazmač* Bərru established direct Amhara rule in Qälləm. In the same year Ğ.T. died.

↗Dambi Doolloo

Src.: MERSʾÉ HAZEN WOLDE QIRQOS, *Of What I Saw and Heard, The Last Years of Emperor Menelik II and the Brief Rule of Iyassu*, ed., tr. by HAILU HABTU, Addis Ababa 2004, 121.

Lit.: BTafA 924 (Lit.); LAMBERT BARTELS, "Studies of the Galla in Wälläga", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 135–60; WOLDETSADIK TERREFE, "The Unification of Ethiopia (1880–1935): Wälläga", *JES* 6, 1, 1968, 75–86, here: 75, 80f., 84; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy: Prelude to the History of a No-Man's Land Bela Shangul Wallaga, Ethiopia*, Napoli 1981, 148ff., 157–69; 176; ID, "Trade, Islam, and the Mahdia in Northwestern Wallaga, Ethiopia", *JAH* 16, 1, 1975, 55–77, here: 66f; BAHRU ZEWDE, "Dejasmach Jote Tulu (1855–1918)", 4th-year-essay, Department of History, Haile SelassieI University, Addis Ababa 1970; BZHist 19; NEGASO GIDADA, "The Introduction and Expansion of Orthodox Christianity in Qellem Awraja, Western Wälläga, From About 1886 to 1941", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 103–12.

Merdassa Kassaye – Red.

Gordon, Charles George

G. (b. 1833, d. 1885) was a British soldier and administrator who became arguably the most-important figure in the history of the 19th-cent. Egyptian presence in the ↗Sudan and the ↗Horn of Africa. Having distinguished himself in the Crimean War and in the service of the Chinese government (1860–64), Colonel G. was appointed by Khedive ↗Ismāʿīl in 1874 as the Egyptian governor of the Equatorial Province of the White Nile sources. In early 1877 he was made governor-general of the entire Sudan, to which later that year were annexed also the Egyptian-occupied territories of the Red Sea. After the deposition of Ismāʿīl by the Powers in 1879, Gordon was re-appointed by Khedive Tawfiq, but soon after, in early 1880, resigned and returned to British service. In January 1884, as the ↗Mahdist forces were defeating the Egyptians in the Sudan, G., now Major-General, was sent by London to evacuate the besieged garrisons. Re-appointed by Tawfiq as governor general, G. reached ↗Khartoum, but instead of evacuating as instructed, he decided to defend the capital, hoping that London would come to the rescue with enough forces to defeat the Mahdīya. In January 1885 Khartoum fell to the Mahdi and G. was killed. British forces, under the Egyptian flag, would come to destroy the Mahdīya state only in 1896–98.

G.'s relevance to Ethiopian history was twofold: firstly, in the context of the border dispute between the Egyptian Sudan and Ethiopia in the territories of today's Eritrea. While *aṣe*

↗Yoḥannəs IV, especially after the ↗Guraᶜ victory over the Egyptians, demanded ↗Massawa and the country of Bogos (↗Bilin), G., well familiar with the vitality of these lands to the Egyptian imperial presence in the Nile Valley, refused to compromise. He fortified the Massawa – Bogos line and came twice to negotiate. In March 1877 he met with *ras* ↗Alula in Guraᶜ and offered free trade in Massawa, the importation of some arms, facilitating the sending of a new Patriarch (↗*abun*) and arresting *ras* ↗Wäldä Mikaᵓel, Alula's Egyptian-supported local rival in ↗Ḥamasen. Yoḥannəs, however, insisted on Bogos and Massawa and the situation along the undemarcated border went on deteriorating. In September 1879, following indirect negotiations, G. came again to see Alula and then Yoḥannəs. He was equally uncompromising, insisting that he be not seen as a British mediator: "Here I could only be looked as the Envoy of the Khedive, and a Mussulman for the time". When G. resigned upon returning to Khartoum, the Ethio-Sudanese border dispute remained unsolved and would disastrously influence the histories of Egypt, the Sudan, and Ethiopia.

The second Ethiopian aspect of G.'s impact was more indirect. After the Red Sea possessions were annexed to his government, G. in May 1878 inspected the coastal towns and ↗Harär. Harär had been captured by the Egyptians in 1875 and had since been governed by the tough and efficient soldier ↗Muḥammad Raᵓuf *bāšā*. Raᵓuf managed to subdue the Oromo around Harär and introduced the modernization of nearly all systems, striving to make the town a model for Egyptian imperial progress. G., however, was less impressed with Raᵓuf, whom he had dismissed from office in the Equatorial Province. G. hastily blamed Raᵓuf for being a slaver and a corrupt administrator and summarily removed him from office. After G.'s visit the Egyptian enterprise in Harär never regained its initial drive. In 1884, as the British decided to evacuate the Egyptians from the Sudan, they did the same in Harär. Following the Egyptian withdrawal of 1885, the exhausted Harari community was ripe to be annexed to Ethiopia by Mənilək II's army (January 1887).

Brilliant and capricious, courageous and paternalistic, pious and self-righteous, efficient and erratic, G. has caught the imagination of many interested in African history. A vast amount of literature dealing with his legacy has been produced in various languages. For Ethiopians he was the kind of Western imperialist they met as a neighbour, rather than a ruler.

↗Egypt, relations with; ↗United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Src.: WILLIAM WINSTANLEY, *A Visit to Abyssinia*, London 1881.

Lit.: HAGGAI ERLICH, *A Political Biography of Ras Alula, 1875–1897*, Michigan, MI 1982; ZewYohan; GEORGE BIRCKBECK HILL, *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa, 1874–1879*, London 1881; RICHARD HILL, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan*, London 1967; ALICE MOORE-HARELL, *Gordon and the Sudan: Prologue to the Mahdiyya, 1877–1880*, London 2001; RubInd; NAᶜUM ŠUQAYR, *Taᵓrīḫ as-Sūdān al-qadīm wal-ḥadīṯ* ('Ancient and Modern History of the Sudan'), Cairo 1903.

Haggai Erlich

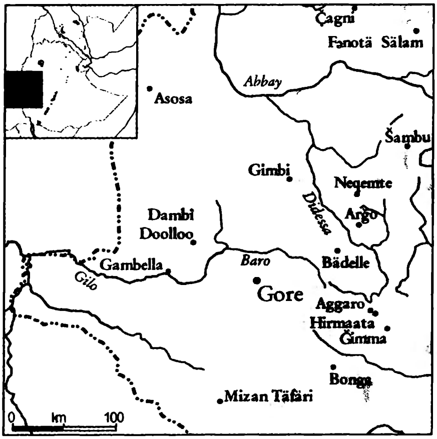
Gore

The town of G. (8°09' N, 35°33' E) is situated in Illubabor province and is the capital of the G. *awrağğa*. G. lies on a narrow ↗*amba* of 2,007 m A.S.L. which barely leaves enough space for an airfield. Founded by *ras* ↗Täsämma Aśmärom to be a ↗*kätäma*, it overlooks the watershed between the ↗Baro and ↗Diddessa rivers.

Until the Italian invasion G. served as a grouping centre from where foreign trading companies exported goods to the Nile through the British free port of ↗Gambella in the banks of Baro river. At the end of 1936, the ↗Ṭəqur Anbässa resistance movement attempted to establish a provisional Ethiopian government in G.

The decline of the town started with the end of the free zone and the construction of roads which were to channel products (coffee, hides and skins) towards the ↗Red Sea ports. The Italians, and later the Ethiopian government, could not allow that trade and customs duties were in danger of being lost for them to the benefit of the Sudan. The political situation in Southern Sudan prevents any revival of this export route. From 1938 to 1970 the population of G. declined from 25,000 inhabitants to 8,381 and again to 6,642 in 1984, before rising to 11,568 in 2004, the sign, perhaps, of a recovery.

The airfield is the only activity remaining from the brilliant past of the town, now the capital of the Ale *wärädа*. All the administrative services have moved to ↗Metu, the capital of the Illubabor zone of the Oromiyaa state-region. Nowadays, when the visitor stands outside this small town clustered on its *amba* almost like a "ghost-town", he finds it difficult to imagine it was once



the commercial capital of Western Ethiopia, where even a consular agency resided.

Src.: CSA 2004; CSA 1984; CSA 1996; CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE (ed.), *Report on a Survey of Shoa Province*, Addis Ababa 1966; ID., *Survey of Major Towns in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1968; CSO 1971.

Lit.: EMAtlas; GasEth; ALAIN GASCON, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie. Les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanisation contemporaine", in: BENOÎT ANTHEAUME et al., *Tropiques. Lieux et liens*, Paris 1989, 435–44; ID., "'Fair Borders' for *Oromiyaa*" in: *PICES 13*, vol. 3, 362–78; HuntGal; GEOFFREY C. LAST, *A Geography of Ethiopia for Senior Secondary Schools*, Addis Ababa 1963; MesfAtlas^2; MesfGeogr; PankHist II; ZerEth 366ff.

Alain Gascon

Gorgora

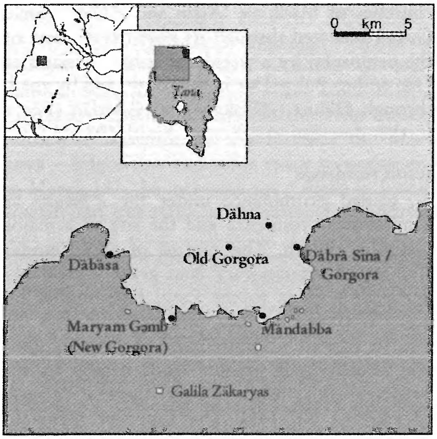
G. (**ጎርጎራ**, also **ጐርጎራ**; 1,850 m A.S.L) is a peninsula on the north of Lake ↗Ṭana (s. Duchesne-Fournet 1908, map); it has some 12 km of width in its southern part and stands on a strategical location, an elevated rocky promontory overlooking the lake and next to a series of islands suitable for providing shelter. The region, now populated predominantly by Christian Amhara, in the past was home to pagan ↗Agäw populations, and formed part of the ↗Dämbəya province. The name G. is attested as early as in *aṣe* ↗Bä'ədä Maryam I's time, when the site probably started playing an important role in the expanding politics of Christian Amhara up to the 17th cent. (Tedeschi 1991:177). A church and a monastery are found in the nearby island of ↗Gälila Zäkaryas, whilst the peninsula is the site of the monastery of Mändabba and the important churches of Mädḫane ᶜAläm and ↗Däbrä Sina. G. is connected through its port (to the east of the peninsula) by a weekly boat to the island of Däq and to Baḥər Dar in the south, and by road, through Dähna (↗Dəkana), to Gondär. (For a further description s. Berry – Smith 1972:1f.).

Jesuit residence

G. gained prominence under the ↗Jesuits as a missionary residence and the site of a major Catholic church. The origins of this foundation lay in a temporary land grant – probably a ↗*gʷəlt* – given to the Latin missionaries by *aṣe* ↗Susənyos in 1607, immediately after his rise to power; a community of "Portuguese" had already been granted lands nearby by his predecessors ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl and ↗Yaᶜəqob (BecRASO XI, 145). The Emperor seems to have soon turned the right into a perpetual one – *rəst* – through an ↗*ᶜawaǧ*, described in detail by ↗Paez (Pais 1945–46, Livro IV, ch. 23). Thanks to the involvement of Susənyos's fervent pro-Jesuit brother *ras* ↗Səᶜəlä Krəstos and to a number of skilled priests, G. became, along with ↗Fəremona in Təgray, an active missionary center (s. Tewelde Beiene 1983:103).

G. had a "bilingual" seminary (education was provided in Portuguese and Amharic), serving mainly offspring of the Portuguese and rivaling with Fəremona in the number of students: around 1614 it had 34 children and ten years later, ca. 50 (Arquivo Distrital de Braga, doc. XVII, 107v; doc. XXXV, 258r). The missionaries officiated initially in a church made of straw and adorned with European images: the Roman Virgin of St. Lucas from Santa Maria Maggiore and a portrait of St. Ignatius (BecRASO XI, 414). In 1618 works began on a new church designed by Pedro ↗Paez (Braga doc. XXIII, 32r), which was completed in 1621 and dedicated to the Virgin of the Assumption. Built in stone and mud, it collapsed shortly after (BecRASO XI, 402f., 485).

Following a move of the epicentre of the Christian empire to the north-west, in 1611 Susənyos abandoned his sites at Qoga and Dəkana and established a ↗*kätäma* at G. From there he conducted several raids on neighbouring groups of the Agäw, ↗Gedewon, chief of the Betä Ǝsra'el, and the Boorana Oromo, as well as into distant areas in ↗Šanqəlla and around ↗Sinnār (Perruchon 1897). The area was also important for trade with Sinnār (↗Funǧ; PerChron, chs. 39–46).



This in fact placed the Jesuit residence at the heart of the Christian empire. Its lands were increased – the fathers owned also an island where they sheltered in times of war (BecRASO XI, 416) – and generous royal fundings were provided (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, doc. 31, f. 352r; s. also Pennec 2003:167ff.). The Jesuits, in their turn, acted as "royal clergy" when by 1617 Susənyos (Perruchon 1897:174) and some noblemen reportedly began to communicate "in secret". As the residence of the head of the mission, G. became the focal point of a network of Jesuit posts in Dämbəya and Goǧǧam (↗Azäzo, ↗Dänqäz, ↗Ǝnfraz, Qʷälläla) and witnessed a fervent intellectual activity, with Paez composing his *História* and Luis de Azevedo and Antonio Fernandez translating – with the help of *abba* Akalä Krəstos – Spanish Jesuit treatises into "Ethiopic", i.e. Amharic (BecRASO I, 126f., 352; XI, 415, 419f.).

Around 1621, Susənyos asked the Jesuits to build a royal palace a few kilometres to the south-west, a strategically better place, where probably his *kätäma* was already located (PankHist I, 103f.; in a royal text the date is 1618, Perruchon 1895:175). Once the missionaries from "Old" G. moved there around 1622, the place, known as New G. and considerably enriched with lands by Susənyos (BecRASO XII, 274f.), expanded into a complex of habitations and facilities (water-cistern, walls, castle). An imposing church of lime and stone, lavishly decorated, was erected between 1627–29 under the guidance of the Jesuit brother João Martins (BecRASO VIII, 190; XII, 270f.; PerChron 78). Its ruins, still visible today, bear the peculiar imprint of Jesuit overseas architecture: single-storey nave, fine floral and geometrical designs. At New G. the Jesuits officiated stunning celebrations and plays, bringing for some years to Ethiopia the typical elements of their – worldwide – missionary culture (s. BecRASO XII, 271).

After the restauration of Orthodoxy, New G. was the first residence to be abandoned by the missionaries. Its buildings and images were destroyed and in 1665 *aṣe* ↗Fasilidäs ordered the burning of the "books of the Franks", probably the remains of what might have been an important Catholic library (LudHist, lib. III, ch. XIII, 4; BegChron 53). Before the expulsion, because of unhealthy climate, the Christian court had progressively transferred northwards, in search of more elevated sites, such as Dəkana, Dänqaz and ↗Gondär (s. PerChron ch. 52).

Later, an Orthodox church under the local name of ↗Maryam Gəmb was erected on the site of the Jesuit church; it was active until Mənilək II's time (Berry 2004:19–22; s. also *Guida* 367). Whilst nothing remains of the buildings in Old G. the important ruins at New G., which reveal the use of lime mortar, have not been the object of serious archeological investigation. The Missione di studio al Lago Tana, directed by Giotto ↗Dainelli, visited them in 1937, later followed by other expeditions.

Src.: Arquivo Distrital de Braga, ms. 779, "Cartas anuais das missões da Etiópia", doc. XVII [numeration follows Maria da Assunção Vasconcelos, "Inventário das cartas anuais das missões da Etiópia", Braga 1984]; doc. XXIII; doc. XXXV; Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, doc. 31, f. 352r.; BecRASO I, 126f., 352; VIII, 190; XI, 145, 414; XII, 271; XIII, 274f; BegChron 53; Jules Perruchon, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie: règne de Susenyos ou Seltan-Sagad (1607–1632)", *RevSem* 5, 1897, 75–80, 173–89, here 174f; LudHist, lib. III, ch. XIII, 4; Pêro Pais, *História da Etiópia*, Porto 1945–46, 3 vols., Livro IV, ch. 23; PerChron, ch. 39–46, 52, 78; Salvatore Tedeschi, "Una storica croce processionale etiopica conservata in Italia", *Africa* (Roma) 46, 2, 1991, 163–82.

Lit.: *Guida* 367; PankHist I, 102–07; Tewelde Beiene, *La politica cattolica di Seltan Seged I* (*1607–1632*) *e la missione della Compagnia di Gesù in Etiopia*: *precedenti, evoluzione e problematiche*, Roma 1983, 103; Hervé Pennec, *Des Jésuites au royaume du Prêtre Jean* (*Éthiopie*): *stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation 1495–1633*, Paris 2003, 167ff., 205; LaVerle Berry, "Ethiopian and Jesuit Monumental Stone Architecture in the Lake Ṭana Basin: a Preliminary Assessment", in: Manuel João Ramos – Isabel Boavida (eds.), *The Indigenous and the Foreign in Christian Ethiopian Art: on Portuguese-Ethiopian Contacts in the 16th–17th Centuries*,

Burlington 2004, 16–29, here 19–22; LAVERLE BERRY – RICHARD SMITH, "Churches and Monasteries of Lake Tana, Ethiopia, 1972", *Africa* 34, 1–2, 1979, 1–34, here 1f.; VINIGI L. GROTTANELLI, *Missione di studio al Lago Tana*, vol. 2: *Ricerche geografiche ed economiche sulle popolazioni*, Roma 1939, esp. 89, 93ff.; GIOTTO DAINELLI, *Il Lago Tana*, Milano 1939, 101–04; JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Ethiopie (1901–1903)*, vol. 1: *Histoire du voyage*, Paris 1909, 142–45, vol. 3: *Atlas*, Paris 1908 (map); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il convento di Tsana in Abissinia e le sue laudi alla Vergine", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 19, 1910, 581–621, here 589f.

Andreu Martínez

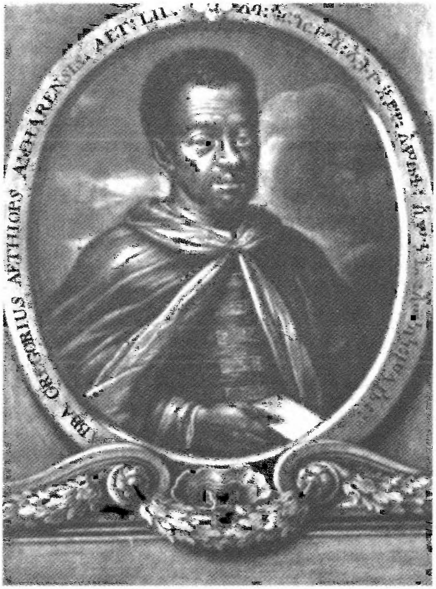
Gorgoryos

Abba G. (**ጎርጎርዮስ**, also known as Gregory, Gregorius, d. 1658) was a traditional Ethiopian scholar and the main informant of Hiob ↗Ludolf. G. claimed to be a descendant of a famous Amhara lineage (*nägädä kəburan*) from ↗Mäkanä Śəllase – a lineage of *mäkʷanənt* (↗Aristocracy) and of numerous advisers to the emperors – and once wrote: "I often spoke with the Emperor [*aṣe* ↗Susənyos], the *mäkʷanənt* and the mighty ones" (s. his letter to Ludolf of 6 October 1650; Ludolf 1681:11, 17f.; 1691:35ff.). In his *Theologia Aethiopica* Ludolf describes G. as "Ephor of the noble courtiers at the court of the king of the Ethiopians" (Uhlig 1983:85, 210), pointing to G.'s elevated education and teaching functions, as well as to his influence on the Emperor.

When G. converted to the Roman Catholic faith, the Jesuit Patriarch Alfonso ↗Mendez appointed him as his secretary. After the abdication of Susənyos in 1632 and the restauration of the traditional Ethiopian faith, G., together with the Jesuits, was persecuted and had to flee to India (Ludolf 1691:29). During a new trip to Ethiopia another persecution in 1634 forced him into exile again, this time he fled via Egypt to Rome, where, together with other Ethiopians, he found shelter in the *Collegium Aethiopicum* of ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori.

In Rome G. met Ludolf, who was there on a diplomatic mission. Between March and May 1649, they met very often. G. helped Ludolf learn Gəʿəz and later Amharic and gain many insights into Christian Ethiopian culture (Haberland in *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 133). The encounter with G. became a turning-point for Ludolf, as from this moment on he assiduously devoted himself to ↗Ethiopian studies.

On 10 June 1652, following an invitation from Duke Ernst von Sachsen-Gotha-Altenburg, G. arrived in Gotha (central Germany). G. greatly impressed his host and the latter's entourage. He stayed at Duke's court till September, involved in extensive discussions on Ethiopian history, culture and religion, prepared on the basis of the then-available literature on Ethiopia (Uhlig 1983:34–37, 42–47). G.'s answers were briefly jotted down in German (ibid. 48–75); their Ethiopian version was edited by Ludolf in his *Theologia Aethiopica*.



Abba Gorgoryos; engraving by Elias Ch. Heiss, Wien 1691; from Ludolf 1691, frontispiece

In 1658, on his way from Rome back to Ethiopia, G. drowned in the Mediterranean Sea. Ludolf reports: "The fate of this man is only to be lamented, as he, back on his way to Ethiopia at the expenses of the Duke ... had to be surprised by a death so cruel as drowning near Alexandrette [near Aleppo, Syria]" (Uhlig 1983:38f.).

When calling Ludolf the "Father of Ethiopian studies", one has to remember that his works on Ethiopian culture would not have been possible without G., to whom Ludolf devoted several grateful lines. It was due to the fortunate encounter with G. and his knowledge of the Orbis Aethiopicus that Ludolf 350 years ago laid the foundation of Ethiopian studies as a scholarly discipline. Later critical remarks by Jeronimo

↗Lobo (1789:188), who characterized G. as a "very bad guide" to Ludolf and "very ignorant in his own religion", are neither just nor justified.

Src.: HIOB LUDOLF, *Historia Aethiopica, sive brevis et succincta descriptio Regni Habessinorum* ..., Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 11, 17f. [Prooemium]; ID., *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius* ..., Francofurti ad Moenum 1961, 28–47 and passim; ID., *A New History of Ethiopia, being a Full and Accurate Description of the Kingdom of Abessinia, Vulgarly, though Erroneously Called the Empire of Prester John. In Four Books* [...] *with the Life of Gregorius Abba*, London ^{2}1684; JERONIMO LOBO, *A Voyage to Abyssinia, by Father Jerome Lobo, a Portuguese Missionary* ..., London 1789 [repr. New York 1978], 188; SIEGBERT UHLIG, *Hiob Ludolfs "Theologia Aethiopica"*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 14), passim (Lit.).
Lit.: EIKE HABERLAND, "Hiob Ludolf: Father of Ethiopian Studies in Europe", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 131–36; RICHARD PANKURST, "Gregorius and Ludolf", *EthObs* 12, 1969, 287–90.

Siegbert Uhlig

Gorgoryos

Abunä G. (ጎርጎርዮስ, b. 1947, Däse, Wällo; d. 29 July 1990, Meki) was a bishop of Šäwa and a prominent ecclesiastic. Son of *ato* Gäbäyyähu Ǝssayye and *wäyzäro* Asälläfäčč Kaśa, G. began traditional church ↗education at the age of six in the *nəbab bet* of his parish of Däbrä Mädḫanit Mädḫane ᶜAläm. After completing the first stage, he went to a ↗*qəne bet* in Kutabär, 20 km away from Däse. For his sharp mind his teachers are reported to have nicknamed him Mäzgäbä Śəllase ('treasure of the Trinity'). Ordained ↗*diyaqon* by *abunä* Yəsḥaq, the then Archbishop of Wällo, G. joined the monastic community of ↗Däbrä Libanos in Šäwa, where he stayed for two years. Thereafter, G. continued his *qəne* studies with *mäggabe məśṭir* Afä Wärq Mängäšä in Addis ᶜAläm and, later, went to Däbrä Ṣəge Maryam to learn ↗*andəmta*, ↗*zema* and ↗*qəddase*.

G. was ordained priest together with *abunä* Basəlyos, the first Patriarch of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, and appointed preacher in the parish of Harär Mädḫane ᶜAläm. During his stay in ↗Harär G. completed his secondary education; besides, G. was assigned as Chief Administrator of ↗Qulləbi Gäbrəʾel Church.

Abunä ↗Tewoflos, the future Patriarch and then Archbishop of Harärge, had a high regard of G. and sent him to ↗Greece for further education. G. got a diploma from the Theological School of Patmos and obtained his Master of Divinity on 15 June 1976 from the University of Athens. G. went to ↗Jerusalem and started his service at Däbrä Gännät Kidanä Məḥrät. During his stay there, he was certified by the Greek Theological College in Jerusalem.

In 1978, *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, the third Patriarch, offered G. a position in the Patriarchate. In February 1979, G. was appointed Bishop of the Diocese of Šäwa. He became the Secretary of the Holy Synod, and Private Assistant to the Patriarch. In the latter function G. drafted a new church regulation which was then approved by the Holy Synod.

Later G. chose to concentrate on his diocese duties; he resigned from the additional positions and moved his office from Addis Abäba to Lake ↗Z^{w}ay where he soon established the Z^{w}ay Ḥamärä Bərhan Qəddus Gäbrəʾel Monastery and Clergy Training Centre. There G. provided orphans with shelter and education. He developed a curriculum and invited clergymen from other regions to his diocese. He also attracted university and college students for the time of summer vacations (many of them later formed the religious youth association Maḫbärä Qəddusan). Besides, G. was evangelizing people within and beyond his diocese. He even offered scholarships to foreigners who were interested in learning about the Ethiopian Church and becoming Orthodox Christians.

Paulos Mar Grigorious, an Archbishop of Indian Orthodox Church and the previous General Secretary of World Council of Churches, highly evaluated G.'s missionary activities (Märša Aläḵäññ 2004:31).

Since G. could speak at least five foreign languages, he actively participated in a number of international Church councils. G. also contributed to the Church by writing three books which are still highly demanded. *Abunä* G. died on his way to Qəddus Giyorgis and Qəddus Mikaʾel churches in Meki (East Šäwa) for preaching, and was buried in the Ḥamärä Bərhan Qəddus Gäbrəʾel.

Src.: *abunä* GORGORYOS, መሠረተ፡ እምነት (*Mäśärätä əmnät*, 'The Basis of the Faith'), ms.; ID., የኢትዮጵያ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ታሪክ (*Yäʾityopya betä krəstiyan tarik*, 'History of the Ethiopian Church'), ms.; ID., የቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ታሪክ፡ በዓለም፡ መድረክ (*Yäbetä krəstiyan tarik bäᶜaläm mädräk*, 'General Church History'), ms.
Lit.: *Ḥamär zäʾorthodoks täwaḥədo* [Addis Abäba], 6, 1989 A.M. [1996 A.D.]; *Mäläkät* [Addis Abäba], 7, 1984 A.M. [1991 A.D.]; *Səmᶜa ṣədəq zäʾortodoks täwaḥədo* [Addis Abäba], 6 *Ḥamle* 1989 A.M. [1996 A.D.]; MAḪBÄRÄ QƎDDUSAN (ed.), "ዜና፡ ብጹዕ፡ አቡነ፡ ጎርጎርዮስ"

(*Zena bəṣuʿ abuna Gorgoryos*, 'History of the Blessed *Abunä* Gorgoryos'), *Pamphlet*, Addis Ababa, July 1989; MÄRŠA ALÄḲÄÑÑ, ዜና፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን (*Zena p̣ap̣p̣asat ityop̣yawyan*, 'History of the Ethiopian Patriarchs'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.]; SOLOMON WÄNDƎMU, "ብፁዕ ፡ አቡነ ፡ ጎርጎርዮስ ፡ ካልእ 1932–1982 E.C." (*Bəṣuʿ abuna Gorgoryos kaleʾ 1932–1982 E.C.*, 'The Blessed *Abunä* Gorgoryos the Second'), *Ḥamär zäʾortodoks täwaḥədo* (Addis Abäba), 5–8, 1994 A.M. [2001 A.D.]; WÄLDÄ RUFAʾEL FÄTAḤI, "ብፁዕ፡ አቡነ፡ ጎርጎርዮስ፡ አረፉ" (*Bəṣuʿ abuna Gorgoryos arräfu*, 'The Blessed *Abunä* Gorgoryos Has Departed'), *Zena betä krəstiyan zäʾItyop̣ya* 135, 1982 A.M. [1989 A.D.]; ID., "የብፁዕ፡ አቡነ፡ ጎርጎርዮስ፡ ያርበኛ፡ቀን፡ ጸሎተ፡ ፍትሐት፡ ፓትሪያርኩ፡ በተገኙበት፡ ተፈጸመ"(*Yäbəṣuʾ abunä Gorgoryos yarbäñña qän ṣälotä fətḥat patriyarku bätägäññubbät täfäṣṣämä*, 'The 40th Day Absolution Prayer for *Abunä* Gorgoryos Has Been Performed in Presence of the Patriarch'), *Zena betä krəstiyan zäʾityop̣ya* 134, 1983 A.M. [1990 A.D.].

Mersha Alehegne

Gorgoryos, apocalypse of

The G. (**ጎርጎርዮስ**) is a ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel work concerned with the fate of the soul after death. Although thematically similar to such Ethiopic works as the Apocalypse of ↗Mary, the Apocalypse of ↗Paul, the Apocalypse of ↗Baruch and the *Mäṣḥafä ↗mäläʾəkt*, it does not appear to be dependent upon any of these works. No Ethiopian Christian version of the G. has been found; portions exist in a 15th cent. manuscript. Doresse (1970) suggested that the text originated in Christian-Arabic literature.

The book begins with G.'s request that the archangel Michael reveal the mysteries of death and the fate of the soul. The angel shows him a good man's bright soul being received by a host of angels and welcomed into the presence of God. He then shows him the soul of a bad king being denied Divine grace. Michael then takes G. to Paradise, where he sees the temple and the ark and to Hell where the souls of the evil are being punished. G. is then returned to earth, where he records what he has seen. Rather surprisingly, two further speeches of the angel and the preaching of G. follow.

According to Betä Ǝsraʾel tradition, G. was a 14th-cent. monk. Christian sources identify G. as a Persian hermit who lived in both Syria and Cyprus, while there is a mention in the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* of a G. "who saw hidden things". The ↗*Sənkəssar* commemorates G. on 2 *Mäggabit* (cf. Getatchew Haile in PICES 11, vol. 1, 627).

Src.: WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven – London 1951, 77–91; JOSEPH HALÉVY, *Teʾezâza Sanbat (Commandements du Sabbat), accompagné de six autres écrits pseudépigraphes admis par les Falachas ou Juifs d'Abyssinie*, Paris 1902, XXVII–XXX, 97–107, 210–19.
Lit.: GETATCHEW HAILE, "On the Identity of Gorgoryos and the Provenance of the Apocalypse", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 625–39; JEAN DORESSE, "Survivances d'écrits gnostiques dans la littérature guèze", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 213–16.

Steven Kaplan

Gorrose ↗Dullay

Gosa

G. (Oromo, 'ethnic group, tribe' [GraggDic 183], also used in Amh.) has a wide range of meanings. It can simply mean type, group, kind, breed, genus, variety or species when used of things, activities and creatures which appear to share distinctive characteristics, as for example, *gosa biyee*, 'soil type', *gosa diigaa*, 'blood group', *gosa hoǧii*, 'type of work' (Tamene Bitima 2000: 129) or *gosa saʾaa*, 'breed of cow' (TilDic 272). G. is used similarly, but with added complexity and moral intensity, of groupings of humans who are perceived as having common characteristics, especially shared patrilineal descent (whether real or by adoption, ↗*moggaasa*), such as nation, people, tribe, clan or patrilineage. The extent of the socio-political grouping referred to is determined by the context in which the word is used, so its range of meanings does not cause confusions in conversation. G. is commonly used between people who are seeking to establish the social distance between them, as in *Ati gosa tam?*, 'What G. are you?'.

Every Oromo belongs to a descending order of G., so it is essential to the understanding of Oromo social relationships. G. in the sense of nation which shares distinctive characteristics, may even be used to distinguish the G., Oromo from the other G. or nations, of Ethiopia. G. is also used of each of the numerous peoples which make up the Oromo nation, such as the ↗Arsi, ↗Boorana, Karrayyuu, ↗Ittuu, ↗Anniyya, ↗Gabra, ↗Guǧǧi, ↗Ṭəmmugaa, ↗Mäččä or ↗Tuulama. Indeed, in a pan-Oromo context, the Oromo nation can be viewed as an association of related G. Similarly, G. can be used as the generic name for the innumerable clans of which each of the Oromo major subgroups is composed; the Arsi, for example, consist of at least two hundred clans. Traditionally such clans were exogamous, mainly patrilocal, and were the units within which, or between which, local disputes were settled; but these local limits are being eroded by urbanization and changes in land tenure and the administration-system. Members of the same G. share undeniable obligations to render each other mutual assistance and support which, as in most clan and lineage systems, become stronger and more binding the closer the connections. G. is not normally used of those lower levels of descent group, such as lineages *balbala* and families *warra*, within which patrilineal kinship can be traced and in which mutual obligations are specific rather than generalized.

A G. cannot exist on its own or as a part of a duality, but only as part of a complex of similar groupings. G. is not used of Boorana or ↗Baarentuu, the two major Oromo divisions at the beginning of the 17th cent. which are mentioned by Baḥrəy (BeckHuntAlm 112); nor of the Sabbo and Goona moieties of the contemporary ↗Boorana (Bassi 1990:45) or the Siko and Mando moieties of the contemporary Arsi.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 111–29; GraggDic 183; KaneDic 1954; TAMENE BITIMA, *A Dictionary of Oromo Technical Terms*, Köln 2000, 129; TilDic 272.

Lit.: MARCO BASSI, *I Borana: Una società assembleare dell'Etiopia*, Milano 1990; MHasOr; VSAe II; HuntGal.

Paul T.W. Baxter

Gospel(s)

Manuscripts with Ethiopic (↗Gəᶜəz) G. (sg. ወንጌል, *Wängel*) normally include the Four Gospels. There exist a number of manuscript containing only the G. of John. Apart from that, manuscripts with one single G. are rare. In a complete Ethiopic *Tetraevangelium* the order is always Matthew – Mark – Luke – John, with the exception of ms. London, BritLib, Add. 16,190 (DillmLond 7f., no. 8) where Mark is moved to the end. The total number of Ethiopic G. manuscripts presently known is close to 500, about 250 of which have been investigated (Zuurmond 1989, vol. 1, 240–55). They usually contain several "Introductions", among them the ግጸዌ፡ ሥርዓት (*Gəṣṣawe śərᶜat*, 'Synopsis of classes'), the Letter of ↗Eusebius to Carpianus, the Ten Eusebian Canons (↗Canon tables), a list of Tituli/Kephalaia and the Stichometry (Zuurmond 1989, vol. 1, 6–31).

Ethiopic G. manuscripts are among the earliest extant documents in Gəᶜəz. Three manuscripts from ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima (Abba Gärima I–III), notable for early palaeography and orthography (UhPal), were probably written as early as the 11th or 12th cent. Ms. EMML 1832 from ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos (EMML vol. 5, 293–301) is the earliest dated manuscript (1280/81 A.D.).

The Ethiopic G. was for the first time translated from a Greek original not later than the 5th or early 6th cent. (BrakKirche 146). When, 500 years later, the earliest manuscript evidence emerged, the G. of Matthew appeared to exist in two distinct versions, "A-text" (mss. Abba Gärima I and III) and "B-text" (ms. Däbrä Maryam 1), the A-text obviously being the earlier one. In the other G., although it may differ slightly from manuscript to manuscript, the early texts are basically of one type, close to Matthew's A-text.

The main characteristics of the G. text in the earliest retrievable form are: a strong harmonization, both synoptic and contextual, the addition of explicit subjects and objects to verbal forms, preference for parataxis, the rendering of passive forms by means of the third person plural of the active form and the addition of emphasizing words like "all" and "much" (↗Bible). The B-text (the G. of Matthew), almost from verse to verse, removes many of these translation liberties and renders much more literally in accordance with the Greek. If there is any influence of a Syriac version (UllBibl 53), it is in the B- rather than in the A-text.

Ethiopian scribes and theologians must have been very hesitant to omit any part of the sacred text as received in their manuscripts. In the 13th cent. a process of continuing conflation begins. At first only the A-text and the B-text were skilfully conflated (e.g. in ms. EMML 1832), but later, from the 15th cent. onward, elements from other sources, notably Arabic, have been added. Conflations of four or five readings are no exception. Correction of these hybrid texts begins in the 16th/17th cent. on the basis of Arabic texts. Manuscripts from the 18th cent. and later are usually eclectic. Ethiopic G. manuscripts in general, unlike, e.g., the Syriac G., exhibit an immense variety of textual readings.

Since there is a gap of half a millennium at least between the original translation and the earliest manuscript evidence and in view of conspicuous inconsistencies in the tradition of the text (e.g., many dual readings even within one paragraph), one should be extremely careful in assuming that any text, either from an early manuscript or reconstructed, would necessarily be identical with the earliest translation(s). Consequently, it is rather hazardous to establish which type of Greek text underlies the Ethiopic Version(s). Readings in the earliest retrievable texts usually correspond to the Greek "Majority text", but there are also many independent readings. The value of the Ethiopic version for textual criticism of the Greek N.T. may differ from book to book and is subject for further research.

The earliest edition of the G., as part of the N.T., was published in Rome by "Petrus Æthiops" (↗Täsfa Ṣəyon) in 1548 from ms. Vat. Aeth. 25 (13th/14th cent.). It contains a huge number of printing errors and was reprinted in Walton's Polyglot (1657) with most of these errors. The text of Matthew is of the B-type. The most commonly used edition was prepared by Thomas Pell Platt for the ↗British and Foreign Bible Society in London (1826). The text is eclectic to a high degree. Zuurmond (1989) published a text-critical edition of the G. of Mark on the basis of the Abba Gärima manuscripts, followed in 2001 by the G. of Matthew in four versions. There exist at least ten more printed editions of the G. and/or ↗New Testament in Gəʿəz (Zuurmond 1989, vol. 1, 224–39).

Editions of the G. in other Ethiopian languages have since the 19th cent. been published by the British and Foreign Bible Society and more recently by the United Bible Societies.

↗Bible

Src.: PETRUS AETHIOPS [TÄSFA ṢƎYON] (ed.), *Testamentum Novum, cum Epistola Pauli in lingua Gheez*, Romae 1548; THOMAS P. PLATT (ed.), ወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ (*Wängel qəddus*, 'Holy Gospel'), London 1826 [many reprints]; HamTana II, 50–53, ms. Ṭānāsee = Däbrä Maryam 1; ROCHUS ZUURMOND, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: the Synoptic Gospels*. I. *General Introduction*, II. *Edition of the Gospel of Mark*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 27) (Lit.); ID., *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice*. III. *The Gospel of Matthew*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 55); EMML 1832, vol. 5, 293–301; DillmLond 7f., no. 8 [Add. 16,190]; GreTisVat 127–31, no. 25 [Vat. Aeth. 25].

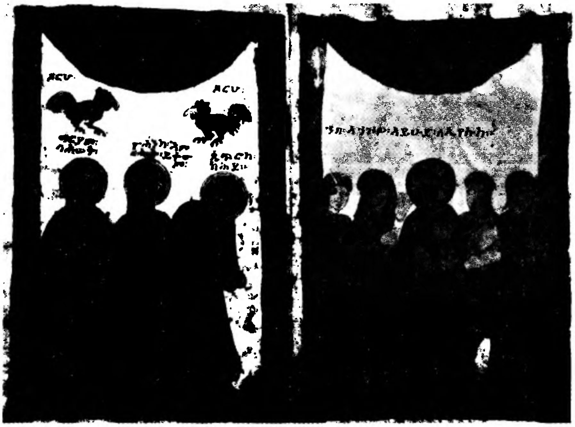
Lit.: BrakKirche 146; MICHAEL KNIBB, *Translating the Bible: the Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*, New York 1999 (Lit.); UhPal; UllBibl.

Rochus Zuurmond

Gospel illustration

The oldest evidence for illustrated G. Book is provided by the manuscripts known as the Abba Gärima G. I–III (from ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima), possibly of the 11th/12th cent. (with a most incertain dating proposal to the 7th/8th cent.) Decorated with the Canon tables of Eusebius and the portraits of the ↗Evangelists, they include elements allowing us to connect them with the late antique or early Byzantine tradition also evident in Coptic, Syriac and Armenian books of the early Middle Ages (Byzantine Empire).

The large group of Ethiopian illuminated G. that appears at the end of the 13th cent. and during the first half of the 14th cent. adds a Christological cycle to the Canons and the prefatory portraits of the Evangelists. It was transmitted in two recensions. The first one introduces only three scenes: the ↗Crucifixion, the Holy Sepulchre and the Ascension (rendered as the ↗*Maiestas Domini*), a "short cycle" comparable with the decoration of the *eulogia* from the Holy Land (e.g. in the ↗Däbrä Māʿar G. Book, dated to 1341). The second recension includes a sequence of episodes of the life of Christ that are of liturgical significance (e.g., in the G. Book of ↗Žir Ganela, with 18 scenes). The miniatures are always displayed full-page and grouped before the text, being thus placed immediately after the



Peter's Denial and Seizure of Christ; miniatures from the Gospel Book of Krəstos Täsfanä, 1280/81; Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos; fols. 21v-22r; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gerves

Canons – an arrangement ultimately deriving from the 5th/6th-cent. illuminated Mediterranean G. lectionary. In Ethiopia, the first type of G. illustration seems to vanish at the turn of the 14th/ beginning of the 15th cent., while the second one lasts for some hundred years or more.

The G. Books produced from the end of the 15th cent. in scriptoria of the ↗Stephanites, centred at ↗Gundä Gunde, show a gradually reduced and finally abandoned Christological cycle. Instead, the ancient type of illustration limited to the lavishly decorated Canons and the portraits of the Evangelist reappears.That cycle is usually enriched with the image of St. Mary with Child flanked by two archangels – which probably reflects the increasing importance of the Marian cult within the Ethiopian liturgical year (↗Calendar).

Outside the Stephanite milieu, in the 16th cent., the ornamented Canon tables also withdraw, only the full-page portraits of the Evangelists being left at the beginning of their respective G. This scheme was widely applied in the 17th cent. (seeming exception is ms. London, BritLib Or. 481, in fact a copy of a 15th cent. book from Amba Gəšän with 21 christological scenes).

The luxury G. books produced in the so-called First Gondär Style (ca. 1620–1700), with the text of each G. extensively illustrated in spite of the obvious repetition of scenes, find their models in engravings from European printed books (chiefly, the *Evangelium Arabicum*, Rome 1591, and the *Evangelicae historiae imagines*, Anvers ca. 1593). The same models seem to have inspired the painters who produced the rare, but extensively illuminated G. in the so-called Second Gondär Style of the 18th cent. From the 19th cent. onwards, the selection of miniatures, however haphazard is no longer limited to G. subjects.

Lit.: Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, *La Crucifixion sans Crucifié dans l'art éthiopien. Recherches sur la survie de l'iconographie chrétienne de l'Antiquité tardive*, Warszawa – Wiesbaden 1997 (Bibliotheca nubica et ethiopica 4), 123–33; Alessandro Bausi, "Some Short Remarks on the Canon Tables in Ethiopic Manuscripts", *Studi magrebini* 26, 1998–2002, 45–67; *Éthiopie: Manuscrits à peinture*, Paris 1961; Marylin Heldman, "The Kibran Gospels: Ethiopia and Byzantium", in: *PICES* 5b, 359–72; Jules Leroy, "L'Évangéliaire éthiopien du couvent d'Abba Garima et ses attaches avec l'ancien art chrétien de Syrie", *Cahiers archéologiques* 11, 1960, 131–43; Id., "L'Évangéliaire éthiopien illustré du British Museum (Or. 510) et ses sources iconographiques", *AE* 4, 1961, 155–68; Id., "Un nouveau. évangéliaire éthiopien illustré du monastère d'Abba Garima", in: *Synthronon. Art et archéologie de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, Paris 1968 (Bibliothèque des cahiers archéologiques 2), 74–87; Claude Lepage, "Reconstruction d'un cycle protobyzantin à partir des miniatures de deux manuscrits éthiopiens du XIVe siècle", *Cahiers archéologiques* 35, 1987, 159–96; Jacques Mercier, "Les sources iconographiques occidentales du cycle de la vie du Christ dans la peinture éthiopienne du dix-huitième siècle", *JA* 287, 2, 1999, 374–94; Kurt Weitzmann, "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations", in: Merril M. Parvis – Allan P. Wikgreen (eds.), *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, Chicago 1950, 151–74, 215–20; Klaus Wessel, "Evangelienzyklen", in: *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*, vol. 11, Stuttgart 1968, 434–51, here 434–45.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Goššu

G. (ጎሹ; d. ca. 1786) was a prominent political figure in the second half of the 18th cent. An Ethiopian aristocrat of royal descent, grandson of *ras* ↗Yämanä Krəstos, great-grandson of *aṣe* Susənyos, his father *ras* ↗Wädağğe became a hereditary ruler of the Amhara province, where G. had a strong local power base. Both *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas I and *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) had to take this into account and a successful career at the ↗Gondärine court was guaranteed for G.

On 26 September 1758, the then *däğğazmač* G. was appointed ↗*liqä mäkʷas*. In October 1762 he became governor of Goğğam and on 18 October 1763 was granted the title of ↗*bašša*, together with the office of ↗*käntiba*. To promote G. was in the best interests of Məntəwwab, the actual ruler of the ↗Gondärine kingdom, for both she and her grandson Iyoʾas badly needed his services. On 16 September 1764, G. was appointed governor of Amhara province and six years later he received the title of *ras* ↗*bitwäddäd*, the highest rank in the empire, next only to the sovereign himself.

G. served *aṣe* Iyoʾas loyally and almost every year took the field on his orders. Thus, on 16 January 1769 he captured a pretender to the throne (an associate of ↗Yämaryam Barya), who was later executed. However, when *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul, dissatisfied with the growth of influence of the Oromo relatives of *aṣe* Iyoʾas, ordered that he be strangled on 14 May 1769, G. became a supporter of the mighty new ruler. In Ethiopia a new era began, the so-called ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* ('Era of the Princes'), when morals lost their value, vows were no longer kept and neither emperors nor high officials held office for long (Tekle-Tsadik Mekouria in PICES 8, vol. 2, 205).

In 1771 G. was one of the commanders at the battle of ↗Sarbakusa. G. and ↗Wänd Bäwäsän defeated *ras* Mikaʾel, but decided to keep Täklä

Haymanot II on the throne; G. retained his rank of *ras bitwäddäd*.

Src.: GuiIyas; BruNile, vol. 4, 95ff.; BlunChr 17ff., 228f.
Lit.: TEKLE-TSADIK MEKOURIA, "Histoire abregée de Haylou Esheté (Degiazmatche)", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 189–213, here 205.

Sevir Chernetsov

Goššu Zäwde

Däǧǧazmač G.Z. (ጎሹ፡ ዘውዴ, also Gʷäššu, horse name Abba Kanno; b. ca. 1780s/90s, d. 27 November 1852) was governor of ↗Goǧǧam and Damot during the first half of the 19th cent. A member of the ruling Goǧǧam dynasty, he was one of the major lords during the last decades of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. His father, Zäwde Səlṭan (Zäwde Tullu in RubActa I, no. 31; however, *däǧǧazmač* Tullu was most possibly Zäwde's maternal grandfather) was a descendant of the ↗*balabbats* of Damot. Nicknamed Kästi Zäwde (s. Girma Getahun 1991:87), he married Dənqənäš, daughter of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq and sister of ↗Märəd Ḫaylu. G.Z. was therefore a great grandson of *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) and *grazmač* Iyasu, a member of the ↗Solomonic dynasty. G.Z. married *wäyzäro* Sahlitu Ǝnqu, a distant descendant of Ləbna Dəngəl's daughter Tadra from Ṭäläzämo, and had two sons by her, Yälemtu (Ǝlemtu) Goššu and Täsämma Goššu.

Among G.Z.'s first military campaigns was an expedition against the Kutay/Gändabarat Oromo. In the early 1820s, G.Z. defeated the army of *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa, headed by his appointee *däǧǧazmač* Gubäna. In 1827, in the battle of Kosso Bärr, the combined army of G.Z. and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Maru of Dämbəya was defeated by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam of Səmen and *ras* Yəmam Gugsa. Maru was killed in battle and his possessions were given to Yəmam's brother, *ras* ↗Marəye Gugsa. G.Z. escaped and fled into the mountain fortress of Ǧəbäla. Next year, G.Z. attempted a military campaign against *däǧǧazmač* Maʿəṭäntu, an appointee of *ras* Marəye, but failed, and was imprisoned in Qʷami Č̣ärq cave (Moṭa). According to the *Chronicle of Goǧǧam* by *aläqa* Täklä Iyäsus (Girma Getahun 1991:92f.), G.Z.'s (illegitimate) son ↗Bərru Goššu freed his father and defeated Marəye shortly thereafter in the battle of Sägädit. In any case, the forces of G.Z. fought aside Wəbe and Marəye in the latter's campaign against ↗Säbagadis Wäldu in 1831. During the 1830s and early 1840s, G.Z. waged numerous successful campaigns against the Mäč̣č̣a Oromo as far as the borders of ↗Ǝnnarya. Later, however, the Oromo achieved a sort of peace with the Goǧǧam ruler, who even exchanged presents with ↗Abbaa Bagiboo I.

After G.Z. had arranged marriage between Bərru Goššu and the sister of *ras* ↗Ali Alula, the latter decided to disinherit the sons of the recently deceased *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kənfu Ḫaylu in favour of G.Z. and his son Bərru. Kənfu's children objected, so G.Z. claimed his right in the battle of Qʷənzəla (Dəngəl Bärr) on 4 October 1839. G.Z. was victorious. Soon, however, Ali transferred Kənfu's land possessions to his mother ↗Mänän. Displeased by G.Z.'s lack of ambition, Bərru Goššu rebelled against his father and allied with Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam who was seeking to overthrow Ali.

In 1847, G.Z. invaded Bägemdər and looted Gondär, annoyed with the treatment *abunä* ↗Sälama received from the inhabitants of the city and above all from *əč̣č̣äge* Maḥśäntä Mikaʾel, who was arrested and taken to Goǧǧam in chains. Towards the end of the campaign, in 1848, G.Z. obtained the rank of *ras* from ↗Śahlä Dəngəl who was in Gondär at that time.

G.Z. was on friendly terms with foreigners who came to his court. Arnauld d'↗Abbadie, a close friend, spent the whole of 1839 at G.Z.'s court, and remained in regular contact with G.Z. until at least 1848. The Belgian consul ↗Blondeel van Coelebroeck was also a frequent visitor in Goǧǧam. In 1841, G.Z. asked him, among other things, for missionaries to be sent to Goǧǧam (RubInd 100, cp. RubActa I, no. 40).

Ləǧ Kaśa Ḫaylu (later ↗Tewodros II) was early in his career in the service of G.Z., who as already at that time an ally of *ras* Ali Alula. Probably this happened shortly after Kənfu's death. Kaśa was successful as a soldier; after one of the first military actions he took part in G.Z. awarded him with a horse and a ↗*lämd*. It was through Kaśa's service in G.Z.'s army that he obtained access into Ali's house and family.

When *ləǧ* Kaśa turned against his father-in-law and became a *šəfta*, G.Z. remained loyal to *ras* Ali. In January 1852, G.Z., together with his son Bərru Goššu, attempted to conquer Gondär, at that time already under *ləǧ* Kaśa's control, but retreated without offering a fight after looting Fogära and destroying the monastery of Qʷäraṭa. Later the same year Ali sent G.Z. at the head of his army against Kaśa. The campaign ended with the battle at ↗Gur Amba, Dämbəya, in November 1852; G.Z. was defeated and killed. A famous poem was rhymed by a mourner (MonVidTheod 2 [text], cp. BTafA 444 [text], Girma Getahun 1991:111):

Gʷäššu əndä Oryo Ali əndä Dawit
Yätənt aydällämoy tälko mämot
G. like Uriah, Ali like David
Is it not like in old times to be sent to die?

Mondon-Vidailhet suggests that the poem might allude to an amorous connection between Ali Alula and G.Z.'s wife (MonVidTheod 3 [tr.]).

Of G.Z.'s sons, Bərru Goššu played the most important role in the political theatre of that time, being a political and military rival both to his father and to Kaśa Ḫaylu. Another son, *fitawrari* Täsämma, governed ↗Ǧawe in Damot and had his capital in Ç̣ago, birth place of his ancestors. He fathered the future *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot. Soon upon the death of G.Z., Täsämma was captured by Tewodros and died in the prison of Arba Amba ca. 1860 (RubActa II, no. 109). There is no further record of Yälemtu Goššu.

Src.: BTafA 445–49; BlunChr 185-96, 486; AbbSéjour passim; ZanLitTheod 6, 13f. (text); FusTew 7ff. (text); MonVidTheo 1ff. (text); RubActa I nos. 31, 39f., 45; RubActa II nos. 28f., 109, 219; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo le liste recenti (sec. XVIII–XX)", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 14, 1945, 143–71, here 158f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La cronaca reale abissina dall'anno 1800 all'anno 1840", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916, 779–923; CRNuov 371, 394f., 404f.; GIRMA GETAHUN (ed., tr.), *The Goǧǧam Chronicle by* aläqa *Täklä Iyäsus Waqǧera*, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS University of London 1991, 84-119.

Lit.: RubInd 84, 90, 97–102, 136; TSMTarik IV, 5; AbPrince 34-37, 82, 108ff., 115, 126, 129.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Götz, Hermann

G. (b. 21 August 1878, Schwäbisch Gmünd, d. 2 September 1970, Adaamii Tulluu) was a German entrepreneur. The son of a lower-class craftsman, G., together with his friend Hans Jannasch, entered Ethiopia via Djibouti in 1902. After a stay in Harär, in 1904 they reached Addis Abäba, where they offered their skills as craftsmen to the nobles. Jannasch was even employed as military instructor by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II (Bairu Tafla 1981:172). Later, following a grant of land from *aṣe* Mənilək, both set up a farm to domesticate ostriches and built a house in Adaamii Tulluu (lit. 'cactus hill') on a hill to the south of Lake ↗Zʷay, near the ↗Bulbula. Their first ostriches were probably also provided by the Emperor (ibid.). G. married an Amhara wife and had a daughter. His two sons died at an early age.

Hermann Götz's farm in Arsi, photo courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (13-KB006-12)

When after World War I ostrich feathers fell out of fashion, G. and Jannasch began raising cattle. This aroused conflicts on grazing land with the neighbouring Oromo and, after a trial in Addis Abäba that found them guilty of mistreating Oromo peasants, Jannasch was obliged to leave the country. G., however, returned to Adaamii Tulluu and associated with Walter Zahn ("*hakim* Zahn") – a German pharmacist from Addis Abäba and his son-in-law-to-be – in the production of butter on a commercial scale. To transport their products to Addis Abäba they cleared a road to Moǧo railway station, which later became the highway from the capital to Šašämänne. In 1927, due to various reasons G. and Zahn parted.

At the beginning of the Italian occupation the conflict between G. and the Oromo increased. The Oromo attacked his farm and G. had to escape to Gälila, an island in Lake Zʷay, finding shelter among the ↗Zay. Adaamii Tulluu then became an Italian fortress and, after the occupation, G. again took refuge on Gälila, fearing to be accused of collaboration with the Fascist Italians. Between 1946–55 he worked as a veterinarian on the state farm near Adaamii Tulluu and, thanks to the Emperor's permission, continued raising cattle.

G. – also known as "Papa Götz", "Opa Götz" or "Muse Götz" – appears in many travel descriptions of that region (s. VSAe II, 651; Zahn 1951; Jannasch 1930) and is today still remembered by the Zay.

Src.: interview with Bädhane Tibeso, Zay elder from Gälila, ca. 75 years old, Zʷay town, 1999.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Opa Götz, 1878–1970", *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch, Sonderausgabe Äthiopien* 1973, 188–89; ID., *Ethiopia and Germany*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5);

VSAe II, 651; HANS JANNASCH, *Im Schatten des Negus, Vierundzwanzig Jahre in Abbessinien*, Berlin 1930; WALTER ZAHN, *Adami Tullu. Apotheker, Pionier und Zauberer im Landes des Negus*, Stuttgart 1951, 159–216.

Ronny Meyer

Government

In traditional Ethiopia, which has a historical trajectory significantly different from those in the West, no distinction was made between a G. and a political system. The term **መንግሥት** (*mängəśt*, lit. 'kingship') and the "political system" revolved around the **ግቢ** (↗*Gəbbi*, '[imperial] court') with the **ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት** (*nəguśä nägäśt*; ↗*nəguś*, ↗*aṣe*) at the centre and the ruling gentry comprising of the landholders, the *gʷəltäñña* (↗*Gʷəlt*) and the *rəstäñña* (↗*Rəst*), the ↗*č̣əqa šum* ('village headmen') and the ↗*məsläne* ('district prefects') scattered throughout his realm (↗Titles, ranks and functions; ↗Aristocracy). The institutions of the state and the head of G. were also fused. At the root of imperial authority lay the claimed Solomonic descent of the royal dynasty (↗Solomonic dynasty) and the legitimizing authority of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church as elaborated upon in the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*. The church taught its flock that the *nəguśä nägäśt*, chosen by God, is a supreme authority in all matters, secular and spiritual, and the people agreed with the premise without fail (cp. ↗Kingship, divine). In this capacity, the *nəguśä nägäśt* was perceived as the guarantor of peace and security, symbol of national sovereignty and unity, conferrer of material benefits and lifelong honorific titles, head of state and government, source of law and judicial authority (↗Law and judiciary), supreme military commander and guardian of the state religion (↗Christianity).

History prior to 1855

The early rulers in the northern highland areas of E. derived their power from a combination of control over ↗trade with the ability to tax a relatively densely settled peasantry. In other areas, systems of governance ranged from small-scale and highly egalitarian societies through to centralized states that differed only in scale from the empire that progressively extended its rule over the highland areas north of the Rift Valley.

The extent to which this empire could be described as "feudal" has been disputed by scholars (↗Feudalism). Certainly, it possessed a ↗monarchy and an aristocratic class who derived their power from a complex set of obligations based on control over land and the peasants who worked it, and legitimated by the Christian religion. As in feudal Europe, even though the emperor was in principle supreme, regional or provincial rulers were able to exercise a significant level of autonomy. These rulers in turn depended on subordinate noblemen, who likewise enjoyed a measure of autonomy that derived from the obedience of local peasantries. A hereditary aristocracy was, however, far less evident than in Europe: even though the sons of great lords were better placed than anyone else to assume their fathers' dignities, they had to establish their own personal authority if they were to succeed; otherwise, they were liable to be displaced by rivals who might come from the lesser nobility, or indeed from still further down the social scale. Graded titles of nobility, these were not inherited but had to be bestowed on each individual.

The nobility who commanded a peasant army, and the church, which bestowed or disallowed religious legitimacy by *qəbʾa mängəśt* (anointing) or by *gəzzət* (excommunication), could both challenge the emperors. Throughout long periods of the history of the Christian state, the absolute power of the *nəguśä nägäśt* stayed rather theoretical. He had to rely on the support of often highly autonomous regional lords. All this notwithstanding, no permanent administrative structure had ever evolved.

Until a fixed capital was established at ↗Gondär in the 17th cent., the medieval imperial G. was characterized by its mobility. European visitors describe a remarkable tented capital that moved around the highlands from one place to another. This system had two main functions: first, it enabled the emperors to maintain control over the dispersed provinces of the empire through their own physical presence; and second, it spread the economic burden of maintaining the central G., which could scarcely have remained permanently in the same place without exhausting local supplies. At the same time, it prevented the development of any institutional structure of G. that was in any way separate from the person of the emperor: the G. moved with him and was dependent on him. The physical lay-out of the imperial camp was clearly organized: as soon as the emperor's tent was pitched, all the subordinate officials knew where their own accommodation would be. There was also a complex set of titles and offices, including the ↗*ṣähafe təʿəzaz*, the ↗*afä nəguś* and the ↗*liqä mäkʷas*. However, these remained individual positions, in the gift of the emperor, and did not lead to the creation of any permanent bureaucracy.

The establishment of a permanent capital at Gondär under *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, from 1636 onwards, did little to change this pattern of G. One significant factor was that this coincided with a decline, both in the territory and resources that the empire controlled, and in the authority of the emperors. It followed the destruction of the empire as a result of the invasions of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") in the early 16th cent. and the steady encroachment of the ↗Oromo peoples on areas previously controlled by the empire. It also coincided with the internal divisions prompted by the arrival of ↗Portuguese missionaries and their attempts to convert leading elements to ↗Catholicism. A further consequence of the Gondärine monarchy was the increasing inability of the emperors to control the outlying provinces, a trend that was most visible in ↗Šäwa, in ↗Təgray and elsewhere. Whereas previously, emperors had travelled around the highlands in order to control subordinate rulers, now the provincial lords – such as *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul of Təgray – brought their own armies to Gondär in order to intimidate and control the emperor. This process culminated in the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* (1770-1855) when no Ethiopian central G. existed.

History after 1855

Introduction

The increasing encroachment of European powers on Ethiopia from the mid-19th cent. onwards led successive Ethiopian G. to reorganize their own structures so as to enable them to cope more effectively with the new demands that were being made on them – initially very largely in order to manage relations with foreign G. and the increasing number of foreigners who came to live in Ethiopia, but also and increasingly to promote economic, social and political changes. These changes were invariably introduced under the close supervision and control of the existing political authorities, notably the emperors, and were never permitted to challenge their powers, at least until the moment when the forces of modernity, established in the newly created state institutions, superseeded the imperial system of G. itself. Before that time, however, modern political institutions were intended to increase the powers of the emperors by providing them with trained staff and effective organizations.

The first emperor to appreciate the need for change in the way in which the G. worked was ↗Tewodros II, who availed himself of the services of foreign advisers. These did not, however, establish any new G. institutions. ↗Yoḥannəs IV made much more sparing use of such advisers. ↗Mənilək II, who had a much more acute sense of Ethiopia's need to adapt to the demands of the outside world, recruited a number of advisers, by far the most important of whom was the Swiss engineer Alfred ↗Ilg, who was given the traditional title of ↗*bit wäddäd* and the more modern one of Chancellor of State. Ilg was extensively involved in diplomatic correspondence and conducting negotiations with foreign powers.

Government Institutions, 1907–35

The formal appointment of G. ministers dates from 1907, when Mənilək created Ministers of Justice, War, Interior, Commerce and Foreign Affairs, Finance, Agriculture, the Pen, Public Works and the Imperial Court. In some cases, notably *ṣähafe təʿəzaz*, who became "Minister of the Pen", this involved only giving a new title to an existing office. Similarly, the *afä nəguś* became Minister of Justice. A Minister of Posts and Telegraphs was appointed later. Several of these men, such as the Minister of War *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis, were powerful in their own right, but becoming ministers did little to increase their power. There were no ministries, in the sense of G. bureaucracies, for them to direct and they had little idea of their responsibilities. Maḥtämä Śəllase's report that the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs was responsible for delivering telegrams to the emperor indicates how subordinate their role was. In a wider political sense, the ministers were unable to compensate for the declining effectiveness of the central G. as Mənilək himself became increasingly unable to rule. They were included in the ↗Crown Council that in 1909 was established to govern on the emperor's behalf, but the most influential roles in the ensuing struggle for the succession were played by those with military forces at their disposal.

During the following seven years, ministers are frequently referred to in the diplomatic correspondence and were appointed or dismissed in accordance with the changing balance of power among the factions who competed for control over the G. There is, however, no indication that they exercised any significant powers that could be related to their offices, rather than to the influence that they held as individuals. G. remained as before a matter of personalities rather than institutions.

After *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu's overthrow in October 1916, the situation became more conducive to the construction of G. institutions, largely because these suited the ambitions of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən, who sought to establish a control over G. that would be independent of the Empress ↗Zäwditu. Whereas the ministers, who had become a constraint on Täfäri's power, were all dismissed in March 1918, he appointed younger officials, including ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase and ↗Täklä Wäldä Hawaryat, to the Addis Abäba municipality and tax-collecting officials with the rank of ↗*näggadras* to the leading commercial centres. During the 1920s and early 1930s, the outlines of a modern administrative system became increasingly clear as permanent offices were established and newly educated Ethiopians were appointed to staff them. Several of these, including ↗Mäkʷännən Habtäwäld at Finance and ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs at the Ministry of the Pen, would become leading ministers after 1941. Greatest attention was paid to the ministries of Foreign Affairs, where Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase became Director-General in 1927 and later Minister, Commerce, Finance, and Posts and Telegraphs, all of which were closely associated with Ethiopia's relations with the outside world. By the early 1930s, there were foreign advisers at the Ministries of Finance, Foreign Affairs, Interior and Justice and at the newly established Ministry of Education.

The 1931 Constitution led to the creation of Ethiopia's first formal legislative institutions, with a two-chamber Parliament consisting of the Senate (የሕግ፡ መወሰኛ፡ ምክር፡ ቤት, *yäḥəgg mäwässäñña məkər bet*), which was appointed directly by the Emperor, and the Chamber of Deputies (የሕግ፡ መምሪያ፡ ምክር፡ ቤት, *yäḥəgg mämriya məkər bet*) which, "temporarily, and until the people are in a position to elect them themselves" (Art. 32), was to be chosen by the nobility and local chiefs. Both constitutionally and in practice, these had only limited powers. Practically, this constitution reasserted the Emperor's status. It reserved imperial succession to the line of ↗Ḫaylä ŚəllaseI and declared that "the person of the emperor is sacred, his dignity inviolable and his power indisputable". For all practical purposes, command over central and local government, the legislature, the judiciary, and the military remained with the *nəguśä nägäśt*. The constitution was essentially an effort to provide a legal basis for replacing the traditional provincial rulers with appointees loyal to the emperor and the process was put in motion to limit the power of the regional nobility, and to enhance reliance on modern bureaucratic forms of administration.

The Structure of Imperial Government, 1941–74
Ḫaylä Śəllase's modernization efforts were temporarily halted with the ↗Italian war of 1935/36 (↗Africa Orientale Italiana; ↗Colonialism). The liberation from Italian rule in 1941 provided the opportunity to establish a structure of G. that survived in its basic form until the 1974 ↗revolution and in important respects well beyond then. An official G. gazette, ↗*Nägarit Gazeta*, was first published in March 1942 and carried all legislation, together with orders regulating the powers of G. agencies, and other information including official appointments. The Ministers (Definition of Powers) Order of 29 January 1943 formally established the Council of Ministers and laid down the powers of the different ministries. These were the Ministries of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, Communications and Public Works, Education and Fine Arts, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Interior, Justice, the Pen, Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones and War. There was also a Minister of the Imperial Court, but this did not have any assigned duties under the Order. The Office of Prime Minister, not provided for in the original Order, was established on 30 September 1943 and *ras bitwäddäd* ↗Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkaččäw was appointed to it.

A Ministry of Public Health was established on 30 March 1948 and on 25 September 1953 the Ministry of War became the Ministry of National Defence. Ministries of Pensions, Stores and Supplies (abolished in 1964), National Community Development, Mines and State Domains (1958) and Information were also set up during the 1950s. Ministries of Land Reform and of Planning and Development were created in July 1966.

The Emperor continued to take the main role in the day-to-day management of the G. and the most powerful individuals and institutions were those most close to him. During the period between 1941 and 1955, the most important minister was the Minister of the Pen, *ṣähafe təʿəzaz*

Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs, rather than the Prime Minister, who had a largely ceremonial role. Subsequently, in 1959, an institution called His Imperial Majesty's Private Cabinet was created to provide a secretariat for the Emperor, independent of the ministers; but this declined in power after one of its leading members, ↗Wärqənäh Gäbäyyähu, was killed fighting for the rebels during the abortive Coup d'état of December 1960. Another institution, the Crown Council, was formally recognized by the Revised Constitution of 1955, in which it was given sensitive powers relating to the possible incapacity of the Emperor or the Crown Prince and the establishment of a regency. There is little evidence that this played any significant role.

The first Prime Minister, ↗Mäkʷännən Əndalkaččäw, held office until 1957, when he was appointed President of the Senate. His successor was ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld, previously Minister of Foreign Affairs and one of three influential brothers, the eldest of whom was Mäkʷännən Habtäwäld, long-time Minister of Commerce. Until 1961, Aklilu was designated only as acting Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence, *ras* ↗Abbäbä Arägay, presided over meetings of the Council of Ministers. Following *ras* Abbäbä's assassination (along with Mäkʷännən Habtäwäld and other leading officials) during the attempted coup, Aklilu became full Prime Minister in early 1961 and held office through until February 1974. In April 1966, the Prime Minister's powers were enhanced by giving him the power to choose and dismiss the other ministers, but in practice this made little difference to the composition of the G., which was drawn from a small group of courtier-politicians, none of whom had any source of power independent of the Emperor.

In addition to the ministries, the imperial G. established a large number of specialized agencies. The best known of these was ↗Ethiopian Airlines, established in 1948, while other agencies in the area of communications and public works included the Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority (1956), the Imperial Board of Telecommunications of Ethiopia (1952) and the Imperial Highway Authority (1951). Further specialist organizations were responsible for specific areas of economic management, including the Tobacco (1942), Grain (1950), and Coffee Boards (1957) and the Awaš Valley Authority (1962). These were generally under the supervision of a board of directors, consisting largely of ministers whose responsibilities most closely related to the work of the agency concerned, together with a number of technical experts and were placed under the executive control of a director or general manager. They also provided a mechanism through which foreigners could be given responsibilities beyond a status of advisors.

The ↗Parliament established under the 1931 Constitution was revived after 1941, but exercised no discernible power, its most visible manifestation being its ceremonial annual opening by the Emperor in November each year. Until 1957, there were five Deputies for each province and a total of about 30 Senators. Under the Revised Constitution of 1955, the Chamber of Deputies was for the first time directly elected, while the Senate continued to be appointed by the Emperor and Parliament's powers were increased; it now had to approve legal proclamations and the budget, although decrees could be promulgated by the Emperor while Parliament was not sitting, subject to its later approval. The executive remained exclusively under the Emperor's control and matters concerning the internal organization of the G. were regulated by imperial orders, which did not require parliamentary approval.

The first direct elections to the Chamber of Deputies were held in 1957 and these followed at four-year intervals until the 1974 revolution. However, no political parties were formed, even though these were not explicitly prohibited, and elections at the constituency level were contested on the basis of personalities. The Senate served largely as a place of semi-retirement for distinguished former officials, and despite attempts to increase the role of Parliament by a number of ambitious deputies, which extended to the occasional rejection or amendment of G. legislation, it remained marginal to the political process.

The most significant legislative change was the codification process, carried out under the supervision of a Codification Commission established in 1954 (↗Criminal codes; Maritime Code; ↗Civil Code; ↗Commercial Law; ↗Criminal Procedure Code; ↗Law and Judiciary). From early forms of arbitration, which were still kept active and encouraged particularly for the rural areas (↗Customary law), a legal system developed gradually into a formal system.

The structure of provincial G. was also thoroughly reorganized after the liberation. Under a decree of August 1942, the national territory

Inaugural meeting of the Council of Ministers in April 1966 headed by Ḫaylä Śəllase I; from ClapHS 130

was divided into twelve regions or *ṭəqlay gəzat*: Arsi, Bägemdər-Səmen, Gamo Gofa, Goǧǧam, Harärge, Illubabor, Käfa, Šäwa, Sidamo, Təgray, Wälläga and Wällo, each subject to a Governor appointed by the Emperor. Bale region was subsequently created from the part of Harärge between the Ganaalee and Wäbi Šäbälle rivers, while ↗Eritrea, which had a special status as a self-governing unit at the time of its unification with the rest of Ethiopia in 1952, was made an ordinary *ṭəqlay gəzat* in 1962. Each *ṭəqlay gəzat* was placed under an ↗*əndärase* (deputy governor) in the case of commoners holding the position and *ṭəqlay gäž* (governors-general) in the case of aristocrats ruling the provinces, all appointed directly by Ḫaylä Śəllase. Each province was subdivided into *awraǧǧa* (sub-provinces), *wäräda* (districts), and *məkəttəl wäräda* (subdistricts). This structure remained broadly intact until the introduction of the short-lived Constitution of 1987 (↗Administrative division).

During Ḫaylä Śəllase's reign, "modern" aspects of G. ruled mainly only in the centre, both geographically and socially. In distant regions, the *əndärase* continued often to rule as in the times of Mənilək and in the villages the nobility kept its privileges and allowed little or no recourse to the law or the modern court system. As long as they paid their tribute and did not rebel, villages were largely untouched by any aspect of modern G. Ḫaylä Śəllase knew his rule depended on the support of the local nobility and allowed them to continue their own way. Even in Addis Abäba, the poor were hardly reached by any aspect of modern law. But the land-owners class and local nobility tried to expand privileges and rights.

After his return from exile, Ḫaylä Śəllase enacted new laws establishing "freehold" as a first form of private property on land. Courts began to accept payment of land taxes as proof of ownership and the local nobility was quick to grasp the chance: collecting as before the state tax from the peasants together with their tributes, they made sure to keep tax receipts in their own names. Peasants, unaware of this change, saw how landlords put their lands on sale or brought them as a share into a "joint venture" with foreign investors. Only when peasants were told to leave, did they realize that they had been effectively disowned of their inherited claims to the use of land (Pausewang 1983:46, 81).

Centralization

Centralization of G. drew the nobility increasingly into the centre, to join the court, staff the administration and lead the growing standing army. Many of them left their local functions unattended to join the new G. structures in the centre. But they kept their local privileges, in particular their rights to tributes from "their" peasants who, by this, had to finance the expensive urban life of the nobility. This happened not only in the southern provinces, conquered by Mənilək, but also in the ↗*rəst* areas in the north. This indirect shift of resources to the centre must be seen economically as a central part of Ḫaylä Śəllase's reforms: it allowed to build up a modern administration in the centre at the expense of the peasants.

A standing military force was built up in a system of different units balancing each other: the standing army was the ↗Imperial Body Guard, the reserve forces of a "territorial army", the Air Force and the small naval force. In the civilian G., Ḫaylä Śəllase balanced in an equally thorough fashion the ambitions and animosities of his ministers and civil servants against each other. Frequent reshuffles did not allow any group to become too strong, a balance of powers being the most important weapon for the Emperor to safeguard his control.

The attempted Coup d'etat of 1960 showed the importance of such precautions. Profiting from an absence of the Emperor on a state visit abroad, the Imperial Body Guard attempted to form a new G. Aided by university students, the leaders tried to convince other military units and the public at large of the need to establish a new rule. But the regular army remained loyal to the Emperor and foiled the coup.

Since the students' support for the failed coup, the land question became the biggest challenge. Student demonstrations took up yearly the issue of the depressed situation of peasants. Their slogan "Land to the tiller" became the central programme-issue of the opposition. When in 1973 Ḫaylä Śəllase attempted to hide a famine in northern Ethiopia from the urban public, unrest flared up in the capital, eventually turning into a revolution. The new G., still appointed by Ḫaylä Śəllase, in an attempt to quell the unrest, ordered a group of experts to draft a proclamation for a land reform. But by the time their draft was ready, power relations had already changed. A group of young experts, recently graduated from the university, drafted a new proclamation.

The land reform of 5 March 1975 nationalized all rural land and gave peasants the right of access to farm land. It did not redistribute much land. But it did create a radically different local G. administration. Peasant associations were formed in every village, with elected leaders, occupied in overseeing a land distribution "as far as possible equal" within the village. Freed from all tributes and contributions to the landlords, the peasants had substantially better living conditions. But the urban population felt the difference as prices for food rose sharply and food became scarce in towns and the resources for both the army and the central G. threatened also to dry out (Pausewang 1983:105–25).

The new military G. found a smart way to tame the peasant associations: a new law demanded that a chairman of a peasant association must be able to read and write. This excluded the older distinguished farmers to the advantage of youngsters who had gone to school, but had little experience in agriculture and no confidence among peasants. Their only way to assert their new authority was to lean towards the new central administration. They became, thus, the executive arm of the central G., forcing upon the peasants a series of unpopular measures: a National Grain Board forced the peasants to deliver obligatory quota of their crops at a fixed low price. New taxes were levied and contributions for different campaigns and proclaimed national purposes were imposed. Many peasants were forced into collective farms and others could not escape the feared resettlement to remote regions. The hated villagization programme forced them to move their homesteads into arbitrarily designed villages. The immensely detested forced recruitments to the army also made use of the peasant-association leaders as local mediators. Through this system and for the first time the G. established its local presence in all villages. Peasant associations became – remaining till today – the structure of state control over the peasants.

When, in 1991, the military G. was defeated, the ↗Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) took over the local G. structure. Peasant associations became the basic unit of local G., the cadres of the old Workers Party of Ethiopia were replaced by cadres of the new ruling parties in each region, dependent on the ↗Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) as the leading force in the coalition EPRDF. The country was re-structured according to ethnic borders. Just as in 1973 no G. could expect to win public support without solving the land question, in 1991 no one could win support and loyalty without granting ethnic groups more freedom and self determination.

The new regions proceeded to build up regional and local G. with more administrative capacity than earlier. Regional, zonal and *wäräda*-administrators had to be recruited, mostly locally as the new law demanded that they speak their region's languages. The new local cadres know that they owe their positions solely to their membership in the ruling party and act accordingly. Lines of communication come from the top and orders are executed without questioning. Communication upwards is mainly concerning reports of successful execution, leaving out negative or shameful information. Local representatives consider any illoyality as an offence, any criticism as treason. A hierarchic "culture of power" (Tronvoll – Vaughan 2003) developed in practice, in spite of a democratic decentralization in theory. Central power remains unchallenged by regular elections which do not offer any chance to organize an opposition able to challenge it.

The court system endured expansion and decentralization. Courts are established down to the level of the *wäräda*. The reform of 1991 demanded recruiting a huge number of judges and lawyers who speak local languages. Since they are recruited by the local party, it is difficult to expect them to be independent. In fact, a recent study (Tronvoll – Vaughan 2003) revealed that most local judges do not want to be independent, preferring to consider themselves part of local administration and accountable to it. Thus, there is little division of powers in practice. Local G. and its administration has become more sophisticated, but as yet not more accountable.

↗Constitutions; ↗Taxation

Src.: HSLife; ZewYohan; RubTew; BruNile.

Lit.: ClapHS; AbPrince; CrumLand; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM – JAMES C.N. PAUL, *Ethiopian Constitutional Development: a Source Book*, vols. 1–2, Addis Ababa 1971; DONALD N. LEVINE, *Greater Ethiopia: the Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society*, Chicago 1974; MahZekr; JOHN MARKAKIS, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*, New York 1974; DAVID MATHEW, *Ethiopia: the Study of a Polity, 1540–1935*, London 1947; RICHARD PANKHURST, *A Social History of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1990; PAULOS MILKIAS, "Traditional Institutions and Traditional Elites: the Role of Education in the Ethiopian Body Politic", *African Studies Review* 19, 3, December 1976, 79-93; SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG, *Peasants, Land and Society: a Social History of Land Reform in Ethiopia*, München – Köln – London 1983; KJETIL TRONVOLL – SARAH VAUGHAN, *The Culture of Power in Ethiopian Political Life*, Stockholm 2003 (SIDA); PAUL HENZE, *Layers of Time: A History of Ethiopia*, London 2000; PerGov; HAROLD G. MARCUS, *A History of Ethiopia*, Berkeley 1994; TSEGAYE TEGENU, *The Evolution of Ethiopian Absolutism: The Genesis and the Making of the Fiscal Military State, 1696-1913*, Stockholm 1996.

Christopher Clapham –
Siegfried Pausewang – Paulos Milkias

Gozza ↗Aari

Graffity ↗Inscriptions

Grañ ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī

Granary

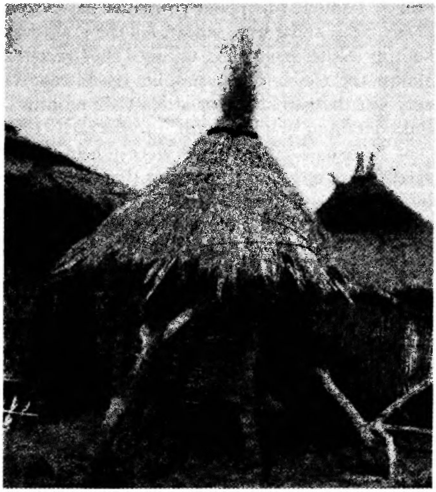
One of the main concerns in agriculturist economy is the conservation and protection of its products. The harvested field-crop has to be kept dry. Vermins such as rats, mice, bugs, locusts and army worms, as well as bigger animals have to be prevented from damaging it. The products have to be kept under the control of the household member responsible for the distribution of the food and they must be protected from theft.

Cereals are stored in various ways. In some cases the grain is simply stored in baskets, sometimes sealed with dung and clay, in the house itself. In the ↗*ḥədmo*-type houses in Təgray and Eritrea the grain is stored in tube-like containers integrated into the wall separating the different parts of the house.

There exist underground as well as overground G. (Amh. ጐተራ *gʷätära*, or *gotära*). The under-ground stores consist of large holes dug in the ground and are also known as *gʷədgʷad*.

Most types of over-ground G. roughly have in common that they consist of the part containing the grain, a platform keeping the container from the ground and a roof. Variations can be observed in the height of the platform, the character of the container and the shape of the roof. Some G. resemble traditional Ethiopian round ↗houses en miniature standing on a platform (e.g., drawings of G. in Baka, Basketo, Maale, VSAe I, Tafel 4, 1., 2., Tafel 9, 8.). In other cases the container is a huge basket, sometimes covered with dung and clay, or a large clay vessel. G. can also be simpler, consisting only of a large bamboo basket, with or without roof, a platform without roof (e.g., s. pictures of G. in Aari, VSAe I, Tafel 33, 1., 2.; VSAe III, Tafel 17, 2.) or a vessel standing under a roof (e.g., in Dorze, VSAe III, Tafel 7, no. 8).

Monarchs often controlled extensive G. These were supplied from the taxes and used to dis-



Gʷätära; photo courtesy of Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg (photo no. 2097–81) pense grain to the ruler's followers, as well as to the general public in time of ↗famine. The Chronicle of *aṣe* Iyasu I states that in 1706 starving peasants came to Gondär to ask the ruler to save them from hunger. The monarch "gave relief to innumerable people for two months, while others were supplied by the nobles acting on his orders". He reportedly freely offered his help and is said to have provided charity without discriminating against any part of society (GuiIohan 231f.). Grain storage was no less significant in the 19th cent. Harris (HarAeth vol. 3, 33), the British envoy to Šäwa, tells of a famine in the late 1820s during which provisions could "alone be obtained from the royal granaries". Large monasteries such as ↗Däbrä Libanos also had large G.

G. were equally important for the upkeep of the soldiers. In the mid-19th cent. *ras* ↗Ali Alula was reported to have whenever possible supplied his troops with a monthly allowance of grain from his G., though the men frequently relied on a "half-plundering license" to live on the peasantry (House of Commons 1868:115).

Aṣe ↗Tewodros, in his attempt to establish a modern, paid army, built several large grain stores for his troops (PankHist II, 59). One of these was at his palace at Mäqdäla, which, according to Markham (1869:357), was filled with grain. Blanc (1868:209) reports that there were also "half a dozen large huts, protected from the rain by a double roof. They contained barley, *ṭef*, beans, peas, and a little wheat. All the grain was kept in leather bags piled up until they reached almost the roof". These supplies could reportedly last the garrison "for at least six months". Pits containing grain, according to the early-19th-cent. British observer Pearce, were in many cases carefully covered up to prevent their discovery by marauding soldiers.

Aṣe Mənilək II in the years immediately prior to the ʿAdwa campaign (1896–97) strengthened his army and reduced the threat of its looting the countryside by establishing special G. for his troops. These stores were set up in the main area of anticipated conflict, namely Təgre and Wällo. According to Keller (1918:94), these G. later proved of great value during the subsequent fighting with the Italians.

Considerable storage in G. likewise took place on the eve of the Italian Fascist invasion of 1935–36, as evinced by a dramatic photograph of burying grain in a hole in the ground (s. Goldmann 1935:106).

↗Agriculture

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 189; GuiIohan; HarAeth vol. 3, 33; GuiVoc 751; GREAT BRITAIN, HOUSE OF COMMONS, *Correspondence Respecting Abyssinia 1846–1868*, London 1868, 115; CLEMENTS ROBERT MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition* ..., London 1869, 357; HENRY BLANC, *A Narrative of Captivity in Abyssinia* ..., London 1868, 209.

Lit.: PankHist II; WILHELM GOLDMANN, *Das ist Abessinien*, Leipzig 1935, 106; PankSoc 143; CONRAD KELLER, *Alfred Ilg, sein Leben und sein Wirken*, Frauenfeld 1918, 94; VSAe I; VSAe III.

Richard Pankhurst

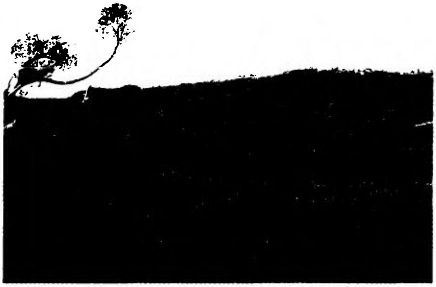
Grassland

G. defines a formation of vegetation without or with only a low portion of wood. In the tropics it includes all types of savannah, semi-deserts and some parts of highland areas. Naturally evolved and evolving, G. is generally the result of climatic conditions and climatic changes. In some places specific edaphic conditions may also provoke G. Depending on the length of the rainy season and annual rainfall, the types of tropical G. can vary considerably: from short grass not fully covering the soil up to high grass (approximately 400 cm) interspersed with bush, trees and forests. In general the average annual temperature is quite high (above 20° C), with low variations from month to month (typically 5° to 10° C). In highland areas natural G. is the result of low temperatures preventing trees from growing.

In Ethiopia G. is primarily to be found below 1,500 m A.S.L. (↗ecological zones of *bäräha* and ↗*qʷälla*), in the *wərč̣* and high *wərč̣* (above 3,200 m A.S.L.), but also in parts of the dry ↗*wäyna däga* (1,500 m to 2,300 m A.S.L.) and ↗*däga* (2,300 m to 3,200 m A.S.L.).

Because of the long-established pastoral and ox-plough systems, it is probable that many of Ethiopia's G. today are man-made, especially in the *wäyna däga* and *däga*, with areas cleared of shrub, trees and forests over the last 2,000 years or longer. Depending on socio-cultural and demographic patterns, in certain regions land use may have suffered several changes, shifting between grazing and cropping areas.

Today G. is important in all agricultural systems which depend on grazing. However, two serious problems threaten the regions concerned and their households: 1) soil degradation through overgrazing and soil erosion make G. vulnerable to climatic and socio-economic instability; 2) when a growth in the population is not natched



Grassland in the Amaaro mountains, photo 1934/35, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (13–KB029–04 M–IP)

by an analogous growth of agricultural productivity, G. tend to be considered as resource-areas for intensifying land use. This option may lead to land conflicts between the pastoralists, farmers, communities and institutions concerned.

↗Environment; Pastoralism

Lit.: FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (ed.), *Grassland Resource Assessment for Pastoral Systems*, Roma 2000 (FAO Plant Production and Protection Paper 162) [Lit.]; HANS HURNI, *Soil Conservation in Ethiopia. Guidelines for Development Agents*, Addis Ababa ^{1}1986, ^{2}1995 (Lit.); HARTMUT LESER (ed.), *Diercke-Wörterbuch Allgemeine Geographie*, München – Braunschweig 1997 (Lit.); ALFONS RITLER *Forests, Land Use and Landscape in the Central and Northern Ethiopian Highlands, 1865 to 1930*, Bern 2003 (Geographica Bernensia, African Studies Series 19) (Lit.); HEINRICH WALTER – SIEGMAR-WALTER BRECKLE, *Vegetation und Klimazonen*: *Grundriß der globalen Ökologie*, Stuttgart ^{7}1999 (Lit.).

Alfons Ritler

Graven, Jean

G. (b. 27 April 1899 Sion, Valais, d. 31 December 1988, Genève) drafted the Ethiopian criminal law codes (↗Criminal Codes, ↗Criminal Procedure Code). After carrying out humanistic studies at the Collège de Sion, G. attended the Faculty of Law, at Geneva University. There he obtained his degree and later his Ph.D., with a dissertation on the development of the law of the Valais until 1798, which earned him a prize.

From 1930, G. worked at the Federal Swiss Insurance Tribunal at Lucerne, and then between 1943 to 1969 as a Professor of Law at Geneva University, being its Rector between 1963–65. Between 1954–56 he was also in Ethiopia, where he moved in 1957 to draft the Ethiopian Penal Code, following an invitation by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. In 1961 G. was involved in the drafting of the Criminal Procedure Code together with his son Philippe. At the UN he acted as an expert on questions related to war criminals and crimes against mankind. Member of the international Pen-Club, he was also a productive writer, earning several prices.

G.'s son was also involved in the development of the Ethiopian law system. From 1954 he was his father's assistant in Addis Abäba and later was appointed secretary of the Imperial Commission of Codification. After his father left Ethiopia in 1956, Philippe Graven was appointed lawyer of the law faculty, in which time he worked on the application of laws and the Criminal Procedure Code. He also taught criminal law and criminal procedure law, even before the foundation of the university, at the University College and at the Police College. He wrote a commentary on the first 84 articles of the Ethiopian Penal Code (s. Aberra Jembere in EAE vol. 1, 813f.). From 1967 to 1993 he taught criminal law and criminal procedure law at Geneva University.

Src.: JEAN GRAVEN, "De l'antique au nouveau droit pénal éthiopien", *La Vie Judiciaire* [Paris] 445, 25 October 1954, 18–23; *ibid.* 446, 30 October 1954, 25–30; ID., "Vers un nouveau droit pénal éthiopien. (De la plus ancienne à la plus récente législation du monde)", *Revue internationale de criminologie et de police technique* [Genève] 4, 1954, 250–80; ID., "Le jubilé du couronnement impérial et la nouvelle législation éthiopienne", *La Vie Judiciaire* [Paris] 525, 30 avril–5 mai 1956, 1–6; *ibid.* 526, 7s–12 mai 1956, 6; ID., *La personnalité du délinquant dans le Code pénal suisse et le Code pénal éthiopien*, Luxembourg 1959 (Cours de la Faculté internationale de droit comparé de Luxembourg); ID., "The Penal Code of the Empire of Ethiopia: Introduction", *Journal of Ethiopian Law* 1, 2, 1964, 267–98 [tr. in Amh.: *ibid.*, 207–66]; ID., "L'enseignement du droit pénal éthiopien: Préface", in: STEVEN LOWENSTEIN, *Materials for the Study of the Penal Law of Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba – Nairobi 1965, VII–XVI; *Le Code pénal de l'Empire d'Ethiopie du 23 juillet 1957, avec une introduction de* JEAN GRAVEN, Paris 1959; "Penal Code of the Empire of Ethiopia of 1957, Proclamation No. 158 of 1957", *Nägarit gazeṭa*, *Extraordinary Issue* 1, 1957; "Criminal Procedure Code of the Empire of Ethiopia", *Nägarit gazeṭa*, *Extraordinary Issue* 1, 1961.

Lit.: *Etudes en l'honneur de Jean Graven*, Genève 1969 (Mémoires publiés par la Faculté de droit de Genève 25) (Lit.; bibliography: 157–81); ABERRA JEMBERE, "Criminal Codes", in: *EAE* I, 813–14.

Heinrich Scholler

Graves

Grave culture in antiquity

As elsewhere in North East Africa, G.-fields in the region of the ancient ↗Aksum were marked by ↗stelae (some of them dated to 5,000–2,000 B.C.; Phillipson 1998:95). The earliest known

Ethiopian G. date back to pre-Aksumite times; it has been claimed that an underground G. near the ancient temple at ↗Yəḥa dates from ca. 750–500 B.C., and perhaps belonged to a pre-Aksumite ↗Dᶜ MT ruler (Phillipson 1998:45).

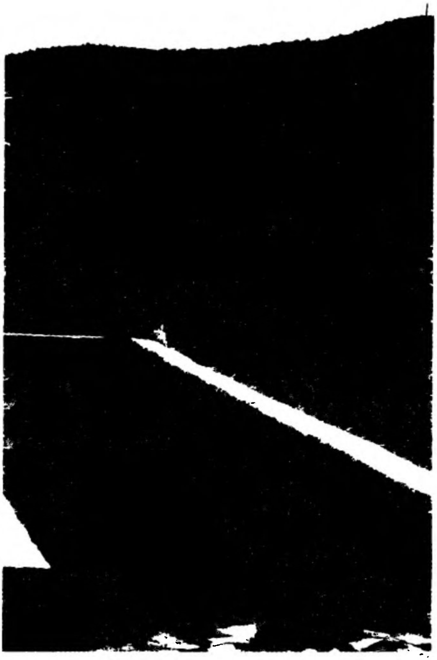
The funerary monuments of the Aksumite, composed of man-made stone platforms and stelae, are usually associated with three main types of tombs: a) pit-G.; b) shaft-tombs; c) staircase tombs.

Pit-G. consists of a) a circular pit, over 2 m deep, cut in the bedrock at the bottom of the platform, or b) two rock-cut shafts. Shaft-tombs are rock-cut tombs, and consist of a quadrangular shaft, 3 m to 8 m deep, at the bottom of which are one or more burial chambers, usually round or roughly square in plan. Staircase tombs consist of rock-cut burial chambers entered by staircases cut in the bedrock. Constructed tombs are either excavated tombs with masonry lined walls or tombs covered with soil.

Proto-Aksumite and Aksumite stone platforms were erected as a superstructure to protect the elite tombs and as a place for the votive offerings to the deceased. Pottery basins often placed on the surface of platforms demonstrate the latter function. The stelae, most distinctive monuments in the Aksum area, were most likely erected to commemorate lineages rather than individuals. They vary from simple unshaped natural monoliths found on ↗Betä Giyorgis hill, to dressed, symmetrical and sculptured stones at Aksum, and range in height from about 2–3 m to over 30 m (all of them bear no inscriptions).

One of the most remarkable Aksumite G., dating from the 3rd cent. A.D., was at ↗Näfas Mawč̣a. This G. is covered by a gigantic block of stone, measuring 17m x 7m x 1m. Also of interest is the "Tomb of the Brick Arches", a G. of the early or mid-4th cent., which lies under a structure of mud-mortared stones, and a horseshoed arch of square bricks. Also dating from the same period was the "Brick Vaulted Tomb", constructed of bricks, held together with mortar. An even larger tomb, now called the Mausoleum, was entered through a massive 15 m square granite doorway, and flanked by ten adjacent rooms. Of somewhat later construction is the "Tomb of the False Door" (with a false door facade), probably dating from the late 4th or early 5th cent., of a typical Aksumite shape with symmetrical recessed facades. Long better known were the tombs attributed by tradition to the 6th-cent. kings Kaleb (↗Ǝnda Kaleb) and ↗Gäbrä Mäsqal, which consist of two underground granite chambers, with a double superstructure, and a 40 m long facade, with two columned halls set on a platform reached by a staircase (MHAksum 125–33). It seems that tradition to cut this type of mausoleum-like G. continued until the end of the Aksumite epoch and perhaps later, as it is witnessed by structures in ↗Dəgum, Bärak̲it and ↗Ḥawzen.

Since the beginning of archaeological research of the region by the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition, substantial burial deposits (pottery, iron, bronze, silver and glass artifacts, coins etc.) were unearthed almost intact: e.g., in the Tomb of the Brick Arches, burials at the so-called Gudit Stelae Field (near ↗Dungur), in some shaft-tombs and elsewhere (however, most of the G. were opened and their contents robbed many centuries ago). It has been postulated that the dead of high rank would be buried ornately dressed, with their jewellery, and laid in individual stone coffins; persons of lower status would be buried more



Aksumite grave near Aksum; in the background, a stele as a tomb marker; photo 1972/74, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main, ODT.02.05.01 0044 modestly, without a coffin, and with only few artefacts, perhaps only pottery, glassware and few iron tools (MHAksum 255ff.). This practice demonstrate that the Aksumites believed in the next world and were "deeply concerned with the well-being of their kings and other citizens after death" (ibid. 125).

Lit.: DAE II; FRANCIS ANFRAY, "L'archéologie d'Axoum en 1972", *Paideuma* 18, 1972, 60–78; BrakKirche 42 (Lit.); RODOLFO FATTOVICH – KATHRYN A. BARD – LORENZO PETRASSI – VINCENZO PISANO, *The Aksum Archaelogical Area: A Preliminary Assessment*, Napoli 2000; DAE II; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, *Ancient Ethiopia: Aksum, its Antecedents and Successors*, London 1998, 45, 95; MHAksum 125–33, 255ff., s. index.

Rodolfo Fattovich

Grave culture in Christian regions

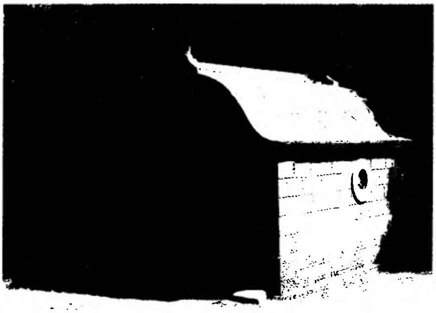
The coming of ↗Christianity brought about new features in burial practice and G.-culture, which became particularly prominent with the gradual decline of the Aksumite ↗architecture (and, later, with the movement of the centre of the Ethiopian state to the south). No more stelae were erected; burial places moved towards churches. Characteristics of the newly emerged G.-culture were influenced by the Christian doctrine with its concerns over the soul, its destiny after the death, the Resurrection and the Last Judgement (↗*Dägəm maṣᵓatu läkrəstos*; ↗Eschatology). The funeral ceremony retained some pre-Christian features, but it was regulated, first of all, according to the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät* (↗*Fəthat*; ↗Funerals); the rituals following thereafter were aimed on the care of the soul of the dead (↗*Täzkar*). The main (but strict) requests was that the corpses of the dead should not remain unburied, and that the burial should not take place "without the Church" (Dillmann 1884:66).

Ethiopian Christian rulers of post-Aksumite times often had their G. in prominent churches, many of which they had themselves erected. *Aṣe* Bäᵓədä Maryam was buried in the church of ↗Däbrä Nägʷädʷad (Amhara), and Naᶜod in that of ↗Mäkanä Śəllase (BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 257). Remains of some other monarchs rest on islands in Lake Ṭana. The emperors Dawit II, Yəkunno Amlak, Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob and Zädəngəl, as well as the subsequent Gondärine rulers Fasilädäs and Bäkaffa, were laid to rest in ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos (ChTana 142f.). The body of *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa), her son *aṣe* Iyasu II and grandson Iyoᵓas were preserved at the church of ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam, near Gondär. *Nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam, who died in 1901, was buried at the church of that name at ↗Däbrä Marqos (ChTana 36).

In the monasteries the problem of burial was solved in different ways. In some places G. were cut directly in the rocks around the establishment (↗Däbrä Damo); sometimes natural caves were used for this purpose (↗Gʷəḥ). In some places there are funeral chapels, or the large caves with many graves on different levels (↗Däbrä Mäᶜar). Often more than one body was put in a grave. Some of them are overcrowded and treated more as the *ostoaria* then the graves. As *ostoaria* were also used clay vessel, sometimes many meters large and high (Saida Gäbrä Gälila Maryam in Wag).

According to an old Christiam custom, the G. are deprived of inscriptions or other signs identifying the defuntes. In case of important persons, including emperors and high ecclesiastics, the identity of remains is usually preserved by the local tradition only (cp. the burial of *abba* Sälama Käśate Bərhan at ↗Ǝnda Abba Sälama). Devout Christians, both nobles and commoners, were completely "depersonified" in their corporal death (this being "balanced" by the hope for eternal life of the soul). It was not uncommon for them to order, as the last will, their bones be carried for re-burial or deposition at some holy site, usually a church or a monastery (the most pious cherishing the dream of being buried in ↗Jerulsalem). These sites where the ↗relics of saints were kept or which were famous as particularly holy places show a concentration of graves of different kinds, for instance ↗Lalibäla or ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos (at some of them, like ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, large depots of bones have been recorded).

The tradition of burial in mausolea probably dates back at least to the ↗Gondärine kingdom and its architectoral tradition. The bones of the "king-martyr", *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, and of the members of his family were deposited on Məṣraḥa island (in Lake ↗Ṭana) in a "big rock-and-mortar building with an arched roof and stone steps going down twelve feet to the vaults" (ChTana 190f.). This notable development was maintained in the second half of the 18th cent. in ↗Šäwa, as a mausoleum was erected at Ankobär for *märədazmač* ↗Amməḥa Iyäsus. *Märədazmač* ↗Wäsän Sägäd reportedly erected his own mausoleum decorated with paintings showing battles and the hunting of wild animals (Rochet



Mausoleum of Ṣägga Zäʾab, Ǝtissa, Däbrä Ṣəlaləš; photo 2004, courtesy of Denis Nosnitsin

d'Héricourt 1841:215ff.). The 19th and even more so the 20th cent. witnessed the construction of larger and finer stone mausolea. *Nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase is reputed to have erected stone mausolea for the relics of Ṣägga Zäʾab and Ǝgziʾ Ḫaräya, parents of 13th-14th-cent. *abba* Täklä Haymanot, at ↗Ǝtissa Däbrä Ṣəlaləš, in Bulga. Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa became a site of imposing mausolea for *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase, who died in 1900, and *ras* ↗Abatä Bwayaläw in 1917. Stone mausolea were also built in other parts of the country, notably at ↗ʿAdwa (Bent 1896:127). In Addis Abäba, one of the earliest stone mausolea was that of *käntiba* Zäʾamanuʾel, who died in 1918. Much more imposing, however, was that for *aṣe* Mənilək II, Empresses Ṭaytu, Zäwditu, and of Princess Ṣäḥay Ḫaylä Śəllase in the Bäʾata Church, constructed by the engineers who were also responsible for the construction of the Djibouti railway (Karl Haertel, a German, being one of them).

The G. of Christians of ordinary rank, in the late 19th-early 20th cent., were situated in the vicinity of churches, without headstones (Rey 1923:79). Today, the G. of Christian Amhara may be marked with headstones if the family can afford it; they may be covered with concrete, or they are just protected with a sheet of corrugated iron (Aspen 2001:89-102). The tombstones for individuals, or occasionally families, may be inscribed in Amharic with the name of the deceased, and the date of death (or, in some cases, with a kind of epitaphy; ↗*Ǝngʷərgʷəro*). Rural G. may be marked with a circumference of rocks around it, allowing it to gradually disappear by the growth of the surrounding bush and by the impact of rain (Messing 1985:232).

Some use was however also made of *sänbäte bet*, or communion houses, i.e. "burial-houses" erected over the actual G., with the floor "cunningly smoothed over with plaster so that none would know that a body lay buried beneath" (Walker 1933:64f.). Some such houses, for persons of status, might be of stone, but without windows. The largest of such houses might be eight cubits square (ibid. 54f.).

Traditionally, cemeteries are placed near or in the parish churchyard. The assigned area for G. reflects the socio-religious hierarchy. Priests, monks and other servants of the church as well as pious Christians are buried inside the outer fence; people of higher standing are buried closer to the church, inside the inner fence or inside the church itself. Persons who have died by drowning, by falling from a cliff, by being eaten by wild beasts, or by committing suicide are not buried in the churchyard and are not entitled to church rites (Fassika Bellete 1957:21). G. for Muslims are normally set apart from those of Christians.

The G. is dug by members of the burial association (↗*Ǝddər* and የአፈር ፡ ቅሬ, *yäʾafär qəre*) in an east-west direction. It has a rectangular shape which narrows from east to west. It is rather shallow, about three feet deep, and is just long enough to accommodate the corpse (Fassika Bellete 1957: 22f.). The head is pointed east (Shack 1974:43). If relatively flat stones are available, they may be used on the floor of the G.; they may also be used on top of the corpse if there is n o coffin. The poor cannot afford coffins and are buried wrapped in a cloth. In earlier days coffins were made of either hollowed acacia trunks or of acacia bark (Aspen 2001:90f.). The G. may have some ritual significance at the later memorial services (Debebew Zellelie 1957:29f.); after the Mass, the *täzkar*-commemoration continues in private homes and, for the priests, in "dedicated houses" (ደጀ ፡ ሰላም, *däğä sälam*) in the churchyard.

The principal graveyard for Ethiopian as well as European Catholics, Armenians, Greeks, and other foreigners was established at Gullälle, on the borders of Addis Abäba, around 1906, the year when the Russian envoy General Lishin was buried there. Tombstones with photographs of the deceased became more common after Ethiopia's Liberation in 1941, when they also tended to be larger and more ornate. Church G. buildings, in which coffins were packed side by side on shelves, came into use towards the end of the imperial period.

Src.: DillmZarY 66; KaneDic; ChTana 36, 142f.; CRAVEN HOWELL WALKER, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933, 54f., 64f.; JAMES THEODORE BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, London ²1896, 127; ROCHET D'HÉRICOURT, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la Mer rouge, dans le pays des Adels et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1841, 215ff.; ACHILLE RAFFRAY, *Abyssinie*, Paris 1880, 196ff.; BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 111, n. 1 (Lit.), 257.

Lit.: CHARLES FERNAND REY, *Unconquered Abyssinia as it is today...*, London 1923, 79f.; PankSoc 98, 196; HARALD ASPEN, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AethFor 58), 89-102; DEBEBEW ZELLELIE, *"Täskar* or *kurban"*, *Ethnological Society Bulletin* 1, 7, 1957, 29–34 [repr. in: ALULA PANKHURST (ed.), *Addis Ababa University College. Ethnological Society Bulletin vol. I, nos. 1–10 and vol. II, no. 1. Reprint*, Addis Ababa 2002, 212–15]; FASSIKA BELLETE, "The Death Customs among the Amharas of Šäwa", *ibid.* 29–34 [repr. in: *ibid.*, 204–11]; NEGGA TESSEMA, "The Death Customs in the Province of Tigre", *ibid.* 1, 5, 1955, 13–24, here 16 [repr. in: *ibid.*, 108–15, here 111]; WILLIAM A. SHACK, *The Central Ethiopians Amhara, Tigriña and Related Peoples*, London 1974 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, Part 4, North-Eastern Africa), 43.

Richard Pankhurst - Harald Aspen

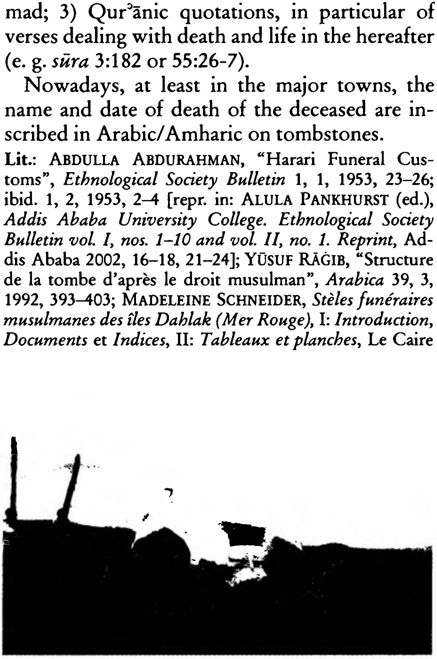
Grave culture in the Muslim regions

According to Islamic traditional law two kinds of G. are acceptable: the *laḥd*, the lateral G. which is dug down the side of the body, oriented towards ↗Mecca, and the *šaqq*, in which the pit is located in the middle of the tomb. As the Prophet ↗Muḥammad was buried in a *laḥd*, most Muslims prefer the lateral G., using the *šaqq* only when obliged by the friability of the soil or by the size of the corpse. No universal consent was reached by the four major Islamic legal schools on the depth of the G. The Šāfiᶜīs, who represent the majority of Ethiopian ↗Islam, favour a deep G. (up to 2,50 m) while the Mālikīs, who are widely present in Eritrea, prefer more superficial G. (60 cm). A great disagreement exists on the materials to be used for the building of a G., even though all the Islamic jurists unanimously consider green bricks as lawful. As for the exterior shape of the G., a great part of the Islamic legal scholars teach that a G. should be a span high, convex (a flat G. being a characteristic of Šiᶜī Muslims) and made easily recognizable by stones or pieces of wood. Burial pits are normally dug for only one person, but collective G. are not uncommon. Since many believers are persuaded that the blessing power of a saint (↗Saints) can take them to paradise, they are eager to be buried near G. of ↗holy men. Many Islamic cemeteries thus grew near the shrine of a *walī* (*qubba*, *maqām*), which may sometimes assume the structure of an imposing funeral building.

Gravestones with Islamic funerary ↗inscriptions, belonging to a lapse of time between the 11th and the 16th cent., were found in various regions of Ethiopia. A small amount of twin stelae has also been discovered: in fact, an Islamic G. may have two tombstones, one at the head and another at the feet of the buried person. All the gravestones show a certain degree of variety in calligraphic and ornamental patterns, which reflect the different level of technical capability and of artistic sensibility of the craftsmen. In particular, some of the gravestones of the necropolis of ↗Dahlak are remarkable for their refined beauty (Schneider 1983:51-58), while others are very simple and coarse. The language used to indicate the name of the buried person and the date of his decease is exclusively ↗Arabic, everywhere in Ethiopia. Other elements very often present in the epitaphs are: 1) a number of Arabic eulogical expressions for the departed; 2) the standardized formulas of blessings upon the prophet Muḥammad; 3) Qur'ānic quotations, in particular of verses dealing with death and life in the hereafter (e. g. *sūra* 3:182 or 55:26-7).

Nowadays, at least in the major towns, the name and date of death of the deceased are inscribed in Arabic/Amharic on tombstones.

Lit.: ABDULLA ABDURAHMAN, "Harari Funeral Customs", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* 1, 1, 1953, 23–26; ibid. 1, 2, 1953, 2–4 [repr. in: ALULA PANKHURST (ed.), *Addis Ababa University College. Ethnological Society Bulletin vol. I, nos. 1–10 and vol. II, no. 1. Reprint*, Addis Ababa 2002, 16–18, 21–24]; YŪSUF RĀĠIB, "Structure de la tombe d'après le droit musulman", *Arabica* 39, 3, 1992, 393–403; MADELEINE SCHNEIDER, *Stèles funéraires musulmanes des îles Dahlak (Mer Rouge)*, I: *Introduction, Documents* et *Indices*, II: *Tableaux et planches*, Le Caire



A Muslim shrine in Arsi; photo by Ulrich Braukämper, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (037–Br026–06)

1983 (Textes arabes et études islamiques 19/1, 19/2), vol. 1, 51–58; Janine Sourdel-Thomine – Yvon Linant De Bellefonds, "Ḳabr", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 4, 352–55.

Alessandro Gori

Grave culture in southern Ethiopia

Although G. culture differs largely among the several groups of southern Ethiopia, some common features can be distinguished. G. are mostly individual, without access and below the earth. Exceptions are the "death-huts" in which kings or ritual leaders are kept to be buried later on (e.g., ↗Basketo, ↗Komo, ↗Konso and ↗Maale), or in which the dead are placed for their final rest (e.g., ↗Bäšada, ↗Hamär, ↗Šeko). Šeko-leaders are wrapped in *ənsät* leaves and left on poles in a designed area in the bush.

The marker of the tombs are usually mounds, either of earth or of stones. The Hamär, ↗Banna and Bäšada additionally place a small stele (*baba*) on this mound when the tomb is of a married man or of woman with children. The Ṣamay mark the place of the dead's head by erecting a stone and in some areas of Konso each tomb is marked with a wooden statue depicting the defunct.

Among several groups – ↗Koorete (Amarro), ↗Arsi, Basketo, Berb-Burun, Komo, ↗Dime, Ǧumǧum, ↗Käfa, Konso, Maale, ↗Mao, ↗Mabaan, Šeko, Uduk etc. – the G. has been reported of consisting of a pit with a lateral niche in which the dead is placed. Among the ↗Boorana, it is reserved for rich and influential persons. In ↗Sidaamo, this type of tomb is known to have existed since about the 12th cent. The northern ↗Guǧǧi as well as the ↗Aari construct a rim in the tomb, on which wooden sticks are placed before closing the G. "to prevent the earth to fall on the dead man's face" (Schulz-Weidner in Jensen 1959:153). Other groups, like the Hamär, Banna, Bäšada, Suri and ↗Meʾen, lay the dead in a simple round hole.

Sidaama grave (of an uncircumcised man); photo 1954/55 by Elisabeth Pauli, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (027–Pa005–28)

According to the reports, no enduring funeral deposit seems to be placed into the tombs, except that Koorete high officials are supposed to be buried with their ↗*kallačča*. Basketo and Dime cover the ground of the G. with leaves of *ənsät* before posing the dead. Boorana, Dime and Konso spill some blood of sacrificed animals in the G., whilst the Southern ↗Gonga spill honey and milk.

In many southern societies, the dead body is buried in a crouched position, but some, like the ↗Kambaata, Konso, ↗Nayi, have adopted the Christian way of burial. Among the Maale and the Boorana, a man is laid on his right side (in Boorana facing east), a woman on her left side (in Boorana facing west). The Aari bury a body so that the feet point in the direction of the supposed origin of his clan. In Ṣamay the dead should face the direction of his clan-origin, which, however, should never be west. Neither of the groups bury adults completely naked, rather covering the bodies with a cloth or tie them into a skin.

In societies with a ↗*gadaa* system, the location of burial depends largely on the grade the defunct achieved in this system before his death. In other societies, the location may differ according to the rituals that had been accomplished at the time of the death, such as birth-ritual, ↗circumcision and initiation. In ↗Burǧi, ↗Gidiččo, some regions of Konso, Ṣamay and Šeko, we find cemeteries, often organized by clan affiliation. Among Banna, Bäšada, Meʾen, Hamär and some Konso the G. are dispersed in the bush. The Meʾen, Suri and Šeko bury common people near to the dead persons' hut, whilst the deceased of the Dizi are buried underneath their hut.

Remarkable are the cenotaphs – reminiscences of deceased enemy-killers or hunters of ferocious animals (↗Meritorious complex). Some ↗Arsi G. of such men are surmounted by high tumuli and surrounded with decorated stele. Anthropomorphic stelae with spears and other signs mark many ancient G. in the region which is today called ↗Gurage; in Sidaama, ancient stelae have been found in great number. Still today, the Gawwada and Konso erect stelae to remember a killer of men or of dangerous animals. The Koorete, Gideo, Wälaytta, Burǧi, Guǧǧi, Leeqaa

(↗Leeqaa Neqemte), Boorana hang the trophies of a defunct in trees near to the G. or a pathway, and in Konso, killer-heroes are remembered by erected groups of statues carved in wood which stand along a pathway or a communal place. The Sidaama and Oromo of Wälaytta also used to place anthropomorphic wooden statues or reproductions of hunted animals from wood or *ənsät* leafs on the G. or near the pathways. In the Gamu highlands, the G. of such heroes are surrounded with bamboo fences, those of the Koorete heroes and high officials with pointed wooden boards. The Burği distinguish the G. of hunters of buffaloes, which are decorated with forked staffs, from those of hero-killers, decorated with ostrich-eggs. As many passers-by as possible should notice the cenotaphs and, thus, remember the fame of the defunct. Several groups plant trees at G. site (e.g., Meʾen, Dita, Dorze: trees; Arsi: euphorbia; Bayso: sansivieria; Oromo from Wälaytta: grass). On the cemetry of Tuto Fela, microlithic obsidian tools have been found in the graves, as well as a stone axe and pottery that were probably positioned on top (Jousseaume 1995:89).

Lit.: JON ABBINK, "Funeral as Ritual: an Analysis of Meʾen Mortuary Rites", *Africa* [Roma] 47, 2, 1992, 221–36; FRANÇOIS AZAÏS – ROGER CHAMBARD, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Ethiopie*, Paris 1931, 85, 245–56, 272; V. CHOLLET – H. NEUVILLE, "Note préliminaire sur les mégalithes observés dans le Soddo (*Abyssinie meridionale*)", *Bulletin de la société philomathique de Paris* 7, Paris 1905; "The Kesho Nationality: Burial Practices", *The Ethiopian Herald* 55, 1998, 20 December 1998; EIKE HABERLAND – HELMUT STRAUBE, "Nordost Afrika", in: HERMANN BAUMANN (ed.), *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre traditionellen Kulturen*, Wiesbaden 1979, 69–156; EIKE HABERLAND, "Grabsteine der Arussi und ihre Beziehung zu megalithischen Denkmälern und Totenmalen anderer äthiopischer Völker", *Acta Ethnographica* 7, 1–2, 1963, 100–38; ARNOLD W. HODSON, "Southern Abyssinia", *The Geographical Journal* 53, 1919, 65-80, here 76 (ill.); ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN (ed.), *Im Lande des Gada*, Stuttgart 1936, 143f., 201f., 412–80; VSAe I, 84, 153, 167–87, 222, 259–62, 270, 367, 412; II, 51f., 67f., 139, 203, 214, 223, 226, 253; ROGER JOUSSEAUME, *Tiya, l'Ethiopie des Mégalithes*, Chauvigny 1995 (Mémoire 11); MARCELLO RICCI, "Usanze funerarie degli Arbore, degli Amar e dei Gheleba nel sud etiopico", *RSE* 3, 1943, 214–22; JOHN HAMER, *Humane Development: Participation and Change Among the Sadama of Ethiopia*, Tuscaloosa 1987, 91; DIETRICH HEINRICH WASSMANN, *Das Oromovolk auf unserm abessinischen Missionsfelde*, Hermannsburg 1935, 48, 65; HELLMUT WOHLENBERG, *Im südlichen Abessinien: Reiseberichte von Oktober 1934 bis Mai 1935*, Hildesheim – New York 1988.

Nicole Poissonnier

Graziani, Rodolfo

G. (b. 11 August 1882, Filettino, d. 11 January 1955, Rome) was an Italian officer who played a leading role in the Italian expeditions to Libya, ↗Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia. He also took part in ↗World War II, when Mussolini planned to invade Egypt to renew the "glory" of the ancient Roman Empire.

He entered the army in 1904 and had a rapid career. In 1908 he was dispatched to Eritrea as commander of the 1st *Battaglione Indigeni* at ʿAddi Wəgri (↗Mändäfära). He was back to Italy in 1912; in the next year, when he married Ines Chionetti, he already was a captain. During World Wat I, at the age of 36 he became the youngest colonel of the Italian army of the time.

As an officer, G. was notorious for his brutality and toughness. In 1930 he was appointed by Mussolini as deputy to General ↗Badoglio in Barka, Libya. There he succeeded in nearly eradicating the colony. Many inhabitants were killed or sent to prisons. G. created special courts, the *tribunali volanti*, which gained him the local appellation of "butcher of the Arabs". There Libyan opponents were condemned, with great dispatch, and sentences were executed publicly. Wells were blocked with cement and many of his opponents were thrown from planes and crashed to their deaths.

In February 1935 G. was appointed governor-general of Italian Somaliland and commander of the expeditionary force, in preparation for the invasion of Ethiopia, ordered by Mussolini in October 1935. Aiming less at the defeat than the total annihilation of the enemy, during the ↗Italian War 1935–36 G. deployed the most deadly weapons, including gas, banned by international law. He was likewise proud to have under his command the Libya Division, known for not taking any prisoners.

G. reached Addis Abäba in May 1936, and was then appointed Marshal of the Italian army and Viceroy of Ethiopia. In the latter capacity, at the end of the war, he also ordered the elimination of the remains of the imperial army; and implemented a wide range of suppressive measures, especially against the local nobility. As a reaction he became the target of an assassination attempt (followed by the ↗Graziani massacre). On 6 October 1937 he was removed from Ethiopia and granted the title of Marchese di Neghellì.

Upon the launch of World War II, G. was re-appointed general commander of the Italian army in Libya. After the war G. was sentenced by an Italian jury to 19 years imprisonment for collaborationism, but was released shortly after in 1950. During his last years he participated actively in the re-establishment of Fascism with the neo-Fascist party *Movimento Sociale Italiano*. G. wrote a number of books glorifying his victories and the fascist ideology.

↗Italian war 1935–36

Src.: RODOLFO GRAZIANI, *Il fronte sud: con prefazione del Duce*, Milano 1938; ID., *Africa settentrionale, 1940–41*, Roma 1948; ID., *Pace Romana in Libia*, Milano 1934; ID., *Una vita per l'Italia: "ho difeso la patria": con un inedito diario dei giorni della prigionia*, Milano 1998; documents in the Archivio di Stato, Roma; ISIAO, Roma; Italian Foreign Ministry's archives; Libyan Centre for the Study of the Libyan Struggle against Italian Occupation.
Lit.: PIERO BARONI, *Generali nella polvere: perché abbiamo perduto in Africa settentrionale (giugno 1940–febbraio 1941)*, Gardolo di Trento ca. 1989; GIUSEPPE BEDENDO, *Le gesta e la politica del generale Graziani*, Roma 1936; ANGELO DEL BOCA, "Graziani, Rodolfo", in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 58, Roma 2002, 829–35 (Lit.); FEDERICO CHABOD, *A History of Italian Fascism*, London 1963; LUDWIG SCHAEFER, *The Ethiopian Crisis: Touchstone of Appeasement?*, Boston 1961, 38–55; SANDRO SANDRI, *Il generale Rodolfo Graziani*, Roma n.d.

Shawki El Gamal

Graziani massacre

On 19 February 1937, whilst attending a ceremony celebrated at the ↗Gännätä Ləʿul palace, the Viceroy Rodolfo ↗Graziani suffered a failed assassination attempt. The perpetrators were two Eritreans, ↗Abrəha Däboč̣ and ↗Mogäs Asgädom, with the complicity of the taxi-driver Səmʿon Adäfrəs, who had provided them with hand-explosives and a car. The attempt, in which Graziani was seriously wounded, was followed by a devastating reprisal. For three days, Italian and Eritrean soldiers and civilians ravaged the indigenous areas of Addis Abäba, killing more than 4,000 people. The following days the more progressive members of the Ethiopian intelligentsia – including several foreign-educated ones – were killed, as well as not less than 2,500 story- and fortune-tellers who had pleaded guilty of having announced from village to village the coming end of the Italian occupation.

Convinced that the perpetrators had enjoyed the help of the monks from ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, Graziani ordered General Pietro Maletti to advance towards the holy place. According to Graziani's own account to Mussolini, the number of monks, priests and deacons shot dead would have been 449. Yet, according to field research done by Ian L. Campbell and Däggəfe Gäbrä Ṣadiq in the late 1990s, the actual number probably was between 1,423 and 2,033.

Whilst these summary executions were perpetrated, Graziani deported to Italy hundreds of Ethiopian noblemen and imprisoned thousands of presumed opponents in the concentration camps of Noqra and Dänane, where 3,175 Ethiopians were killed. The excesses of Graziani brought Mussolini, so far a supporter of his tactics, to replace him at the end of 1937 with Amedeo di ↗Savoia, Duke of Aosta, whilst the country was in full uprising.

Lit.: ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale*, vol. 3: *La caduta dell'impero*, Roma – Bari 1982, 77–106; ID., "Un lager del fascismo: Danane", in: ID., *L'Africa nella coscienza degli italiani: miti, memorie, errori, sconfitte*, Roma – Bari 1992, 41–57; IAN L. CAMPBELL – DEGIFE GABRETSADIK, "La repressione fascista in Etiopia: la ricostruzione del massacro di Debra Libanos", *Studi piacentini* 21, 1997, 79–128; IAN L. CAMPBELL, "Il massacro segreto di Engecha", *ibid.* 24-25, 1999, 23–46.

Angelo Del Boca

Grazmač ↗Azmač

Grébaut, Sylvain

G. (b. 22 December 1881, Gournay-en-Bray, Normandy, d. 26 November 1955, Caen, Normandy) was a distinguished French Ethiopisant. While attending the seminary of Rouen, he met Maronite students, who may have first inspired his keen interest in Oriental studies. During the years 1904 and 1905 he studied at the Biblical School of Jerusalem, together with the future Cardinal Eugène ↗Tisserant. On returning to France, in 1907 G. was ordained priest and in 1913 he was put in charge of the parish of Neufmarché.

In 1926, Pope Pius XI sent G. to Ethiopia with the task of acquiring manuscripts for the ↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, where, at that time, Tisserant was in charge of the Oriental manuscripts. The catalogue of both the 165 manuscripts G. brought to Rome, mostly from Šäwa, and those already in the old funds of the Bibliotheca appeared in 1935–36 (GreTisVat).

From 1926 to 1952 G. taught Gəʿəz in the Institut Catholique in Paris. From 1941 he was also giving complementary courses in various subjects at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, under the directorship of Marcel ↗Cohen. From 1929 on he was a prelate of His Holiness.

In the words of Tubiana (1965), G. was a "discreet, never-tiring and zealous" person who "knew Gəʿəz as a real *däbtära*". He devoted his scholarly life to philological works and translations that appeared in the *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* or ↗*Patrologia Orientalis*. His catalogues and his supplement to Dillmann's *Lexicon* (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1952) are valuable contributions to ↗Ethiopian studies. In addition to that, between the years 1922 and 1938, time when there was no regular periodical on Ethiopian studies, he created and nourished a scholarly bulletin – influential in spite of its desultory appearance and change of name: ↗*Æthiops* (1922–23), ↗*Æthiopica* (1933–36), *Æthiops* (1936, 1938).

Src.: Sylvain Grébaut, "Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la Bibliothèque Ambrosienne", *ROC* 29, 1933–34, 3–23; Id., *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Griaule. Tome second. Sections VII–IX. VII, hagiographie. VIII, homélies-panégyriques. IX, Malkeʿe et salâm*, Paris 1941 (Miscellanea africana Lebaudy. Cahier 3); Id., *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Griaule. Tome 3e. Sections 10–11. 10. Textes poétiques divers. 11. Livres de plain-chant*, Paris 1944 (Université de Paris. Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'ethnologie 30); GrebSLex; GreTisVat; GrebGriaule.

Lit.: *Mémorial du Cinquantenaire: 1914–1964. École des Langues orientales anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*, Paris 1964; Joseph Tubiana, "Notice sur les travaux de Sylvain Grébaut, 1881–1955", *JA* 253, 1965, 123–49; Id., "*Æthiops – Æthiopica – Æthiops*, 1922–1938, Sylvain Grébaut à la tâche", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 7–26.

Alain Rouaud

Greece, relations with

Early relations with Greece

Since the beginnings of Ethiopian civilization, there existed connections with the Greek world, especially through ↗Egypt: hence the ancient Ethiopic description for 'Greece' and 'Greeks' *Ṣər(ə)ʿ/-r(ə)ʾ*, which seems to have first indicated Hellenized Egypt (Fiaccadori 2004:141f., 157; cp. ↗*Färänğ*). Links between ↗Aksum and the ↗Byzantine empire existed in several areas of mutual interest. However, after direct ties were severed by the Muslim expansion in the eastern Mediterranean and Red Sea, only sporadic relations existed between the Greeks and Ethiopia. With the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453, a number of Greeks is supposed to have sought refuge in Ethiopia (Petrides 1945:11). In the 16th cent., the Portuguese found there several foreigners, and ↗Alvarez reports that the only non-Muslim merchants were "Roumes from Greece" (BeckHuntAlvar 187, 275f.). The chronicle of ↗Gälawdewos mentions foreigners from Rome, viz. Constantinople, and G. residing in Ethiopia (ConzGal 158). Late in the 17th cent. Demetrius, from the island of Skopelos, rose to some political prominence at ↗Iyasu I's court. According to the French Consul in Cairo De Maillet, he was "l'un des premiers ministres" of the Emperor, and married one of the latter's daughters (BecRASO XIV, 38-49; Dapontes 1872:89). At the beginning of the 18th cent., a Greek fishing-boat captain was sent to Bombay on an unspecified royal mission; in the 1720s *nəguś* ↗Bäkaffa employed two Greeks known as Demetrius and Giyorgis to construct a vessel on Lake Ṭana (BecRASO XIV, 341f., GuiIohan 337f.).

In the late Middle Ages, contacts also continued on the Greek island of ↗Cyprus, which was to house the Ethiopians who had left Palestine after the fall of ↗Jerusalem to the Muslims in 1189. They lived with the Copts in the monastery of St. Anthony of Famagostā. An Ethiopian community was then centering, at least from the 16th cent., in the church of the Holy Saviour at Nicosia, the capital city of the island. This community was fairly large and at one point consisted of 50 individuals. There is also evidence of Ethiopian farmers in the Nicosia area. There the Ethiopians collected local traditions incorporating them into their collection of the Miracles of Mary (↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*). In an Ethiopian manuscript of the Vatican Library two such miracles taking place in Cyprus are recounted (CerPal vol. 2, 1–11, 33–37; Cerulli 1970:178–86; Fiaccadori 1989:197f., n. 1).

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 187, 275; BecRASO XIV, 341f.; CerPal vol. 2, 1-11, 31-37, 43, 94, 155ff.; GuiIohan 337f.; Enrico Cerulli, "Two Ethiopian Tales on the Christians of Cyprus", *JES* 5, 1, 1967, 1–8 [= *Abba Salama* 1, 1970, 178–86]; ConzGal 158; Kesarios Dapontes, "Historikòs Katálogos", in: K.N. Sathas (ed.), *Meseōnikì Bibliothíki*, vol. 5, Venetia 1872, 89.

Lit.: P. Petrides, *Tò méllōn toû Hellinismoû en Ethiopía*, Athens 1945, 11; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–69, here 157f., n.1; Id., "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 141f. 157.

Theodore Natsoulas

Modern relations with Greece and Greek presence in Ethiopia

From the 16th cent. to the mid-18th cent., Greek presence in Ethiopia consisted of isolated individuals who made their way to the central highlands. There is some evidence of Greek merchants, a royal adviser and physician and ship builders on Lake ↗Ṭana. In the mid-18th cent. a small number of Greek craftsmen and merchants who fled from Smyrna and the Aegean islands arrived in Ethiopia. They were involved in the economic, social and political life of the country. Greek presence in Ethiopia is well attested since at least the 18th cent., when the traveller James ↗Bruce testified that *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II was employing Greek craftsmen in his capital ↗Gondär. Intimately tied to the crown and fulfilling fundamental roles in the courts of Iyasu II and his successor, ↗Iyoʾas I, they remained in service until 1771 – when the Ethiopian central authority disintegrated.

The two most prominent Greeks of this early period were George Brakos from Chios and *bäǧərond* Janni from Rhodes. The former was a treasurer and confidant of Iyasu II. Often mentioned by Bruce, Janni had been Iyasu and Iyoʾas's representative in Təgray, and in 1770 was as head of customs there, serving *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul. The leader of the Greek community of the time of Bruce's stay was Janni's brother, Petros, who was Iyoʾas's chamberlain.

Court positions of the Greeks varied from minor to important posts, such as that of royal advisers, treasurers and chamberlains, in both imperial and local courts. Less important positions included those of cook, guide, personal servant, and the like. In addition to official appointments, a few Greeks held high status by rendering some service to the Emperor. In return, they received land and titles. Greek craftsmen, including ↗goldsmiths and painters, were commissioned by Iyasu II to decorate his palace; they also renovated some of the principal buildings of the capital. The Smyrnites introduced the art of filigree in both silver and gold, applied to this date in Ethiopia with notable success. 18th-cent. Greek settlers served in the army as officers and were involved in training and command. They also repaired saddles, bridles, swords and other such military equipment for the ↗cavalry (BruNile vol. 4, 122f., 133f., 211; SaltTrav 421; Dapontes 1872:339).

The "tradition" went on in the 19th cent. However, in sharp contrast to the Smyrnites and the islanders, usually skilled and educated individuals, most of the Greeks arriving during the early 19th cent. proved to be an uneducated roughhewn lot that showed scant interest for learning or the arts. Even freed from the Ottoman rule, after 1830, G. remained a very poor country and, being Orthodox Christians, the Greek had an ambiguous status in Europe. Ethiopia was, therefore, a realm where they could express their identity and find self-realization. Greeks took employment with regional overlords during the first half of the century and with Ethiopian emperors later on. The 19th and the very first years of the 20th cent. were the golden age for those who were sometimes referred to as *yäfäränǧ barya*, the "white slaves", since they were working in professions that Christian Ethiopians despised.

Greek migrants were appreciated by Ethiopian emperors and landlords for their manual skills and trading experience. Several were employed as gunsmiths and armourers who manufactured ↗firearms and trained Ethiopians in their use. Others were involved in construction and mechanical arts and built bridges, homes, palaces and even a watermill, for instance, for ↗Śahlä Śəllase (1813–47), and for *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II (1855–68). The Greek trade network was also well organized, and many craftsmen increased their income through trade. In the mid-19th cent., Greek merchants were present and active in ↗Kassala, a commercial Sudanese town close to the western boundary of Ethiopia and a crossroad for caravan-roads connecting Egypt and Ethiopia.

During the reigns of Tewodros II and ↗Yoḥannəs IV, a number of Greeks became Ethiopian advocates and pursued Ethiopian interests. Tewodros used to deal with a certain Marcopoulos. Ioannis ↗Koztikas was the most prominent of several Middle East Greek merchants who unsuccessfully attempted to deter the British invasion of Ethiopia in 1868. Regarded almost as an Ethiopian patriot, Kotzikas contributed to the formation of the image of Tewodros as a hero by presenting in Athenian newspapers the Ethiopian side of the Ethio–British conflict and defending the opinion that the retrieval of hostages could have been done without bloodshed.

Other members of the Greek establishment are emblematic figures in the 19th-cent. Ethio–Hellenic relations. *Bälambaras* ↗Giyorgis Fotis, who arrived around 1870 with nothing and who died in 1910 in ↗Addis Abäba as a wealthy man with an Ethiopian family, is a symbol of the success that simple migrants could achieve.

Another eminent figure was Demosthenes Mitsakis (Mitzakis), vice-consul of G. in Suez and the first diplomat sent by the Greek government to Ethiopia. The British sent twice negotiators on behalf of Egypt to conclude a treaty with Ethiopia, and on both occasions Mitzakis was negotiating on behalf of Ethiopia (Kotsikas 1970; Mitsakis 1880). In 1879, during the negotiations with ↗Gordon for the Ethio–Egyptian peace treaty, he acted as a mediator between *aṣe* Yoḥannəs and the English general. In 1884, during the ᶜAdwa treaty, he played the same role for the future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. For his assistance to the ↗Hewett mission, he received a medal from Great Britain. Mitzakis was also concerned with the question of Church unity: on the Greek side, the purpose was to enhance the prestige of the Greek Orthodox Church; on the Ethiopian side, the project was used as a threat to obtain concessions from the Coptic Church.

Nicholas Parisis, a physician, who was in Ethiopia in 1885–86, is said to have been influential at Yoḥannəs IV's court. Like Mitzakis, he was aware of the potential value of Ethiopia for Greeks and was genuinely promoting the country's territorial integrity and independence. Parisis, who was professor of pathology and therapeutics at the National University of Athens, went to Ethiopia in December 1884 to serve as the Emperor's physician, but became embroiled in Ethiopia's disputes with ↗Italy. He detected immediately Italy's colonial ambitions in north-east Africa, and counselled Yoḥannəs about them. Sent by his government, Parisis would have had enough political support to gather information about Italian strategies and, according to Carlo Conti Rossini, seems to have helped preserve Ethiopia's integrity. A colonized and dismembered Ethiopia would have been dangerous for G.'s policy against ↗Turkey, as much as it could have endangered G.'s Red Sea commerce. During his stay, Parisis also scored major successes as a physician. He introduced smallpox vaccination with serum brought from Europe. Parisis also combated ↗malaria, using for the first time in Ethiopia sulphate of quinine as a prophylactic. Besides, he treated tapeworm, syphilitic ulcers, blennorrhea, and dermatic ulcers (Parisis 1888a; 1888b; ↗Diseases).

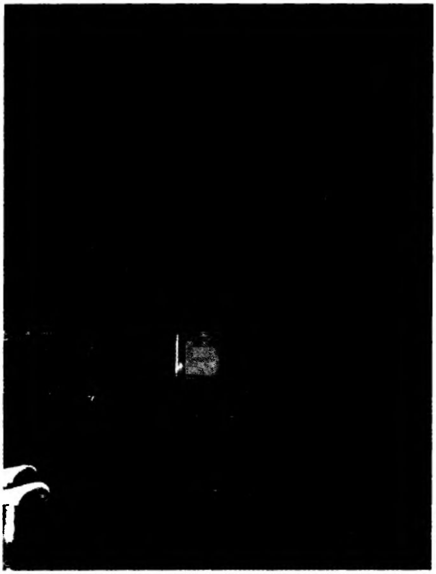
The history of the Greeks in Ethiopia took a different turn late in the 19th cent. From 1896 onward, their presence in the country became more stable and community-oriented. Greeks began to come in larger numbers, gradually bringing their families with them, or establishing families in Ethiopia.

Greek merchants had begun entering Ethiopia through ↗Harär in the early 1880s. Many originally were agents of foreign-based houses, but once in Ethiopia, although remaining representatives of the larger concerns, they established their own business. One of the largest international Greek firms was the Liverato Brothers, whose representatives, such as I. Gerolimatos and the Kalogeropoulos brothers, became successful merchants on their own. The Greeks of Harär were involved in both domestic and international trade. The small shopkeepers sold almost anything, though mostly dealing with metal wares, cloth, arms and ammunition. In international commerce, ↗coffee was their primary export. They purchased it from local planters and/or had their own plantations and exported it to Greek houses in ↗Yemen and Aden that in turn shipped it throughout the world.

For Mənilək II's reign, two periods can be distinguished. From 1889 to 1902, Greek migrants were primarily young single men or married men who left their wives and families behind. Their objective was to gain wealth as quickly as possible and return home. In the urban centres, where the majority of the Greeks settled, they attempted to recreate a "little Greece", with their own communal organization, church and school. Although there are no precise figures, the number of Greeks in these years expanded rapidly. Prior to and immediately after 1896 most Greeks resided in the eastern town of Harär, and in the Italian occupied towns of ↗Asmära, ↗Kärän, and ↗Massawa (Mérab 1922:108f.). In Eritrea approximately 180 Greeks were resident at this time. In Harär, the figure was probably less than 100, most of them single men who were either merchants with ties to ↗Djibouti in French Somaliland or workers engaged in the Franco-Ethiopian Railroad (↗Railways). During the first decade of the 20th cent., most gravitated to the capital.

During these years, Greeks prospered considerably. Their participation in commerce, industry and construction contributed to Ethiopia's economic growth. Besides, Greeks continued playing a political and public role. Some Greeks ran guns to Mənilək in the 1890s, one painted the portraits of Mənilək and his wife, and another was the court dentist in the 1920s. Other Greeks had responsible positions in the Telephone, Telegraphs and Telecommunications, Agriculture and Commerce, and Foreign Ministry Departments.

Among the prominent Greeks of these years



Interior of the Greek Church of Addis Abäba, Piyassa area, July 2004, photo courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

were Christos Papadopoulos, counsellor of Mənilək in 1890, followed by Athanase Sourvis, his private secretary and translator. Andreas E. Kavvadias was the founder and editor of Ethiopia's first Amharic-language newspaper, ↗*A'əmməro* ('Knowledge'), in 1902. In this period, George Zervudakis, a Greek banker in Egypt, organized the arrival of Greek workers and craftsmen in Ethiopia.

The railroad was a vehicle for large-scale Greek penetration into central Ethiopia. Of the ca. 500 Europeans, the Greeks constituted the largest group and were prominent in the construction of the railroad, employed in various positions. The most important were the approximately 15 subcontractors who vied with each other for parts of the line. Skilled workers were brought from G. to complete portions of the line. Greeks were also employed in other capacities, erecting bridges and trestles and setting up the first telephone and telegraph lines. In daily operations they filled such positions as drivers, station guards, stokers, station masters, engineers, chief of districts, and mechanics. Greek repairmen were found not only in the central depots but were scattered along the entire line. Finally, they also established cafes and inns along the most important depots.

After 1902, with the railroad connection to ↗Dərre Dawa, the structure of the Greek community began to change. More and more poor and uneducated migrants arrived, largely through Djibouti, where they had worked on the French railway. A first big influx occurred in 1905, with large numbers of Greeks making their way to the Ethiopian capital. At the very beginning of the 20th cent., the Greeks in Ethiopia numbered more than 300 persons, possibly the largest foreign community after the Armenians. The estimates for Greeks in Addis Abäba rose from 65 in 1906 to 344 in 1910. Another calculation in 1910 combined Armenians with Greeks and estimated that the two comprised 80% of the foreign population, totalling 1,000. Until 1916, Greeks lived in a liminal situation, in which law and order were not always present. These early immigrants, essentially individualistic and rugged, without communal, familial, or religious ties, and living in a community where civil authority was minimal, were often in conflict with each other and with Ethiopians. Those "poor whites" had problems with integrating into society and created serious competition with Gurage people, who also performed most of the hard labour in Addis Abäba at this time. Mənilək tried to regulate their number. Consequently, in 1907, some criteria for admission were set up on the initiative of the Greek community in Addis Abäba, who wanted to avoid any difficulties with Mənilək and Ethiopian authorities. Migrants must be acquainted with a trade or possess at least 100 Maria Theresia thalers over and above the sum required for their journey. No diplomatic representative was sent by Athens at this time. In July 1907, at the request of the Greek government, Britain agreed to assume protection of Greek interests in Ethiopia (Natsoulas 1977: 134–42). A number of Greeks therefore worked for the British Legation in the capacity of vice-consul, consular agent and Oriental secretary. The British consulate offered its services and protection to the Greek community until 1911.

The Commercial Bank of G. was founded in 1907 following the creation of the first Ethiopian bank in 1906 (↗Banks, banking system). In 1909, Souvis played an important role in the foundation of the Banque Nationale d'Agriculture et pour le Développement du Commerce. Greek entrepreneurs created factories, mills, bars and restaurants (the Ṭaytu Hotel was named Hotel Bololakos after the name of its first manager), while traders developed markets in Addis Abäba and in Harär.

Greeks were also gardeners, hair-dressers, tailors, carpenters, masons etc.

After 1916, more Greek families decided to settle in Ethiopia. The establishment of the Greek community can be traced by a few key dates: the first bishop was designated in 1908; the first school built in 1915; the Greek consulate opened in 1918; the first Greek newspaper, "*Ethiopikòs Kósmos*", founded in 1927; a Greek church built in 1935. At this time, the Greek community consisted of approximately 3,000 persons, which made it the second foreign community after the Arabs. They were running some 30 factories, 2 cinemas, 4 garages, 15 import-export enterprises and 20 retail shops. But in one way, this quite exclusive network of Greek institutions in an Ethiopian context prevented the Greek community from a proper integration into Ethiopian society, while some of its members developed a kind of superiority complex, which created some tensions between Greeks and Ethiopians. A prominent personality of this time was Iakovos (James) ↗Zervos who became ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's physician and personal confidant. He never had an official title, but the Emperor bestowed upon him the title of ↗*bitwäddäd* for his services.

In Addis Abäba Greeks were principally involved in four types of enterprises: construction and building trades, small scale or light industry, international and local trade and small shop-keeping and services. Of the ca. 200 European-style houses that were constructed by this time, over 100 had been erected by Greeks. Some of the major public constructions in and around the city included St. George Church (↗Gännätä Ṣəge Giyorgis), constructed by Panayotis Myriallis, following the design of Castagna, the Italian chief engineer of the Emperor. Greek builders were active in the immediate countryside where they constructed roads and bridges. E. Makras, another former railway sub-contractor, built the first paved road from the capital to ↗Addis ʿAläm, with a distance of about 50 km. The contractors and builders employed their own countrymen as masons, carpenters and in other skilled capacities, while generally employing Ethiopians for unskilled labour.

During the first two decades of the century, many Greeks opened small shops, ranging from groceries and bakeries to various repair shops. Virtually all the eating places, inns and cinemas in the capital were owned or managed by Greeks. These small enterprises included Antonopoulos (general store), Mastropetro (gun repair), Pekatos (watchmaker), Kourtessis (general store and café), Ortengatos (Café and restaurant), Balambaras Giyorgis Fotis (curio shop). The first European-style hotel, the Imperial, was run by Bololakos (Natsoulas 1989:219–42).

The growth of Addis Abäba attracted many of the Harär and ↗Djibouti-based Greek mercantile houses. Branches were established in the capital and in many instances the headquarters were transferred. Some of the Greeks became agents of French and British commercial houses that were centred in the Middle East. As in the past, they were principally involved in the export of coffee, and secondarily skins, ↗tobacco and other products.

In the early 20th cent. western Ethiopia was another major area of Greek enterprise. A new international commercial route was established through eastern Sudan and Khartoum. The first Greeks to come to ↗Gambella, the major eastern town, were those that had been active in the eastern Sudan during the 19th cent. and Greek from Cyprus who followed the British after their conquest in 1898. Gambella was in the lowlands, so Greeks tended to settle in the highland towns of ↗Gore, ↗Bure and, especially, ↗Dambi Dolloo. These towns became minor entrepots, and the entire area was opened to trade to Khartoum. In representing several large Sudanese firms as well as establishing their own, Greeks organized the export/import trade of the area, coffee being again the most important export commodity, followed by rubber and bee wax, whilst imports included liquor, textiles and other manufacture products. Some Greeks also received from the court special concessions to exploit the agricultural and mineral wealth of the region, including coffee, Indian rubber, rubber, mica and gold.

The period between 1936 and the beginning of the 1960s' is poorly documented. One can mention Pierre Pétridès, counsellor in the Ethiopian embassies in Cairo and Turkey and adviser to the Foreign Ministry (1955–74).

The decline of the Greek community begins in the 1960s after the abortive coup d'état against Ḫaylä Śəllase. Most of its members began to transfer their money out of Ethiopia, looking for a more secure place for their activities and feeling that the rise of African independence would not be favourable to them. In 1974, enterprises belonging to Greek people were nationalized and their owners and their families left Ethiopia. But, since 1991, some of them have concluded agreements with the Ethiopian Privatization Agency and have taken back their properties. This is the case for instance of the famous Bambis supermarket in Addis Abäba.

In 1970 *Abba Salama, a review of the Association of Ethio-Hellenic Studies* was created, sponsored by the Commercial Bank of G. This review published ten issues until 1979. A large number of articles were dedicated to inter-Orthodox and ecumenical dialog and to the history of Ethio-Hellenic relationships since antiquity.

Src.: Great Britain, Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 1, 403, 407; Greece, Archives of the Foreign Ministry, 1876, 1879; *Voice of Ethiopia* 2, 21 October 1961; BruNile, vol. 2, 633f., vol. 3, 11, 489, 549; SalTrav; KESARIOS DAPONTES, "Historikòs Katálogos", in: K.N. SATHAS (ed.), *Meseōniki Bibliothíki*, vol. 5, Venetía 1872, 89; [IOANNIS KOTZIKAS], "Avyssiniakôn ékthesis aftoskédios" ('An Extemporaneous Account of Abyssinian Matters'), *Abba Salama* 1, 1970; ID. (JEAN COZZIKAS), *Question d'Abyssinie au peuple de la Grand Bretagne*, Constantinople 1867; DIMOSTHENES MITZAKIS, "Ek toû Himerologíou tîs is Ethiopían Periegíseos, 1879, toû Proxénou D. Mitzakis" ('From the Diary of the Journey to Ethiopia, 1879, of the Consul D. Mitzakis", *Attikòn Himerologion*, 1880, 404–43; NICOLA PARISIS, *L'Abissinia*, Milano 1888; ID., *Aethiopica: Hi Avyssinía apò iatrikì épopsin* ('Abyssinia from a Medical Perspective'), Athens 1888; ID., "He teleutée himére tîs diamonîs mou parà tô Autokratori tîs Avyssinías, Ioanni" ('The Last Days of my Stay [at the court of] the Emperor of Abyssinia, Yoḥannəs'), *Attikòn Himerologion* 1888, 78–105; SOCRATIS PROCOPIOU, *Is ta vasília toû Menelik* ('In the Realm of Mənilək'), Athina 1924; ID., *Neo-éllines stìn Asía kè Afrikí*, ('Neo-Greeks in Asia and Africa'), Athens 1930.

Lit.: EUGÈNE COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, Paris 1838, vol. 1, 216, vol. 2, 8ff., vol. 3, 69; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Italia ed Etiopia dal Trattato di Uccialli alla battaglia di Adua*, Roma 1935, 37f., 45; METHODIOS FOUYAS (ed.), *Symvolì is tìn historían tis ierâs Metropóleos Axoúmis* ('Contribution to the History of the Sacred Metropolis of Axum'), Athina 1976; PETER P. GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Abeba from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49), 59–64; ANESTIS JOHN GHANOTAKIS, *The Greeks of Ethiopia, 1889–1970*, Ph.D. thesis, Boston University 1979; D. KALLIMARCHOS, "The Patriarchate of Alexandria in Abyssinia", *Abba Salama* 2, 1971, 151–60; ANDREAS KAVVADIAS, *Hi Ethiopia kè hemîs* ('Ethiopia and Us'), Athina – Addis Ababa 1958; EVANGELOS KOFOS, "A Greek Consul at the Court of Menelik", *Abba Salama* 4, 1973, 191–284; PAUL MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Ethiopie. L'Abyssinie sous Ménélik II*, vol. 2, Paris 1922, 104, 108f. and vol. 3, Paris 1929, 393, 616; METHODIOS, Metropolitan of Aksum, "A Contract between the Ethiopian Government and Panayiotis Myriallis Concerning the Construction of St. George's Cathedral in Addis Abeba", *Abba Salama* 2, 1971, 17–21; THEODORE NATSOULAS, *The Greeks in Ethiopia: Economic, Political and Social Life*, Ph.D. thesis, Syracuse University 1975; ID., "Prologue to Modern Ties between Greece and Ethiopia: The Efforts of Ioannis Kotzikas, 1845–1868", *NEASt* 6, 1–2, 1984, 147–70; ID., "Yohannes's Greek Advisers", *ibid.* 7, 3, 1985, 21–40; ID., "Greeks in the Ethiopian Court, 1700–1770", *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 12, 2, 1985, 63–76; PankEcon, s. index; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Role of Foreigners in Nineteenth Century Ethiopia, prior to the Rise of Menelik", *Boston University Papers on Africa* 2, 1966, 181–214; ID., "The Emperor Theodore and the Question of Foreign Artisans in Ethiopia", *ibid.* 215–35; ID., "Menilek and the Utilization of Foreign Skills in Ethiopia", *JES* 5, 1, 1976, 29–86; ID., "Greek Land-holding in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Ethiopia", *ibid.* 4, 1973, 36–39; ID., "Demetros and Giyorgis: Two Greeks in 18th-Century Ethiopia", *ibid.* 8, 1977, 248–55; ID., "Emperor Tewodros and the Story of the 'Skilled' Greeks in an Ethiopian Chronicle of Emperor Yohannes IV", *ibid.* 10, 1979, 227f.; GRIGORIOS PAPAMICHAIL, "Symvolì is tìn historían tîs ekklisías Alexandrías stò XVIII eóna" ('A Contribution to the History of the Church of Alexandria in the 18th Century'), *Ekklisiastikòs Pháros* 6, 1911, 177–84; ZerEth.

Theodore Natsoulas – Anaïs Wion

Greek literature on Ethiopia

In G.l., Ethiopians (Αἰθίοπες, *Aithíopes*, lit. 'those having [sun]burnt faces', cp. ↗ Aithiopía) appear for the first time in the Homeric poems (ca. 8th cent. B.C.), the *Iliad* (I, 423ff.; XXIII, 205ff.) and the *Odyssey* (I, 22ff.; IV, 83; V, 282, 287). They are portrayed as a people renowned for their piety, dwelling in a land that is the preferred resort of the gods and that coincides with the edge of the world. However, it is hard to assess what degree of real knowledge these references inspired. Homer's division of the Ethiopians into two parts, those living where the Sun sets and those where it rises, probably echoes the attribution of the name Ethiopians to all dark-skinned peoples east and west of the Erythraean Sea – as it was common among ancient Greeks.

Ethiopians and their land occupy a considerable place in mythological tradition. Their piety is reflected in the legend of the women warriors, the Amazons, who conquered the island of Hespera and destroyed all its cities, except for Mene (Μήνη), the sacred city of the Ethiopians. Ethiopia was also the remote country par excellence, as implied in the fate of Eumolpos, son of Chione (Χιόνη), whom Poseidon saved by entrusting him to the Ethiopians. It is also noteworthy that, in Homer, the goddess Athena hastened to intercede with Zeus in favour of Ulysses when his enemy Poseidon was on a visit to far away Ethiopia, the south-easternmost land, near the Ocean.

The association of Ethiopia – as the beginning and the end of the daily celestial journey of the Sun – with sunlight emerges in several myths. Hesiod (8th cent. B.C.) records that the goddess Heos (Ἕως, 'Dawn') took Tithonos to Ethiopia, where they had two sons, Memnon (Μέμνων) and Emathion (Ἠμαθίων), both of whom became kings of the Ethiopians (*Theogony*, 984f.). In a legend that locates the Garden of the Hesperides not in the west, as was usually the case, but in Ethiopia, Hercules kills Emathion when the latter tries to prohibit him from obtaining the golden apples. Memnon appears in the lost epic *Ethiopis* (possibly earlier than the *Iliad*) as an ally of the Trojans, to be finally killed by the Greek Achilles. Her mother pledges Zeus to grant him immortality and buries his body in his homeland. In this myth Ethiopia was originally located in the east, and later, by the Hellenistic period, in the Upper Nile Valley.

Ethiopia also appears in the labours of the mythical hero Perseus (Περσεύς). Andromeda (Ἀνδρομέδα), the daughter of Kepheus (Κηφεύς) king of Ethiopia, was offered as an expiatory sacrifice to a sea monster sent by Poseidon to punish queen Cassiope for her arrogance. Kepheus agreed with the king to save the girl and take her as his wife in return.

These mythological episodes were later used by the great dramatists of the 5th cent. B.C. In his *Prometheus Bound* and *Prometheus Unbound* Aeschylus mentions the remote Ethiopia where the sun rests, and in his *Memnon* and *Psychostasy* he elaborated on Memnon's myth. Sophocles wrote the *Ethiopians* and, like Euripides, composed an *Andromeda*.

More precise information is preserved by the historians. Herodotus (5th cent. B.C., *Histories*) declares that he had travelled up to Elephantine (by the borders between Egypt and Nubia). Although following the common use of the term Ethiopian to denote dark-skinned peoples, he also identifies explicitly Ethiopia with Nubia, and names ↗Meroes as its capital city. Moreover he records the Persian King Cambyses' superficial campaign against the Macrobian (long-living) Ethiopians and describes the Ethiopian warriors in the Persian King Xerxes' army during his unsuccessful campaign against Greece in 480 B.C. (*Histories*, II, 29f., 89, 104, 106, 134-40, 152; III, 17-25, 97, 144; IV, 69f., VII, 61, 69f., 150; IX, 32). According to Diodorus of Sicily (ca. 1st cent. B.C.), the Ethiopians claimed that they had colonized Egypt. He also narrates how Ergamenes, a Meroitic king of Greek education, opposed to the powerful priests of the country (*Universal History*, I, 33 and 37; II, 22; III, 2-34).

The work of geographers is of great importance. Agatharchides of Cnidus (2nd cent. B.C.) wrote *On the Erythraean Sea*, which, although no longer extant, has been a source for Diodorus and Artemitorus of Ephesus who, in turn, served as a source for ↗Strabo. Agatharchides acknowledges the regions south of Egypt as Ethiopia, speaks of the Ethiopian gold-mines, fauna, weaponry etc., and refers to the campaign of the Egyptian monarch Ptolemy II Philadelphus against Ethiopia (i.e., Nubia) in the 270s B.C. Agatharchides describes several Ethiopian groups, such as the Ichthyophagoi and the Troglodytai. Among the attempts at identifying the modern descendants of Agatharchides' Ichthyophagoi (Ἰχθυοφάγοι, 'Fish-eaters'), the most likely seems to be that equating them to the ↗Beğa and with the Bisharin tribes, from the Eastern desert and the coast of Sudan.

Strabo (late 1st cent. B.C. – early 1st cent. A.D.) drew information from the cartographer Eratosthenes of Cyrene (2nd cent. B.C.) and Artemidorus, asserting that he also reached the Ethiopian mountains. He mentions Meroes as the capital city of the Ethiopians (apparently Nubians) and records that they were ruled by queen ↗Candace, whose royal seat was ↗Napata (*Geography*, XVI, 4, 7 and 13; cp. also Pseudo-Aristoteles, *Problemata* [898b], X, 66).

It was only by the 1st cent. A.D. that certain references were being made not only to Nubia (e.g., the Ethiopian Candace mentioned in Acts 8:27, was actually a Nubian sovereign), but directly to the Ethiopian kingdom of ↗Aksum. The kingdom is first mentioned in the work of an anonymous author, the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (mid 1st-cent. A.D.), while Claudius ↗Ptolemy (2nd cent. A.D., *Geography*) is the first to mention the Aksumites, though he is silent about the city of Aksum. In two novels, ↗Heliodorus' *Ethiopica* (3rd cent.) and Pseudo-Callisthenes's *Romance of Alexander the Great* (5th cent.; ↗Alexander the Great), the wisdom of the Aksumites is praised.

↗Cosmas Indicopleustes (*Christian Topography*) visited the kingdom of Aksum ca. 518. He considers the Ethiopians as descendants of Cush, one of Noah's sons who shared between them the entire earth up to the Ocean of Ethiopia. In ↗Adulis, at the order of the Aksumite king ↗Kaleb, he copied a now lost inscription – but probably related to an Aksumite king (late 2rd/early 3rd cent. A.D.) – which celebrates the extension of his sovereignty over the Ethiopian highlands and his campaign to South Arabia (↗Monumentum Adulitanum). The king expounds his victories over several peoples, among whom the Gaze (Γάζη) nation, whom Cosmas (or perhaps a slightly later interpolator) identifies with an Ethiopian group of his times: the Agaze (Ἀγάζη), i.e. the ↗Agᶜazi.

The Christianisation of Ethiopia is mentioned in several Greek texts. The early Byzantine historian Socrates (late 4th-early 5th cent., *Church History*) records a tradition that ascribes its evangelization to the apostle Matthew, while Gelasius of Cyzicus (5th cent.) speaks of the apostle Bartholomew (*Church History*, III, 9, 2). Irenaeus of Lyons (2nd cent., *Elenchus*) and ↗Eusebius of Caesarea (4th cent., *Church History*) both state that Ethiopia was the first gentile land to accept Christianity. Socrates, Sozomenos (early 5th cent., *Church History*, II, 24, 1f.) and Theodoretus (5th cent., *Church History*, I, 23), possibly depending upon ↗Rufinus, describe the missionary work of Frumentius (early 4th cent.; ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan), while according to Philostorgius (late 4th-early 5th cent.), an attempt at introducing Arian Christianity into Aksum was made in the mid-4th cent. by ↗Theophilos the Indian (*Church History*, III, 4, 7). Several texts refer to a possible re-evangelization and the war between Ethiopians and Ḥimyarites in the first half of the 6th cent. (Procopius, 6th cent., *Wars*, I, 19f.; Malalas, 6th cent., *Chronography*, XVIII, 433f., 458; ↗Nonnosus, 6th cent., *Fragments*, IV, 179; Theophanes, late 8th-early 9th cent., *Chronography*; Photius, 9th cent., *Bibliotheca*, I, 4, 24, 147-52; VII, 134-89; Cedrenus, 12th cent., *Synopsis of Histories*, I, 656). Information about 6th-cent. Aksum is also provided by the texts related to the establishment of the Christian Ḥimyarite kingdom after the war with the Ethiopian and the latter's invasion of South Arabia (*Martyrdom of St. ↗Arethas*; *Laws of the ↗Ḥimyarites*; *Life of St. ↗Gregentius, Bishop of the Ḥimyarites*; *Disputation with the Jew Herban*).

Finally, innumerable are the references to Ethiopia and its people in Greek patristic and ascetic literature. In most cases they are exegetical rhetorics, either conceiving the encounter of the Gospel with remote Ethiopia as the symbol of the Ecumenicity of the Christianity or using black colour as a metaphor for sin and vice.

↗Geography, historical; ↗Historiography

Src.: [RICHARD] PIETSCHMANN, "Aithiopia", in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. I, 1, Stuttgart 1893, 1095–102, here 1095ff. [complete list]; BENJAMIN HENDRICKX, *Official Documents Written in Greek Illustrating the Ancient History of Nubia and Ethiopia (3rd Century B.C.–6th Century A.D.)*, Johannesburg 1984 (Monumenta Afro-Hellenica 1); ERICH BETHE (ed.), *Homer: Dichtung und Sage*, Band 2, Teil 2, Leipzig 1929^2, 157–67 (*Ethiopis*); STANLEY BURSTEIN (ed., tr.), *Agatharchides of Cnidus: On the Erythraean Sea*, London 1989. Lit.: IOANNES THEOPHANOUS KAKRIDES (ed.), *Hellinikì mythología* ('Greek Mythology'), Athina 1986, vol. 1, 224, 343f., 346; vol. 3, 28, 184ff.; vol. 4, 85ff.; vol. 5, 116–22, 239f.; DIMITRIS G. LETSIOS, *Byzántio ke Erythrá Thálassa: Schésis me ti Noubía, Aithiopía ke Nótia Aravía hos tin Aravikí katáktisi* ('Byzantium and the Red Sea: Relations with Nubia, Ethiopia and South Arabia until the Arab Conquest'), Athina 1988; NIGEL GROOM, *Frankincense and Myrrh: a Study of the Arabian Incense Trade*, London – New York 1981, 55–95; FRANK MARTIN SNOWDEN, *Before Color Prejudice: the Ancient View of the Blacks*, Cambridge, MA – London 1983; ATHANASIOS N. PAPATHANASIOU, "'Homeritarum Leges'. An Interpretation", *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 46, 1996, 27–71 (Lit.).

Athanasios N. Papathanasiou

Greetings

Greetings in Amharic

The traditional canons of Ethiopian etiquette are well regulated and far from empty ceremoniousness. Ethiopians are generally polite and show consideration and respect to each other. When people meet on the road, they will inquire after each other's health, followed by inquiries after other members of the family. The exchange of the formulae of G. may take fully a minute or two. A low bow is a must in almost all instances. When relatives or friends of either sex meet after a long separation, they usually kiss each other on the mouth or on both cheeks repeatedly, the older or superior in status kissing first. The handshake is customary among equals. When hands are joined, they remain in this position throughout the entire greeting. A younger or subordinate person often greets an older or superior person by putting his left hand under his stretched right forearm. When people are sitting together, they usually greet an incoming person by rising from their seats.

Among the Amhara people the formula ጤና፡ ይስጥልኝ (*ṭena yəsṭəlləññ*, lit. 'May He grant you health for my sake!') is the general greeting of welcome or of parting and may be used any time for any person. The word ሰላም (*sälam*, 'peace') is also used as a substitute for *ṭena yəsṭəlləññ*, usually by the young people.

The other formulae are more specific in meaning and their verbal forms differ according to the addressed person, i.e. the polite form (the form 2nd pers. sg. masc./fem./pl.).

The most common of the G. on meeting are:

Good morning! – እንደምን [እንዴት] አደሩ [አደርክ/አደርሽ/አደራችሁ] (*əndämən* [*əndet*] *addäru* [*addärk/addärš/addäraččəhu*], lit. ‘how did you [2nd pers. sg. polite/masc./fem./pl.] pass the night?’);
Good afternoon! – እንደምን፡ ዋሉ [ዋልክ/ዋልሽ/ዋላችሁ] (*əndämən walu* [*walk/walš/walaččəhu*], lit. ‘how did you spend the day?’);
Good evening! – እንደምን፡ አመሹ [አመሸህ/አመሸሽ/አመሻችሁ] (*əndämən amäššu* [*amäššəh/amäššəš/amäššaččəhu*], lit. ‘how did you spend the evening?’);
How are you? – እንደምን፡ አሉ [አለህ/አለሽ/አላችሁ] (*əndämən allu* [*alläh/alläš/allaččəhu*]).

Greetings on leaving are:
Good night! – ደህና፡ ይደሩ [እደር/እደሪ/እደሩ] (*dähna yədäru* [*ədär/ədäri/ədäru*], lit. ‘spend the night well’);
Good day! – ደህና፡ ይዋሉ [ዋል/ዋይ/ዋሉ] (*dähna yəwalu* [*wal/way/walu*], lit. ‘spend the day well’);
Good evening! – ደህና፡ ያምሹ [እምሹ/እምሺ/እምሹ] (*dähna yamšu* [*amšu/amši/amšu*], lit. ‘spend the evening well’);
Good-bye! – ደህና፡ ይሁኑ [ሁን/ሁኚ/ሁኑ] (*dähna yəhunu* [*hun/ huñ/hunu*], lit. ‘be well’);
So long! / See you! – በሉ [በል/በይ/በሉ] እስክንገናኝ (*bälu* [*bäl/bäy/bälu*] *əskənnəggänaññ*, lit. ‘until we shall come together again’).

When greeting a person who has just arrived or come in, the following exchange of phrases characteristically takes place:

- Welcome! – እንኳን፡ ደህና፡ መጡ (*ənk^{w}an dähna mäṭṭu*, lit. ‘be glad you [polite] came safely’);
- Thank you! – እንኳን፡ ደህና፡ ቆዩ (*ənk^{w}an dähna qoyyu*, lit. ‘be glad you [polite] remained well’).

Lit.: DAVID APPLEYARD, *Colloquial Amharic: a Complete Language Course*, London – New York 1995; KaneDic; LevWax; RENATE RICHTER – MULUGETA ETEFFA, *Deutsch–Amharisches Gesprächsbuch*, Wiesbaden 1994; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *The Ethiopians: an Introduction to Country and People*, London 1973.

Renate Richter

Greetings in Təgrəñña

The traditional opening greeting expression in Təgrəñña is ጥዕና፡ ይሃበለይ (*ṭə^{c}ənna* (*yə*)*habälläy*, ‘May (God) give (you) health on my behalf!’). It is still used in rural areas, in the first place in Təgray, predominately when addressing the elders.

What follows is a question (of both speech act partners) of how well the addressee is in general or has been during a certain time span preceding the current speech act. This time span may be (a) not more than one day, i.e., the night-time, the morning, the daytime, the evening, or (b) more than one day, i.e., a week or a season.

The most usual questions, without specific time reference, are ከመይ፡ አሎኻ [-ኺ/-ኹም/-ኽን] (*kämäy* [*ʾa*]*lloḵa* [-*ḵi*/-*ḵum*/-*ḵən*], ‘how are you [sg. masc./fem./pl. masc./fem.]?’), ደሓንዶ፡ አሎኻ [etc.] (*däḥando ʾalloḵa* [etc.], ‘are you well?’), and slightly more informal ከመይ፡ አሎ (*kämäy ʾallo*, ‘how is it going?’). All these questions are today the most frequent opening greeting formulas.

In the morning one refers to the previous night with the understanding of a meeting one day before, i.e.: ከመይ፡ ሓዲርካ (*kämäy ḥadirka* [etc.]; also ከመይ፡ ሓደርካ, *kämäy ḥadärka* [etc.], lit. ‘How did you [sg. masc./fem./pl. masc./fem.] spend the night?’) or ደሓንዶ፡ ሓዲርካ (*däḥando ḥadirka* [etc.], lit. ‘Did you spend the night well?’).

In the late morning the converbal morpheme *ḥadir-* is substituted by አርፊድ (*ʾarfid-*), in the afternoon by ውዒል (*wə^{c}il-*) and in the evening by አምሲ (*ʾamsi-*). When referring to a week or more one uses ቀኒ (*qänni-*; after the vowel, *k* of the suffix is aspirated: *qänni-ḵa* [etc.]).

In the countryside one can refer to the respective seasons: ከመይ፡ ቀዊዕካ (*kämäy qäwwi^{c}-ka* [etc.], ‘how did you spent the harvest time?’, ከመይ፡ ሓጊኻ (*kämäy ḥagi-ḵa* [etc.], ‘how did you spent the dry season?’), ከመይ፡ ጸዲኻ, (*kämäy ṣäddi-ḵa* [etc.], ‘how did you spent the season for sowing?’), ከመይ፡ ክረምካ (*kämäy kärim-ka* [etc.], ‘how did you spent the rainy season?’).

In dialects, the plural masc. form *-kum* can be replaced in all cases by *-ḵum* or *-ḵatḵum*; a more polite form would be *-om* (e.g., *kämäy ḥadir-om*).

The answer to all these questions is እግዚአብሄር፡ ይመስገን፡ ደሓን [or simply ይመስገኖ] (*ʾəgziʾabəher* (*y*)*əmmäsgän, däḥan* [(*y*)*əmmäsgänno*], ‘praise to God, well!’). The word for ‘God’ can also be pronounced *əgzer*, *əzger*, *əgzihar* or *əzgəhar*. The Muslims say *alḥamdullah*(*i*) instead. A wide-spread response is ደሓን፡ አሎኹ / እየ (*däḥan ʾalloḵu / ʾəyyä*, ‘I am fine’) or ደሓን፡ አሎ (*däḥan ʾallo*, ‘it is fine’). Naturally, the person asked has to reciprocate by applying the same formulas to the other person.

A more informal and more recent greeting expression is ሰላም (*sälam*) or ሰላማት (*sälamat*, ‘greetings’). As response, these phrases are repeated.

The farewell expressions refer to the approaching time, be it the day, the evening, the night, the week or a longer period of time: ደሓን፡ ውዓል (*däḥan wə^{c}al* [*-i*, *-u*, *-a*], ‘Have a nice day!’), ደሓን፡ አምሲ (*däḥan ʾamsi* [etc.], ‘Have a nice evening!’), ደሓን፡ ሕደር (*däḥan ḥədär* [etc.], ‘Have a good night!’), ደሓን፡ ቀኒ (*däḥan qänni* [etc.], ‘Have a good week/fortnight!’ [etc.]), and in general ደሓን፡ ኩን (*däḥan kun* [etc.], ‘Have a good time!’).

Rainer Voigt

Greetings in Oromo

A common feature of all ↗Oromo G. is wishing each other peace (*nagaa*) and asking about each other's well-being. Conversation usually begins with *Akkam ğirta/ğirtu*? ('How are you doing?'), *Akkam bulte/bultani*? ('How did you pass the night?'), or *Akkam oolte/ooltani*? ('How did you pass the day?').

The expected answer is usually: *Gaarii* (*da*) ('well'); *Fayyaa* (*da*) ('fine') or *Nagaa* (*da*) ('[in] health/good state'), to which is often added *galata Waaqaa* ('thanks to God'). The responding person now asks the same question in return.

There may also occur a direct exchange of question and counter-question: *Akkam bulte*? – *Akkam bulte*?; *Naguma*! – *Naguma*! ('Peace!'). Boorana often greet each other *Bultini nagaa*? ('Have you passed the night at peace?') – *Nagaa, nagaa* ('[at] peace, [at] peace'; cf. Baxter 1990: 245; Leus 1995:610). As a rule, the polite exchange of greetings is extended according to the age and status of the individuals involved in the conversation.

Greeting each other by use of the term *nagaa* means in a larger sense: 'may you be healthy', 'may you not become ill', 'may you experience no fighting or disagreements with others', 'may you enjoy protection from harm', 'may you be in proper relationship with God (the sky) and the earth, people and cattle' (van de Loo 1991:278f.). At farewells, the term *nagaa* is taken up again, for instance when wishing each other to return home in peace: *Nagaatti gali/galaa*.

The Oromo hold a strong ideal of peace in society, at least within their subgroups. Peace exists where people observe their appropriate role in the community and respect the established order. Disturbing the peace of society would mean to disturb the peace of God (Baxter 1965:65f., 75). Blessings and prayers for peace, mostly given by elders, are constantly invoked on occasions of Oromo ceremonies and meetings.

Lit.: PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER, "Repetition in Certain Boran Ceremonies", in: MEYER FORTES – GERMAINE DIETERLEN (eds.), *African Systems of Thought*, London 1965, 64–78; ID., "Oromo Blessings and Greetings", in: ANITA JACOBSON-WEDDING – WALTER VAN BEEK (eds.), *The Creative Communion: African Folk Models of Fertility and the Regeneration of Life*, Uppsala 1990, 235–50; MARIO I. AGUILAR, *Being Oromo in Kenya*, Trenton – Asmara 1998; LAMBERT BARTELS, *Oromo Religion. Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia: an Attempt to Understand*, Berlin 1983; JOSEPH VAN DE LOO, *Guji Oromo Culture in Southern Ethiopia: Religious Capabilities in Rituals and Songs*, Berlin 1991, 278f.; MARIO BORELLO, *Dizionario Oromo–Italiano*, Hamburg 1995 (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 10); GAETANO DA THIENE, *Dizionario della Lingua Galla. Con brevi nozioni grammaticali*, Harar 1939; TON LEUS, *Borana Dictionary*, Schijndel 1995, 290.

Andrea Nicolas

Greetings in body language

G. is a basic feature of body language, marking the beginning of a social interaction and partially defining the social relation of the participants. In Ethiopia and Eritrea, gesticulatory forms of G. vary considerably from region to region and depend largely on kinship and class relations, as well as relative age, gender, religion and other determinants of status and situational roles.

According to the social context and certain "grammatical" rules, the different gestures of G. (gesticulatory elements) can be combined. In informal situations, the freedom to combine these elements is much greater than in formal or ritualised situations. The multi-ethnic and partially globalized society of today's Ethiopia and Eritrea allows the parallel or amalgamated usage of G. forms of different cultural origins.

The basic gesticulatory elements of G. are: shaking or holding hands (one or both hands involved), raising of one or both hands (showing palm[s], waving, saluting), hugging, kissing and bowing. The types of G. are differentiated further by the intensity and quantity of gesticulatory elements. For example, if the participants in a conversation have not seen each other for a long period, the quantity is increased by repeating oral and gesticulatory G. Different intensities are connected each with a different meaning, ranging from only suggesting the full gesture to its theatrical exaggeration.

For the hand-shake, the G. partners stand face-to-face and hold each other with the open palms of their right hands. As a symbol of respect or subordination, the left hand supports this gesture by touching the right forearm or elbow. It is considered polite to press the hand of the partner only very gently. Hand-shaking as well as raising the hands and showing the open palms in a Christian setting is often combined with bowing of the head or the upper part of the body. Muslims in general avoid bowing, for they reserve this gesture of devotion "for God only". Instead of nodding or bowing, Muslims may lay their hand on the left side of their chest where the heart is. Some Muslim women avoid the hand-shake (and eye-contact) with a stranger or give their hand only through their veil.

Sidaama women greeting each other; photo 1954/55 by Elisabeth Pauli; courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (027–Pa017–37)

Between equals or relatives it is common to embrace each other. This can be combined with hand-shaking as well as kissing. There are various forms of embracing. A characteristic form especially in the highlands with many regional variants is "shoulder-hugging" between members of the same sex. In this form of G., the two partners touch the shoulder(s) of the other with their own shoulder(s) subsequently. This can be done a couple of times, either with the two right shoulders or with right and left shoulders. During "shoulder-hugging" the hand(s) hold the hand(s), arm(s) or shoulder(s) of the other person or he/she is embraced.

Kisses are carried out by touching a body part of the other with both lips. Kisses are very often only implied by bringing the lips near to the other's body, sometimes enforced by non-verbal sounds (e.g., in Təgray and Eritrea). Depending on the relation between the participants, different parts of the body may be kissed expressing different grades of intimacy or familiarity (forehead, cheeks, mouth) or subordination/devotion (shoulder[s], knees, hands, feet). The kissing of the feet expresses deepest subjugation. Among the Amhara and Təgray traditionally the child up to the age of 15 had to kiss the feet of the father and the servant had to kiss the feet of his lord after washing them.

The kissing of the hand-cross of a priest, which automatically involves bowing, can be understood as a G., but the addressee of this action is more the "sacral sphere", in general, than the priest as a person. Mainly among Muslims the palms of an elder are kissed by those who received his blessing. Here a similar interpretation can be made.

Bowing ranges from nodding to a full prostration. It can be a single gesture, but is often combined with others. Equals can bow without any indication of status difference, while asymmetrical bowing is a clear sign of hierarchy. The low-ranking person is expected to bend down considerably lower than the higher-ranking person. In the case of subject and emperor or king and vassal and lord respectively, a full prostration of the inferior expresses his/her total subjugation.

Lit.: TILAHUN PAULOS, "Forms of Greeting and other Signs of Respect in Ethiopia", in: ALULA PANKHURST (ed.), *Ethnological Society Bulletin vol. I, nos. 1–10 and vol. II, no. 1, 1953–1961*, Addis Ababa 2002, 116–23; VSAe III, 107, 109, 116, 121, 176, 225, 236, 241f., 305, 317, 339.

Dirk Bustorf

Gregentius

Archbishop of ↗Ẓafār (South Arabia) and saint, G. (Gr. Γρηγέντιος, *Grēgéntios*, fl. second quarter of the 6th cent.) is chiefly known from his Greek Vita (BHG³ no. 705 [= CPG 7009], also preserved in a Slavonic translation), according to which he travelled from his native Moesia to north and central Italy (including Rome), hence sailing to Alexandria, where Patriarch Proterius (actually Timothy III) sent him as a bishop to the land of ↗Ḥimyar. This was to comply with the request of a bishop by the Aksumite king ↗Kaleb Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa (Ἐλεσβοάμ), who had just gained total control over Ḥimyar by defeating the Jewish king ↗Ḏū Nuwās (Δουναᾶς) – in 523/4 or 525 – as a reaction to the martyrdom of Christians in ↗Nağrān (Νεγρά).

In his biography, G. appears to have played an important role in the restoration of South Arabian Christianity: together with Kaleb, who went then back to Aksum, he consecrated several churches in Nağrān, Ẓafār (Ταφάρ/Τεφάρ), Qānaʾ ('Ακάνα), as well as in the obscure Atárph/Atephár ('Ατάρφ/'Ατεφάρ) and Legmía (Λεγμία, s. Shahîd 1979:38-53 and Fiaccadori 1985:198f., 210f.). After remaining some thirty years in Ẓafār at the side of ↗Abraha ('Αβράμιος), the newly appointed Aksumite viceroy of Ḥimyar, G. died on 19 December, and on this day his liturgical memory is celebrated in the Byzantine Church (Fiaccadori 1980:314, n. 79).

Beside his Vita, known only from excerpts published by Vasiliev (1907, a complete ed. being prepared by Albrecht Berger), two other Greek hagiographic texts are traditionally linked with the name of G. and his staunch activity in re-establishing Christian orthodoxy all over Ḥimyar and converting the Jews living there: the so-called *Laws of the Ḥimyarites*, issued by him to the benefit of his South Arabian flock at the request of Abraha, and the *Disputation with Herban the Jew* (BHG^{3} nos. 706h-i and 706d [= CPG 7008 and 7009] respectively), i.e. the record of the contention about the true faith he held with the Jewish law-teacher Herban. In fact subsequent compilations not always transmitted together, both texts are of middle-Byzantine origin (the latter, though, seeming to echo juristic features of pre-Islamic South Arabia, s. Irvine 1967:290f.), and formally belong in the known hagiographic tradition that was shaped not before the late 9th or early 10th cent. as a continuation of the Acts of ↗Arethas. It was probably then that the end of the Vita was detached and placed after the *Disputation*, as a conclusion to the entire dossier.

Within such a belated and legendary dossier, however, the final or "Arabian" section of the Vita provides valuable information: if not on G. himself, certainly on Ethiopia and South Arabia at the time of the 6th-cent. Aksumite intervention(s). Part of the materials used here by the compiler, especially in terms of historical topography, must go back to the 6th cent. (a similar story on the consecration of churches in South Arabia is, e.g., in the *Book of the ↗Ḥimyarites*). Yet, a certain impact of Arabic sources must be considered that ultimately accounts – by subsequent misreadings and/or misspellings – for the Greek forms of a few puzzling names, and can be traced to the Melkite bilingual milieus of 8th/9th-cent. Palestine and Sinai (s. Fiaccadori 2003:184f., 233f.).

For instance, the son of Kaleb, called 'Αθερφοθάμ (*Atherphothám*) in the Vita, is none other than ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl: from Ar. **Ġbrmsql* > **ʿṯrfṯʿl* via Gr. *ΑΘΕΡΦΟΘΑΑΛ > ΑΘΕΡΦΟΘΑΜ; the Ethiopian capital city, 'Αμλέμ (*Amlém*) is Aksum: from Ar. **ʾlʾksm* (= **al-Aksum*, exceptionally with the article) > *ʾlʾlsm* via Gr. *ΑΛΑΛCΜ > (*ΑΛΑΛΕΜ >) ΑΜΛΕΜ; the name of the place to which Kaleb retired on abdicating, 'Οφρά (*Ophrá*), said to be a βουνός (*bounós*, 'mount[ain]'), seems to conceal the Ethiopic word ↗*däbr*: from Ar. **dbr* (glossed as *ğabal*, i.e. βουνός?) > **wfr*, possibly hinting at the hermitage of his spiritual mentor *abba* ↗Ṗänṭälewon on a high *däbr* ('mountain') found to the north of Aksum and simply designated as such in the 15th-cent. *Gädlä Ṗänṭälewon* ('Vita of Ṗänṭälewon', ch. 3: Conti Rossini 1904:45-48, s. Nosnitsin in StudAeth 92, n. 6). Likewise, as pointed out by Maxime Rodinson (1965/66: 140), the expression Μηδέκιον (vars. Δαικκέον, Δεκκαιόν) ἄντρον (*Mēdékion ántron*) includes the Arabic name of ↗Bāb al-Mandab, *Maḍīq* (lit. 'Strait'), which is *Madiq* in the Ethiopic Acts of Arethas, translated from Arabic in the 13th cent. (Esteves Pereira 1899:115, s. 160 n. 1 on στενὸς τόπος, 'narrow place' in the Greek Acts). A similar connection for the whole dossier – of which partial Arabic versions of uncertain age are barely known (GrafLit vol. 1, 370) – is advocated by the name of Abraha's son found in the *Disputation*: Σέ(ρ)διδος, i.e. Σεράϊλος/-αῖλος or Σερίλος (*CEP[A]IΛOC > CEP[Δ]IΔOC), corresponding to Šarāḥīl, son of Abraha b. aṣ-Ṣabāḥ of the Ḥimyaritic tradition (von Gutschmid 1880:742f.; cp. Shahîd 1979:230).

Src.: PG 86, 568-784 ["Disputation" and "Laws"]; ALEXANDER A. VASILIEV, "Zhitie sv. Grigentija, episkopa Omiritskago" ('The Vita of St. Gregentius, Bishop of Ḥimyar'), *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 14, 1907 [1909], 23–67; BHG^{3} nos. 705-06; CPG 7008-09; ALBRECHT BERGER, *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, with a contribution by GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, in preparation; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA (ed., tr.), *Historia dos Martyres de Nagran. Versão ethiopica*, Lisboa 1899, 115 (text) = 160 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum*, I. *Acta Yārēd et Panṭalēwon*, Lovanii 1904 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9,10]), 45–48 (text) = 41–44 (tr.).

Lit.: ALFRED VON GUTSCHMID, "Bemerkungen zu Tabari's Sasanidengeschichte, übersetzt von Th. Nöldeke", *ZDMG* 34, 1880, 721–48, here 742f.; GrafLit vol. 1, 22f., 370; ANTONIO D'EMILIA, "Intorno ai Νόμοι τῶν 'Ομηριτῶν", *RSE* 7, 1948, 54–67 [= *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Diritto Romano e di Storia del Diritto* (*Verona, 27-29 IX–1948*), vol. 1, Milano 1953, 181–97]; ARTHUR K. IRVINE, "Homicide in Pre-Islamic South Arabia", *BSOAS* 30, 1967, 277–92, here 290f.; EVELYNE PATLAGEAN, "Les Moines grecs d'Italie et l'apologie des thèses pontificales (VIII^{e}–IX^{e} siècles)", *Studi medievali* ser. 3^{a}, 5, 1964, 579–602 [repr. in: EAD., *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance*, London 1981, no. XIII]; MAXIME RODINSON, "Ethiopien et Sudarabique", *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, IVe Séction, 1965/66, 125–41, here 140 ; Irfan Shahîd, *The Martyrs of Najrân. New Documents*, Bruxelles 1971 (Subsidia hagiographica 49), 230; Id., "Byzantium in South Arabia", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33, 1979, 23–94, here 38–53; Vassilios Christides, "The Himyarite-Ethiopian War and the Ethiopian Occupation of South Arabia in the Acts of Gregentius (ca. 530 A.D.)", *AE* 9, 1972, 115–46; Sergew Hable-Selassie, "Gregentius", in: *DicEthBio* 75; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Proterio, Asterio e Timoteo patriarchi. Note di storiografia alessandrina", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 3, 1980, 299–315, here 314 n. 79; Id., "Yemen nestoriano", in: Sandro Filippo Bondì et al. (eds.), *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, 195–212, here 198f., 210f.; Id., "Πρόσοψις, non πρόοψις: Efeso, Gerusalemme, Aquileia (Nota a *IEph* 495, 1 s.)", *La Parola del Passato* 58, 2003 [2004], 182–249, here 184f., 232ff. (Lit.); MHAlex [I] 80f., 85–91; Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (1.–11. Jh.)*, Frankfurt am Mein – Bern 1982 (Europäische Hochschulschriften [Reihe 23.] 172), 397ff.; Athanasios N. Papathanasiou, Οι «Νόμοι των Ομηριτών». Ιεραποστολική προσέγγιση και ιστορική-νομική συμβολή ('The «Laws of the Ḥimyarites». Missiological Approach and Historico-Legal Contribution'), Αθήνα – Κομοτηνή 1994 (Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, Athener Reihe 7); Id., "'Homeritarum Leges'. An Interpretation", *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 46, 1996, 27–71; Walter W. Müller, [review of Papathanasiou 1994], *OrChr* 80, 1996, 256–59; A. Berger, "Das Dossier des hl. Gregentios – Ein Werk der Makedonenzeit", Βυζαντινά 22, 2001 [2002], 53–65; Denis Nosnitsin, "Gädlä Ṗänṭälewon: die literarische Verwandlung einer Episode aus dem aksumitisch-ḥimyaritischen Krieg", in: *StudAeth* 90–108, here 92, n. 6.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Gregory of Nazianzos

G. (ጎርጎርዮስ, *Gorgoryos*, also ግርጎርዮስ *Grəgoryos*; born ca. 329) was a native of Arianzos, a village of Cappadocia near the episcopal see of Nazianzos (እንዚናዙ, *Ǝnzinazu* also ናዛዚ, *Nazazi*). He was one of the three "Cappadocian Fathers", together with his friend ↗Basil the Great and the latter's brother ↗Gregory of Nyssa. G. was a rhetor, poet and saint, and due to the importance of his dogmatic writings he was also known as "the Theologian" (ቴዎጎሎስ, *tewogolos*; ቴዎግሎስ, *tewoglos*; ታኦጎሎስ, *taʾogolos*; ታዋሎጎስ, *tawalogos*).

G. was born to a wealthy Christian family; his father was bishop of Nazianzos. After studies in Athens, where he met and befriended Basil the Great, he returned to his family estate in Arianzos in ca. 357. Baptized in 358, he entered monastic life in Iris, Pontos (358/59 – ca. 362). Whilst serving as a priest, he was ordained Bishop of Sasima in 372, but never officiated there, and soon returned to monastic life. After his father's death in 374, he administered the see of Nazianzos. In 379 he was summoned to serve as bishop of the small Nicene community in the see of Constantinople, whereas the majority – congregation and priests – was Arian. At that time G.'s great reputation as a theologian paved the way for him to preside at the Second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople (381). However, disappointed with ecclesiastical politics, he resigned and resumed the administration of the see of Nazianzos. In 383, when a new bishop was appointed there, he withdrew to pursue an ascetic life at his family estate in Arianzos, where he remained until his death (390).

G. wrote a series of 45 *Orations*, some of which were funerary, and five of them, 27–31, form the so-called *Theological Orations* against contemporary heresies. He also left a series of 245 *Letters* (of which 101, 102 and 207 are of great theological importance) and a number of poems (e.g., the autobiographical *De vita sua*).

As a theologian, G. was a champion of the Nicene (Neo-Nicene) orthodoxy and, together with Basil, contributed to the development of Trinitarian doctrine. His *Orations* were translated into Latin, Slavonic, Armenian, Georgian, Syriac, Coptic and Arabic.

The following writings are attributed to G. in Ethiopia (none of them having been critically edited).

1. Several extracts are transmitted in the patristic collection ↗*Haymanotä abäw*:

a. *Homily on the Equality* (of the hypostases) *in the Trinity* (በእንተ፡ ዕሪና፡ ቅድስት፡ ሥላሴ, *Bäʾəntä ʿərina qəddəst śəllase*, 'On the Equality of the Holy Trinity');

b. *Homily on the Son* (በእንተ፡ ወልድ, *Bäʾəntä wäld*, 'On the Son');

c. another *Homily on the beloved Son* (በእንተ፡ ወልድ፡ ፍቁር, *Bäʾəntä wäld fəqur*), which is not an authentic work but a free adaptation of a homily by Patriarch Gregory of Antioch, d. 592/3 (Graf 1937:379);

d. *Letter to Cledonius* (አቅልዲዮስ/ አቅላንድዮስ), an excerpt from "Letter 101": *To Cledonius* (Migne 1842, vol. 37, 177B–181A; CPG 22, no. 3032); this fragment is sometimes transmitted independently, as in ms. Ṭānāsee 52, fol. 111rb–112rb;

e. *Homily on His* (i.e. Christ's) *Nativity* (በእንተ፡ ልደቱ, *Bäʾəntä lədätu*), which was taken from *Oration* 38, §13 (Migne 1842, vol. 36, 325 B–D; CPG II, no. 3010);

f. in the Anathemata part of the *Haymanotä abäw* there are 12 "Anathematisms" (ቃለ፡ ግዘት,

qalä gəzat) which are said to come from the *Homily on the Letter to Cledonius*, but are in fact excerpts from G.'s *Letter* 101: *To Cledonius* (Migne 1842, vol. 37, 177Bff.; CPG II, no. 3032), which were "translated from Coptic into Arabic" (**እምዘተርጐሙ፡ ዝንቱ፡ እምቅብጢ፡ ኀበ፡ ልሳነ፡ ዓረቢ**, *əmzätärgʷämä zəntu əmqəbṭi ḫabä ləssanä ᶜaräbi*);

g. it would appear that only a few manuscripts of the *Haymanotä abäw* have additional "Testimonies" (**ስምዓት**, *səmᶜat*), and these writings address the Incarnation and include a quotation from G. (Graf 1937:402; s. ms. EMML 2051, fol. 213r–216r).

2. *Homily ... on the Holy Easter* (**ድርሳን፡ … በእንተ፡ ቅድስት፡ ፋሲካ**, *Dərsan ... bäʾəntä qəddəst fasika*), extant in the Homiliary in BritLib Orient. 775 (fol. 111v–118v, from the 15th cent.), is either G.'s First or, more probably, Second *Easter Oration* (number 1 or 45 in the whole collection; s. CPG II, no. 3010); both *Orations* also exist in Arabic (Graf 1937:330);

3. One of G.'s Homilies for Saturday is included in the *Homiliary for Lent* in ms. EMML 1956 (fol. 57r–59r; from ca. 1400, ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos); G. is quoted in:

4. the *Mäṣḥafä ↗ḥawi* (s. ms. BritLib Orient. 784);

5. the *Catena Commentary on the Gospel* (↗*Tərgʷame wängel*) of Syriac origin (Lusini 1988:473; s. ms. BritLib Orient. 736, fol. 37v);

6. an extract *On the Incarnation of the Logos* (**በእንተ፡ ተሠግዎቱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ቃል**, *Bäʾəntä täśäggəwotu läʾəgziʾabəḥer qal*) by G., together with anathemas, appears in the 16th-cent. ms. Paris, BN, Éth. 113, fol. 341–44, and the 15th-cent. ms. EMML 1831, fol. 206r (perhaps the same as item 1f. above), in addition to two quotations on fol. 328 and three on fol. 337 (none of these belong to the *Book of Mystery* of Giyorgis of Sägla; van Donzel 1983:132);

7. ↗*Haymanot rətəᶜt* (cf. the 19th-cent. ms. EMML 632), containing many quotations from the fathers, and among them from G.;

8. the Anaphora called "of Gregory, brother of Basil" (**ጎርጎርዮስ፡ እኍው፡ ባስልዮስ**, *Gorgoryos əḫwä Basəlyos*, ms. BN Éth. 329, fol. 96va-102ra; VatLib Aeth. 39, fol. 76v–82), i.e. of Gregory of Nyssa, often attributed to G.; in certain manuscript traditions the attribution varies, referring to one of the other Gregories (Gregory of Alexandria, Gregory the Illuminator). Often, however, the attribution is just to "Gregory" without any further specification (Hammerschmidt 1987:23).

Miniatures of G., from 1667–82, can be found in EMML I, fol. 103v and in fol. 114v. According to the ↗*Sənkəssar*, G. is commemorated on 30 *Ṭərr* (5 February; BudSaint 569); in the Greek Orthodox Church, on 19 and 25 January.

Src.: BudSaint 569; CPG II, 179–209, nos. 3010–3125; HamTana I, 204, Ṭānāsee 52 [= Kebrān 52], fol. 111rb–112rb; EMML I, 632, 1831, 1956, 2051; Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours*, ed. and tr. by Jean Bernardi et al., Paris 1978–95 (Sources chrétiennes 247, 250, 270, 284, 309, 318, 358, 384, 405); Id., *Lettres théologiques*, ed. and tr. by P. Gallay – M. Jourjon, Paris 1974 (Sources Chrétiennes 208); Id., *Orationes*, ed. and tr. by Jacques-Paul Migne, Paris 1842 (Patrologia Graeca 35–38); *Corpus Christianorum, series Graeca*: *Corpus Nazianzenum* Turnhout – Leuven, 1988-2004, vols. 1–17; GrebGriaule I, 159-64, ms. Éthiopien 329 [Griaule 25], here 163; Charles Gordon Browne – James Edwars Swallow (tr.), *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*: *Second Series*, Grand Rapids 1955, vol. 7; GreTisVat 176–80, ms. VatLib Aeth. 39 (Lit.); WrBriMus 201f., no. 310 [Orient. 736]; 229f., no. 341 [Orient. 775]; 232ff., no. 334 [Orient. 784]; ZotBNat 311, 329.

Lit.: Ernst Hammerschmidt, *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*, Wiesbaden ^{2}1987 (AeF 25); Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Appunti sulla patristica greca di tradizione etiopica", *Studi classici e orientali* 38, 1988, 469–93; Georg Graf, "Zwei dogmatische Florilegien der Kopten: die Bekenntnis der Väter", *OrChrP* 3, 1937, 345–402; John Anthony McGuckin, *Saint Gregory of Nazianzus: an Intellectual Biography*, Crestwood, NY 2002; Justin Mossay, "Gregor von Nazianz (gest. 390)", in: Gerhard Müller (ed.), *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Berlin 1985, vol. 14, 164–73; Rose Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus*: *Rhetor and Philosopher*, Oxford 1969; Emeri van Donzel, "Les 'versions' éthiopiennes des Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze", in: Justin Mossay (ed.), *II. Symposium Nazianzenum*: *Louvain-la-Neuve, 25–28 août 1981*, *Actes du colloque international*, Paderborn 1983 (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, Neue Folge, 2. Reihe: Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz 2), 127–33.

Witold Witakowski

Gregory of Nyssa

G. of Nyssa (**ጎርጎርዮስ፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ዘኑሲስ** *Gorgoryos eppis qoppos zänusis*, 'G. the bishop of Nyssa'; b. ca. 335–40, Caesarea, Cappadocia, d. ca. 395), one of the three "Cappadocian Fathers" – together with his elder brother, ↗Basil the Great, and ↗Gregory of Nazianzos – was a rhetor, theologian and saint. He was born to a wealthy family and educated at home by his brother Basil, his father, who was a rhetor, and his sister Macrina, a nun. In addition to Christian literature, G. was well, read in Greek philosophy. Although consecrated as a lector, G. left church life ca. 364, married a woman by the name of Theosebeia (d. 385) and worked as a rhetor. Later, the other two Cappadocians requested his assistance in ecclesiastical and theological matters and ca. 371, somehow forcing his will, he was consecrated as the second Bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia. In 374, under accusation of dissipating Church money, he was deposed by an Arian synod, but reinstated to his position after the death of Emperor Valens, when Imperial support for the Arians ceased. After the death of his brother Basil, G. was regarded as the head of the Nicenes (↗Nicaea). He was even temporarily president of the Council at Constantinople in 381 and became thereafter one of the "normative" bishops of Emperor Theodosius I. G. was active at the Imperial court and wrote, *inter alia*, funeral homilies for the wife and daughter of the Emperor. He travelled to Jerusalem several times, and even to Arabia on ecclesiastical missions. In ca. 385 he withdrew from ecclesiastical politics.

The most speculative and mystical writer of the three Cappadocians, G. was renowned for his Trinitarian theology and ascetic ideas. G. was a prolific writer. His numerous works can be divided into the following categories (for full list s. CPG II):
1) Exegetical: *On Creation*, a supplement to the *Hexaemeron* of Basil; *On the Making of Man*; *Apologetical Explanation on the Hexaemeron*; *Life of Moses*; *15 Homilies* on the *Song of Songs*;
2) Polemical and dogmatic: *Against Eunomius*; *Antirrhetikos* (against the Apollinarists); *On the Holy Spirit against the Macedonians*; *The Great Catechism* (a manual of dogmatics that was greatly influenced by ↗Origen's theology).
3) Trinitarian writings: *To Ablabius* (explaining that there are not three gods); *To the Greeks*; *Against Eustathius* (on the *pneumatomachi*).
4) Ascetic and moral: *Dialogue on the Soul and Resurrection*, in which his sister Macrina plays the role of "the Master"; *Eight Homilies on the Blessings*; *On Virginity*; *Life of Macrina*; funeral homilies for the Princess Pulcheria and Empress Flaxilla.

The following writings are attributed to G. in Ethiopia (all unpublished):
1. Four extracts are transmitted in the patristic collection ↗*Haymanotä abäw*:

a. Fifteenth (in fact 13th) *Homily on the Song of Songs* (ትርጓሜ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ዘውእቱ፡ መሓልየ፡ መሓልይ, *Tərgʷame mäṣḥafä Sälomon zäwəʾətu mäḥaləyä mäḥaləy*, 'The Explanation of the Book of Solomon, which is the Song of Songs'; Graf 1937:371; CPG II, no. 3158);

b. *Homily on the Baptism of Our Lord* (በእንተ፡ ጥምቀቱ፡ ለእግዚእነ, *Bäʾəntä ṭəmqätu läʾəgziʾənä*, 'On the Baptism of our Lord'), in fact a work by Patriarch Gregory of Antioch, d. ca. 592 (Graf 1937:372);

c. *Homily* on Phil 2:5–7 from the *First Homily on the Blessings* (ኀልዩ፡ ዘንተ፡ በአልባቢክሙ፡ ምንት፡ ውእቱ፡ ንዴት..., *Ḫalləyu zäntä bäʾalbabikəmu mənt wəʾətu nədet*..., 'Consider this with your hearts, what is poverty...'; CPG II, no. 3161);

d. *Homily on Penance* (በእንተ፡ ንስሓ፡ ወዘከመ፡ ይረክብ፡ ተድላ፡ ወዕረፍተ..., *Bäʾəntä nəssəḥa wäzäkämä yəräkkəb tädla wäʿəräftä*..., 'About the penance, and how one can reach the heavenly pleasure and rest...');
2. an Anaphora of G. (↗Anaphoras), often with no further specifications (Hammerschmidt 1987: 25ff.), occasionally attributed to G. (ጎርጎርዮስ፡ እኅወ፡ ባስልዮስ, *Gorgoryos əḫwä Basəlyos*, s. VatLib Aeth. 39, fol. 76v–82), but in some manuscripts traced to one of the other G. (G. of Nazianzos, G. of Alexandria and G. the Illuminator).
Quotations from G. can be found in:
3. *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ḥawi* (s. ms. BritLib Orient. 784);
4. the *Catena Commentary on the Gospel*, i.e. ↗*Tərgʷame wängel* of Syriac origin (Lusini 1988:473; ms. BritLib Orient. 736, fol. 37v);
5. the treatise entitled ↗*Haymanot rətəʿt*, possibly of the 18th cent. (e.g., ms. BritLib Ad. 16,199), with many quotations from the fathers;
6. *Questions* of G. to his Brother Basil the Great concerning the exegesis of certain place-names in the New Testament (GrafLit vol. 1, 325, 335, n. 8; cf. 17th-cent. ms. Dāgā Esṭifanos 33, fol. 32va–39rb.).

Additionally, G. is mentioned in compositions such as:
7. *Acts and Miracles of Mercurius*, with an episode describing how Mercurius (↗Märqorewos) helped Basil and Gregory when they were persecuted by Emperor Julian (ms. EMML 3290, fol. 43v–46r, from 1865–1913);
8. ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* with an episode in which Mary appears to Gregory "Bishop of the Islands, brother of Basil (the Great)" (18th-cent ms. EMML 2058, fol. 164r–v);
9. Commemoration of the Death of Gregory, Brother of Basil (s. ms. BN Éth. 339 [Griaule 35], fol. 44vb–45vb), that is composed in the style of a ↗*Sənkəssar* entry; the latter work commemorates G. on 26 *Ḫədar* (BudSaint 289), but does not provide his life story.

Src.: SixTana III, 166, ms. Dāgā Esṭifanos 33; DillmLond 20f., no. 15 [Ad. 16, 199]; CPG II, 209–30, nos. 3135–3226 (Lit.); GreTisVat 176–80, ms. VatLib Aeth. 39 (Lit.); Sylvain Grébaut, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Griaule*, II, Paris 1941, 3–9, ms. Éth. 339 [Griaule 35]; William Moore – Henry Austin Wilson (tr.), *Select Writings and Letters of Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa*, Grand Rapids 1979 (A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 2nd ser., 5); BudSaint 289; ColSyn VIII, 375; EMML 632, 2058, 3290; WrBriMus 201f., no. 310 [Orient. 736].
Lit.: Sebastian Euringer, "Die beiden gewöhnlichen äthiopischen Gregorius-Anaphoren", *Orientalia Christiana* 30, 2, 1933, 65–82; Margarete Altenburger – Friedhelm Mann, *Bibliographie zu Gregor von Nyssa: Editionen, Übersetzungen, Literatur*, Leiden 1988; David L. Balás, "Gregor von Nyssa (331/340 – ca. 395)", in: Gerhard Müller (ed.), *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Berlin 1985, vol. 14, 173–81; GrafLit vol. 1, 325, 335, n. 8; Georg Graf, "Zwei dogmatische Florilegien der Kopten: Die Bekenntnis der Väter", *OrChrP* 3, 1937, 345–402; Ernst Hammerschmidt, *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*, Wiesbaden ^{2}1987 (AeF 25), 25ff.; Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Appunti sulla patristica greca di tradizione etiopica", *Studi Classici e Orientali* 38, 1988, 469–93; Antony Meredith, *Gregory of Nyssa*, London 1999.

Witold Witakowski

Griaule, Marcel Henri

G. (b. 16 May 1898, Aisy-sur-Armançon, Yonne, d. 23 February 1956, Paris) was a French ethnologist. The son of a railway station-director, G. studied in the Parisian lycée Louis-le-Grand and during World War I joined the air force, where he became an officer and a pilot. Later, he joined the seminars of Marcel Mauss and Marcel ↗Cohen – under whom he studied Gəᶜəz and Amharic – at the École Pratique des Hautes Études and the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes (↗Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales), where he also defended his thesis.

After using local informants (among others, from ↗Bägemdər) in Paris, G. carried out a first mission to the Goǧǧam of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot with Marcel Larget in 1928–29, during which he collected numerous materials. An outcome of the mission were two scientific works (1930, 1933) and a third piece of a more literary character (1934).

Later, G. led a project from the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, a large-scale expedition that, mostly through the French possessions, crossed Africa from west to east: the famous Mission Dakar–Djibouti that took place from May 1931 to February 1933. The expedition, which included in its team Michel ↗Leiris and – in Ethiopia – *abba* ↗Jérôme, made lengthy stays in Mali among the Dogon and in Gondär. From Ethiopia, despite numerous obstacles, it brought back to France an important collection of manuscrits, paintings – copied by Gaston-Louis Roux – and ethnographical objects, kept today at the Musée de l'Homme – Trocadéro (to be moved to the Musée du Quai Branly; s. Jean Jamin 1996).

After the Italo–Ethiopian conflict began at the end of 1934 (↗Italian war 1935–36), the facts presented in G.'s works were used by the adversaries of Ethiopia to nourish their propaganda, especially in a report presented by Italy to the League of Nations in 1935. G. reacted by helping the Ethiopian delegation in drawing up their response and producing a book where he elaborated his advocacy of Ethiopia (1936).

During the German occupation of France, from 1940 to 1944, G. taught Amharic at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, replacing Marcel Cohen, excluded due to his Jewish origin, and additionally was appointed to the newly created chair of Ethnology at the Sorbonne. After the liberation of France, he abandoned Ethiopian studies to concentrate on Western Africa and specifically on the Dogon.

Src.: Marcel Henri Griaule, "Mythes, croyances et coutumes du Bégemder (Abyssinie)", JA 222, 1928, 19-124; Id., *Le livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin*, Paris 1930 (Université de Paris. Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 12); Id., *Jeux et divertissements abyssins*, Paris 1935 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sc. religieuses 49); Id., *Silhouettes et graffitis abyssins*, Paris 1933; Id., *Les flambeurs d'hommes*, Paris 1934; Id., *La peau de l'ours*, Paris 1936.
Lit.: Olivier Chambard, "Marcel Griaule: un ethnologue français et le conflit éthiopien", in: Denise Eeckaute – Michel Perret (eds.), *La guerre d'Ethiopie et l'opinion mondiale, 1934–1941: Actes du Colloque de l'INALCO, Paris, 14 décembre 1984*, Paris 1986, 75–84; Alain Rouaud, "Griaule, Marcel", in: Pierre Labrousse, *Deux siècles d'histoire de l'école des langues orientales vivantes*, Paris 1955, 367f.; Jean-Paul Lebeuf – Annie Lebeuf – Léopold Sédar Senghor et al., *Ethnologiques. Hommage à Marcel Griaule*, Paris 1987; P. Champion, "Marcel Griaule (1898–1956)", *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 26, 1956, 267–71; Id., "Bibliographie de Marcel Griaule", *ibid.*, 279–90; Jean Jamin, "Introduction", in: Michel Leiris, *Miroir de l'Afrique*, Paris 1996, 9–58.

Alain Rouaud – Red.

GRMT

G. (South Arabian GRMT, conventionally rendered as Eth. Gärma[t], cp. ↗GDR[T] for -*t*; first half of the 3rd cent. A.D.) was the son of the Aksumite king *ᶜAzba (South Arabian: ᶜḎBH, also read WḎBH = Gr. ΟΥΑΖΕΒΑϹ, ↗Ouazebas, Eth. *WZB/↗WᶜZB?), who sent him to South ↗Arabia with an army, in terms of ↗Aksum's alliance with ↗Ḥimyar against Saba. He appears as *wld ngšyⁿ* (*mlk ᵓksmⁿ*), i.e. 'son of the *nəguś* [king of the Aksumites]', in two Sabaean inscriptions dating to ca. 230-40 A.D. and mentioning his military operations, with "tribes from Abyssinia [here the Ethiopian highlands] and Tihāma", at the side of the Ḥimyarite king ŠMR [YHḤMD] (Ja. 577.3, 6 and 585.14f., s. Robin in PICES 8, vol. 2, 147, 150f. [and n. 43], 153, 160). G. was defeated and, together with ŠMR, submitted to the Sabaean king ᵓLŠRH YḤḌB, but seems to have continued his war activities not far from ↗Nağrān (CIH 314 + 954). His name, connected with *gärämä* ('be frightful, become fomidable, admirable', cp. *gərämt*, *gərma* 'terror, majesty', with related onomastics: Gərma Asfär[e], G. Giyorgis, G. Ṣəyon, etc., Amh. Gərmaç̣ç̣əw), is possibly found in the "Aksumite" form ↗Gärima – which might even suggest a suitable vocalization for G.

Src.: Albert Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs* (*Mârib*), Baltimore 1962 (American Foundation for the Study of Man 3), 76-83 [Ja. 577], 91ff. [Ja. 585], 319-23 [commentary]; CIH tom. 1, fasc. 4, Parisiis 1908, 340-45 [CIH 314]; *ibid.*, tom. 3, fasc. 2, 1931, 280ff. [CIH 954].
Lit.: Abraham J. Drewes, *Inscriptions de l'Ethiopie antique*, Leiden 1962, 102f., 106f.; Arthur K. Irvine, "Gärma", in: *DEB* 70; Id. – Roger Schneider, "ᶜAdhba", *ibid.*, 12f.; MHAksum 41ff., 55, 71ff., 157; Christian Robin, "La première intervention abyssine en Arabie méridionale (de 200 à 270 de l'ère chrétienne environ)", in : *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 147-62, here 147, 150f. [and n. 43], 153, 160.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Grohmann, Adolf

G. (b. 1 March 1887, Graz, d. 21 September 1977, Innsbruck) was an Austrian Orientalist. From 1907 G. studied Semitic philology and Egyptology at the University of Vienna, where he received his doctorate in 1911 with a dissertation on the visions of the Coptic monk and theologian ↗Schenute of Atripe (published later in an enlarged version; Grohmann 1913). Between 1923–45, he held a chair in Semitic philology at the German University in Prague, between 1949–56 a professorship in Ancillary sciences to Islamic history at Cairo University, and after 1956, an honorary professorship at the University of Innsbruck.

G.'s important contributions to ↗Ethiopian studies from his earlier years were a study on Ethiopian script (1918) and a voluminous compendium of Ethiopic religious poetry (including ↗*Maḫletä ṣəge*, ↗*Akkonu bəᵓəsi* and ↗*Anqäṣä bərhan*) with philological commentaries and detailed explanations which are a mine of useful information for the interpretation of other works of Ethiopian literature (1919). G. also worked on Sabaic cultural history and during his later years on Arabic papyri and palaeography where, beside publications of texts and inscriptions, two works stand out (1954; 1969–71).

Src.: Adolf Grohmann, "Die im Äthiopischen, Arabischen und Koptischen erhaltenen Visionen Apa Schenute's von Atripe", *ZDMG* 67, 1913, 187–267; *ibid.* 68, 1914, 1–46; Id., "Reste einer neuen Rezension der Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu in den Taᵓāmra ᵓĪyasūs", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 28, 1914, 1–15; Id., "Studien zu den Cypriacusgebeten", *ibid.* 30, 1917–18, 121–50; Id., "Über den Ursprung und die Entwicklung der äthiopischen Schrift", *Archiv für Schriftkunde* 1, 1918, 57–87; Id., *Äthiopische Marienhymnen*, Leipzig 1919 (Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 33, 4); Id., *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, Prag 1954; Id., *Arabische Paläographie*, 2 vols., Wien 1969–71.
Lit.: Hans Ludwig Gottschalk, "Adolf Grohmann", in: *Almanach der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften für das Jahr 1978*, Wien 1979, 331–41 [Obituary and bibliography].

Walter W. Müller

Grottanelli, Vinigi Lorenzo

G. (b. 13 August 1912, Avigliana, Turin, d. 30 May 1993, Rome) was an Italian anthropologist. G. graduated in 1933 and 1935 in Economics and Law respectively from the University of Turin. For his B.A. thesis in economic geography, prepared under the supervision of the geographer Pietro Gribaudi, he carried out field work in Somalia studying the conflicts concerning indigenous labour in the lower ↗Wabi Šäbälle area. Later, G. lectured in Rome, where he came into contact with the prestigious Scuola di Studi Orientali and attended seminars on Amharic and Gəᶜəz by Carlo ↗Conti Rossini and on non-Semitic languages of East Africa by Martino Mario ↗Moreno. He became a close friend of the historian of religions Raffaele Pettazzoni, founder of the Istituto di Civiltà Primitive, the later Istituto di Etnologia, of which G. himself was to become director. After World War II, he completed his education in ethnology in London.

In the context of the colonial conquest of Ethiopia, in 1937 G. joined the interdisciplinary team funded by the Centro Studi per l'Africa Orientale Italiana (and directed by Giotto ↗Dainelli) with the purpose of studying the Lake ↗Ṭana region. As the member responsible of the anthropological-geographical section, G. studied both local markets, applying conceptual categories of the marginalist school of economic thought, and indigenous dwellings, using the surveying methodology of the Italian geographical school – i.e., chiefly, anthropometry, yet balanced by a strong sense of history. Parallel to the main mission, he conducted research in the western lowlands amongst the ↗Kunama, and, in 1939, amongst the ↗Mao (s. Grottanelli 1940) and ↗Koman of western Wälläga. Later, between 1951–52, he carried out field work in Somalia among the Wabajuni fishermen, the Kismaayu and the Lamu. It was then that he elaborated the category of "pre-Nilotes", clearly bred into a rigid form of historical diffusionism and much contested by contemporary scholars (Grottanelli 1955).

In 1942, G. was appointed Professor of Ethnology at the University of Rome and Superintendent of Antiquities and Fine Arts. For the following 25 years, he was in charge of the study and preservation of the ethnographic collections of the National Museum Luigi Pigorini. Among his numerous scientific involvements, between 1946–68 he was member of the Executive Council of the International African Institute and the international scientific commission set up by UNESCO for the preparation of a General History of Africa. He also taught at the ↗Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples and the Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana in Rome.

G. placed himself at the intersection of different ethno-historical traditions, being specially influenced by the German and Austrian historical-cultural schools, dominant in Italy during the 1920s–30s (Wilhelm Schmidt) and the historical-philological tradition of Conti Rossini, ↗Cerulli and Moreno. He came also into contact with the historical-geographical school led by Renato Biasutti, the physical anthropology and palaeontology practiced by the Florentine school of Mochi and Biasutti himself and the historical-religious approach of Pettazzoni. G. collaborated in the editorial team of the ↗*Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, the journal *Africa* (Roma, starting with the 3rd year of publication) and the encyclopaedia *Razze e popoli della Terra* (2nd ed., 1953–57), directed by Biasutti. He also directed the collective work *Ethnologica*, to which he contributed important sections.

G.'s research was primarily focused on material culture, religious and artistic life and the various migrations and mixing processes that shaped the rich ethnic landscape in the Horn of Africa (whereas it also extended to such distant subjects as West Africa or Oceania). He was interested in understanding the way a social structure came into being and generated its own cultural features. More oriented towards fieldwork than theoretical reflection, in 1954 G. returned to Africa with the Missione Etnologica Italiana in Ghana, which he directed until 1975, studying the Nzema of western Ghana.

Src.: Vinigi Lorenzo Grottanelli (ed.), *Missione di studio al Lago Tana*, vol. 2: *Ricerche geografiche ed economiche sulle popolazioni*, Roma 1939; Id., *Missione etnografica nel Uollega occidentale*, vol. 1: *I Mao*, Roma 1940; Id., *Pescatori dell'Oceano indiano. Saggio etnologico preliminare sui Bagiuni, Bantu costieri dell'Oltregiuba*, Roma 1955; Id. (ed.), *La figura umana nell'arte dei primitivi. Collezioni del Museo nazionale preistorico-etnografico Luigi Pigorini*, Roma 1956; Id. et al., *Ethnologica: l'uomo e la civiltà*, 3 vols., Milano 1965; Id., *Gerarchie etniche e conflitto culturale. Saggi di etnologia nordest-africana*, Milano 1976; Id., "Ethnology and/or Cultural Anthropology in Italy: Traditions and Developments", *Current Anthropology* 18, 1977, 593–613; Id. – Claudia Massari (ed.), *Missione di studio al Lago Tana*, vol. 6: *I Baria, i Cunama e i Beni Amer*, Roma 1943.

Lit.: Bernardo Bernardi, "Vinigi Lorenzo Grottanelli", *Africa* (Roma) 48, 1993, 424–26; Barbara Plankensteiner, *Conte Vinigi Grottanelli: Ein theoriengeschichtlicher Beitrag zur italienischen Ethnologie*, M.A. thesis, Universität Wien 1991; Pier Giorgio Solinas, "L'Italie hors d'elle même", *Ethnologie française* 1994, 3, 602–14; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Prefazione", in: *EllLusAnt* VII–XI, here VIIf., XI; Valeria Ribeiro Corossacz, "Grottanelli, Vinigi Lorenzo", in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Roma 2003, vol. 60, 24–27; Lanfranco Ricci, "Vinigi L. Grottanelli", *RSE* 31, 1991 [1993, pub. 1994], 171–96.

Gianni Dore

Grühl, Max

G. (b. 1884, Pinneberg, d. 1941) was a German ethnographer and author who organized several ↗expeditions to southern Ethiopia. G. was originally a teacher at a commercial school and had an Egyptological background, which inspired his theory that remnants of the ancient Pharaonic culture are to be found in Ethiopia, especially in Käfa. In 1925–26 and 1928–29 he led two – mainly self-funded – expeditions to areas between the ↗Abbay and Lake Rudolph (today ↗Turkana), where he carried out ethnographic research (Deutsche Nil-, Rudolfsee- und Kaffa-Expedition; Deutsche Äthiopien-Expedition). His son Waldemar, then a secondary school student, accompanied him in 1925 and kept a diary of this adventurous journey, which was published in 1929.

G.'s interest in the improvement of trade relations between Ethiopia and Germany accompanied his scholarly research. He was involved in the ambitious Lake ↗Ṭana project, the British plan to built a dam in the lake in order to regulate the water-flow to the Nile. In the mid-1920s he discussed German involvement with *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən and other officials and was commissioned by German industrialists to study the feasibility of the project. German banks finally agreed to raise capital for a concession, but the necessary collaboration with the British was never achieved (Bairu Tafla 1981:140f.). An outcome of G.'s second expedition was the discovery in Moǧo of the "Mojo fever" by his travel companion, the Russian physician Gavriloff of Addis Abäba.

His recordings of Ethiopian music are still kept in the Ethnological Museum Berlin. G.'s books and film sequences (e.g., from a visit to the governor of western border areas *šayḫ* ↗Ḫʷağalī) contain a wealth of data and impressions on Ethiopian personalities and peoples before the Italian invasion. His account of the journey to ↗Käfa (Grühl 1932; 1938) is especially important due to the scarcity of sources on this region. It contains numerous data on oral history, including translations of oral traditions and on administration and social order.

G.'s influence on the formation of a positive image of "Abyssinia" in Germany, also during the Third Reich period, was considerable. A writer especially popular among the youth for his adventurous travel accounts, the political events of the mid-1930s gave him the opportunity to publish a number of books, while public interest was high. Several of them were rapidly translated into English and Italian. His reports combine the "tourist" quest for adventure and exotic peoples and scholarly curiosity. His commercial partner, Major Hans Steffen, a weapons trader in the Near East, in 1927 established connections with the Ethiopian leadership and then became the Ethiopian Consul at Berlin, acting from 1928 to 1936 (Zitelmann 1999:136). In missionary history G. also plays a role; when he returned from Ethiopia in 1926, he appealed for the re-opening of the Protestant mission. The appeal was received in a moment of re-orientation, was interpreted by missionary circles as a sign of God and quickly led to the establishment of the ↗Hermannsburger Mission in Wälläga in 1927 (Bauerochse 2000:586).

↗Germany, relations with

Src.: Grühl's letters, Missionsarchiv, Hermannsburg; MAX GRÜHL, "Abessinien und Deutschland", *Hamburgischer Correspondent*, 9 März 1927; ID., "Abessinien und Deutschland", *Koloniale Rundschau* [Berlin], 10 September 1927; ID., "Deutschland und Abessinien: Eine wirtschaftliche Betrachtung", *Kölnische Zeitung*, 9 Oktober 1928; WALDEMAR GRÜHL, *Aus der Untersekunda ins Innere Abessinien*, Berlin – Minden – Leipzig 1929; MAX GRÜHL, *Faltboot-Safari in Afrika: Fahrten durch blaue Meere, am Rand der Wüste und durch Urwalddunkel*, Wien – Leipzig 1931; ID., *Abessinien – ahoi! Vom heiligen Nil ins Reich des Negus Negest*, Berlin 1935 [English tr.: *Abyssinia at Bay*, London 1935]; ID., *The Citadel of Ethiopia: the Empire of the Divine Emperor*, London 1932; ID., *Abessinien, die Zitadelle Afrikas*, Berlin 1935 [Italian tr.: *L'Impero del Negus Neghesti*, Milano 1935]; ID., *Schwarz gegen Weiß: Die Zange um Abessinien*, Stettin 1935; ID., *Zum Kaisergott von Kaffa: als Forscher auf eigene Faust im dunkelsten Afrika*, Berlin 1938.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Germany: Cultural, Political and Economic Relations, 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5), 68, 140f.; ERNST BAUEROCHSE, "Die Vision von Ludwig Harms erfüllt sich, die Arbeit in Äthiopien", in: ERNST-AUGUST LÜDEMANN (ed.), *Vision: Gemeinde weltweit, 150 Jahre Hermannsburger Mission und Ev.-luth. Missionswerk Niedersachsen*, Hermannsburg 2000, 585–709; Lockot I (Lit.); THOMAS ZITELMANN, *Des Teufels Lustgarten. Themen und Tabus der politischen Anthropologie Nordostafrikas*, Habilitationsschrift, Fachbereich Politik- und Sozialwissenschaften, Freie Universität Berlin 1999, 136ff., 156.

Wolbert Smidt

Guba

Abba G. (ጉባ, also Gubba, ጕባ Gʷəbba) was one of the ↗Nine Saints likely to have arrived in Ethiopia in the late 5th/early 6th cent. from the eastern provinces of the ↗Byzantine empire. Most obscure among them, G. is only mentioned in a few hagiographic sources (e.g., the *Gädlä* ↗*Ṗänṭälewon*, ed. Conti Rossini 1904: 44); his own Acts have not been found yet. A Homily by "Julian [Luləyanos], bishop of Aksum", in which ↗Yəmʾata and G. are praised, is transmitted in ms. EMML 1763 from ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, dating between 1336 and 1340 (Getatchew Haile 1985:389), as well as in the almost contemporary ms. EMML 8509 from ↗Ṭana Qirqos (Fiaccadori 1989:150 and n. 3], 161f., ill.). The "standard" version of G.'s story has it that he came from Cilicia (Qəlqəya: whence his purported "Syrian connection", s. ↗Syriac influences) and stayed for a while with *abba* Ṗänṭälewon at Aksum. Then he went to ↗Mädära, the same place as ↗Gärima, and settled within a "three-day walk" from the latter (Guidi 1894:63). The ↗*Sənkəssar* commemorates G. together with Afṣe and Yəsḥaq (Gärima), who all are "of the assembly [*əngəlga*] of the Nine Saints", on 29 *Gənbot* (ColSyn XIII, 346f.). According to a most rare variant in a *Sənkəssar* ms. (from ↗Däbrä Bizän) already in the possession Giuseppe ↗Sapeto, G. "went out into the desert of Baraka [↗Barka], and no one knows about his life or his tomb" (Sapeto 1857:410; cp. Dillmann 1880:25 and n. 4).

Though G. surely belonged to the number of the Nine Saints, and is depicted as one of them in both murals (e.g., in the famous Yəmʾata church of Gʷəḥ, s. Gerster 1972, fig. 188) and illuminations, there seems to be no monastic foundation claiming its origins from him; G.'s mission apparently "died out" (SerHist 118). This may explain why the Jesuit Pedro ↗Paez (BecRASO II, 517) believed that G. was a name later given to "Abbâ Oz" (↗ᶜOṣ, sometimes included among the Nine Saints).

Src.: Carlo Conti Rossini (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum*, I. *Acta Yārēd et Panṭalēwon*, Romae – Parisiis – Lipsiae 1904 [repr. Louvain 1961] (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]), 44 (text) = 40 (tr.); EMML 1763, 8509; Getatchew Haile, "The Homily of Luləyanos, Bishop of Axum, on the Holy Fathers", *ABoll* 103, 1985, 385–91, here 389 (text) = 391 (tr.); Ignazio Guidi, "Il 'Gadla' Aragâwî'", *MRALm* ser. 5^a, 2, 1894, 54–96, here 48, 63 (text) = 89 (tr.); ColSyn XIII, 346f.; BudSaint 944; Giuseppe Sapeto, *Viaggio e missione cattolica tra i Mensâ, i Bogos e gli Habab, con un cenno geografico e storico dell'Abissinia*, Roma 1857, 410 and n. 15; BecRASO II, 517.

Lit.: BṛakKirche 129; August Dillmann, "Zur Geschichte des Axumitischen Reichs im vierten bis sechsten Jahrhundert", *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1880, [I], 3–51, here 24f. and n. 4; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13-14], 1989 [1993], 145-64, here 150 [and n. 3], 161f., ill. (Lit.); Georg Gerster, *Kirchen im Fels*: *Entdeckungen in Äthiopien*, Zürich ^{2}1972, 135–38, fig. 188; Arthur K. Irvine – Saifu Metaferia, "Guba", in: *DicEthBio* 75f. (Lit.); Paolo Marrassini, "Ancora sul problema degli influssi siriaci in età aksumita", in: Luigi Cagni (ed.), *Biblica et Semitica*: *Studi in memoria di Francesco Vattioni*, Napoli 1999 (Istituto Universitario Orientale. Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Ser. Minor 59), 325–37, here 327f.; Osvaldo Raineri, "Gubā", in: *EncSan* 142 (Lit.); SerHist 115f., 118f.

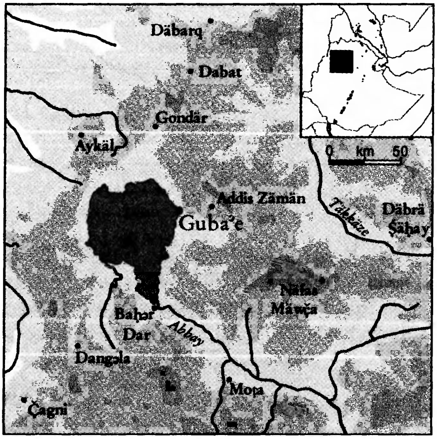
Stuart Munro-Hay – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Gubaʾe

G. (ጉባኤ) is a historical town in ↗Ǝnfraz, a region that attracted royal attention from the second half of the 16th cent. There, in 1561, *aṣe* ↗Minas chose to spend the rainy season (Kropp 1988:59) and, in 1571, *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl met the governors of Bägemdər and Təgray. It is only in 1578, however, that G. really becomes the centre of the government of the Ethiopian empire and the ordinary residence of the emperor, until ca. 1589, when it was replaced with ↗Ayba, further north. At G., Śärṣä Dəngəl had a palace "of nice construction" (CRHist 50, 63, 95, 127, 133, 156). Afterwards, apart from a visit of ↗Susənyos in 1607, the site does not appear anymore in the sources, at least under that name. The "short chronicles" of the 18th cent. draw a parallel between G. and Dobit, Dokit or Däbet (BassÉt 117; Perruchon 1896:179, 214), where Fasilädäs spent the rainy season in 1633–34 (BassÉt 133; Perruchon 1897:361f.; 1898:84).

Antoine d'↗Abbadie located the ruins of a castle at a place called Guzara near the Dabed river (d'Abbadie 1873, map 4; cp. EMA map no. 1237 D3, with Guzara and an area called "Gubay" situated 5 to 10km to the south and the river "Dobito" between), on account of which Annequin (1965: 22–25) and Pankhurst (in PICES 5b, 415–20; PankHist I, 94–100) have surmised that the sites of G., Guzara and Dobit are one and the same. In this case, the ruined castle of Guzara could be the palace of Śärṣä Dəngəl and thus the oldest example of the ↗Gondär-style architecture, more than 50 years prior to the erection of the ↗Gondär castles (s. also Merid Wolde Aregay 1984:135f.). Yet, in the absence of either a precise survey of this area or excavations at Guzara, the question cannot find a definitive answer; all the more so, as the sources of the first half of the 17th cent. clearly distinguish between the city of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl and the seat of an audience by *aṣe* Susənyos in 1607 (PerChron II, 74ff.), G. or "Old G." according to the Jesuits (d'Almeida in BecRASO VI, 155f.), on the one hand, and the cities of *aṣe* ↗Yaᶜəqob, Dobit (PerChron II, 121) and Qoga (PerChron II, 87, 101) or the "New G." (Paez in BecRASO II, 203f.) on the other.

Gubaʾe: Guzara castle; photo 1992, courtesy of LaVerle Berry



Src.: CRHist 50, 63, 95, 97, 109, 114, 116, 127, 129, 133, 145, 156 (text); Manfred Kropp (ed., tr.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Mināš*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 60 (text) = 59, n. 232 (tr.); PerChron II, 74ff., 87, 101, 121; BassÉt 117, 133; Jules Perruchon, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Le règne de Sarsa Dengel ou Malak Sagad (1563–1597)", *RevSem* 4, 1896, 177–85, 273–78, here 179, 274; Id., "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Le règne de Fasiladas ou Alam Sagad (1632–1667)", *ibid.* 5, 1897, 360–72, here 361f. (text) = *ibid.* 6, 1898, 84–92, here 84 (tr.); Antoine d'Abbadie, *Géodésie d'Ethiopie, ou triangulation d'une partie de la Haute Ethiopie exécutée selon des méthodes nouvelles*, Paris 1873, map 4; Ethiopian Mapping Agency (EMA), *Map 1237 D3*, 1:50 000, 1988; BecRASO II, 203f.; VI, 155f.

Lit.: Guy Annequin, "Chronique archéologique (1960–1964)", *AE* 6, 1965, 3–26, here 22–25 ["4. Château de Gouzara (pl. XIX–XXI)"] (Lit.); PankHist I, 94–100; Richard Pankhurst, "Three Urban Precursors of Gondar: Emfraz, Gorgora and Danqaz", in: *PICES* 5b, 415–30, here 415–20; Merid Wolde Aregay, "Society and Technology in Ethiopia: 1500–1800", *JES* 17, 1984, 127–47, here 135f.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé

Gubaʾe qana

G.q. (**ጉባኤ፡ ቃና**) is one of the traditional forms of ↗*qəne* poetry. G.q. hymns are improvised during the celebration of the Liturgy of the Hours. As with all *qəne*, G.q. hymns are **እንግዳ፡ ድርሰት** (*əngəda dərsät*, lit. 'guest-composition') and unique, being performed only once and never repeated.

This type of *qəne*, with double **ቤት** (*bet*, 'verse'), is known by its shortness and simplicity. It is performed at the celebration of the ↗*Səbḥatä nägh* (Matins or Lauds) on Wednesdays and Fridays and ↗Lent. It is sung in the ↗*gəʿəz* or ↗*ʿəzəl* mode (Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase 1979 A.M.:31; HabUff 216) after the psalms ↗*zäʾamlakəyä* (lit. 'of my God'), named after the beginning of Ps 62/63 (also Ps 64/65 and Ps 91/92:5, s. Yəḫeyyəs Wärqe 1960 A.M.:20). On Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Sundays, the G.q. is replaced by the three *bet* of *qəne*-type *zäʾamlakyä*, sung after the psalms *zäʾamlakəyä*.

The G.q. may have references to Christ's suffering on the Cross: **ስለ፡ ተዘክሮተ፡ መስቀል** (*səlä täzäkkərotä mäsqäl*, 'on the memory of the Cross'). It is sung in the *gəʿəz* mode also during the celebration of the Sunday office (↗*Mäwäddəs*) after Ps 5, 41/42, 47/48, when the *Dəggʷa* element ↗*arbaʿət* does not contain the repetition of the closing part of the *arbaʿət* executed on the same melody (the so-called *məlṭan*, or *həyäntä qəne*; Admasu Ǧämbäre 1963 A.M.: 19; Yəḫeyəs Wärqe 1960 A.M.:14, 16).

As to the meaning of the term G.q., scholars offer divergent interpretations. *Gubaʾe* is 'assembly' and *qana* may be understood as *Qan*[*n*]*a zägälila* (**ቃና፡ ዘገሊላ**, 'Cana of Galilee'; Jn 2). According to one explanation, it refers to the name of the feast (the Wedding at Cana), for which this kind of poem was first composed by *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam I. Other interpreters maintain that just as Jesus was surrounded by his disciples at the wedding at Cana, so do *qəne* students gather around their teachers, improvising this kind of *qəne*; both the verb **ቀነየ** (*qännäyä*, 'to give intonation, to compose, or to sing an hymn or a poem') and the term *qəne* derive from the name of this biblical place. Still other *liqawənt* prefer to trace the origin of G.q. to Qana, a small village in Šäwa, where ↗*däbtära* would have gathered to discuss *qəne*.

When a student begins to learn and compose *qəne* and modulate his voice (yet another meaning of the verb *qännäyä*) accordingly, it is G.q. that he is concerned with (Admasu Ǧämbäre 1963 A.M.: 18). Thus, the mastery of G.q. stands at the beginning of the career of the future *däbtära*.

↗Qəddase

Src.: Admasu Ǧämbäre (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ፡ ዝክረ፡ ሊቃውንት** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne zəkrä liqawənt*, 'The Book of *Qəne* – the Heritage of Scholars'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.], 18f.; Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase (ed.), **ምዕራፍ፡ ዘደረሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ያሬድ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ** (*Məʿəraf zädäräsä qəddus Yared ityoṗyawi*, '*Məʿəraf* Composed by St. Yared the Ethiopian'), Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1987/88 A.D.], 31; *mämhər* Yəḫeyəs Wärqe, **ንባብ፡ ወትርጓሜ፡ ዘቅኔያት፡ አዕማደ፡ ምሥጢራት** (*Nəbab wätərgʷame zäqəneyat aʿmadä məśṭirat*, 'Text and Interpretation of the *Qəne*, the Pillars of Mysteries'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68

A.D.], 14, 16, 20; VelMe II 64f.
Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Di alcune varietà di inni della Chiesa etiopica", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 3, 1934, 294–305; CRAbb IV, 222–32; ʿƎNBAQOM QALÄWÄLD, ስለ፡ ቅኔ፡ ትምህርትና፡ ስለ፡ ጥቅሙ (*Səlä qəne təmhərtənna səlä ṭəqəmu*, 'About the Teaching and the Importance of the Qəne'), in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 117–32; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Di alcuni inni abissini", *RSO* 1, 1907, 217–20; ERIC GODET, "La métrique du qenē gueze", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84 [1986], 117–203, here 123f., 141, 169, 172; HabUff 215f.

Habtemichael Kidane

Gubala

G. (ጉባላ, also called Qerəllos; b. ca. 1696, d. after 1726), was the son and successor of ↗Maḫdärä Krəstos, a pretender from ↗Lasta, who challenged *aṣe* ↗Yohannəs I. G.'s main centre of activity was the mountain stronghold of ↗Ǝmäkina, in eastern Bugna, Lasta. Like his father before him, G. had taken the title of ↗*nəguś* and had established alliances in his rebellion against *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa. In 1725 Bäkaffa led a campaign into Lasta and devastated the region, but his commanders were unable to proceed to Ǝmäkina.

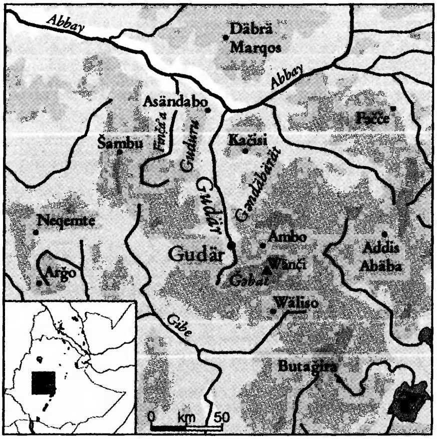
Aṣe Bäkaffa made another expedition into Lasta in 1726 and eastern Bugna suffered major destruction. Unable to resist the larger imperial forces and because of the destruction of the region, G. sued for peace after 30 years of struggle, which indicates that his rebellion had started before the reign of Bäkaffa. Later in the same year, G. travelled to Gondär with his son and formally submitted to the Emperor. The court was satisfied with the submission of Lasta and G. and his son were sent back to their area with honours.

Src.: Guilohan 298, 300–04, 311, 314 (text) = 319, 322–25, 333f., 337 (tr.); BassÉt I,402f. (text) = II, 357f. (tr.).
Lit.: GETATCHEW HAILE, "On the House of Lasta from the History of Zena Gabriel", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 6, 7–21; ID., "Who Is Who in Ethiopia's Past, Part II: the Zagwe Royal Family after the Zagwe", *NEASt* 7, 3, 1985, 41–48; WUDU TAFETE, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, c. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995.

Wudu Tafete

Gudär

The G. (ጉደር) river is a left-bank tributary of the ↗Abbay. The G. has its sources on the slopes around Mount ↗Ǧəbat, more than 3,000 m A.S.L. south-west of Ambo. It flows into the Abbay at an altitude below 1,000 m A.S.L. after running more than 150 km. Its upper course winds through the Šänän high basin, which is flooded during the rainy season. It runs south-north and is bordered by two recently active volcanoes, Mount Tokke to the north and Mount Wänči to the south. Their lava has cut the river, resulting in several falls, up and downstream of the city of G. (2,085 m A.S.L.). After collecting the waters from the slopes of Wänči and the Ambo-Gudär depression, the G. flows northwards through narrow gorges into the Wadessa plateaux. This very deep cut follows a graben covered upstream with recent lacustrine sedimentary deposits (Holocene), with travertine and basalt. Dominated by the ↗Guduru plateaux to the west and by those of Gəndäbärät to the east, the G. canyon joins the Abbay near the Mälka Furi ford.



Caravans, obstructed by the narrowness of these gorges and the endemic malaria, used to travel across the highlands, in the west through Asändabo or via Kačisi in the east. The lower course of the G. is not a way of passage between Goǧǧam, in the north, and Meč̣č̣a, in the south. Despite of its steep descent, the flow of the G. is too modest to allow the installation of a hydroelectric power-plant, which was instead built on the Finčaʾa river, at the edge of the Guduru plateau. In the final years of the *Därg*, the North Korean aid built an ammunition factory in the vicinity of G. that was closed in 1991.

Src.: EMAtlas; CONSOCIAZONE TURISTICA ITALIANA, *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*, scala 1:1,000,000, Milano 1937; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AND GEOGRAPHY INSTITUTE, map NC 37–10, scale 1:250,000, Addis Abäba 1969; *Guida* 499.
Lit.: GasEth; MesfGeogr.

Alain Gascon

Guddifačaa

G. (also *guddifadda*) is an ↗Oromo term which means 'foster or adoptive parents' and, by extension, those who have reared and are responsible for a person or persons. It is sometimes used reciprocally. The verb *guddisa-ifta* is used to mean 'to make bigger, bring up, make prosper, rear children' (Leus 1995:370). An individual may be adopted or fostered at any age. The word may be generalized and used to express the economic and political relationship between a dominant Oromo group and a group of non-Oromo who have been or are being incorporated and assimilated. The meaning of G. is very close to that of ↗*Moassa*.

Src.: Gene B. Gragg, *Oromo Dictionary*, East Lansing, MI 1982, 184; Ton Leus, *Borana Dictionary*, Yabello 1995, 370.
Lit.: MHasOr 21.

Paul T.W. Baxter

Guddinaa Tumsaa

G.T. (also Gudina Tumsa, b. 1929, Boǧǧi, Wälläga, d. 28 July 1979, Addis Abäba) was a prominent Oromo evangelist and patriot. He was born into a family of heterogeneous religious filiation – his father was Protestant, his mother was Ethiopian Orthodox, his brother a ↗*qaallu*. After the Liberation, G.T. went to primary school at Boǧǧi. He completed the first four grades in two years, an early indication of his abilities. He also attended evangelical services. Around 1946 he worked in the compound of the Swedish missionary Manfred Lundgren at ↗Näǧǧo in order to pay his fees during 5th and 6th grades. He then went to Neqemte, where he completed his schooling and trained to be a nurse.

After the parents' death, G.T. and his brothers moved to Neqemte where he started work as a dresser in the hospital of the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission, during which time he married Ṣäḥay Tolassa (Saeveras 1993:35f.). From 1955 to 1958, he received theological training at Näǧǧo and Neqemte and was ordained priest by the Rev. Stjärne on 20 April 1958, together with six other candidates (Bakke 1987:153). He served as pastor in Neqemte until 1961, then in Kambaata until 1963. The ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Iyesus (EECMY), realising his extraordinary abilities, sent him for further theological training to the United States, where he received his Bachelor of Divinity (B.D.).

On his return in 1966, G.T. was appointed Executive Secretary of the EECMY. Besides office work and preparation of documents on theological and social issues (s. Aster Lensa – Paul Hoffman 2003), his concern was the holistic presentation of the Gospel to city dwellers. He was co-founder and the first chairman of the Council of Lutheran Congregations in Addis Abäba and became president of the Addis Abäba Synod, formed in 1974.

G.T. also became increasingly involved in the emerging Oromo political movements. His distinguished appearance and physical magnetism, combined with his rhetorical skills and charismatic qualities, made him a natural leader. In 1978 he refused to join a government-organised tour to Europe which had been designed to show that there was religious freedom in Ethiopia (Eide 2000:176). He was arrested, then released but kept under close surveillance, and then, on 28 July 1979, snatched off the street and brutally murdered that same night by the revolutionary *Därg* regime (Saeveras 1993:89–92). The killing took place just a few hours after that of Patriarch ↗Tewoflos. G.T. is honoured for his faith by members of his church and as a brave and resolute patriot by Oromo of all faiths.

Src.: Aster Gudina – Lensa Gudina – Paul Hoffman (eds.), *Witness and Discipleship. Leadership of the Church in Multi-Ethnic Ethiopia in a Time of Revoluion: the Essential Writings of Gudina Tumsa General Secretary of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (1929–1979)*, Addis Ababa 2003.
Lit.: Gudina Tumsa Foundation (ed.), *The Life and Ministry of Rev. Gudiina Tumsa*, Addis Ababa 2003; Aud Saeverås, *Der lange Schatten der Macht: Augenzeugenbericht; die Geschichte von Tsehay Tolessa und Gudina Tumsa, dem ermordeten Generalsektretär der Mekane-Yesus-Kirche in Äthiopien*, tr. from Norwegian by Antje Meier – Ralph Meier, Gießen [u.a.] 1993, 35f., 89–92; Øyvind Eide, *Revolution and Religion in Ethiopia: the Growth and Persecution of the Mekane Yesus Church, 1974–85*, Oxford – Athens – Addis Ababa 2000, 176; Johnny Bakke, *Christian Ministry: Patterns and Functions within the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus*, Atlantic Highlands, NJ 1987, 153.

Johannes Launhardt

Gudela

The songs in honour of *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I report a victory against the ↗Hadiyya as far as Gʷədela (ጕዴላ; Littmann 1914:27). It can thus be assumed that Gʷədela or G. (ጕዴላ) was a locality or group situated in the furthest southern part of the Muslim-dominated state Hadiyya. A complete subjugation of these areas does not seem to have been realized, although they became tributary to the Christian empire. When the Hadiyya leader Mahiko waged war against *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, the *gärad*, chief of G., joined the alliance of the rebels and was defeated by the Emperor (PerrZarY 16–23).

Until the 1980s G. was used by other groups as a pejorative name for all the Hadiyya and their language. The historical continuity of the G. of the above-mentioned literary sources and parts of the present Hadiyya appears obvious. From the oral traditions it can be concluded that the subgroups Wiitto-Giira and Leemo originating from Dallo in Bale and Sidamo, respectively, are genealogically linked with G. They largely joined the *ǧihād* armies of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī in the 1530s and, following long migrations, finally settled in their present domiciles between the rivers Bilate and Omo.

According to a popular legend, the name G. was derived from the Amharic exclamation ጉድ (*gudd*, 'astonishing, shocking'), when other peoples witnessed the Hadiyya custom of taking the genital organs of slain enemies as trophies. Since times immemorial G. has no longer been employed as an ethnonym by any Hadiyya subgroup and it is totally rejected as an insulting term.

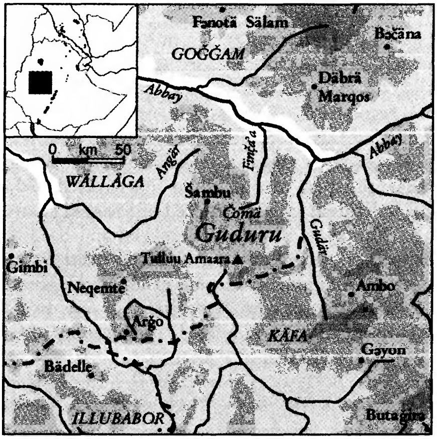
Lit.: BrHad 4, 85, 104ff., 198ff.; ENNO LITTMANN, *Die Altamharischen Kaiserlieder*, Strassburg 1914, 14, 18, 27; PerrZarY, 16–23.

Ulrich Braukämper

Gudit ↗Ǝsato

Guduru

The highlands of G. (ጉዱሩ, also Gudru) in eastern ↗Wälläga (Oromiyaa *kəlləl*) are limited by the ↗Abbay canyon to the north, the Angär valley to the west, Tulluu Amaara mountain (3,146 m A.S.L.) to the south and the ↗Gudär valley to the east. In 1972 the swamps of Çomä in the centre of the plateau disappeared under the waters of the ↗Finčaʾa hydroelectric power station, using the energy of a reservoir. At the bottom of the dam an irrigated sugar-cane plantation was developed and a sugar factory was inaugurated in May 2000. The densely populated (50 inhabitants per km²) plateau (ca. 2,200–2,300 m A.S.L.) is planted with barley and nug, while scattered hamlets are surrounded by *ənsät* gardens. It has a way out to the east along the new Finčaʾa-Gedo road, while ↗Šambu (15,223 inhabitants) remains isolated.



The name G. comes from the Guduru Oromo, a fraction of the ↗Mäčča, visited and described by d'Abbadie (AbbGeogr). Their chief at the time, *mooti* ↗Gama Moras, who was allied to the rulers of Goǧǧam, welcomed Guglielmo ↗Massaja's mission in Asändabo. Defeated by *ras* ↗Gobäna Dači in Əmbabo on the banks of the Çomän swamps in 1882, *ras* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam had to abandon the G. region and the whole of Wälläga, as well as the kingdoms of ↗Gibe to Mənilək's Šäwans. Their custom of raising tall votive masts described by the d'Abbadie brothers is still practised.

From 1944 to 1987 the Horo Guduru *awraǧǧa* covered all the northern part of the Wälläga *kəflä hagär*. Its capital was Šambu (8,252 inhabitants in 1984; 18,436 inhabitants in 2004). The population of this large subdivision (17,400 km²) was 222,300 inhabitants (density: 12.7 inhabitants/km²) according to the 1970 census. It had more than doubled by the census of 1984, which listed 457,406 inhabitants (density: 26.2 inhabitants/km²). In 2004, the G. *wäräda* (only 2,397.5 km²), a part of East Wälläga zone, had 143,646 inhabitants, which corresponds to a density of 60 inhabitants per km².

Src.: CSA 1984; 1996; 2000; CSO 1971; EMAtlas.

Lit.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, "Sur les Oromo, grande nation africaine désignée souvent sous le nom de 'Galla'", *Annales de la société scientifique de Bruxelles* 4, 1880, 174, 178f., 186f.; AbbGeogr 34, 54, 65ff., 83, 91, 146, 204; GasÉth; ALAIN GASCON, "'Fair Borders' for *Oromiyaa*", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 362–78; *Guida* 500; HuntGal; HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, "A Reconsideration of the Socio-Political System of the Western Galla", *JSS* 9, 1964, 139–43; MARTIAL DE SALVIAC, *Les Galla (dits d'origine gauloise)*, *grande nation africaine: un peuple antique au pays de Ménélik*, Paris 1902, 49, 303f., 333–38, 344; MesfAtlas; MesfGeogr; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, "The Gudru Oromo and their Neighbours in the Two Generations before the Battle of Embabo", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 47–64; ID., "Nekempte and Addis Ababa: Dilemmas of Provincial Rule", in: DONALD LEWIS DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986 (African Studies Series 51), 51–68.

Alain Gascon

Guftaa ↗Hairstyles

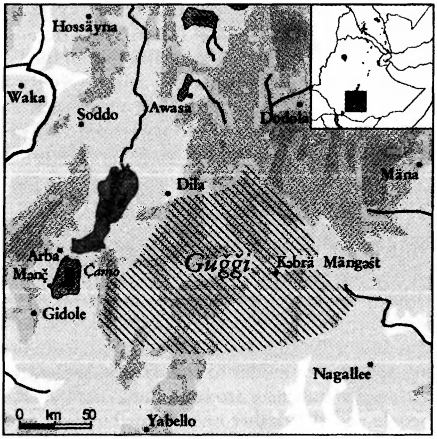
Guǧǧi

The G. are a branch of the ↗Oromo. Most of the G. live in today's Boorana Zone of Oromiyaa Region and number around a million people. They are sometimes referred to by their neighbours, but not by themselves, as ↗Ǧämǧäm or Ǧämǧämtu. Their country varies greatly from mountainous ridges nearly 3,000 m A.S.L. to hot low ↗grasslands; the main crops in the highlands are barley and pulses and in the valleys maize and *ṭef*. Wherever it is possible, each homestead cultivates a plot of *ənsät*. Cultivation supplies basic subsistence, but access to grazing is important because stock, as well as providers of milk and meat, are essential for sacrifice and as sources of social respect.

A style of indirect rule was instituted in the 1890's when the G. were conquered by the forces of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. The sacred great ↗*qaallu*, who was also recognized by the neighbouring ↗Diraašša and the ↗Gidiččo (VSAe II, 301ff.), was incorporated into the state as a simple lay headman. His position was compromised, but he continues to be a unique source of blessing and "the person who legitimises the *abbaa gadaa* when they take office" (Hinnant 1978:207f., 238). The ↗*abbaa gadaa* were deprived of any political authority, but their influence, though diminished, was not entirely destroyed. The three ↗*gadaa* systems themselves, which appear to have been similar to that of the Boorana, were interrupted for a period and their complex timetabling was disrupted, but, despite everything, *gadaa* has persisted "as an enormous outpouring of ritual" (Hinnant 1978:207). Accounts of the complex rituals, prayers, obligations and time-sequencing of *gadaa*, and of the organizational changes which have taken place, can be found in Haberland (VSAe II, 308–21, 380–99), Hinnant (1977, passim; 1978, passim) and van de Loo (1991: 23–68). Around the same time the ↗Sidaama began a process, which continues, of infiltrating and taking over G. territory in the north: the G. have compensated by expanding to the south at the expense of the Boorana. Their neighbours perceive the G. to be warlike, as they do themselves in their own *gadaa* rituals (Hinnant 1977:10), but internally they are an extremely "orderly working community" (van de Loo 1991:16). There are local variations in culture, but the G. share common social and religious values, though these are being challenged currently by both Islam and the Pentecostal movement (van de Loo 1991:269).

This article centres on the southern G., on whom we have recent data, but Haberland (VSAe II, 272–343) gives a full account of the northern G., or Alabdu. The southern G. consist of three independent "tribes", ↗*gosa*, known as the Uraga, Mati and Hoku, each of which has its own territory that takes its name, and its own *gadaa* system with its own *abbaa gadaa*. Each territory is the homeland of a complex of patrilineal, exogamous, non-totemic clans (*balbala*, 'doorway'). Each clan is divided into named "houses" (*mana*) which, in turn, are divided into numerous patrilineages. Every G. also belongs to one of the moieties, named Akaku and Dalata, membership of which is determined by "house", so that members of the same clan may belong to opposite moieties. This attenuated version of a moiety system inclines Asmarom Legesse (2000: 183) not to include the G. among those Oromo who have a form of dual organization.

Until villagization in 1986, the G. "lived in small family units scattered across the hills"



Guǧǧi (Alabdu) youngsters running to a dance feast; photo 1954/56 by Eike Haberland, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (27–Ha100–09)

which formed "neighbourhoods *(ola)*", consisting of "lineage mates, fellow clansmen and friends", and were separated by pasture and crop-lands (van de Loo 1991:15f.; Hinnant 1978: 208). For the G., both as a people and as individuals, "abundance or deprivation" in daily life depends on following the laws (↗*seera*) of God ↗*Waaqa*. Destiny or providence (*kayyo*) and virility (*kallača*), "the two basic concepts of G., ideology [...], were created by God" (Bernardi 1985:87). It is a constant duty and responsibility for all successful "men in their prime", who combine "seniority and great relative worth with the strength and virility of mature physical prowess", to work for the maintenance of peace (↗*nagaa*) through reconciliation (*araars a*): firstly between neighbours and then, by extension, between neighbourhoods and between *gossa*. For the G., internal peace and religious performance are interdependent (Hinnant 1978: 210–13). The "perpetually unfolding" cycle of *gadaa* ceremonies, "which makes sense of, and humanises the universe" is a major part of the G. complex of religious belief and action (Hinnant 1978:238). These ceremonies remain "the most powerful means cyclically to renew peaceful interregional contacts and the exchange of knowledge, blessing and sacred power across both clan and regional boundaries" (van de Loo 1991:25).

Villagization caused devastating poverty, heavy stock losses, deforestation, overgrazing; it "created tensions and conflicts between individuals and families, increased alcohol consumption, adultery, and other social crimes like theft" (Taddesse Berisso 2002:132). The G. are striving to restore the old and proven modes of subsistence, settlement and *nagaa*, but there are continuing costs for the people and the timber needed for building new houses on the old sites is enforcing further deforestation and ecological degradation.

Src.: VSAe II, 272–405; JOHN THOMAS HINNANT, *The Gada System of the Guji of Southern Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago 1977; ID., "The Guji: *Gada* as a Ritual System", in: PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – URI ALMAGOR (eds.), *Age, Generation and Time: some Features of East African Age Organisations*, London 1978, 207–44; KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change: a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Göteborg 1967, 142–47; BRUNO LONFERNINI, *I Gugi giamgiam, gente del Ghirgia*, Bologna 1984; TADDESSE BERISSO, *Agricultural and Rural Development Policies in Ethiopia: a Case Study of Villagization Policy among the Guji-Oromo of Jam Jam Awraja*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 1995; ID., "Socio-Cultural and Environmental Impacts of Mengistu's Villagization Program on Guji-Oromo of Southern Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 299–313; ID., "Modernist Dreams and Human Suffering: Villagization among the Guji Oromo", in: WENDY JAMES – DONALD L. DONHAM (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia. Socialism and After*, Oxford 2002, 116–32, here 132; JOSEPH VAN DE LOO, *Guji Oromo Culture in Southern Ethiopia: Religious Capabilities in Rituals and Songs*, Berlin 1991 (Lit.); ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Oromo Democracy: an Indigenous African Political System*, Lawrenceville, NJ 2000, passim, BERNARDO BERNARDI, *Age Class Systems: Social Institutions and Politics Based on Age*, Cambridge 1985, 86–90.

Paul T. W. Baxter

Gugs

G. (**ጉግስ**) is the Amharic name for mock cavalry warfare, played partly for amusement, and partly as training for real fighting. This game was, and still is, often played during rural marriage celebrations, as well as at major Christian religious festivals, notably ↗*Mäsqäl* and ↗*Ṭəmqät*. G. was traditionally loosely organized and therefore subject to considerable variations of play – with donkeys reportedly being very occasionally substituted for horses.

The game usually starts with the horsemen of a village dividing themselves into two roughly equal groups, who then disport themselves on an open field. Each player will normally have three wands, corresponding to the three spears carried in real warfare, and will endeavour to hit one or more of his opponents on the head or body. The players will also have round shields with which to ward off such attacks and may twist round and endeavour with their own wands to strike those of their assailants. As the tide of battle changes, the horsemen will advance and retreat. When advancing they will urge their horses forwards with their thigh and instep, but, when retreating, will gallop away without touching their bodies. Fallen wands will be collected by servants and restored to the various players. In some variants of the game, horsemen are said to capture unfortunate players by surrounding them with their spears: a player who surrenders is expected to join the victorious party. Though never, of course, as dangerous as actual fighting, accidents do sometimes occur. A player or a horse may thus be wounded by the point of a wand, or a horseman may fall off his steed. At the end of the game the players will often entrust their horses to a servant to drape and lead home, while they themselves may return on mule-back, as at the end of a real engagement.

↗Games

Lit.: CRAVEN HOWARD WALKER, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933, 84, 92; MARCEL GRIAULE, *Jeux et divertissements abyssins*, Paris 1935, 64; *blattengeta* MAHTEME-SELASSIE WOLDE-MASKAL, "Portrait retrospectif d'un gentilhomme éthiopien", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 3, 60–68; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Horsemen of Old-Time Ethiopia", *EthObs* 13, 1970, 2–7.

Richard Pankhurst

Gugsa Arʾaya

Ləʿul ras G.A. (ጉግሳ፡ አርአያ; b. 1882, d. 26 April 1933, Mäq̣älä) was a Təgrean noble. A son of *ras* ↗Arʾaya Śəllase Yoḥannəs, G.A. contended with the other surviving grandson of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, ↗Śəyyum Mängäša, for the province's governorship. In 1903 they co-operated in leading a short-lived local revolt against *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's men, but following its failure their ways parted.

After Mənilək's death, *däǧǧazmač* Śəyyum gambled on *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu's victory in his struggle with the Šäwan elite, and was rewarded with the title of *ras* in May 1914. G.A. joined the opposite camp, that of Täfäri Mäkʷännən's (future ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), and in February 1918 was appointed *ras* by the victorious Šäwan elite. He proved himself loyal to Täfäri: married Täfäri's niece Yäšašwärq, captured Iyasu in 1921, and continually frustrated Italian attempts to infiltrate into Təgray.

In 1928, G.A. was appointed governor of eastern Təgray (Ǝndärta and ʿAgamä) with Mäq̣älä as his capital. At the same time, though Täfäri Mäkʷännən did not fully trust Śəyyum, he appointed him over western Təgray. In 1930 G.A. supported Täfäri in his crucial clash with *ras* ↗Gugsa Wäle.

In April 1930, however, Täfäri summoned the two rivals to Addis Abäba for his coronation as *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I. During the coronation ceremonies in November 1930, G.A. was promoted to the title of *ləʿul ras*. While the two were forced to remain in the capital, the Emperor appointed his own men over important areas in Təgray, thus depriving G.A. of his control of Aksum. G.A. was only allowed to return in November 1931. By this time he resented the Emperor and began sharing his frustration with the Italians. His resentment grew further in May 1932, when the Emperor married his son, crown prince ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase, to Śəyyum's daughter, Wälättä Ǝsraʾel. G.A. complained and was appeased on 16 June 1932 when the Emperor married one of G.A's sons, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa, to his younger daughter, Zännäbä Wärq, but G.A. was still bitter at not being trusted with control over all Təgray.

Gugsa Arʾaya; from Frangipani 1936:64

G.A.'s failing health led to his dependency on the Italian doctors who were sent to Mäqälä in 1932. Italians hoped for G.A.'s full support in an open conflict in Ethiopia. However, they could never test this assumption as G.A. died of pneumonia shortly after.

Src.: HSLife.

Lit.: Haggai Erlich, *Ethiopia and the Challenge of Independence*, Boulder, CO 1986, 129–65; Corrado Zoli, *Etiopia d'oggi*, Roma 1936; Id., *Chronache Ethiopiche*, Roma n.d.; Angelo del Boca, *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale*, vol. 3. *La caduta dell'impero*, Roma – Bari 1986; Luca dei Sabelli, *Storia d'Abissinia*, Roma 1936–38; George Lowther Steer, *Caesar in Abyssinia*, London 1936; Gabriel Baer, *The Coming of the Italian-Ethiopian War*, Harvard 1967; Hadara Tesfai, *Ras Seyum Mangasha*, B.A. thesis, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University 1976; *Bərhanənna Sälam*, issues 1925–33; Agenore Frangipani, *L'Equivoco Abissino*, Milano 1936, 64 (ill.).

Haggai Erlich

Gugsa Darge

Ləǧ G.D. (ጉግሳ፡ ዳርጌ; b. ca.1867?, d. 1922, Massawa) was an Ethiopian noble. G.D., probably the fourth and last child of *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllaśe, uncle of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, was in a better position to lay claim to the crown than his cousin, as Mənilək had no male inheritors. Due to his intelligence and friendship with the Italians who frequented the court – notably with ↗Leopoldo Traversi – he was sent for studies to French Switzerland in 1894, together with ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyyäsus and Qəṭaw Zämanuʾel.

In December 1895 G.D. was the main figure in the so-called "kidnapping of the Abyssinian princes", a term with which the contemporary press described the passage of the three young people to Italy. This most probably was done following Italian suggestions, Italy seeing in G.D. a "*nəguś* in reserve". During the ↗ᶜAdwa campaign he went to Eritrea together with his two companions. He sojourned once in the camp of general ↗Baratieri, but as the Italians largely ignored him he was sent back. In 1914 A.M. [1921/22 A.D.], suffering from a disease, he expressed his wish of going back to Ethiopia. He died at ↗Massawa hospital in 1922. In 1927, his corpse was brought to ↗Šäwa and buried in the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos.

Lit.: Bairu Tafla, "Ras Dargé Sahlä-Sellasé, c. 1827–1900", *JES* 13, 2, 1975, 17–37, here 36; *Le Courrier d'Ethiopie*, 18 novembre 1927; HerTar 95; ErDizBio 6, 156; Alain Rouaud, *Afä-Wärq*, Paris 1991, 87f., 99–119, 302.

Alain Rouaud

Gugsa Märsa

Ras G.M. (ጉግሳ፡ መርሳ, or Gʷəgśa Märsa; d. 1825) was a chief of the ↗Yäǧǧu and a major ruler during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. Grandson of the founder of the Wärräsek dynasty ↗Gʷangul (son of Gʷangul's daughter Käfäy and her husband Märso Barento "Abba Gätəyye"), G.M., who became widely known as "Gugsa the Great", first came to prominence in wars to control the heritage of the ↗Gondärine kingdom in the late 1780s and 1790s.

G.M. started his political career when the ("anti-Galla") party of Lasta, composed of *ras* ↗ᶜAśrat and his brother *ras* ↗Wäldä Gabrəʾel, defeated G.M.'s uncle *ras* ↗Aligaz and briefly prevailed over Gondär and ↗Bägemdər. G.M. had split from Aligaz even before the latter's fall (GueCopMen 200): he turned to Amäde (Kolase) of ↗Wärrä Himano who was ruling over Mäqdäla, and later switched to *ras* Wäldä Gabrəʾel, who appointed him governor of ↗Fogära. When *ras* ᶜAśrat, his ally *ras* ↗Märəd Ḫaylu of Goǧǧam and Wäldä Gabrəʾel died fighting each other (in July 1799, according to Rüppel 1938, vol. 2, 385–88; GueCopMen 200f.), G. he took over the ↗*alga* of Aligaz and, with the help of Alula (his son or, most probably, his brother), occupied a prominent position in Bägemdər. In 1802, he became *ras*. Shortly after his rise to power, he established his capital at ↗Däbrä Tabor, which was also used as the capital by his successors until 1853, and later by TewodrosII. There he founded the church of ↗Däbrä Tabor Iyäsus, one of the major foundation of the period; on his death, he was buried in a tomb in its churchyard.

During the ca. 25 years of his rule, in which his principal rival was *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray, G.M. acted above all as a king-maker, *aṣe* ↗Dəmetros, ↗Ǝgʷalä Ṣəyon (whom G.M. married to his sister Wälättä Iyäsus), ↗Iyoʾas II and ↗Gigar all occupying the Solomonic throne under his aegis. Combining political and military means, G. extended his control over the largest part of the then Ethiopia, ruling Bägemdər, ↗Goǧǧam, ↗Wällo, and, possibly, to some extent even ↗Təgray (BTafA 438f.; MorTeod 148; cp. Shiferaw Bekele 1990:30f.); a number of local rulers became related to him through marital links.

A Muslim who soon converted to Christianity, G.M. was also a partisan in conflicts over Christian theology, promoting, through exile of dissenters, the teaching of the ↗*Sost lədät*, as opposed to the more conservative ↗*Karra* teaching favoured by *abunä* ↗Yosab and his successor, *abunä* ↗Qerəllos. On the death of Yosab in 1803, G.M. plundered the bishop's property and, due to doctrinal divergences, exiled Qerəllos. G.M. is also famous for having issued an intriguing edict on ↗*gʷəlt* (transmitted in AbbSéjour vol. 1, 150–54) in an attempt to acquire control over all available fiefs (s. Conti Rossini 1921); it is thought by some to have had a serious impact on the ↗land tenure system (s. PankEcon 137f.).

G.M. had two wives, Wälättä Fəqər and Amätä Śəllase, both daughters of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis I. On his death, G.M was succeded by his son ↗Yəmam, who was in 1828 followed by another son, ↗Marəyye and three years later, for three months, by ↗Dori Gugsa. G.M.'s daughter Ḫirut was married to *ras* ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Gäbre (and their daughter Yäwəbdar later to *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu of Təgray), his other daughter Tərəngo to *wagšum* ↗Kənfu, Wälättä Täkle to *däǧǧazmač* ↗Maru of Dämbəya, Aster to Wäldä Rufaʾel of Mäč̣č̣a (GueCopMen 202). The struggle for power in the central provinces triggered by G.M.'s death was not resolved until the accession to power of ↗Ali Alula (son of Alula, who had been poisoned in 1822, and ↗Mänän Libän, Amäde's granddaughter) in 1831.

Src.: AbbSéjour vol. 1, 150–54, 183f., 187f.; vol. 2, 40f., 109–12; BlunChr 119f., 123, 125, 129, 131, 138, 151ff., 157f., 168, 170, 179, 181–85, 187, 189 (text) = 373f., 379, 383, 387, 389f., 418–21, 426, 428, 443, 446, 458, 460, 462–67, 469, 473 (tr.); BTafA 437–41, 925, s. index; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La cronaca reale abissina dall'anno 1800 all'anno 1840", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916, 779–923; CRNuov; GSMen 117f., 120; GueCopMen, s. index; MorTeod 148; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main 1890 [repr. 1938], 385–88, 400.

Lit.: AbPrince 31ff., 42, 151f.; BZHist, s. index; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'editto di Ras Gugsa sui feudi", *La Rassegna Coloniale* 1, 1, 1921, 1–6; PankEcon 137f.; SHIFERAW BEKELE, "Reflections on the Power Elite of the Wärä Seh Mäsfenate (1786–1853)", *AE* 15, 1990, 157–79; ID., "The State in Zamana Masafent (1786–1853): an Essay in Reinterpretation", in: TADDESE BEYENE – RICHARD PANKHURST – SHIFERAW BEKELE, *Kasa and Kasa: Papers on the Lives, Times and Images of Téwodros II and Yohannes IV (1855–1889)*, Addis Ababa 1990, 25–68.

Donald Crummey – Red.

Gugsa Wäle

Ras G.W. (ጉግሳ፡ ወሌ; b. ca. 1877, Märṭo, Yäǧǧu, d. 31 March 1930, Ančəm, Wadla) was a leading notable of the Mənilək-Zäwditu era. He was named after his great great grandfather ↗Gugsa Märsa, the most powerful regional lord in the first quarter of the 19th cent., and was the son of *ras* ↗Wäle Bəṭul and, hence, a nephew of *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu.

The early life of G.W. is obscure. He was born and brought up in ↗Yäǧǧu, the home of his ancestors which was governed by his father for over 20 years until 1910. G.W. seems to have been the only son of Wäle. His mother, Yäšiwärq, is hardly mentioned in connection with significant events, the implication of which may presumably be that she was of little consequence in birth and deed. G.W. was nonetheless very conscious of his noble descent, and from all accounts he behaved as an accomplished aristocrat.

G.W. received church education in his youth and often associated himself with the clergy to whom he was generous and with whom he is said to have engaged in theological and literary discourses. He endowed several churches, prominently ↗Däbrä Tabor Iyäsus. Unlike *ras* (later *nəguś*) ↗Wäldä Giyorgis who replaced him in the governorship of Bägemdər in 1910, however, G. is not remembered for persecuting Protestant and Catholic converts. On the contrary, his administration was deemed fair and just into oral tradition.

G.W. began his career as a district governor with the title of ↗*däǧǧazmač* under his father. Exactly when he moved to the service of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II is unknown. Chronicler Gäbrä Śəllase mentions him for the first time in 1896 when the sovereign met him in Yäǧǧu on his way to ʿAdwa. The Emperor raised him to the rank of ↗*ras* in 1900 and gave him his daughter, ↗Zäwditu, in marriage. For a time, he succeeded *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən as acting governor of Təgray, but his official governorate was Bägemdər which at the time of his appointment was said to have not yet recovered from the devastation caused by the ↗Mahdist invasion, the great famine and the epidemic of 1888–92. G.W. made his seat at Däbrä Tabor, the centre chosen by the so-called Yäǧǧu dynasty at the end of the 18th cent. to replace Gondär, and through his efficient administration the economy of the region recovered fully by the first decade of the 20th cent.

G.W. is hardly known for his military prowess, and from all indications he had no aspiration to higher political power. But he was never trusted by the pro-Iyasu and pro-Täfäri groups and, hence, he suffered imprisonment following the incapacitation of the sovereign. When in 1910 *ətege* Ṭaytu was removed from the political arena, G.W. was suspected of possible rebellion and the coup leaders sought an excuse to remove him from office. He was thus incarcerated at Mount ↗Afqära for some years after which he, together

Gugsa Wäle and his entourage; from Frangipani 1936:96

with his wife, was committed to confinement at Falle, about 40 km to the north-west of Addis Abäba, until 1916 when he and his wife were released. Zäwditu was obliged to divorce him in order to ascend the throne, and G.W. remained at the capital until 1918 when he, upon the death of *nəgus* Wäldä Giyorgis, was reinstated to his governorate of Bägemdər.

All went well with him until March 1930 when the Crown Prince *ras* Täfäri viewed him as a hindrance to his reforms and a potential stumbling block in his rapid rise to power. Bahru Zewde (BZHist) attributes the immediate cause for the conflict to the control of the customs of ↗Mätämma which, through the prudent policy of G.W., had become a lucrative source of income. A scheme was devised to trap G.W. unaware: he was ordered to mobilize his men and march to Azäbo, southern Təgray, to quell a rebellion, and the route of his march was prescribed. At the same time the central government spread news that he was marching against Addis Abäba at the behest of the Italians to defend the Empress against *ras* Täfäri and, hence, a sizable army under the command of the war minister, *ras* Mulugeta, was ordered to intercept his march. When he reached Wadla, he was ordered to stop marching toward Azäbo, and on 31 March he was attacked at a place called Ančəm. For the first time in Ethiopia a plane was used to bombard the alleged rebel. His army was soon routed and G.W. himself was killed in the battle.

Src.: GueCopMen 128, 202, 407, 487ff., 624, 629; GebMolIyas 319, 348, 377, 383, 543–45; FELIX ROSEN, *Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft in Abessinien*, Leipzig 1907, 393; HANS VOLLBRECHT, *Im Reiche des Negus Negesti MenelikII: eine Gesandtschaftsreise nach Abessinien*, Stuttgart – Berlin – Leipzig 1906; JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Éthiopie, 1901–1903*, vol. 1, Paris 1909, 12.

Lit.: HerTar 95; TSTarik IV, 126f.; MahHorse 286; KÄBBÄDÄ TÄSÄMMA, የታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ (*Yätarik mastawäša*, 'Historical Memoirs'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], ^{2}1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.], 93; BZHist 99f., 118f., 130, 135ff.; AGENORE FRANGIPANI, *L'Equivoco Abissino*, Milano 1936, 96 (ill.).

Bairu Tafla

Guidi, Ignazio

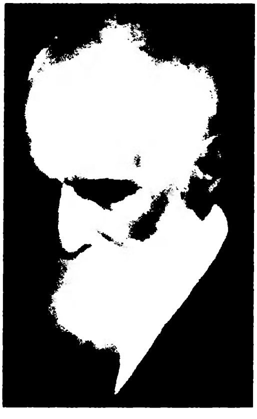
G. (b. 31 July 1844, Rome, d. 18 April 1935, Rome), an outstanding Italian scholar, was professor of Hebrew and Semitic languages at the University of Rome from 1876 to 1919. From 1885 to 1919 he held the chair of "History and Languages of Abyssinia" (*Storia e lingue d'Abissinia*) in the same University. G. was a brilliant Orientalist on account of his masterly knowledge of ancient Near Eastern languages and civilizations, his studies in the domains of Hebrew, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic being particularly important. With all this he combined a profound knowledge of classical culture.

In his later years G. devoted himself to ↗Ethiopian studies, where, although being an autodidact, he left an everlasting imprint, just as Job ↗Ludolf did. As Ludolf cherished his ↗Gorgoryos, G. was lucky enough to have at his side the highly learned *däbtära* ↗Kəflä Giyorgis, who admirably assisted him in his understanding of Ethiopian culture. G.'s contributions to Ethiopian studies paved the way to the approach that demands a deep scrutiny of written sources for the history, languages and civilization of the whole Orbis Aethiopicus.

Having fully mastered ↗Gəʿəz and ↗Amharic, G. produced seminal works for the discipline. In the field of Amharic, his analyses of the grammar definitively clarified aspects of morphology as well as of phonology and lexicon. Famous and unsurpassed is his *Vocabolario amarico-italiano* (1901), with its *Supplemento*, to which he devoted his attention until his last days (posthumously edited by Enrico ↗Cerulli). His *Grammatica elementare della lingua amarica* (1952), first published with the title *Grammatica elementare della lingua amariña* in 1889, although elementary, offered a clear, rigorous and systematic exposition of that language, the first in its genre. In addition, he edited and published a large number of Amharic texts, with commentaries, of which be it sufficient to cite here his *Proverbi, strofe e racconti abissini* (1894) and *Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di Re Abissini* (1889), a unique source for the history of the Amharic language. G. was also author of an untitled essay, not usually mentioned in his bibliographies, composed of a selection of passages from theological treatises of the Russian Orthodox Church, in Russian with a parallel Amharic translation (before 1889?).

Of equally paramount importance are G.'s writings about Gəʿəz texts, which embrace the whole spectrum of the Ethiopian world: history, religion, language, literature and social life. Among others, his edition (1879) and translation (1899) of the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* deserves special attention. The bulk of G.'s writings opened new ways to the scholarly scrutiny of Ethiopian society. His heritage passed into the hands of Carlo ↗Conti Rossini.

The wide range of subjects dealt with by G. can be seen in the following selection of his works: *Testi orientali inediti sopra i Sette Dormienti di Efeso* (1884–85); *La prima stampa del Nuovo Testamento in etiopico fatta in Roma nel 1548–1549* (1886); *La traduzione degli Evangeli in arabo e in etiopico* (1889); *La Chiesa abissina e la Chiesa russa* (1890); *Di due frammenti relativi alla storia di Abissinia* (1893); *La storia di Ḫāyla Mikāʾēl* (1902); *Leggende storiche di Abissinia* (1907); *Contributi alla storia letteraria di Abissinia* (1923); *L'Abissinia antica* (1896); *Bisanzio e il Regno di Aksum* (1924); *Il Marḥa ʿEwûr* (1896); *Le liste dei Metropoliti di Abissinia* (1899); *Uno squarcio di storia ecclesiastica di Abissinia* (1900); *La Chiesa abissina* (1922); *"Qĕnē" o inni abissini* (1901); *Der äthiopische Sēnodos* (1901); *Il Sawasew* (1906); *The Ethiopic Senkessar* (1911); [*Breve*] *Storia della letteratura etiopica* (1932) etc. Apart from that, G.'s editions, with translation and commentary, of historical (mainly royal chronicles) and hagiographical texts are to be taken into account. His *Summarium veteris linguae Arabicae meridionalis* (1930, in Latin and in Arabic) should also be remembered.



Ignazio Guidi; from Guidi 1936

Src.: IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed.), *Il "Fetha Nagast" o "Legislazione dei Re": Codice ecclesiastico e civile di Abissinia*, Napoli 1936, frontispiece (ill.).

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Commemorazione di Ignazio Guidi", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 11, 1935, 471–81; ID., "Gli studi etiopici in Italia nel primo cinquantenario di vita nazionale", *RSO* 5, 1913, 15–19 (Lit.); GIORGIO LEVI DELLA VIDA, "L'opera orientalistica di Ignazio Guidi", *Oriente Moderno* 15, 1935, 236–48; BRUNA SORAVIA, "Guidi, Ignazio", in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 61, Roma 2003, 272–75 (Lit.).

Lanfranco Ricci

Guignony, Gabriel

G. was a French merchant, established in Ethiopia starting from 1892 as "Conseiller du commerce extérieur de la France". In 1900 the French representative at Addis Abäba, Léonce ↗Lagarde, nominated him consular agent at Harär, with administrative authority over the railway. According to Lagarde, this was motivated by the fact that "this would also make it possible to allow our compatriots to appear before the consul instead before Abyssinian tribunals" in the case of litigations. The second motivation for the creation of this post was rather political, in order to have an "intelligent, able and dedicated agent at [the court of] *ras* Mäkʷännen". In the 1910s, the Maison Guignony was purchased by a German company from Hamburg (Samuel Simon Ismaël). G. was the first employer of Henry de ↗Monfreid. In April 1918 the British Embassy at Paris asked the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs for information on G., as he had the project to establish himself in Kenya to construct a factory. Further data seem to be lacking.

Src.: Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris.

Lukian Prijac

Guillain, Charles

G. (b. 1808, d. 1875, Lorient) was a French seafarer. He graduated from the Naval College of Angoulême (France) in 1827. From 1836 to 1840 he took part in campaigns in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea.

Appointed Captain of Corvette in 1842, G. took over the command of the ship "Du Couedic" (1846–49) for an exploratory mission of the east coast of Africa and the Indian coast. For the first time in the history of scientific expeditions, photography was used to record people and landscapes. G.'s expeditions concentrated on Somalia and Zanzibar and were of a uniquely commercial and topographical nature.

In 1870, G., then Admiral, was appointed to the post of Governor of New Caledonia.

Src.: CHARLES GUILLAIN, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale*, 3 vols. and 1 vol. maps, Paris 1856–57; ID., *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de la partie occidentale de Madagascar*, Paris 1845.

Lit.: MARCEL ÉMERIT, "Les explorations saint-simoniennes en Afrique Orientale et sur la route des Indes", *Revue Africaine* 394/95, 1943, 92–116, here 111–14; BERNARD LE NAIL, *Explorateurs et grands voyageurs bretons*, Paris 1998, 51f.; GEORGES MALÉCOT, *Les voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie de 1835 à 1870*, Paris 1972, 76f.; NUMA BROC, *Dictionnaire illustré des explorateurs français du XIXème siècle en Afrique*, Paris 1988, 169f.

Lukian Prijac

Gullallee

G. (Amh. ጉላሌ, *Gulale*) was one of the members of the Oromo tribal confederation of the Torban Oboo, together with the Salaallee (Amh. ↗Sälale), the ↗Oborra, the Gombeččuu, the Yakkaa (Yäkka), the Mullo and the Badi. The G. used to inhabit the western foothills of ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo, being bordered by the Meetta, the Galaan (Gälan), the Yakkaa and Mullo, whilst a good part of the G. also occupied the area around the Mugär, neighboured by the Yayyaa (Yäyya), the ↗Ǧaarso, Adʾa Barga and Oborra Oromo.

From their distribution it can be inferred that the G. members once dwelled in the vast area between the present day ↗Addis Abäba and the ↗Abbay. It seems that the G. are identical with the Oromo of Sululta and ↗Finfinnee. G.'s historic areas of settlement can be placed in the area of the present Sälale north of the Yayyaa and Ǧaarso and north of Däbrä Libanos. A large majority of the G. seem to have inhabited the area of the present-day Addis Abäba, stretching from the south-western foot of the Ǝnṭoṭṭo to the Eegdu Mountain in Meetta and covering the whole area of Asko and Lollibaa. They seem to have established themselves at the foothills of Ǝnṭoṭṭo and its environs after displacing the Gälan Oromo. The G. were also opposed to the Burrayyuu Oromo sub-clan due to some inter-tribal rivalries and to the G.'s close contact with the rulers of the Šäwan kingdom.

Even though the G. were close to the rulers and on many occasions accommodated the Šäwan soldiers, *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase attacked them in the course of his expansion and devastated G. settlements, including that of Bäčo and southward all the way as far as the ↗Soddo Oromo. Reportedly, this was the cause for a series of Oromo rebellions against the authority of the Šäwan king during the 1840s among the Ǧiddaa tribe, the G. (1840) and the Adʾa Barga (1841). In 1878 a rebellion broke out against Śahlä Śəllase's grandson, *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa (↗Mənilək II). Reportedly the incident was triggered by an Amhara soldier, who was quartered in the house of a G. family and injured one of the cows of the latter. A huge massacre of Amhara by the G. Oromo ensued.

The G. were among the first Oromo to convert to Christianity and start mixing with the Amhara, enforcing Amhara–Oromo interaction in Šäwa. Two place names epitomize the eventful presence of the G.: Gulale was a name of a quarter in western Addis Abäba up to 1974; Yäyya Gulale was a *wäräda* in the former *awrağğa* of Sälale after 1941 (currently in the Oromiya zone of north-western Šäwa).

Src.: INDIAN OFFICE RECORDS, *Bombay Secret Proceedings*, vol. 193, 28 September 1842; PÈRE FERDINAND, *unpublished journal*, entries of 23 March 1870 and 6 May, 1878; Taurin de Cahagne to Antoine d'Abbadie (Ordre des Frères mineurs capucins, BN, ms. 10222 of Antoine d'Abbadie, p. 58); HarAeth vol. 2, 181; vol. 3, 39; IsKrapf 96, 200, 202; BTafA 538f., 925.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, "Early Safars of Addis Ababa: Patterns of Evolution", in: *CentAddis* 43–55, here 51; VSAe II, 523–26; EgeClass 46ff., 76f., 79ff.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Gullət

G. (ጉልት, also *g^{w}əllət*; from *g^{w}ällätä*, 'set up a border', 'delineate', cp. KaneDic 1894) is the name for the small street-side market places found in every part of Ethiopia. Sometimes many G. are set up around the same area, as in Addis Abäba's Šola, Č̣ärqos, Agoza and Märkato (↗Addis Kätäma). As small-scale retail business-es established just for subsistence, most G. operate without a license or working permit, paying no taxes. Each G. seller has his own mound made of mud and stone, hence its name. The products offered, always in small quantities, are mostly vegetables, cereals and other things needed at home for immediate use, displayed on a sheet of plastic and piled in rows. Some G. keepers sell traditional medicines as well.

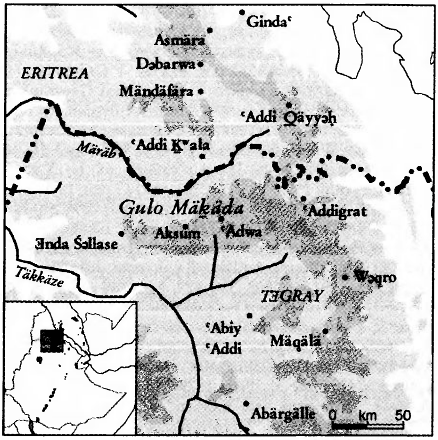
Src.: *Nägdačänä: Journal of the Ministry of Internal Trade*, September 1990; DTWDic 268; KaneDic 1894.

Tesfaye Akalu

Gulo Mäḵäda

G.M. (ጉሎ፡ መኸዳ, variants: Gʷəlo Mäkäda, Gʷälo Mäkäda, Golo Mäḵäda, Gulo Maḵda etc.) is a frontier district in the ↗ᶜAgamä region of northern Təgray, bordering upon the ↗Akkälä Guzay region of Eritrea to the north. The landscape of G.M. is dominated by a large plain and the Daḵane stream ravine, the mountain of ↗Dängolo to the north and ↗Amba Foqäda to the south – all the localities being rich in remnants of ancient monuments. The district is inhabited by Təgrəñña- and Sāho-speaking communities. The G.M. area may be the location of some of the earliest Christian communities in Ethiopia, and the documentation of a number of ↗Aksumite-culture-period archaeological sites suggests that it was a noticeable Aksumite settlement centre in the early first millennium A.D. Situated almost exactly midway between the Gulf of ↗Zula and the town of ↗Aksum in Təgray, G.M. may have been well-placed along a probable ancient route linking the Red Sea coastal port of ↗Adulis with the Aksumite capital via ↗Qoḥayto. Evidence of Aksumite-culture-period occupation is found at sites such as Daḵane, ᶜƎč̣ Märra, Ǝnda P̣eṭros, Ǝnda Täklä Haymanot, Ǝnda Maryam and Männäbiyät. Earlier records bear witness to impressive local monuments that, however, must have deteriorated and suffered considerable destruction in the course of time (for ᶜƎč̣ Märra, s. Coulbeaux 1929, vol. 1, 309; cp. Leclant – Miquel 1959:107ff.).

In several documents G.M. appears in connection with various historical traditions. The hagiography of *abba* ↗Mäṭaᶜ, of the first half of the 15th cent., enumerating the lands granted to the churches of Mäṭaᶜ/Libanos by King ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl, explicitly warns the *śəyyum* of G.M. not to enter them (Bausi 2003, no. 155; cp. also a miracle of Libanos, ibid., no. 259). G.M. is also mentioned in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* (CRAxum 11); and in one of the following land charters, the same king gives six "countries" (*ahgur*) of G.M. to ↗Däbrä Damo: Betä Nobäyt, ᶜƎṣ́ Maᶜəre, Ad Gədom, Bäqlo, Gäläba and Ham (CRAxum 20, and HuntLand 30, no. 4; the list is uncertain, cp. the same document in the Acts of ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi, s. Guidi 1895:33, 42). Traditions of northern Ethiopia associate G.M. with Gäbrä Mäsqäl and ↗Makädda (G.M. being interpreted, in Təgrəñña, as 'pen of Makädda'; cp. Fesseḥa Giyorgis 1987:15, 176f.). Elsewhere G.M. is said to be the place from where the Mäḵada – a Təgrəñña-speaking group descending from Harisay, a son of a King Gäbrä Mäsqäl – migrated in order to found later ᶜƎmni Ṣällim, near Dəbarwa (KolTrad II, no. 29; cp. Conti Rossini 1902:389 and n. 1; 1942:189).



According to his Vita, ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel was exiled to G.M. by *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I. There the Saint was cordially received by his disciples, who prepared for him a rock-hewn cell (*bäᶜatä kʷäkʷəḥ*). Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel died at G.M. and his relics were then translated to Sägla by *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob. The former importance of G.M. is attested in an account from the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* relating the miraculous water dropping from the ceiling of two churches – the one being in G.M. "which is called the house of Mäṭaᶜ", i.e. ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana (a remark, like the land grant about Ham, confirming the relevance of this monastery to G.M.), the other in Gʷəgʷəda (also in G.M. or nearby), "the grave of blessed Mammas the monk" (either an Oriental saint commemorated on 5 *Mäskäräm* or, more probably, one of Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel's disciples, s. Vélat 1948:171f.).

Src.: CRAxum 11 [no. 4], 20 [no. 5] (text) = 11, 22 (tr.); ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed., tr.), *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596, [SAe 105, 106]), nos. 155, 259; BecRASO IV, 278–81 ["Gulmocada"]; MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634): a Seventeenth-Century Historical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABETH FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 158ff. (book II, ch. 45); FESSEḤA GIYORGIS, *Storia d'Etiopia*, ed. by YAQOB BEYENE, Napoli 1987, 15, 176f.; IGNAZIO GUIDI, *Il "Gadla ʾAragâwî"*, Roma 1895 [= *MRAL* ser. 5ª, 2–1, 1894, 54–96], 33, 42; HuntLand no. 4; KolTrad II, no. 29; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Roma 1942, 189, 201; ID., "Beṣuʿa Amlāk e il convento della Trinità", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 11, 1902, 389–429, here 389 and n. 1; ID. (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta s. Baṣalota Mikāʾēl, s. Anorewos (seu Acta sancti Honorii)*, Louvain 1905 (CSCO 28, 29 [SAe 11, 12]), 50f. (text) = 44f. (tr.).
Lit.: JEAN-BAPTISTE COULBEAUX, *Histoire politique et religieuse d'Abyssinie* ..., Paris 1929, vol. 1, 309ff.; FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Nouveaux sites antiques", *JES* 11, 1973, 13–20; VINCENZO FRANCHINI, "La zona archeologica di Macheda", *Il Bollettino* (Asmara) 1, 1953, 21–24; ERIC GODET, "Répertoire des sites pré-axoumites et axoumites du Tigré (Éthiopie)", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 19–58, here 50; PAOLO GRAZIOSI, "Le pitture rupestri nell'Amba Focadà (Eritrea)", *RSE* 1, 1941, 61–70; JEAN LECLANT – ANDRÉ MIQUEL, "Reconnaissance dans l'Agamé: Goulo-Makéda et Sabéa (octobre 1955 et avril 1956)", *AE* 3, 1959, 107–14; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Un riparo sotto roccia con pitture rupestri nell'Amba Focadà", *RSE* 1, 1941, 54–60; BERNARD VÉLAT, "Fuoco sacro ed acque prodigiose a Gerusalemme e nel Gĕlo Makādā (Tigré)", *ibid.* 7, 1948, 167–75; SerHist 38–40, 126.

Matthew C. Curtis – Denis Nosnitsin

Gumaa

G., the payment of compensation for homicide, is a frequent means of conflict-settlement in ↗Oromo society. The compensation, to be made in either cattle or money, has to be paid by the family of the murderer to the family of the deceased and should prevent revenge and further killings. The amount and kind of the blood-compensation is fixed by the ↗*gadaa* assembly and by the traditional law (↗*seera*). In case the victim belongs to a different tribal segment, the whole lineage or clan of the killer can be held liable for the payment. The peace-making is effected by elders of both sides and consists of a highly formalized procedure that may last over years. The aim is to reconcile the hostile groups or families rather than to find and punish a culprit. The procedure is closed with the handing over of the G. and with the joint holding of reconciliation rituals (including sacrifices) by the opposed kin groups. ↗Amhara and other people who live together with the Oromo, sometimes share with them the system of compensation.

Src.: GraggDic 186.
Lit.: GETACHEW CHEMEDA, *Some Notes on the Practice of 'Sera Guma' among the Oromo of Soddo*, Paper of the Ministry of Culture, Department for Research and Preservation of Cultural Heritage, Addis Ababa 1985; DINSA LEPISA ABA JOBIR, *The Gada System of Government and Sera Chaffee Oromo*, Senior paper in Law, Addis Ababa University 1975, 86, 88, 169–74; ABDURAHMAN KABETO, *Allo Arssi: the Institution of Customary Laws in the Upper Wabe Shebele Region*, Senior paper in History, Addis Ababa University 1991, 19–28, 47.

Andrea Nicolas

Gumär

Gumär language

G. (also Gumer, Gomer, self-designation Gʷämära; s. map for ↗Gurage) is spoken in the highlands to the east of the ↗Čaha speaking area. The main town in the region is Aräqqəṭ. The neighbours of the G. are the ↗Səlṭi and Mäsqan to the east, ↗Ǝža and ↗Muḫər to the north, ↗Geto to the south and Čaha to the north-west (cf. Shack 1966:209). The number of G. speakers is not known because G. is considered a dialect of a linguistic unit called Western Gurage (cf. Grimes 2000:113). The G. are said to be closely related to the Čaha both historically (Shack 1966:103) and linguistically (Hetzron 1977:4).

Typologically G. is a Gunnän-Gurage language (Hetzron 1977:4). Genetically it forms, together with Čaha, Gura and Ǝža, the Central Western Gurage language group (CWG), which is part of the Outer South Ethiopic branch (Hetzron 1972:119).

Hetzron (1977:34f.) enumerates the vowels *ɔ* (< *awä) and *ä̈* (< *älä) for G. beside *ä, a, e, i, o, u* and *ə*. G. possesses labialized and palatalized consonants and occasional occurrences of gemination in connection with devoicing of voiced plosives (cf. ibid. 39f.). G. as a member of the CWG languages has no palatalized nasal *ñ* (ibid. 38). Merger and phonologically conditioned change of the liquids *l, r, n* also appear in G. (cf. Hetzron 1972:62), e.g. *nəqiyä bet*, 'big house' but *tä-rqiyä bet*, 'from a big house' with the alternation *n* ~ *r*. There is a tendency to change *w* following a consonant to *bʷ*: *wäṭṭa-m*, 'he went out' becomes *am-bʷäṭṭa*, 'he did not go out'. A lateral *l*, which is extremely rare in CWG, occurs in certain possessive suffixes and in the beneficiary object agreement markers of the third persons (Hetzron 1977:38). The lateral is also a part of the present tense copula in 3rd pers. masc. *-lo* and in 3rd pers. fem. *-läma* (contrary to Hetzron 1972:83, 89; 1977:106).

The verb has three basic paradigms: perfective, imperfective and jussive/imperative. G. belongs to the three tense languages, i.e. there occurs a tense distinction between definite future (imperfective + suffix *-te*), indefinite future (jussive + suffix/verb *-šä*, 'to wish') and past/perfective (cf. Hetzron 1977:77ff., 1972:60f.). Subject agreement is expressed by different morphemes in the perfective and in the imperfective and jussive paradigms (cf. Hetzron 1977:77ff.). Object agreement is expressed by two different suffix sets – light and heavy – on the verb (cf. ibid. 68f.). G. has an unusual object agreement marker and possessive suffix for the 1st pers. pl. *-ndä* (cf. ibid. 41, 68): *bet-əndä*, 'our house' or *denäg-ä-ndä* (hit:PV-3rd sg. masc.-1st pl., 'he hit us'). Beside a distinct verbal paradigm for the impersonal (Hetzron 1977: 81ff.) – a kind of passive construction – there occur two distinct converb forms. The first converb consists of a verb in the perfective, imperfective or jussive followed by the suffix *-m*, the second converb uses a special template similar to the jussive followed by a suffix *-t* (Hetzron 1977:96f., 1972:101ff.). The negative marker for the 3rd pers. sg. masc., 3rd pers. pl. masc. and 3rd pers. pl. fem. in the imperfective and jussive is *e-*: *e-säßər* 'he will not break', *e-sbər*, 'he should not break'. All other persons use the negative markers *an-* ~ *ã-* or *a-*: *ã-säppär-hä*, 'you (2nd sg. masc.) did not break'.

G. does not possess plural marking suffixes on nouns (Hetzron 1977:52). Plurality is either indicated by quantifiers or by the usage of subject agreement markers in the third person plural on the verb.

While Hetzron (1977:56) indicates that G. uses the possessive suffixes as definite marker, the author recorded a definite article *-we* for items, which have already been mentioned in the discourse: *bet-we* 'the previously mentioned house'. This article also appears in ↗Muḫər and Ǝža (cf. ibid.). Furthermore, two distinct possessive suffixes for the 3rd sg. masc. exist: *bet-äta* and *bet-huta*, 'the/his house'. The suffix *-huta* seems to occur in contexts where the possessed item is a specific and referential item of the shared knowledge between speaker and hearer. Nominative and accusative are not distinguished morphologically. The genitive and dative are marked by the prefix *yä-*, e.g., *kuttära yä-ättämʷä-hʸita aß-äčč-əna-m* (chicken to-sister-her give: PV-sub3sgfem.-obj.3sg.fem.-DCM, 'She gave a chicken to her sister') or *zəh äram yä-mammo abba äram-u* (this cow of-Mammo father cow-is, 'This cow is the cow of Mammo's father'). Source and instrumental are indicated by the prefix *bä-* (*bä-bet-äta*, 'in his house', *bä-čähʷä*, 'with a spear') and the locative/ablative by the prefix *tä-* (*täbet anqʸä*, 'behind a house'). The prefix *tä-* is also used as commitative marker (cf. Hetzron 1977:54). These positional relations can be further modified by postponed elements: *tärqiyä bet yiftift*, 'in front of the small house'.

The basic word order is Subject–Object–Verb. The declarative marker (DCM) *-m* occurs only with affirmative perfective main verbs. Genitives, relative sentences and adjectives precede the head noun.

The personal pronouns for the third persons are: *hut* ('he'), *hʸit* ('she'), *həno/hənäma* ('they [men or mixed/only women]'). Demonstrative pronouns do not distinguish gender or number. The pronoun *zəh* refers to near and *həh* to far object(s) or individual(s).

The present tense copula – except in the third persons – consists of an element *-n-* followed by subject agreement markers used in the perfective (cf. Hetzron 1977:105). In Hetzron's G. data the copula is *-nä-* instead of *-n-*. In the 3rd sg. masc. the copula is the suffix *-w*, in the 3rd pers. sg. fem. *-ya*, in the 3rd pers. pl. masc. *-lo* and in the 3rd pers. pl. fem. *-läma*, e.g. *näggade-lo* (trader-COP:3pl.masc.), 'They are traders'. The negative present tense copula is expressed by the negated verb *härä* 'to be' in the perfective: *hut näggade ã-härä* (he trader NEG-be:PV:3sg.masc., 'He is not a trader').

Question words can appear as basic interrogative pronouns (*mʷan* 'who', *mäččä*[*ra*], 'when') or as compound forms (*mən-qar*, 'what [thing]', *yä-mʷan*, 'whose', *yä-mər*, 'why', *mämmər*, 'how').

The basic word list contains the following items: *ʾat*, 'one', *hʷet*, 'two', *sost*, 'three', *əsat*, 'fire', *äha*, 'water', *čet*, 'sun', *ṭänaqa*, 'moon', *däm*, 'blood', *anäßät*, 'tongue' and *sən*, 'tooth'.

A comprehensive grammar and a lexicon of G. are still a desideratum. Hetzron (1977) contains a linguistic description of Gunnän-Gurage with several references to G. Further grammatical points are discussed in Hetzron (1972). The only easily available written text in G. is a folktale in Hetzron (1977:210–16).

Src.: interview with Wändəmu Arägga (G. native speaker, 23 years old), Wälqiṭe 2004.

Lit.: DƎNBÄRU ALÄMU et al., ጎጎት፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብሔረሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ (*Gogot. Yägurage bəḥeräsäb tarik, bahələnna qʷanqʷa*, 'Gogot: the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95

A.D.]; BARBARA F. GRIMES (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas ^{14}2000; ROBERT HETZRON, *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977; ID., *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification*, Manchester 1972; ShGurage.

Ronny Meyer

Gumär ethnography

G. (also Gʷämara, Gomaro) is a sub-group and a district of the *Säbat bet* ('Seven Houses') Gurage confederation. Before the formation of this alliance the G. had already close economical and military relations with the forerunning *Ammәst bet* ('Five Houses') confederation. The territory of the G. is situated in the Gumär and Geta [Geto] *wäräda* of Gurage zone (formerly in ↗Ç̣äbo – Gurage *awrağğa*) on the eastern edge of the Gurage highland bordering the territories of the ↗Mäsqan and Aliččo-Wәriro in the east, the Azärnät-Bärbäre (↗Sәlṭi) south of the Mogaže ridge and the ↗Čaha and ↗Geto to the west. Today the rural town of Qabul at the Ǝndәbәr-Hossana road is the main centre of G.

The G. have a mixed farming system. Typical products of the G. area are barley and cattle. *Ǝnsät* was introduced comparatively late (cp. ShGurage 63, 73). Today labour migration is an important base of G. economy.

The G. have strong historical links with ↗Čaha. According to oral historiography G. seceded from Čaha after a war between the followers of two ancestral brothers, Mogämänna and Ǝnäkʷamt. The brothers are said to have had "Arab" ancestors, i.e., genealogical linkage with the Adäre or East Gurage-speakers through *imām* Sidi. While the main part of Čaha country was dominated by the Mogämänna clan, the western part, G., came under the domination of the Ǝnäkʷamt clan (ShGurage 103). The list of G. clans documented in Dәnbäru Alämu et al. (1987 A.M.:87) gives 15 clan-names including among others, the ↗Ǝža clans of Qončača and Šarara, the Azärnät-Bärbäre clan of Abäke, the Mogämänna as well as the ↗Fuga people. The different clans are represented politically in the assembly of the *Gumär sera* (G. traditional social order) in Ğämbʷarä near Gäbrәʾel Church.

In the second half of the 18th/first half of the 19th cent., the Azärnät-Bärbäre more and more expanded to the south and south-east, the G. reacted by expanding their territory into former Azärnät-Bärbäre lands. Some ancestral Azärnät-Bärbäre graves can still be found near Abäke and Qeto in today's G. territory. Notwithstanding the frequent conflicts with each other, the G., Geto and Azärnät-Bärbäre G. fought on the same side against the Leemo ↗Hadiyya many times.

During the resistance of the *Säbat bet* Gurage against the expanding Ethiopian empire, Aräkәt in G. was the location of a famous victory (1875) for the Gurage.

The name of G. should not be confused with a number of similar names such as "Gomār" on the map of Almeida (BeckHuntAlm xcvif) or "Gumär Sanqa" an area in Wämbarma in Goğğam (cp. HuntGeogr 185, 197; BeckHuntAlm 10, 212 [map], 241; PerChron; ConzGal). *Abba* Baḥrәy mentions a tribe of "Gomär" which was christianized by *aṣe* Śärṣä Dәngәl (r. 1563–97) and whose relation to G. remains unclear. Similar names can be found also in many variants with different – in part derogative – meanings around the Käfa area (↗Gimira, Gumera, Gamero, Gumara; s. Freeman – Pankhurst 2003:76, 92, 127).

Src.: interview with *ḥağğī* Sәrgaga Dari, Addis Abäba, June 2003; BeckHuntAlm xcvif, 10, 124, 212, 237, 241; ADOLF WALTER SCHLEICHER (ed., tr.), *Geschichte der Galla, Bericht eines abessinischen Mönchs über die Invasion der Galla im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1893, 31; ConzGal 154f.; PerChron 108, 173, 424.

Lit.: ShGurage 63, 73, 103, 205; WILLIAM A. SHACK – HABTE-MARIAM MARCOS, *Gods and Heroes: Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1974, map; BrHad 189, 193 (map); DƎNBÄRU ALÄMU et al., ጎጎት፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብሔረሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ (*Gogot. Yägurage bәḥeräsäb tarik, bahәlәnna qʷanqʷa*, 'Gogot, the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.], 87, 115; GABREYESUS HAILEMARYAM, *The Guragué and their Culture*, New York – Los Angeles 1991, s. index; HuntGeogr 185, 197; DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST, *Peripheral People: the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003.

Dirk Bustorf

Gumuz

Gumuz language

G. is a dialect cluster of the Ethio-Sudan border area, south and south-west of Lake Ṭana. The language has not been satisfactorily classified: Bender 1996 (also 1979; 1985) considers it to be close to ↗Koman, but this is now seen as doubtful since G. and Koman are geographical neighbours and most of the resemblances are lexical. There is no generally accepted self-name for the G. varieties and not all speakers recognize the name G. (variant: Gumis). The phrase *ŋgiša baha* ('speech-of people') or local clan-names are used. The old term Šanqillәñña was an imprecise pejorative, meaning 'language of the Blacks' (↗Šanqilla), used for several lowland Ethiopian peoples. The literature on G. is slight: aside from those listed below, there are only field notes, scraps of linguistic data in older sources and some brief unpublished papers. Peter Unseth presented two papers on G. (Unseth 1990). G. was not included in the Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia (S.L.L.E.). The estimated number of speakers is 40,000 in Sudan and 50,000 in Ethiopia (Grimes 1996:261f.). There is no literature in G. aside from the usual texts and translations prepared by religious proselytizers.

The main varieties of G. which have been (partially) described are those of Kokit (a locality near Mätämma, data collected by Bender in 1970, 1974), Sai (a group of clans, data collected in Addis Abäba by Bender in 1976), Sese (a Sai variety, data collected in Irwin 1964, 1966 and Uzar 1984), Goǧǧam (data from Conti Rossini 1919–20, collected from earlier sources).

The phonology of G. varies slightly from dialect to dialect. In the Sese variety (Uzar 1989), the segmental phonemes are:

labials: *p̣, p, b, ɓ, f, m, w*
alveolars: *ṭ, t, d, ɗ, s, z, ʦ, ṣ, n, l, r*
alveo-palatals: *č, č̣, š, ž*
palatals: *c, c̣, ɟ, ñ, y*
laryngeals: *ʾ, h*
velars: *q, k, g, g, ŋ*
vowels: *i, e, a, o, u, ï, ee, aa, oo, uu*

Vowel length and stress are independent suprasegmentals. There are three tones: high (*á*), mid, or unmarked (*a*), low (*à*), as in *cílà* 'something around pig's muzzle (?)' vs. *cíilá* 'intestines' (Uzar 1989:363).

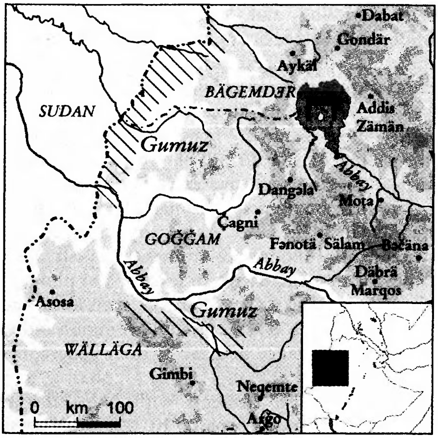
A sample of phonemicized basic lexicon from the Sai variety (Bender notes) follows:

'one'	*metam*	'moon'	*bidya*
'two'	*mband*	'sun'	*oka*
'three'	*okak*	'blood'	*maha*
'fire'	*mandya*	'tongue'	*q(ʷ)oteta*
'water'	*aya*	'tooth'	*qosa*

The self-standing pronouns of G. are unlike those of any other Ethiopian language. There are no gender distinctions except for doubtful ones reported for Sese and Disoha 3rd pers. sg., but 1st pers. pl. has a distinction of inclusive vs. exclusive. The Sai system is typical:

Sg.: 1st *aɗa ~ ara*, 2nd *ama*, 3rd *ah [ax]*
Pl.: 1st incl. *akwa*, 1st excl. *(a)ila* 2nd *akya*, 3rd *mmam*

The demonstratives in Sai are: *bane* ('this/these'), *bate* ('that/those') based on a general element *ba*. Plurals are identical to singulars. The Kokit system is different: near sg.: *-la*, near pl.: *-laane*; far sg.: *-let*, far pl.: *-leet*. There is a sentential interrogative marker *-ai* (with rising intonation) in Sai. Interrogative pronouns vary somewhat from dialect to dialect; typical are Sai: 'who?' *ora*, *ore*, *ole*, etc.; 'what?' *inṣa*, *inṣe*; 'when?' *nogwab*(*e*), *gamaʦ*(*e*); 'where?' *nogwab*(*e*), *eyabe*; 'how much, many?' (*an*)*zeŋaʦ*, *ṣaanze*; 'why?' *genṣe*, *ginṣe*. The basic connective 'and' in Sai is *ga/gi/ka*. Zero copula in the present tense is common in Sai, Sese, and Kokit dialects. The situation in other tenses is not clear. In Kokit, there is a verb of existence 'there is': *ʾin*, and a copula: *na*. Sese future copula is *da*.



The Gumuz verbal conjugation is very complex and still not well-described (best source is Uzar 1989). Much dialectal variation occurs. There are two types of paradigms: "split", in which infixes are used, and unsplit. The system includes both numerous tenses and numerous aspects. The imperative can be taken as the basic or elicitation verb form. Mode, interrogative, and negation are also categories of verbal conjugation. The paradigms are based on affixes in highly agglutinated forms. G. has a directional affix *-e-*, similar to the one found in Mağang(ir).

Typologically, G. is Type A (dominant sentence order: Subject–Verb–Object) along with all other Ethio-Sudan border-area Nilo-Saharan languages (↗Berta, Koman, ↗Nilotic), which have been relatively uninfluenced by Afrasian languages (↗Kunama and ↗Nara are languages which have been more influenced). G. is highly agglutinative and tends to have long words, a characteristic of the Northeast African area (↗Ethiopian Language Area), e.g. *bár-á-á-ŋ-gá čer-ké-k´ òn-ži-í-nà* 'I lean against' (Uzar 1989:368).

Bender 1989 and 1991 summarizes Nilo-Saharan morphology and Bender 1996 Nilo-Saharan phonology and lexicon, concluding that G. belongs in Nilo-Saharan and, indeed, in a central core of languages along with Koman. Nevertheless, doubts remain. The isoglosses linking G. to Core Nilo-Saharan are mainly negative (loss or weakening of the *a/i* sg./pl. formative), typological (having inclusive/exclusive 1st pers. pl. pronouns), or dubious (having possible gender markers in 3rd pers. sg.). As already noted, the independent pronouns are different from all other Nilo-Saharan languages. In lexicon and phonology, it is hard to differentiate between influence from Koman on G. and possible common Nilo-Saharan inheritance because of their geographical propinquity. Doubts about G. sharing any significant lexical elements with Nilo-Saharan have been expressed recently by Mikkola (1999) in a sophisticated lexicostatistical study.

The intriguing possibility remains that G. may not be Nilo-Saharan after all, which means that it is an African "isolate" not belonging to any of the great African phyla and perhaps representing an ancient phylum now otherwise extinct.

Lit.: MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, "Gumuz: a Sketch of Grammar and Lexicon", *AuÜ* 62, 1, 1979, 38–69; ID., "Gumuz, Koman, Mao, and Omotic", in: RUSSELL G. SCHUH (ed.), *Papers from the 15th African Linguistics Conference*, Los Angeles 1985 (Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement 9), 19–21; ID., "Sub-classification of Nilo-Saharan", in: ID. (ed.), *Proceedings of the Fourth Nilo-Saharan Conference, Bayreuth, Aug. 30–Sep. 2, 1989*, Hamburg 1991 (Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Analyses and Documentation 7), 1–35; ID., *The Nilo-Saharan Languages: a Comparative Essay*, München 1996 (Lincom Handbooks in Linguistics 6); ID., "Nilo-Saharan Pronouns/Demonstratives", in: ID. (ed.), *Topics in Nilo-Saharan Linguistics*, Hamburg 1989 (Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Analyses and Documentation 3), 1–34; HENNING UZAR, "Studies in Gumuz (Sese Phonology and TMA System)", *ibid.*, 347–83; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Popoli dell'Etiopia Occidentale. I Gunza ed il loro linguaggio", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 28, 1919–20, 251–85; BARBARA E. GRIMES (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas ^{13}1996, 261f.; PETER UNSETH, *Linguistic Bibliography of the Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, East Lansing, MI 1990 (Ethiopian Series Monograph 20) (Lit.); COLLEEN AHLAND, *Linguistic Variation within Gumuz: a Study of the Relationship between Historical Change and Intelligibility*, M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Arlington 2004; LEE IRWIN, *A Saysay Word List*, Addis Ababa 1964; ID., *Some Saysay Sentence Patterns*, Addis Ababa 1966; PERTTI MIKKOLA, "Nilo-Saharan Revisited", *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 8, 2, 1999, 108–38.

M. Lionel Bender

Gumuz ethnography

G. (ጉሙዝ) is the term designating an ethno-cultural group of ca. 122,000 people (CSA 1998:66) who live in the lowlands of western ↗Goǧǧam and Wälläga near the border with the Sudan. An isolated G. group has been reported in a valley near Mätämma. G. speak a Nilo–Saharan language and predominantly identify themselves as "Beğa". The G. are a non-centralized, segmentary society of shifting cultivators and agro-pastoralists. Traditionally, they dwelt on the margins of the political centres in both Ethiopia and Sudan and were frequently the victims of slave-raiders. Such bands of slave-raiders were formed by numerous groups: Ethiopian highlanders, neighbouring Oromo and even Arabs from the Sudan; the Agäw chief Zälläqe Liqu was also a notorious raider among the G. In addition to the people, the wildlife in the G. region was also exploited. During the first half of the 20th cent., G. country (↗Mätäkkäl) was a popular hunting-area for the Sudanese and Ethiopian elite, who sought big game, especially the elephant.

Together, the G. form a conglomerate of related groups, some of which have different self-designations (including Sai, Sese and Beğa); their territory was forcefully included in the Ethiopian Empire in 1898. Before the 1980s they were mostly called ↗Šanqilla, a pejorative term for dark-skinned people used by highland Christian and Muslim Ethiopians, including the nearby Beni Šangul *šayḫs*. Most of the neighbouring peoples—the Arabs from the Sudan, the Oromo, the Amhara and other highlanders, and the local Agäw—regarded the G. with contempt, only the people of Šinašša had a good relationship with them.

Because of its particular exploitative relationship with the Ethiopian state (epitomized by *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot, the predatory ruler of Goǧǧam) and the Sudanese local rulers across the border, the G. area was never properly integrated into a wider polity but remained a typical "frontier" area that was, nevertheless, heavily taxed by the central state.

The G. are organised in clans and have a matrilineal descent systems even though they are a patrilocal group. People are permitted to marry outside their own clan and if the economic climate permits, marriages may be polygynous. Sister-exchange (*angiyya*) is a form of marriage frequently practised between men from different clans. Traditionally the G. are an egalitarian society without central leaders. To deal with disputes, each clan has an appointed mediator (*tesa*), while trans-clan disputes fall under the jurisdiction of the government courts. Access to land is regulated through clan membership.

Religions found among the G. are Christianity (both Ethiopian Orthodox and, more recently, Evangelical) and Islam, reflecting earlier contacts and associations with other groups. The G. also maintain their traditional religion, which is focused on a creator god (*Rebba*) and the belief in ancestral and other spirits. The religious specialists (*etmaowa*) perform all of the necessary sacrifices and cultic ceremonies. This religion also has traditional ethno-medical specialists (*guahea*) and diviners (*etmussa*).

The G. country is a hot, malarial and fertile lowland area. The inhabitants predominantly practise shifting cultivation with the hoe and cultivate a variety of crops: cotton, coffee, peanuts, millet, oil seeds, beans and sorghum; beekeeping, alluvial gold-panning and animal husbandry (goats, cattle, sheep, donkeys and mules) are also practised. Additional activities practised by the people are hunting, fishing and gathering. The G. participate in regional trade, selling cash crops (cotton and tobacco) and other products (animal skins and gold) at local markets and in the adjacent Sudan. Trading on a smaller scale is also performed by the women.

Recent years have seen an influx of external groups to the G. region. Under the *Därg* regime, the G. country became a resettlement area for people from famine-prone northern and central Ethiopia and over the last few decades there has also been a steady encroachment of highland-type plough-agriculture on G. lands; this in turn has led to recurrent tensions.

Since 1992 the G. have formed part of the new regional Ethiopian state of "Beni Šangul–G.", which, despite recent government investments, is economically and politically one of the weakest units in the Federal Republic of Ethiopia.

Lit.: ABDUSSAMAD HAJI AHMED, "The Gumuz of the Lowlands of Western Gojjam: the Frontier in *History 1900–1935*", *Africa* 50, 1, 1995, 53–67; CSA 1998, vol. 1: *Statistical Report*, 66; WENDY JAMES, "Lifelines: Exchange Marriage Among the Gumuz", in: DONALD LEWIS DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986 (African Studies Series 51), 119–47; WOLFGANG KULS, "Land, Wirtschaft und Siedlung der Gumuz im Westen von Godjam, Äthiopien", *Paideuma* 8, 1, 1962, 45–61; PATRICK WALLMARK, "The Bega (Gumuz) of Wellega: Agriculture and Subsistence", in: MARVIN LIONEL BENDER (ed.), *Peoples and Cultures of the Ethio-Sudan Borderland*, East Lansing, MI 1981, 79–116; ID., *I Höglandets skugga: ekonomi, social organisation och etnisk identitet hos begafolket i norra Wollegas Lagland, Etiopien*, Uppsala 1986; DEMIE WOYESSA, *The Dikeria and Demosega of Lower Didessa Valley of Western Wollega*, Addis Ababa 1980; KIDANE-MARIAM DEMLEW, *The Shanqilla of Metekel: some Tentative Notes*, Addis Ababa 1987; WOLDE-SELASSIE ABBUTE, *Gumuz and Highland Resettlers: Differing Strategies of Livelihood and Ethnic Relations in Metekel, Northwestern Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Göttingen University 2002.

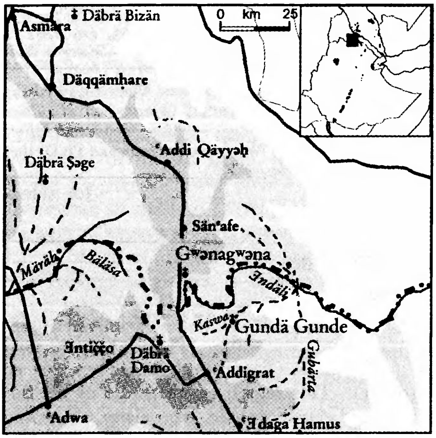
Jon Abbink

Gundä Gunde

History

The locality of G.G. (ጕንዳ፡ ጕንዴ, also Gundagundi, Gʷəndagʷəndi, Gʷəndagʷəndo etc.) is in ↗ᶜAgamä (Təgray), about 30 km east of ᶜAddigrat. This region is the cradle of the Surukso and ↗Irob people, who claim, according to recent tradition, connection with Greeks and Romans (Ricci 1953:66 and n. 2). The famous monastery of G.G., equally known as Däbrä Garzen (ደብረ ፡ ጋርዜን, also Däbrä Gär[ə]zen, Gärizan), lays there at the confluence of the streams Wärat and Kaswa: hence its further name of Däbrä Kaswa (ደብረ፡ ከስዋ). Built on a semicircular slope of the rock (1,450 m A.S.L.) opening into the streambank and strengthened by stone walls, it includes some 30 dwellings of rectangular shape all around the main church, Gundä Gunde Maryam. The names Däbrä Garzen and Däbrä Kaswa (corrupted into Kokäwa [ኮከዋ] in some manuscripts) may in fact have referred to two originally different monastic settlements – the oldest one being probably Dabra Garzen, of unknown origin, then superseded by Däbrä Kaswa (Caquot 1961:90).

G.G. became the spiritual centre of the followers of *abba* ↗Əsṭifanos (↗Stephanites), thus playing an important role in the religious history of Ethiopia (Beylot 1997:119ff.). In the sources, the leaders of the Stephanite movement are quite often associated with Däbrä Garzen. Grounding on two local monastic genealogies, partly also published by him, Antonio ↗Mordini (1953: 56ff.) provided a tentative list of the "abbots" of G.G. (ibid. 59f.) – who are in fact, according to those documents, "doctors [*mamhəran*] of Kaswa", i.e. successors of Əsṭifanos at the head of his congregation. This prompted the erroneous opinion that their series is one and the same as the list of the abbots of G.G.; and, more generally, that the latter was a Stephanite foundation since its very beginnings.



In the Acts of Əsṭifanos (fol. 36r), it appears that, at the onset of his monastic career, while staying with his disciples near the ↗Täkkäze, close to the monastery of Zeranqʷa, he invited them to remain "at Däbrä Garnen". It might be an early reference to Gärzen; but this is far from being certain. More positively, the G.G. "Chronicle of the Stephanites" – a 16th-cent. narrative of the persecutions endured by their first generation (ms. now lost, but microfilmed by R. ↗Schneider: no. 63 of his unpub. list) – informs about Əsṭifanos moving to Däbrä Garzen after his first apparition before *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob in 1434 (fol. 50r–v; s. Beylot 1984:32, n. 43).

The founder of Däbrä Kaswa was indeed Yəsḥaq (Ferenc 1976:244): according to local tradition, in which he is styled as *säräre adbarat* ('founder of monasteries'), he established the main church of the place, today dedicated to St. Mary. A native of Nəhba (ᶜAgamä), he entered the community of *abba* ↗Samuʾel of Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa and, in 1435, he joined Əsṭifanos. Toward the end of his life, fearing the incumbent hostility of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, Əsṭifanos designated ↗Abäkäräzun and Yəsḥaq as his first and second successors. In 1444 (the year of the withdrawal of the Stephanites due to persecutions) Yəsḥaq took shelter in Təgray, also on account of disputes with Abäkäräzun, from whom he was to part company later (s. the "Contending of our Fathers and Brothers [...] who Dwelt in Däbrä Garzen", ms. IES 496 = EMML 4, fol. 39v). On 19 October 1445, Yəsḥaq was arrested and exiled (*ibid.*, fol. 33v). Ordered to return by Abäkäräzun in 1451 or 1452 (*ibid.*, fol. 43r), he seems then to have retired to ᶜAgamä, precisely to Kaswa, already within his father's dominion. Thus, from the local *śəyyum*, he obtained the land of Kaswa as a ↗*rəst*, having a church built and a large community gathering there under his leadership. In the Stephanite tradition, this foundation was connected with a prophecy on Kaswa uttered by Əsṭifanos, at the court of Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, in 1434 (Gigar Tesfayé 1979:95f.).

The monastery, established in ca. 1452, was soon burned at the order of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob (*Gädlä Yəsḥaq*, fol. 76r–77r). It was rebuilt, with the church, thanks to the active help of Abäkärazun, who left G.G. ca. 1458 – possibly, in the course of still another persecution and burning. Yəsḥaq must have died in 1476 (Caquot 1961:74, 96).

It was at Däbrä Kaswa, then presided over by Yəsḥaq, that ↗ᶜƎzra entered the religious life at the age of twelve. Possibly in the same period, four years before his death, i.e. in 1472, Abäkäräzun established himself again at Däbrä Kaswa, which he had abandoned 14 years earlier. Here he attended Yəsḥaq's death in 1476. *Abba* ↗Gäbrä Mäśiḥ, successor of Abäkäräzun between 1476 and 1522, lived in Dusaʾa and paid only short visits to the nearby Däbrä Kaswa. Towards 1500, under *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod, the monastery was again burned. ᶜƎzra lived there around 1480 and then from 1509 almost until his death (1520), fostering complete reabsorption of the Stephanite movement into Ethiopian orthodoxy. His last stay there was marked by a further rebuilding of the church, which had been burned once again. Under the sixth successor of Əsṭifanos, Isayəyyas (1554–72), the region of G.G. had to face Oromo and Muslim invasions that affected the life of the monastery (Ferenc 1976:250, 276). The subsequent history of the place, after the vanishing of its dissident character, is less-known, though the library of the monastery is certainly furnished with abundant materials that could shed light on the obscure period from the late 16th to the early 19th cent., before the visit of Giustino De ↗Jacobis in January 1844 (2000:571-88; cp. Ricci 1953). In recent times, the place was protected and cherished by the local rulers of Təgray: in particular, *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis. The aforesaid dwellings around the main church are presently abandoned; in 2002 five monks alone were living in the monastery.

Src.: SALVATORE ARATA, *Abuna Yakob, l'Apostolo dell'Abissinia*, Roma 1934 (ill.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta sancti Abakerazun*, II. *Acta sancti Takla Hawaryat*, Louvain

View of the monastery of Gundä Gunde from the north-west; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

1910 (CSCO 56, 57 [SAe 24, 25]), 24 (text) = 25 (tr.); mss. Ethiopia, Təgray, Gundä Gunde, ገድለ፡ እስጢፋኖስ (*Gädlä Ǝsṭifanos*, 'Acts of Ǝsṭifanos'), fol. 3r–169r; ገድለ፡ ገብረ፡ መሲሕ (*Gädlä Gäbrä Mäsiḥ*, 'Acts of Gäbrä Mäsiḥ'), fol. 8r–66r; ገድለ፡ ይስሐቅ (*Gädlä Yəsḥaq*, 'Acts of Yəsḥaq'), fol. 1r–90r [photos taken by R. Schneider]; ms. Addis Abäba, IES 496 [= EMML 4], fol. 1–13, ገድለ፡ አበዊነ፡ ወአኀዊነ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ... እለ፡ ንቡራን፡ ውስተ፡ ደብረ፡ ገርዜን (*Gädlä abäwinä wäʾaḫawinä qəddusan ... əllä nəburan wəstä Däbrä Gärzen*, 'Contendings of our Holy Fathers and Brothers ... who Dwelt in Däbrä Gärzen'); ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Les actes d'Ezrā de Gunda Gundē", *AE* 4, 1961, 69–121, here 90 (text) = 118 (tr.); ALEKSANDER FERENC, "Les Actes d'Isaïe de Gunde-Gundē", *AE* 10, 1976, 243–94; ROBERT BEYLOT, "Les Actes de Gabra Masiḥ I (ca. 1419–1522), troisième chef du mouvement stéphanite", *RSE* 35, 1991 [1993, but 1994], 5–11; GIUSTINO DE JACOBIS, *Scritti*, vol. 1. *Diario*, Roma 2000, 571–88; RubActa I, 51 [no. 37], 70 [no. 55], 73 [no. 57], 86 [no. 69].

Lit.: GIOVANNI CECIONI, "La regione di Gundè-Gundiè e il suo antico monastero", *Rivista geografica italiana* 48, 1941, 113-33; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *RSE* 12, 1953 [1954], 29–63; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Nota", *ibid.* 64–70; ROBERT BEYLOT, "Sur quelques hétérodoxes éthiopiens, Estifanos, Abakerazun, Gabra Masih, Ezra", *Revue d'histoire des religions* 201, 1, 1984, 25–36; ID., "La dissidence stéphanite en Éthiopie au XVᵉ siècle", in: JEAN CHRISTOPHE ATTIAS (ed.), *De la conversion*, Paris 1997 [1998], 119–32, here 119ff.

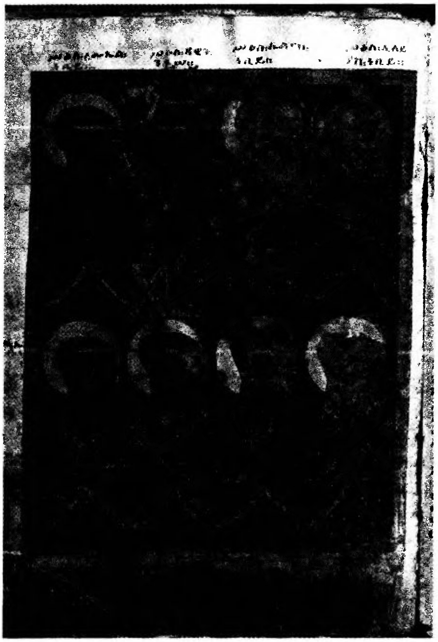
Robert Beylot – Red.

Art and achitecture of Gundä Gunde

In keeping with its importance as the "metropolis" of the Stephanite congregation, the monastery of G.G. enjoyed renown for its scriptorium and library – a collection of manuscripts remarkable for both the age of the books and the variety of texts they transmit.

The volumes, quickly seen by De Jacobis in the church library (2000:579ff.; cp. Ricci 1953: 67), amounted to ca. 800 at the time of Antonio Mordini's visit, but he was able to inventory only some 200 pieces (Mordini 1944–45:152 and 1953: 39–55). Among these, a few extremely rare ancient works have been preserved that were translated from Greek in the ↗Aksumite period: e.g., the apocryphal *Pastor of ↗Hermas*, copied in a magnificent 15th-cent. book (now Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, ms. Parm. 3842 = Mordini 9), and once even available at G.G. in two significantly differing exemplars (Fiaccadori 1994:90 and n. 88, 102); and the treatise *On the Antichrist* by Hippolytus of Rome (Id. 2003:251 and n. 30–31). It seems that under dangerous circumstances other monasteries of the congregation sent thereto some of their books (cp. Ellero 1939:46). So, beside transmitting texts extant nowhere else, which were locally to inspire a rather controversial theological literature (s. Fiaccadori 1993:82f. and, against, Piovanelli 2004:204f.), the works gathered or produced at G.G. allow a detailed reconstruction of the history of this extremely conservative milieu and of the Stephanite movement centered in it. Starting with the Acts of Yəsḥaq, the series of Vitas of G.G.'s "doctors" and "abbots" (mostly unpublished) is continued till the 19th cent. The already mentioned "Chronicle" of the Stephanites seems to be an early intance of monastic ↗historiography.

The main church of G.G. is especially interesting, for it represents a typical sacred building of the late 15th/early 16th cent. that underwent since very minor changes. It is a oriented rectangular tripartite basilica (ca. 14 × 18 m and 6 m high in the central nave) with three doors in the eastern façade (cp. Mordini 1953:37). Four cruciform pillars divide of the central part of the interior and mark the space of the enclosed square ↗*mäqdäs*



Old Testament Prophets (Samuel, David, Elijah, Isaiah, Jeremiah; Ezekel; Daniel; Ezra); Gospel book illumination; Gundä Gunde; 15th/16th cent.; fol. 18v; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

('sanctuary', 9 m × 9.5 m), raised about half meter above floor level. Inside, there is a wooden carved and painted *mänbarä ↗ tabot* ('altar throne').

The main part of the building is preceded by a rectangular vestibule covered by a ceiling reposing on seven wooden squared pillars with carved and painted capitals. The vestibule is accessible by a double entry and narrows into two passages, along the north and south walls of the main building, that lead to the courtyard at the front of the eastern facade. The walls are pierced by rectangular and half-circular windows in the first and second order respectively, as well as by a number of small scattered openings. Long and narrow stone blocks, laid in regular rows with very little mortar, were used for the construction. Such details as the doors and windows framed with elaborated arches, horn brackets and traceries are carved in wood. Outside the walls, which encircle the whole monastic complex, there is another little church used for people arriving to G.G. for the celebration of the festivals (particularly the Assumption of 21 *Ṭər*; *↗ Ǝräfta*).

Many of the manuscripts preserved in the library are richly illustrated in a particular style referred to as the G.G. style, which flourished about 100 years from the end of the 15th cent. It introduced squat figures with extremely simplified bodies hidden under stylised garments in bright colours covered by geometrical, patchwork pattern. Their pear-formed heads with concave faces have characteristic elongated eyes, upward triangular eyebrows and small mouths. They appear in full-size illuminations often inserted as frontispieces to the texts, which are also divided and decorated by particularly elaborated *↗ haräg*-ornament.

The writings more often illustrated are: Gospels, Vitas of the Stephanites saints, the *↗ Gäbrä ḥəmamat*. The miniatures usually depict groups of saints and biblical figures displayed in rows, but seldom include narrative scenes. The favourite subject is St. Mary with the Child flanked by Gabriel and Michael. Besides a number of illuminated manuscripts which are still preserved in the monastery, examples of the G.G. style can be found in the following places: ↗ Aksum Ṣəyon; Däbrä Maryam Sawne; Śəllase Gudufru; Asir Matra; Mikaʾel Dära (Təgray); ↗ Gännätä Maryam in Lasta; Iyasus ↗ Gʷənagʷəna. The G.G. style applied also to ↗ crosses, decorated with figural carvings and chiselling, as well as to folded parchment strips (*↗ Sənsul*) and some of the most refined liturgical fans (*↗ Märäwəh*).

Alongside with manuscripts, the treasury of the church hosts a collection of liturgical vessels and devices, paintings on canvas from the 17th–19th cent., and a number of hand and shaft crosses carved in wood and decorated with metal inlay, all attributed to the Stephanite artisan and craftsman *abunä* ʿƎzra – who was also credited with the foundation of the monastery in a local tradition attested first by Mgr. De Jacobis (2000: 578f.; cp. Ricci 1953:67).

Manuscripts from G.G. are kept in both public institutions and private collections: Addis Abäba, IES nos. 242, 4433, 7008; Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, w. 580 (Horowitz 2001: 104–07); London, Collection of Robert McCarthy; New York, N.Y. Public Library, Spencer Collection, SD 15168 (Fiaccadori 1994:102 n. 88); Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parm. 3834–58 [= Mordini 1–25] (Farinelli et al. 1994, cp. Fiaccadori 1994:102 n. 87); Munich, Statliches Museum für Völkerkunde, 86.307643–45; Città del Vaticano, VatLib, Combon. Aeth., some 20

pieces (listed in Raineri 2000:309). Apart from Mordini's mission, still the major source of information on G.G. and its library, considerable efforts in making the latter available to scholars were undertaken by Emilio Ceccarini (Raineri 1990 and 2000:VII, 302) and Roger Schneider (Drewes 2002:208), who photographed a considerable number of manuscripts.

Lit.: ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "In memoriam Roger Schneider (1917–2002)", *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 206–14, here 208; GIOVANNI ELLERO, "I conventi dello Scirè e le loro leggende", *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 7^{a}, 4, [75], 1939, 835–52, here 46 [EllLusAnt 5–26, here 16]; L. FARINELLI et al., "I manoscritti etiopici di Antonio Mordini alla Biblioteca Palatina", *Malacoda* 57 [10, VI], 1994, 11–28; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992, 79–89 [v. "Tommaso in Etiopia"], here 82f.; ID., "Prototipi miniati dell'Ottateuco etiopico", *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 8, 1994 [1995], 69–102, here 90 [and nn. 87–88], 102 (Lit.); ID., "Un'epigrafe greca aksumita (*RIÉth* 274)", in: VINCENZO RUGGIERI – LUCA PIERALLI (eds.), *Εὐκοσμία. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro) 2003, 243–55, here 251 and n. 30–31; GIGAR TESFAYE, "Reconnaissance des trois églises anterieures à 1314", *JES* 12, 2, 1974, 57–76; ID., "Notes sur Gunda Gundé et d'autres couvents stéphanites dans le Tigray", *Abbay* 10, 1979 [1981], 93–100; GIUSTINO DE JACOBIS, *Scritti*, 1. *Diario*, Frascati (Roma) 2000, 571-88; MARYLIN HELDMAN, "An Ēwosṭāthian Style and the Gunda Gundē Style in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Manuscript Illumination", in: *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art*, London 1989, 5–24, 135–39, here 9–14, 136–39, ills. 11–27; DEBORAH HOROWITZ (ed.), *Ethiopian Art. The Walters Art Museum*, Baltimore 2001, 104–07, no. 14; *Koptische Kunst. Christentum am Nil (3. Mai bis 15. August in Villa Hügel, Essen)*, Essen 1963, 428f., no. 577; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Révelation d'un manuscript particulièrement fascinant de l'Éthiopie au 15th siècle", *Connaissance des arts* 247, 1974, 92–99; JULES LEROY, "Recherches sur la tradition iconographique des Canones d'Eusèbe en Éthiopie", *Cahiers archéologiques* 12, 1962, 174–204, here 191–96; ID., *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gonder Dynasty*, London 1967, fig. 9, pls. V–VIII; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Informazioni preliminari sui risultati delle mie recherche in Etiopia dal 1939 al 1944", *RSE* 4, 1944–45, 145–54, here 151–54; ID., "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *ibid.* 12, 1953 [1954], 29–63, here 39–55; ID., "Indagini sul convento du Gunda Gundiè e su problemi di storia medioevale etiopica", in: *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, Città del Vaticano 1964, vol. 3: *Orient Chrétien*, II (Studi e testi 233), 85–111; JACQUES MERCIER, *L'Arche éthiopienne. Art chrétien d'Éthiopie*, Paris 2000, 84–91; PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, "Connaissance de Dieu et sagesse humaine en Ethiopie. Le traité *Explication de la Divinité* attribué aux hérétiques «mikaélites»", *Museon* 117, 2004, 193–227, here 204f.; BEATRICE PLAYNE, *St. George for Ethiopia*, London 1954, 86–92; *Rock-Hewn Churches of Eastern Tigray, An Account of the Oxford University Expedition to Ethiopia 1974*, Oxford 1975, 66, 68f., ills. 92–96; OSVALDO RAINERI, "I manoscritti etiopici fotografati da Padre Emilio Ceccarini (1912–1979)", *Quaderni utinensi* 8 [15–16], 1990 [1996], 367–74; ID., *Codices Comboniani Aethiopici*, Città del Vaticano 2000, VII, 302, 309 [index: "Ceccarini (Emilio), "Gunda Gunda"], pl. I.1–7; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Nota", *RSE* 12, 1953 [1954]; StrANL 88, no. 24

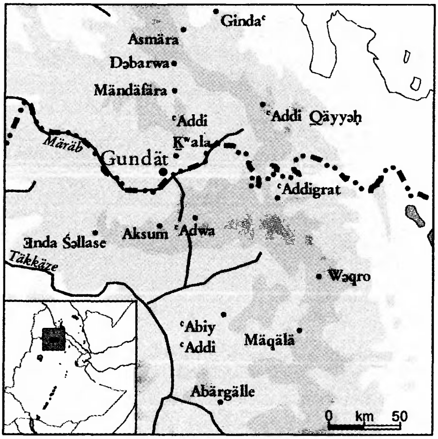
Ewa Balicka-Witakowska – Red.

Gundät

G. (ጉንደት, also Gʷəndät) is a small village southwest of ↗ʿAddi Ḵʷala, in a steep valley near the ↗Märäb river. It was the site of a battle during the 1875–76 ↗Egyptian-Ethiopian war whose outcome was the annihilation of Egypt's dream of establishing a permanent presence in Ethiopia.

The causes of the battle lay in the Egyptian decision to deploy a 2,500-man army, under the command of the Danish Colonel Søren Adolph Arendrup (1834–75), to check Ethiopia's growing military power. After landing at Massawa on 26 September 1875, Arendrup assumed command of a 2,500–3,000-man force and proceeded inland.

On the night of 15/16 November 1875, Arendrup's army crossed the Märäb. In the early morning, an Ethiopian force attacked and killed about 800 Egyptians. A few hours later, the Ethiopians surrounded and then killed some 1,300 Egyptian soldiers at G., where Arendrup, together with several other prominent figures of the Egyptian army and administration (↗Arakel), also lost his life. The Ethiopians captured between 14 and 16 cannons and rocket stands with ammunition and between 2,000 and 2,500 rifles. Their losses included 521 troops dead and 355 wounded. Despite the fact that the Egyptian force possessed better weapons the Ethiopian army prevailed because of



superior battlefield tactics (mass attacks) and better knowledge of the local geography. Ethiopia's final major victory occurred on 7–9 March 1876 at ↗Gura^c. After these battles Egypt attempted no further inland expansion and confined itself to occupying some coastal areas.

Lit.: RubInd, s. index; ZewYohan, 61, 63f., 69, 75ff.

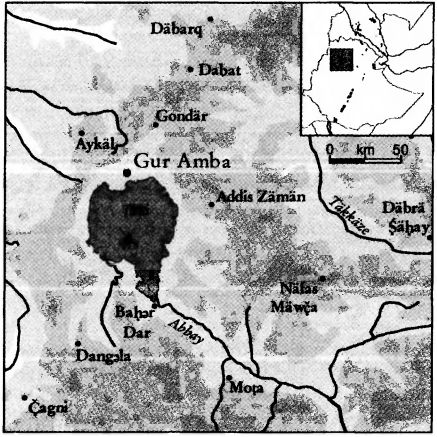
Thomas P. Ofcansky

Gur Amba

G.A. (**ጉር፡ አምባ**, also Guramba) is a locality in ↗Dämbəya, 39 km south-south-west from Gondär. It is a small settlement of agriculturalists with a well-frequented Saturday market.

During the 17th cent., in the reigns of *aṣe* Fasilädäs and *aṣe* Yohannəs I, G.A. appears as land tributary to the royal chapel, or Śə^{c}əl Bet. In founding the church of ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Q^{w}əsq^{w}am in Gondär, *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) endowed it with land at G.A. in support of the royal *täzkär*.

G.A. gained additional prominence as the site of an important battle between *ras* Kaśa Ḫaylu (future *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II) and the forces of *ras* ↗Ali Alula. Ali sent an army force headed by *däğğazmač* ↗Goššu Zäwde, Kaśa's former commander. Goššu Zäwde followed Kaśa for several months, manoeuvring through Aläfa and Çəlga till at last on 27 November 1852 the two armies met in a clash at G.A. Even though Kaśa had far fewer soldiers, Goššu Zäwde was killed, the remainder of his troops had to flee back to Goğğam, and Kaśa acquired a considerable amount of wealth and arms as booty. G.A. ultimately proved the first major step in Kaśa Ḫaylu's ascent to the imperial throne in February 1855, after two more resounding victories over Ali at ↗Ayšal in 1853 and *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam at Däräsge in 1855.



Src.: BritLib Orient. 659, fol. 239v; BritLibOrient 636, fol. 3v; GuiIyas 103 (text) = 112(tr.); MonVidTheo 2f. = 3f.; ZanLitTheod 14; *Guida* 367; CRNuov 404f.; *aläqa* TÄKLÄ IYYÄSUS, የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ (*Yä'ityopya tarik*, 'The History of Ethiopia'), ms. IES 24, n.d. 60.

Lit.: BTafA 445, 926; RubTew 41f.; RubInd 136, 216; BZHist 29, 78.

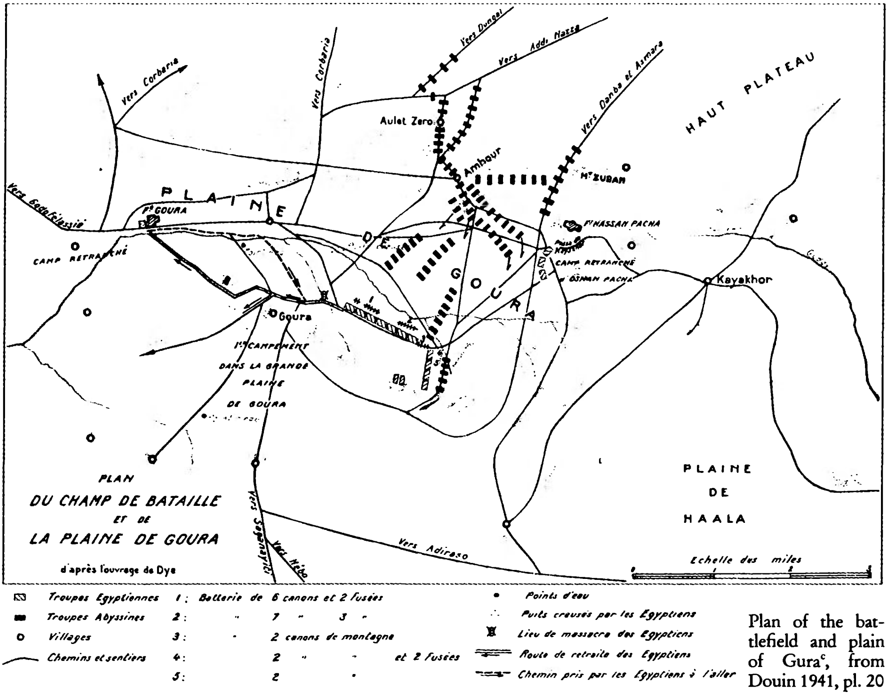
Bahru Zewde – Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Gura^c

G. (**ጉራዕ**) is a village and a plain near ↗Däqqämḥare in the ↗Əggäla region, ↗Akkälä Guzay. G. may originally have been the name of a northern highland ethnic group, which later (before the 15th cent.?) merged with the Əggäla, the G. village becoming their main settlement. This may also account for the appearance of the name Əggäla Gura^c in historical records. Tradition does not seem to include G. among the descendants of eponymous Akkälä and Guzay. Possibly related to the early southward migrations of northern groups after the fall of Aksum, the claim of the origin of the name Gurage from "G. of ↗Ḥamasen" (explaining it as Gura^c-ge, 'the land of G.', cp. ↗*ge*) enjoyed wide circulation and is attested in Gurage genealogies and in some other sources (s. BTafA 209).

The place is mainly known for the battle of G. which ended the ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian War of 1875–76. After the defeat of Egyptian troops at ↗Gundät and the death of ↗Munzinger in November 1875, an expedition of some 12,000 was sent to "defend the borders" of the Egyptian province of the East Sudan and the Red Sea (↗Habeš). The troops were put under the command of General ↗Muḥammad Rāṭib *bāšā*, assisted by General ↗Loring with some American officers, and Generals ^{c}Usmān Rifkī *bāšā* and Rašīd Rāṭib *bāšā*. *Ḫidīw* ↗Ismā^{c}īl attached his son Ḥasan to the expedition, intending to organize the occupation of the border areas including Ḥamasen, which was to be held until *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV acknowledged the Egyptian borders.

The choice of the local *baḥri nägaśi* (↗*Baḥər nägaš*) to submit to Egypt in early 1876, followed by submissions of other local chiefs, made the G. plateau a seemingly ideal place for Egyptian fortifications. The Egyptian troops ad-


PLAN
DU CHAMP DE BATAILLE
ET DE
LA PLAINE DE GOURA
d'après l'ouvrage de Dye
Vers Corbaria
Vers Corbaria
Vers Dongol
Vers Addi Hazza
Vers Damba et Asmara
HAUT PLATEAU
Aulet Zero
Amhour
Mt ZUBAN
Vers Sodo Felassie
PLAINE DE GOURA
Ft GOURA
CAMP RETRANCHÉ
Goura
1er CAMPEMENT DANS LA GRANDE PLAINE DE GOURA
Ft HASSAN PACHA
CAMP RETRANCHÉ OSMAN PACHA
Kayakhor
PLAINE DE HAALA
Vers Sequadirili
Vers Hebo
Vers Adiraso
Echelle des miles
Troupes Egyptiennes
Troupes Abyssines
Villages
Chemins et sentiers
1 : Batterie de 6 canons et 2 fusées
2 : " 7 " 3 "
3 : " 2 canons de montagne
4 : 2 " " et 2 fusées
5 : 2 "
Points d'eau
Puits creusés par les Egyptiens
Lieu de massacre des Egyptiens
Route de retraite des Egyptiens
Chemin pris par les Egyptiens à l'aller

Plan of the battlefield and plain of Gura^{c}, from Douin 1941, pl. 20

vanced from ↗Massawa, and in the end of January Muḥammad Rāṭib *bāšā* set a fortified camp in the southern part of the G. plateau and fortified positions near Kayak̲or to the north. The partition of the army (7,700 and 2,500 of infantry respectively, with several squadrons of cavalry, artillery and rocket launchers) became dangerous, when Yoḥannəs, with more than 70,000 soldiers he had been able to rally in the north, advanced from the Maräb. The decision to reinforce the Kayak̲or camp, situated in better position, was taken too late, due the internal rivalry within the joint Egyptian-American command. While some 5–6,000 Egyptians were marching towards Kayak̲or on 7 March, the Ethiopian army appeared and quickly attacked. In their inconvenient situation, the Egyptians had no time to prepare or take little advantage from their better weapons. The co-ordination was poor, and Muḥammad Rāṭib *bāšā* was among the first to flee back to G. taking Ḥasan along. In a few hours the Egyptian columns were overwhelmed and fled in disarray, bearing heavy losses; only a few hundred reached the fort of G. safely. During the next two days, the Ethiopians were engaged in active firefight with the Egyptians entrenched in the fort. The latter was brought into critical condition, but not seized, and the number of Ethiopian casualties was high (estimated 5,000). On 10 March, Yoḥannəs withdrew, which first led to the mistaken news that the Egyptians had won the battle.

Subsequently, Cairo tried, for some time, to conceal the facts. Yet, at G. over 3,200 Egyptians were killed and more than 2,000 were captured, which necessitated negotiations for their release. Although some new forces were dispatched to Massawa after the battle of G., Egypt could not afford anything more than "cold war" and empty threats. Yoḥannəs, in his turn, did not want the continuation of the hostilities. Even though the peace treaty was only signed in 1884 (↗Hewett treaty), Egypt was never again to annex parts of YoḥannəsIV's realm, nor did it defend the "Egyptian province" when *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda's army went deep into its territory. Muḥammad Rāṭib *bāšā* left Kayak̲or on 10 September 1876.

In 1935, G. was chosen as a site for a huge airforce base to serve the Italian high command for the invasion of Ethiopia. Däqqämḫare benefited considerably from this (Guida 268).

Src.: BTafA 209; WILLIAM MCE[NTYRE] DYE, *Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia, or Military Service under the Khedive, in his Provinces and Beyond their Borders, as Experienced by the American Staff*, New York 1880, ^{2}1969; GEORGES DOUIN, *Histoire du règne du khédive Ismail*, vol. 3: *L'empire africain*, 3$^{\text{ième}}$ partie: *1874–76*, fasc. B, Le Caire 1941, 873–950, pl. 20 (map); WILLIAM WING LORING, *A Confederate Soldier in Egypt*, New York 1884.

Lit.: BZHist, s. index; *Guida* 268; AFEWORKI W. MICHAEL, *A Brief Study on the Military History of Ethiopia 1868–1936*, B.A. thesis, Department of Social and Political Science, University College of Addis Ababa, 1964, 21ff. ZewYohan 65–74 (Lit.), s. index.

Wolbert Smidt – Denis Nosnitsin

Gurage

Gurage languages

The ↗Ethio-Semitic languages (↗Čaha, ↗Ǝndägäñ, ↗Ǝnnämor, ↗Ǝnär [Enär], ↗Ǝža, ↗Geto, ↗Gogot [Dobbi], ↗Gumär, ↗Mäsqan, ↗Mäsmäs, ↗Muḫər, ↗Soddo [Kəstane], ↗Səlṭi ↗Wäläne, ↗Zay) spoken by the people of the G. (**ጉራጌ**) region are categorized under the term G. languages. This is primarily not a linguistically defined group, and the designation "Gurage" with reference to the languages suffers from the same inconsistencies as with reference to the ethnic-social communities. In the strict sense of the term, G. is the name of the people of the *Säbat bet* G. ('Seven Houses of G.') and Guragina (Amh. *Guragiñña*) would mostly designate the language of those people, in fact mainly Čaha, as Kəstanəñña is the language of the Kəstane, Səlṭəññä the language of the Səlṭi, or Zayəñña the language of the Zay speakers. Generally, however, the Semitic vernaculars of the region have often been referred to as a group, sometimes described as a dialect cluster, and G. (Guragəñña) does also refer to any speech-form of G. people.

Historical records

The earliest evidence of a language in the region like these southernmost representatives of Ethio-Semitic is from the 13th cent., as recorded by the Arab philologist Abū Ḥayyān, who visited the region and also wrote a grammar of the "Abyssinian language". The grammar has not been preserved, but in an Arabic grammatical treatise Abū Ḥayyān's Abyssinian is presented as having *iya* for 'I', *ata* for 'you' masc. sg., *inya* for 'we' and *mḫṭ* for 'strike', and the prefix-conjugation forms *ʾimḫaṭ-u, timḫaṭ-u, nimḫaṭ-u* (but *yamḫaṭ-u*), with base-initial *-i-* and with a final *-u* (ʾAbū Ḥayyān 230:19–23). These fragments can be recognized as representing East Gurage and are particularly similar to present-day Zay pronouns, *√mḫṭ (maṭä) and Jussive.

Linguistic research

Scholarly interest in G. languages began in 1878 and attracted learned linguists such as ↗Praetorius, ↗Mondon-Vidailhet, ↗Cohen and ↗Polotsky. Cohen was the first who began to map the various dialects and offered information about their characteristics and distribution. It was, however, Leslau who established G. studies on a linguistically solid basis, discovered new dialects, provided collections of original texts and grammatical descriptions of most vernaculars (Čaha, Ǝndägäñ, Ǝnnämor, Ǝža, Geto, Muḫər, Soddo, Wäläne, Zay), discussed the position of G. within Ethio-Semitic and the classification and distribution of G. tongues, made comparative studies of various features with relation to the ↗Cushitic substrata and published a three-volume *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*. Hetzron provided some further specimens and new analyses and attempted a sophisticated genetic-genealogical classification. The history of G. studies is summarized in Hetzron (1977: 24–29) and Gutt – Hussein Mohammed (1997) for Səlṭi (an extensive study of Səlṭi by Drewes has mostly remained unpublished), Leslau (1994) for Wäläne, Leslau (1999) for Zay and Meyer (in PICES 14) for Zay and classification. New studies of various aspects of G. languages, some of them with linguistic-theoretical orientation, are represented in the collection of essays on G. ed. by Hudson (1996), broadening in a sense the horizons of G. studies.

Classification of Gurage languages

There is a general agreement *grosso modo* on largely dividing G. in three main branches. G. speakers would use the form of the 1st pers. sg. independent pronoun as the distinctive mark of such division, whether it is *əya*, as e.g. in Čaha, or *ädi* as in Soddo, or *anä*, as in Muḫər, but a consistent application of that criterion is not easily practicable. A mechanical adoption of this test has yielded a misleading division into (A) an *əya/əye* group, comprising Čaha, Mäsqan, Zay and Səlṭi, (B) an *ädi* group, including the Kəstane, and (C) an *anä* group, with Muḫər and Gogot (so Dənbäru Alämu et al. 1995:255). Another suggested division using as labels the forms of the

1st sg. personal pronoun came out with (1) the *ädi* group (North-Eastern G.): language of the Kəstane (Soddo, Aymällät) and Dobbi (Gogot) with some speech-forms (uninvestigated) attributed to the *Säbat sänga* [sic] *Mäsqan* and others, (2) an *anä – əye* group (Central G.): Səlṭi, Wəlbaräg and the other dialects of East-Gurage with the geographically northern Wäläne and Kokir, (3) an *əyya / iya* group (South-Western G.): dialects of the *Säbat bet G.*, naturally including Muḫər (Alämayyähu Näri 1993:145f.). The labelling with the pronominal forms is here confused, the position of some dialects seems erroneous, but the main groups are reasonably defined.

Cohen's classification was rather similar, dividing G. into (1) North-Eastern: Aymällät (*Kəstanəñña*, Soddo), (2) Eastern: Səlṭi-Wəlbaräg, with the geographically northern Wäläne, recognizing ↗Harari as also related, and (3) Western: Čaha, Ǝža, Gumär, Geto (Cohen 1931:100–03).

After the last few survivors of ↗Gafat speakers were discovered by Leslau and the structure of the language was more fully described (Leslau 1956), it soon became clear that Gafat and Soddo-Kəstanəñña belonged together (Leslau 1992:551–52; 1956:261) and that the classification of G. in general necessarily involved Harari and Gafat. Leslau also presented Zay as part of East Gurage (Leslau 1992:554–58; 1999:167–73). After close examination of various conflicting isoglosses, Leslau (1992:246–59) suggested the following classification: (1) North G.: Soddo (Kəstane), most closely related to Gafat, (2) East G.: the Səlṭi group, Wäläne and Zay, which belong together with Harari, and (3) West G.: Čaha, Ǝža, Ǝnnämor, Ǝndägäñ, Geto, with a subdivision of Muḫər, Mäsqan and Gogot (Leslau 1992:567). Features specific to G., which occur either in all the three main groups or in any two of them, were regarded by Leslau as proving that G. [with Gafat and Harari] can be isolated as a branch for itself, implying in a sense a Proto-G.

A sophisticated attempt to make a consistent and systematic genetic classification was made by Hetzron (1972; 1977). While he rejected the idea of Proto-Gurage, it will be found that he has recognized the very same three branches of (1) Northern G., (2) Eastern G. and (3) Western G. as all his predecessors did, with the identical division of dialects, except for Gogot and Muḫər, that were defined as Northern G. The Western group is further subdivided in greater detail. The general division in three branches, with Muḫər classified with the Northern G., has also been adopted by Gutt (1980:59, 85). A major factor in Hetzron's classification is his assumption that the suffixes marking independent affirmative indicative verb-forms in Soddo, Gogot and Muḫər (in his terminology "Main-Verb Markers" or MVM) were Proto-Semitic survivals, regarding the suffixes in Soddo and Gogot *yəläbs-u*, *yəläbsəmu-n* (also Soddo **läbbäsä-u* > *läbbäso*, *läbbäsmu-n*) and Muḫər *yəläbs-u*, *yəläbsəmʷə-tt* as cognate to Classical Arabic *yalbas-u*, *yalbasū-na*. Various degrees of maintenance, loss, survival or traces of MVM's are involved in Hetzron's classification in the definition of an (a) "Outer South Ethiopic" branch (= Northern + Western G.), in forming a (b) *n*-group and a (c) *tt*-group of "Outer South Ethiopic", in bonding Soddo – Gogot – Muḫər together in (d) Northern G., in separating Soddo – Gogot from Muḫər, in the definition of (e) Western G., in separating (f) Mäsqan from the rest of Western G., and in the characterization of (g) "Peripheral Western G." (Geto – Ǝnnämor – Ǝndägäñ – Enär) as against "Central Western G." (Ǝža – Čaha – Gumär – Gura). But the very supposition that the MVM's were Proto-Semitic is quite erroneous. They have clearly been recognized as copulas occurring in the area, which make in such paradigms verbal compounds (Goldenberg 1998a:463–77; 1998b: 303–06; 1996:93–97; 1999:213–21). A similar interpretation of such compounds, with emphasis on the focalizing function of the attached morphemes in Zay, has also shown that Hetzron's classification based on such supposedly survived MVM's is in fact untenable (Meyer in PICES 14, 1798–1808). Such constructions represent an areal feature also known outside Semitic (Tosco 1996:88ff. on copula-affixation as a mechanism of verb focalization). Hetzron's classification takes into account phonetic correspondences in spite of their weakness as criteria in classifying adjacent dialects. Delicate phonetic variations in *k*/*t*/*d* (borrowed) morphemes are involved in the internal division of Southern G.; also the neutralization of */*n*/ – */*r*/ – */*l*/ figures both in the definition of "Peripheral Western G." and in dividing "Central Western G." in two subgroups. After all attempts there remains the division of G. speech-forms that have been studied or mentioned until now in three main branches (even those with embarrassing conflicting isoglosses):

(1) North (or rather North-Eastern) G.: Sod-

do (Kəstane) [most closely related to Gafat];

(2) East (or South East) G.: the Səlṭi group (with Azärnät, Ǝnnäqor, Mugo, Wəlbaräg, Wəriro) in the territory of the "seven houses of Gogot" (*saʾapt gār gogot*), the isolated Wäläne (in the North) and Zʷay (in the East) [belonging together with Ha̱rari] (cf. Drewes 1960 6b);

(3) West G.: Čaha, Ǝža, Gumär, Gura, Ǝnnämor, Enär, Ǝndägäñ, Geto.

The exact status of Muḫər, Mäsqan and Gogot still remains mooted.

The reconstruction of a special branch of South-Ethiopian comprising East G. and ↗Amharic–↗Argobba because they share the Imperfect+*√*hlw* construction (Hetzron 1972 38ff.) is ill-founded. Such constructions these languages have in common with ↗Təgrəñña, ↗Təgre and ↗Gəᶜəz, and functional changes within the system are not innovations of any genetic-comparative value.

Some characteristics of Gurage languages

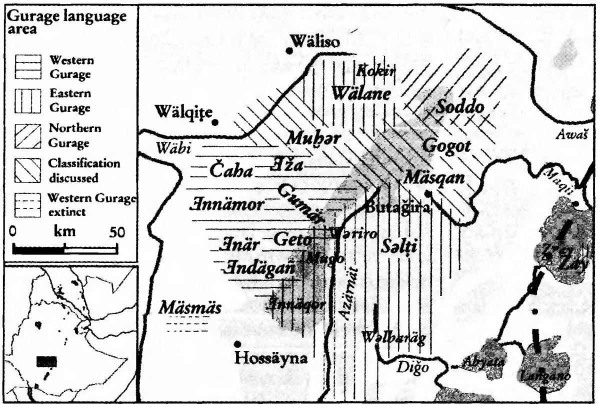
Several interesting traits of G., some of them areal and shared with non-Semitic languages and some possibly of comparative historical relevance, can here be mentioned briefly.

Well represented in all branches of G., as well as in Gaf̣at and Harari, is the use of an *m*-converb, also forming compounds with auxiliaries (Polotsky 1971:556–60; Hetzron 1972:105–15; Goldenberg 1998b:314–19). The general phenomenon of having serial and adverbative verb-constructions practically neutralized is common to Ethio-Semitic, and the occurrence of (1) the gerundial "verb 1 subordinate [+ verb 2]" and (2) the converbial "verb 1 + 'and' [+ verb 2]" as equivalent constructions is typical in Ethiopian languages, but "verb 1 + *-m*(*ä*)" converbs are not found in Ethio–Semitic outside the Gafat–Gurage–Harari area, e.g. Gafat *č̣irräshu-mä sällaʷh*, 'having finished I have come', Soddo [...] *balätt-m täsalättut*, 'she vowed to him saying [...]', Muḫər *xʷa täžäbbärä-m gäññ gäbba-m* 'he came back into the country', Ǝža *gäbba-m wäṭṭäqä-m* 'coming in he fell down', Čaha *tämṭäṭäsä-m näkäbom*, 'they found that it had been torn to pieces', Zay *ğiq bäl-əm həd*, "go slowly!", Harari *dukkən yikäfti-ma yiṭärgal*, 'he opens the shop and sweeps (it)'. *-má* in the same function is also found in Agäw (Hetzron 1972:93).

The converbial Perfect + *-m* is most probably the origin of the use of Perfect + *-m* as a main verb signifying the resultative present-perfect. Since it is typical for the present-perfect often to be followed by "and" with a statement of consequence (Praetorius 1879:370), the functions of converb and present-perfect are rather close. The clearest analogy to the process of converb becoming a sentence-final present-perfect is that of the gerund in Təgrəñña and in Goğğame Amharic. In Soddo, e.g., *mäṭṭa-m* is both a converb ('having come, he came and') and a present-perfect 'he has come'. The narrative preterite in Soddo is *mäṭṭa-w*. Present-perfect becoming a generalized past-tense form is known in G. as in many other languages.

A common innovation of Southern Ethio-Semitic was that root-patterning typical of the Imperfects, with gemination of the penultimate radical of strong roots, spread to the Perfect forms of "non-intensive" verb-stems. To the same phenomenon also belongs the spread of the palatal element – exponent of the "double gemination" in the "intensive" Imperfects – into the Perfect forms. This change is also recognizable in all South Ethiopian dialects where degemination took place later. In all branches of G. a conservative stage is represented, in which the negative forms of the Perfect have still escaped that innovation and remain the same as in Gəᶜəz or Təgrəñña (Polotsky 1971:483f.; Goldenberg 1998a:464f.; Hetzron 1977:87f.); e.g. Soddo triradicals 0_1 *läbbäso*, 'wear', negation *al-läbäsä*; 0_2 *zibbäro*, 'reply', negation *al-zäbbärä*; A_1 *aläbbäso*, 'dress', negation *al-albäsä*; T_2 *täqibbälo*, 'receive', negation *al-təqäbbälä*; quadriradicals 0_1 *sənäbbäto*, 'pass some time', negation *al-sänbätä*; A_1 *amsäggäno*, 'praise', negation *al-amäsgänä*; T_1 *tämsäggäno*, 'be praised', negation *al-təmäsgänä*; Ǝža triradicals 0_1 *säbbärä-m*, 'break', negation *an-säßärä*; 0_2 *žäbbärä-m*, 'reply' (variant *žäppärä-m*), negation *an-zäbbärä*, *čännä-m*, 'come', negation *an-tännä*; T_2 *täq'äbbärä-m*, 'receive' (var. *täq'äppärä-m*), neg. *an-tqäbbärä*; quadriradicals 0_1 *səräbbätä-m*, 'pass some time', negation *an-sänbätä*. In Zay as well, the root-patterning of A_1 *abäsälä-*, 'cook' [ʾ-*b-s-l*] discloses former gemination, and if the negative form is really *al-absälo* [ʾ-*bs-l*] (Leslau 1999:87), the same conservative stage as seen in North-G. Soddo and in West-G. Ǝža is also represented in East-G. Zay.

An innovation in the inflexional system itself, common to West G. and East G. (but not in Gafat and Soddo, nor in Harari) is the suffixation of *-nä* to the 1st pl. verb-forms of the prefix-conjugation (Imperfect and Jussive), e.g. Čaha



mitic and non-Semitic) of *u* and *t* as copula-forms besides the inflected *n*(*ä*). *t*-copula is mostly characterized as post-pronominal and is also found in Gafat and in Old Amharic. In G. all these copula-morphemes, differently positioned and variously distributed, are also found deeply involved, as auxiliaries, in the formation of verb-compounds as marking the independent affirmative indicative.

Phonological structure and phonetic characteristics differ from dialect to dialect and are treated in the individual entries, but the richness of phonetic variance of G. languages should be mentioned here. Especially West G. abounds with far-reaching deviations from all that is known elsewhere in Semitic, such as suprasegmental presence and transference of labiality, palatality and nasality, dissimilatory palatalization, neutralization of liquids **l* /**n* /**r* etc.

n-əbära-nä, 'we eat', *n-əbra-nä*, 'let us eat!'; Ǝnnämor *n-əkäftə-nä*, 'we open', *n-əkəftə-nä*, 'let us open!'; Muḫər *n-əsäbrə-no*, 'we break', *n-əsbər-nä*, 'let us break!'; Wäläne *l-əläqmə-nä*, 'we pick', *l-älqäm-nä*, 'let us pick!'; Səlṭi *l-ämsäk-nä* or *y-ämsäk-nä*, 'let us guide!'.

The use of 3rd pers. masc. pl. forms for the impersonal, or generic person, is rather common in various languages, but in West and North G., where 3rd pl. morphemes m.**-mu* / f.**-ma* replaced the old **-u* / **-a* in all the inflected verb-forms, reflexes of the old 3rd pers. masc. pl. forms in **-u* with the "heavy" object and mediate suffixes have created a special morphological category, formally distinct from other personal forms. This morphologically defined active verb-form, which obligatorily marks the direct or mediate patient but leaves the agent unspecified, is widely employed in those G. languages. Although a widespread usage of impersonal expressions does not necessarily depend on the availability of a categorially distinct form, the common use of the G. impersonal is typically connected with considerable reduction in the use of passive-reflexive stems. Cfr. the usual reference to a story by the impersonal "they say [it], one says" (= "it is said"): Ǝža *yəwri* (and similarly elsewhere in West G.), Muḫər and Gogot *yəbuyt*, or Soddo *yəblut* (Amh. usually T_1 *yəbbalall*); 'an X whom one calls N (= an X called N)': Čaha *N yəwri X*, Soddo *N yəblu X* (= Amh. *N yämmilu*[w] / *yämmilut X*, now more usually with T_1 *N yämmibbal X*), e.g. Soddo *Fäqadu yəblu säb* (= Amh. *Fäqadu yämmilu*(*t*) *säw*, or *Fäqadu yämmibbal säw*, 'a man called Fäqadu').

Typical to the area is the occurrence (in Se-

Writing

Except for linguistic transcriptions or sporadic missionary printing and some private attempts, G. languages were not usually written until the 1960s, and especially when in connection with decentralizing policies of the Ethiopian government, ethno-linguistic groups were urged and encouraged to form their own organizations and develop their local dialect as an expression of political and cultural identity. The Čaha New Testament was published in 1982 and various publications were then coming out (in Ethiopic script, with modifications), bulletins and periodicals, historical, social, economic and literary works. The first two G. novels (in Čaha) by Gäbrä Yäsus Ḫaylämaryam deserve to be specially mentioned, የጫሙት፡ ሽካ (*Yä-Çamut šəka*, 'The Trap of Çamut'; 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]) and አገኪ! ተኬትነት – አጂነት (*Agäki*! *täketənät – ağinät*, 'Agäki! From a maidservant to a respected housewife'; 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]).

Lit.: ABŪ ḤAYYĀN (Aṯīraddīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ᶜAlī b. Yūsuf b. Ḥayyān ᵓAbī Ḥayyān al-Ġarnāṭī al-Ğayyānī al-ᵓAndalusī [1256–1344]), *Manhağ as-Sālik*: *ᵓAbū Ḥayyān's Commentary on the Alfiyya of Ibn Mālik*, ed. by SIDNEY GLAZER, New Haven 1947 (American Oriental Series 31); ALÄMAYYÄHU NÄRI WƎRGASO, አሰት፡ የጉራጌ፡ ባህል፡ እና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ መሠረታዊ፡ ታሪክ (*Äsät.*

Yägurage bahəl ənna yäityoṗya mäśärätawi tarik, 'Ǝnsät. The Gurage Culture and General History of Ethiopia'), vol. 1, Addis Ababa 1985 A.M. [1993 A.D.]; MARCEL COHEN, *Études d'Éthiopie méridionale*, Paris 1931; DƎNBÄRU ALÄMU et al., ጎጎት ፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብሔረሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ (*Gogot. Yägurage bəḥeräsäb tarik, bahalənna* q^w*an*q^w*a*, 'Gogot, the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.]; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "Le type verbal *K'ātala* en Gurage oriental", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 17, 1960, 5–10; GROVER HUDSON, *Essays on Gurage Language and Culture: Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday*, Wiesbaden 1996; GIDEON GOLDENBERG, "L'étude du gouragué et la comparaison chamito-sémitique", in: *Studies in Semitic Linguistics: Selected Writings by Gideon Goldenberg*, Jerusalem 1998, 463–77; ID., "The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia and their Classification", in: *ibid.*, 286–332; ID., "Two Points of Kəstane Grammar", in: GROVER HUDSON (ed.), *Essays on Gurage Language and Culture Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday*, Wiesbaden 1996, 93–99; ID., "On Phrases, Complexes and Verb-Formation in Gurage", in: MARCELLO LAMBERTI – LIVIA TONELLI (eds.), *Afroasiatica Tergestina: Papers from the 9th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic) Linguistics – Trieste, April 23–24 1998*, Padova 1999, 213–21; EEVA H.M. GUTT — HUSSEIN MOHAMMED, *Silt'e-Amharic-English Dictionary (with Concise Grammar of Silt'e by Ernst-August Gutt)*, Addis Ababa 1997; ERNST-AUGUST GUTT, "Intelligibility and Interlingual Comprehension among Selected Gurage Speech Varieties", *JES* 14, 1980, 57–85; ROBERT HETZRON, *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification*, Manchester 1972 (JSS Monograph 2); ID., *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977 (Ricerche IUO 12); WOLF LESLAU, *Étude descriptive et comparative du gafat (Éthiopien méridional)*, Paris 1956 (Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de linguistique de Paris 57); ID., *Gurage Studies: Collected Articles*, Wiesbaden 1992; ID., *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*, 3 vols., Wiesbaden 1979; ID., "Outline of the Verb in Wolane (East Gurage)", in: WOLFHART HEINRICHS – GREGOR SCHOELER (eds.), *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut 1994, vol. 1, 141–57; ID., *Zway Ethiopic Documents, Grammar and Dictionary*, Wiesbaden 1999 (AeF 51); RONNY MEYER, "'To be or not to be' – Is there a Present Tense Copula in Zay?", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 3, 1798–1808; HANS JAKOB POLOTSKY, *Collected Papers*, Jerusalem 1971; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, *Die amharische Sprache*, Halle 1878–79; የክስታ፡ ጉራጌ፡ እምነት፡ [ሕዝብ፡] ታሪክ (*Yäkəstane Gurage əmät [ḥəzb] tarik*, 'The History of the Kəstane [Soddo] Gurage People'), Addis Abäba 1986 A.M. [1994 A.D.]; MAURO TOSCO, "The Northern Highland East Cushitic Verb in an Areal Perspective", in: CATHERINE GRIEFENOW-MEWIS — RAINER VOIGT (eds.), *Cushitic and Omotic Languages: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium, Berlin, March 17–19, 1994*, Köln 1996, 71–99.

Gideon Goldenberg

West Gurage

West G. is a linguistic grouping of G. dialects spoken in the western area of the G.-speaking region and includes ↗Ǝža, ↗Čaha (subdialects ↗Gumär and Gura), ↗Geto, ↗Ǝnnämor (Ǝnor) and ↗Ǝndägäñ (with subdialect Ǝnär). ↗Mäsqan, ↗Muḫər and ↗Gogot are also included in this group by some scholars (Leslau 1968), but Muḫər and Gogot are classified with ↗Soddo as Northern G. by Hetzron (1977). West G.-speaking groups are commonly known as *Säbat bet* ('Seven houses'), a tribal confederation that includes Čaha, Ǝža, Geto, Ǝnor, Ǝndägäñ, Muḫər and Maqorqor (Wärqu Nida 1992).

West G. has some sounds not found in other Ethiopian Semitic languages, namely "palatalized velar consonants": [k^y, q^y, g^y, x^y]. Ǝnor, Ǝndägäñ and Geto have contrastive long vowels (e.g., Ǝnor *käs* 'abdomen'/*kääs* 'debt') and nasalized vowels and sonorant consonants [*r̃*, *ß̃*, *w̃*, *ỹ*] e.g. Ǝnor: *də̃rãkärä* 'he threw'). Like Amharic, the G. dialects Ǝža, Muḫər, Məsqan and Ǝndägäñ have geminate or double consonants in the verb system (e.g. Ǝža: *säbbäräm* 'he broke'), except in the negative: *ansäßärä*. Geminate voiced consonants in verbs change to a single voiceless consonant (e.g. *bb*, *dd*, *gg*, *zz* > *p*, *t*, *k*, *s*) in Čaha, Ǝnor and Geto when followed by a sonorant [*r*, *ß*, *w*, *y*, *a*] (Banksira 2000), leaving alternations: Čaha: *säpäräm/yəsäßər* 'he broke/he breaks'. In Ǝndägäñ, geminates are voiceless in similar contexts: e.g. *säppärä* (Leslau 1976). West G. is known to have palatalization (i.e. *t* > *č*) or labialization (i.e. *g* > g^w), which in some cases marks grammatical categories, such as the 3rd pers. sg. masc. object, e.g. Čaha: *kətf*^{w}*ən*, or Muḫər: *kətəff*^{w}, 'chop it!' or the 2nd pers. sg. fem. subject, e.g. Čaha: *kəfč* 'open' (2nd pers. sg. masc. *kəft*) or *nəg*^{y}*əf* 'prune!' (2nd pers. sg. masc. *nəgəf*).

West G. (except Muḫər, Mäsqan, Gogot) has two future markers: definite (Čaha /*-te*/Ǝnor /*-k*^{w}*e*, *-te*, *-de*/) and indefinite (Čaha /*-šä*/, Ǝnor /*-se*/; Hetzron 1996). Other tense markers (or main-verb markers) include past /*-m*/, and in Muḫər and Gogot present-tense markers /*-u*, *-t*, *-i*/. Tense markers do not appear in the negative or in subordinate clauses. West G. has two forms of the jussive, the *yä-sßər/yäkəft* shape (with inserted [ə]) and the *yä-ßdär* shape. There is no plural marking or gender distinction in nouns. The masc./fem. distinction is found in the 2nd and 3rd pers. pl. pronouns, e.g. Čaha: *axu* 'you [masc. pl.]' /*axma* 'you [fem. pl.]', and the subject and object suffixes on the verbs.

Lit.: DEGIF PETROS BANKSIRA, *Sound Mutations: the Morphophonology of Chaha*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia 2000; ROBERT HETZRON, *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977; ID., "The Two Futures in Central and Peripheral Western Gurage", in: GROVER HUDSON (ed.), *Essays on*

Gurage Language and Culture: Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday, November 14th, 1990, Wiesbaden 1996, 101–09; Wolf Leslau, "Toward a Classification of the Gurage Dialects", *JSS* 14, 1968, 96–109; Id., "The Triradicals of the Gurage Dialect of Endegeñ", *Israel Oriental Studies* 6, 1976, 138–54; Id., *Gurage Studies: Collected Articles*, Wiesbaden 1992; Wärqu Nida, ጀቢዱ። የጉራጌ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ታሪክና፡ ባህል (*Ǧäbidu. Yägurage ḥəzb tarikənna bahəl*, '*Ǧäbidu*. The History and Culture of the Gurage People'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1991 A.D.].

Degif Petros Banksira – Sharon Rose

Gurage ethno-historical survey

The majority of the G. ethnic group is agrarian, constituting about 93 % of the estimated two-million G. population (CSA 1984). However, due to their traditions of urban migration and entrepreneurship, the G. constitute the third-most-urbanized ethnic group in Ethiopia, after the ↗Harari and ↗Dorze. Over half-a-million G. live outside their rural home regions. Those living in Addis Abäba numbered 255,000 in 1984 (2,000 in 1910), i.e. about 18 % of the capital's population and the second-largest ethnic group, after the Amhara. However, according to the 1994 Census, the G. (including the ↗Səlṭi) constituted the third-largest ethnic group, after the Amhara (48.3 %), and the Oromo (19.2 %), and 17.52 % of the city's total population (2,112,737).

The first mention of the ethnonym G. ("Geragi") is probably found in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I. In Ethiopian ↗historiography two possible etymologies of the term G. are known. First, wide-spread oral tradition suggests that the word G. derived from a group of legendary ancestors led by *azmač* Səbḥat, who, probably during the reign of ʿAmdä Ṣəyon in the 14th cent., migrated from ↗Guraʿ in Akkälä Guzay, in today's Eritrea, to Aymällal, in the present-day northern G. region. Thus, the name G., meaning 'people of Gura', was used to refer to this group and their descendents. Second, G. is traced from a name given to the G. area combining two Amharic words: *gra* ('left') and *ge* ('side' or 'land'); hence, an area on one's "left side" when one looks at it from Gondär.

The G. ethnic designation has historically included different ethnic (sub-)groups such as: ↗Čaha, ↗Dobbi, ↗Ǝnär, ↗Ǝndägäñ, ↗Ǝnnämor (Ǝnor), ↗Ǝža, ↗Geto (Yäč̣erät), ↗Gumär, Mägär, ↗Mäsmäs, Mäqorqor, ↗Muḫər, Aklil (in southern Muḫər), ↗Mäsqan, Kəstane (also called ↗Soddo or Aymällal) and the Səlṭiñña-speaking groups (s. ↗Ǝnnäqor, Səlṭi, ↗Wəlbaräg) of Aliččo-Wəriro, Azärnät-Bärbäre, Daloča, Mälga, (Gän-)Səlṭi and Tora-Lanfəro. However, from a local point of view, G. has always excluded artisan groups such as the ↗*Fuga* (engaged in basket and wood works), ↗*Buda* (tanners) and *Nəfurä* (iron smiths), despised groups who for centuries lived among the G. and spoke their language.

The Čaha, Ǝža, Geto, Muḫər and Ǝnnämor established a confederation referred to as *Amməst bet* G. ('Five Houses of G.'). Some time after, with the admission of Ǝndägäñ and Mäqorqor, the confederation evolved into the *Säbat bet* G. ('Seven Houses of G.'). This confederation was established long before Gurageland was incorporated into the Ethiopian state in 1888, although the time for the establishment of the two confederations cannot be dated with full certainty (ShGurage 4, 205f.).

There are historical accounts of other political associations among the G. For instance, the Soddo established a kind of "pan-Soddo G." regional confederation known as the "Ǝnǧori Declaration [*sera*]", after the name of the place, Ǝnǧori in Nuranna, in order to avoid internal conflicts and to keep united against external threats. The founding members of this northern G., or Kəstane confederation, included the sub-groups of Amawute, Aratige, Damu, Gimise, Ǝndabuya, Ǝnagadir Zugan, Ǝskadiya, Kanz, Mälko, Nuranna, Wačo, Wagram and Zamute, as well as other sub-groups such as Adälä, Angatige, Aygado, Aymalalla, Dugda, Gotage and Qašitna Ambare.

The northern G. have taken different designations: Soddo, Aymällal or Kəstane. The term Soddo is an Oromiffa word, which may indicate a fusion of G. and ↗Oromo, implying also an intensive historical interaction with the neighbouring Oromo groups (the Dulla, Soddo, Ǧidda and Malima). Aymällal is the name of the place where the legendary migrant ancestors led by *azmač* Səbḥat are said to have settled first and is still the name of one of the Kəstane sections. The term Kəstane is probably linked to the northern G.'s conversion to Orthodox ↗Christianity, which could also be interpreted as a strategy for creating alliances with the Christian ruling group of the Ethiopian state at the time.

Furthermore, the ↗*Gogot* (Səlṭeñña: 'association') is to be mentioned. It is believed to encompass the entire (sub-)groups of the G. The initiative for pan-G. unity was taken by a certain Silla Odda, an influential man from Soddo G., some time during the 19th cent. This movement also aimed at avoiding internal conflicts and defence against external aggressions. Silla Odda is said to have been brought together influential figures of all (sub-)groups at a place located at the border between the Muḫər and Dobbi territories, where they established the *Gogot* as the first pan-G. union ever.

G. land is located in the south-western part of the former Šäwa province, about 200 km south and south-east of Addis Abäba. It is bounded by the ↗Rift Valley in the east and north-east and extends as far as Lake ↗Zʷay, if one includes the East G. language area. Natural borders are the ↗Gibe (Omo) river in the west, the ↗Wabi (Rebu) river in the north-west and the ↗Awaš river in the north. The southern border is roughly that of today's G. Zone. But parts of the Ǝndägañ also live further south among the ↗Hadiyya people. The G. have a long history of cultural interactions with their Cushitic-speaking neighbours, the Oromo in the north and east, the Hadiyya and ↗Kambaata in the west and south and their Omotic-speaking neighbours, the ↗Yäm. With these groups they share major elements of subsistence economy, such as the cultivation of ↗*ənsät* (G.: *ässät*), staple food-crop for the majority of about 20 million south-western Ethiopians.

The definitions of Gurageland have undergone some changes. During the imperial periods, as part of the former Šäwa administrative province, this area used to be administered under the two districts of Č̣äbo and G., and ↗Ḥayqočč and Butağira part of it (e.g., Ǝndägañ) was part of the Kämbata *awrağğa*. The *Därg* government reorganized G. into the new administrative units (*awrağğa*) Gumär, Čaha, Ǝža, Ǝnnämor and Ǝnär. After the *Därg* an ethnic-based policy was introduced and the earlier G. administrative structures were re-arranged. Gurageland was renamed first as "Gurage Region", with a status of regional state of its own for a very short period of time, and then its status was reduced to that of a zone within the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Administrative Region.

Initially, the G. zone, its administrative capital being Wälqiṭe in Goru *wäräda*, consisted of eleven sub-districts (*wärädas*), including: Soddo, Kokir, Mäsqan and Maaraqo, Səlṭi, Lanfəro, Daloča, Gumär, Ǝža and Wällane, Čaha, Ǝnär and Ǝnnämor, as well as Goru. However, the number of *wärädas* was reduced. First, due to a (re-)definition of the Səlṭəñña-speaking communities as non-G., a new "politicized ethnic identity" has been assigned to the Səlṭe. As a result, a separate "Səlṭe Zone" consisting of the *wärädas* of Azärnät-Bärbäre, Aliččo-Wəriro, Daloča, Səlṭi and Torra-Lanfəro was founded. Due to the secession of the Səlṭe the ethnic and geographical meanings of the ethnonym "G." were modified. Second, the western G. sub-groups of Muḫər and Aklil, previously affiliated with Ǝža and Wäläne, established their own *wäräda* in 1999.

Ethnogenesis

There are three main versions of oral traditions about the origins of the G. One version, very popular and widely accepted, particularly in northern and western G., refers to the migration of Ethio-Semitic-speakers from northern Ethiopia led by the military leader *azmač* Səbḥat (s. above). From Aymälläl these G. ancestors expanded further south and south-west to populate the northern and western parts of traditional Gurageland. However, based on some linguistic and other evidence, this tradition has been questioned in that the first migrants from the north must have migrated much earlier. It is suggested that a wave of the first migrant G. ancestors must have been triggered by the exigencies of state control and Orthodox Christian evangelization during the 5th and 6th cent., when they were forced to leave northern locations. However, the legend of *azmač* Səbḥat has become a dominant part of G. historical accounts and may indicate waves of G. migrations from the north, including one led by the own *azmač* Səbḥat.

The second legend of origin holds that groups of speakers of East G. languages (today's Səlṭi, Wäläne, Gädäbano and Zay) came from the east. The Wäläne in particular are considered to be remnants of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's (Grañ) army. Others suggested that the (Gän-) Səlṭi and the Azärnät-Bärbäre came initially from Harär and Bärbära, whilst still others considered Arabia as the origin of these groups. Both stories of origin report that the current population is constituted also by mixing with indigenous peoples (of perhaps ↗Cushitic cultural background).

In general, G. society seems to have evolved from multi-directional and multi-destination migrations of Semitic-speaking peoples from northern and eastern Ethiopia to their present areas, and also due to their interactions with local peoples of mainly Cushitic-speaking cultural background. Some elements of the present G. might have both Semitic and Cushitic backgrounds, having migrated at different times and from different areas (Təgray, Gondär, Šäwa, etc., and Harär) independently and/or as parts of the military colonies established by the medieval kingdoms of Christian Ethiopia as well as the forces of Grañ. As a result of these interactions between the incoming northerners and local peoples, the G. not only intermingled with and adopted some cultural elements of local groups, but also maintained their own traditions, resulting in some Semitic-Cushitic demographic and cultural mixtures reflected in G. practices of *ənsät* cultivation, languages/dialects, religious belief-systems and ↗kinship-systems. However, the G. have developed distinct cultural identities of their own as manifested, among others, in village settlement patterns, architectural designs, language/dialects, and culinary traditions such as *kətfo*, which is a G. speciality that has evolved into one of the most popular national dishes (↗Food).

The conquest of G. by *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) is a historical fate that the G. share with many in Ethiopia. Initially, the G., save the Soddo sub-group, who submitted to Mənilək in 1876 without any resistance, fiercely resisted Mənilək's expansion. They fought to defend their independence and lands for 14 years since 1874, defeating Mənilək's forces in several battles. The fiercest and most important was that of Aräkit (in Gumär) in 1875, when the G., led by *agäz* (the highest traditional military title among the G.) Darsamo Kero of Gumär, had their enemy lose more than two-thirds of his soldiers suffering perhaps the most crushing defeat. The G. were finally defeated in 1888 at the battle of Ǧäbidu by Mənilək's forces headed by *ras* ↗Gobäna Dač̣i. This resulted in new structural developments, such as the ↗*näftäñña* – ↗*gäbbar* (landlord – tribute payer) relationships, with which most G. lost their lands to the Amhara-dominated *näftäñña* and became *gäbbar* on their own lands. This had far-reaching implications for both the G. and Ethiopia as a whole, for it sparked G. urban migration.

Material culture and economic practices

The three types of traditional G. circular houses are *goyä*, *härarä* and *zägär*. They are constructed of local materials, including wood (pine, ↗eucalyptus, ↗bamboo) and grass for thatching the roofs. Settlements are structured in rows of homesteads with public open spaces in-between. Behind such homesteads are fields with different crops, mainly *ənsät*. Such settlements constitute the densely populated G. villages, locally known as *ǧäfʷärä*. ↗Handicrafts with wood and bamboo, tannery, ironsmithonry and pottery are carried out by the artisan groups *Fuga*, *Buda*, *Näfurä*, *Yäšähiräwät*. Traditionally, these creative professions have been despised by the *wäläba*, so-called 'pure', G., whose respected profession is farming. Thus, except for some *wäläba* female potters and male wood-carvers, the *wäläba* have participated in the creative processes as consumers, but not as producers. Intermarriage between the *wäläba* and artisan G. groups was and still is considered unacceptable, although there are some instances of marriage that have broken this prohibitive tradition. G.'s attitudes toward artisans have changed over time due to migration and growing education rates.

Regarding the G. economy, farming, livestock-raising, trade and migration constitute the major survival strategies. Essentially sedentary agriculturalists, the G. cultivate *ənsät*, grow pulses and cereals and raise livestock. *Ənsät* is the staple food-crop; it is a very versatile crop and the plant's different parts are used as food, medicine, construction-material and raw materials for making objects such as simple dishes and sleeping-mats. Shack (ShGurage) defined south-western Ethiopia as the "ensete culture complex area", in contrast to the "cereal culture" region of northern, and mainly the livestock-raising economy of the eastern lowland peoples. However, the label: "ensete culture" in the title of his book misleadingly lumps the multiple ethnic groups together, overlooking the important diversity in cultural traditions and economic practices that are both associated with and distinct from the *ənsät* cultivation among these groups, the G. included. In addition, recent developments (mainly with the construction of modern roads) have promoted the cultivation of cash crops – including ↗eucalyptus trees and ↗*č̣at* – that have emerged as the most lucrative products of Gurageland.

Social and political organization

Traditionally, rural G. communities are organized on the basis of patrilineal kinship. Patrilineal principles of descent and inheritance constitute the main base of all social groups, including families, clan-based communities and territorial groups. G. kinship incorporated elements from both Ethio-Semitic and Cushitic-speaking peoples' kinship-systems, as they probably adopted the descriptive cousin terminology from Ethio-Semitic-speaking communities and the patrilineal descent-reckoning from Cushitic-speaking peoples.

G. kinship relations have constituted the main organizing force of their political organization. Traditional G. society did without a centralized state administrating all sub-groups of G. Rather, the G. developed their own traditional governance systems based on kinship and religious principles, each system emphasizing the local cultural characteristics of the sub-group of its origin. Despite local and/or sub-regional variations, essentially G. political cultures evolved through and revolved around the institution of *sera*, 'traditional law' (↗*seera*), which organized social life and established and maintained peace and order. In the G. context, the *sera* could be broadly defined as that of traditional law and of the processes and acts of making and enforcing them. Such political institutions include: the ↗*Yäğoka qiča* (or *Yäğoka sera* for the *Säbat bet*), *Yägordänna sera* (Soddo), *Yasəlṭe sera* (Səlṭe), *Yafaragazanna sera* (Mäsqan) and *Yadobbi sera* (Dobbi). The *Yäğoka* institution is an all-G. structure of governance bodies of the *Säbat bet* consisting of councils of elders that are established and exercise powers independently on political matters at all levels. Although patrilineal lineage-systems provided the major basis for their political units, territoriality is another important organizing principle. For G. political cultures worked at the intersections of kinship, religion, and location. This implies that the social, cultural, and even political borders of such clan-based political units are porous, as the G. always criss-crossed such boundaries through their inter-clan relations, including marriages, exchange of goods and services, common political concerns and ritual practices, which characterized G. clanship as a whole. It is vital to note that G. ritual practices are all-encompassing and pragmatic, forming strong bases for non-kinship relationships and helping the G. to achieve unity in diversity.

Urban migrations and entrepreneurship

Any report on contemporary G. society must incorporate migration and entrepreneurship. Not only have these experiences transformed the meanings of "being Gurage", or Gurageness, adding urban and entrepreneurial dimensions to their identity, but they are increasingly becoming the defining and constitutive elements of modern G. ↗ethnicity.

Oral traditions of G. urban migration are linked to their incorporation during the 1880s into the larger Ethiopian state, which transformed rural life by imposing the *näfṭäñña* rule and thus triggering G. urban migration, people initially migrating for corvee labour in Addis Abäba to generate the necessary cash to pay the tributes imposed on them. Developments like urbanization and improvement of transport facilitated urban migration (G.: *fanonät*), which brought remitted income and labour absenteeism. In its turn, remitted income has created economic and social differentiation among G. villagers, distinguishing migrant from non-migrant households in terms of possessions and ways of life. In addition, it has restructured family and gender relations in villages, G. women whose husbands migrated having taken up traditionally male-specific roles (e.g., heading households, caring for livestock). A distinct social group of migrant families with its own life-styles and values emerged and traditions of urban migration evolved into vital aspects of G. economic survival strategies, becoming a kind of sub-culture of G. village cultures.

Development activities (construction of roads, schools, health centres), mainly funded by remitted cash of urban G., constitute other major economic effects of urban migration on village life. Migrant G. have always maintained strong links with farm households. They have established several voluntary/development associations (↗*Ǝddər*) in order to promote the flow of cash via the expansion of internal and external trades, the commercialization of farm products (e.g., wood, *čat*) and intensified G. national integration.

Throughout Addis Abäba's history, the G. have constituted the city's main labour force as well as the business force of Märkato (↗Addis Kätäma). By the turn of the 20th cent., the name of G. in Addis Abäba was synonymous with the term cooli and people used to call for porters by shouting "Gurage!" In fact, the G. deservedly pride themselves as the main builders of Addis Abäba.

Until the 1950s urban G. were engaged mainly in menial and manual labour, petty trade, and as shop-keepers for expatriate traders (↗Yemeni Arabs, ↗Armenians, ↗Greeks, ↗Indians), who monopolized Ethiopia's commercial sector at the time. During the 1950s–70s, the G. succeeded in competing with and replacing expatriate entrepreneurs and nationalized the emerging capitalist entrepreneurial economy. With their strong work ethics and impressive entrepreneurial successes, the G. constitute a crucial component of the fabric of modern Ethiopian nationhood, entering its imagination, as manifested by the fusions of Gurageness and entrepreneurial success in public discourse.

Src.: CSA 1984; MarAmdS.

Lit.: ShGurage (Lit.); WILLIAM SHACK, "On Guragé Judicial Structure and African Political Theory", *JES* 5, 2, 1967, 89–101; WORKU NIDA, ጀዱ። የጉራጌ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ታሪክና፡ ባህል (*Ğäbədu. YäGurage ḥəzb tarikənna bahəl*, 'The History and Culture of the Gurage People'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1991 A.D.]; ID., *Urban Migration and its Impacts on Village Life: the Gurage Case*, M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University 1995; ID., "Gurage Urban Migration and the Dynamics of Cultural Life in the Village", in: GROVER HUDSON (ed.), *Essays on Gurage Language and Culture: Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday, November 14th, 1990*, Wiesbaden 1996, 133–51; ID., "The *Waq* Cult of the Gurage", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, Addis Ababa 1993, 359–77; SHIMELIS BONSA, *Migration, Urbanization and Urban Labor Undertakings: the Case of the Kistane of Addis Ababa, C. 1900–1974*, M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1997; MULUNEH WOLDETSADIK, *Population Pressure, Land Use Change, and Patterns of Agricultural Productivity in Ezana Wollene and Cheha Weradas, Sebat Bet Gurageland*, M.A. thesis, Department of Geography, Addis Ababa University 1994; GETINET BEKELE, *Ecology and Society: the Dynamics of Social and Economic Development in Gurage History, 1889–1984*, M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1992; DƎNBÄRU ALÄMU et al., ጎጎት፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብሔረሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ (*Gogot. Yägurage bəḥeräsäb tarik, bahələnna qʷanqʷa*, 'Gogot, the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.]; BAHRU ZEWDE, "Systems of Local Governance among the Gurage", in: ID. — SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG (eds.), *Ethiopia. The Challenge of Democracy from Below*, Uppsala – Addis Ababa 2002, 17–29; ALULA PANKHURST – WORKU NIDA, "Menjiye Tabeta: Artist and Actor: The Life and Work of a Fuga Woodworker", in: RAYMOND SILVERMAN (ed.), *Ethiopia: Traditions of Creativity*, Seattle 1999, 113–31; LEROI HENRY, *Doing Development and Being Gurage: the Embeddedness of Development in Sebat Bet Gurage Identities*, Ph.D. thesis, Open University, London 2001; FECADU GADAMU, *Ethnic Associations in Ethiopia and the Maintenance of Urban/Rural Relationships: with Special Reference to the Alemgana-Wollamo Road Construction Association*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1972; JONATHAN BAKER, "The Gurage of Ethiopia: Rural-Urban Interaction and Entrepreneurship", in: JONATHAN BAKER — POUL OVE PEDERSEN (eds.), *The Rural-Urban Interface in Africa: Expansion and Adaptation*, Uppsala 1992; WILLIAM SHACK, "Urban Ethnicity and the Cultural Process of Urbanization in Ethiopia", in: AIDAN SOUTHALL (ed.), *Urban Anthropology: Cross-Cultural Studies in Urbanization*, Oxford, 1976, 251–85; GEBREYESUS HAILEMARIAM, *The Gurage and Their Culture*, New York 1991; TENKIR TERDA, የቤተ፡ ጉራጌ፡ ምሳሌያዊ፡ ንግግሮች (*Yäbetä Gurage məssaleyawi nəgəggəročč*, 'Proverbs of the Houses of Gurage'), Addis Abäba 1991 A.M. [1998 A.D.]; WORKU NIDA, "*Fanonent*: Ethnohistorical Notes on Gurage Urban Migration in Ethiopia", *Ufahamu. Journal of the African Activists Association* 28, 2–3, 2000, 43–73.

Worku Nida

Gurage religions

Traditional belief systems

The religious life of the G. people has been characterized throughout history by syncretism and religious diversity. Traditional belief-systems, Christianity and Islam have co-existed and competed with one another over followers and resources for centuries. G. traditional religions, constituted by belief in deities, predated Christianity and Islam, the different (sub)groups worshiping local deities: *Gordäna* in Soddo, ↗*Dämʷamʷit* (fertility goddess), ↗*Božžä* (thunder-god) and ↗*Waq* (sky-god) among the *Säbat bet*.

In pre-Christian times, the Soddo worshipped *Gordäna*, which was the main spiritual source for individual and collective commitments. The advent of Orthodox Christianity in the area and an increasing conversion of the Soddo G. to Christianity undermined the role of *Gordäna* and led to the substitution of the latter by the former. Christianity became one of the vital elements defining Soddo G. identity, which was locally redefined as Kəstane ('Christians'). However, despite this socio-cultural transformation, *Gordäna* continued to play an important role in the life of the Kəstane, being the religious fundament of the institution of traditional governance known as *Yägordena sera* (also *Yäʾənğori sera*).

After the advent of Christianity and Islam, deities such as *Dämʷamʷit*, *Božžä* and *Waq* continued to play a major religious role among the *Säbat bet* G. In Čaha *Dämʷamʷit* has two shrines, Yäbitara and Moqärär, where the ritual-dignitary also resides and the annual festival (*Sänčä*) is celebrated, mainly by female adherents and a few male leaders. However, *Dämʷamʷit* may be referred to as a pan-G. deity with adherents from almost all (sub)groups/regions of G. The cult of this female deity is headed by a male ritual-leader (*Yäwäy dämam* from the clan of Yäwaqəsäb). Although most of the adherents are women, men believe in her as well.

Božžä is another pan-*Säbat bet* G. god with its shrine in Yənangara (in Ənor), his annual festival being *Nəpʷär*. His cult is headed by a male ritual-dignitary from the clan of Əntäzära and it is believed to monitor social behaviour. *Waq* can also be seen as a pan-*Säbat bet* G. deity, but it is worshipped under different local names and at the various shrines of the (sub)groups, e.g., *Awägʸät* (Čaha, Gumär), *Ǝnggʸäbär* (Ǝža), *Ğäbär* (Ǝnnämor, Enär), *Mando* (Geto), *Yämʷarär* (Aklil) and *Yäsus* (Muḫər). Each of these *Waq* deities has a certain ritual-leader and an annual festival celebrated at his own shrine. *Awägʸät*, for example, with his two shrines, Yäbäzä and Wägāpäča (both in Čaha), is represented by a female ritual dignitary from the clan of Mazahur, together with her husband from the clan of Yənäqʷamt, who resides in Yäbäzä. His annual festival, *Čəšt*, is celebrated mainly by his male adherents at Wägāpäča. *Awägʸät* is believed to be responsible for ensuring justice, peace and order in the society. Ideas and ritual practices associated with *Awägʸät* constitute the religious foundation of the ↗*Yäğoka* pan-*Säbat bet*-G. institution of traditional governance. The subaltern minority groups in G., the *Fuga*, *Nəfura* and *Buda*, have their own religious beliefs and practices.

Christianity

Local oral traditions and some travel accounts indicate that Christianity might have a longer history than Islam in some parts of Gurageland. Muḫər oral traditions claim that Muḫər has been a Christian area since the Aksumite period. They also tell that during the reign of *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak (r. 1270–85), *abunä* ↗Zena Marqos came from Bulga to Muḫər, where he stayed for 40 years renewing the already-existing Christianity and spreading it into other parts of G., particularly among the later *Säbat bet*. During this period, it is believed that he established some 156 churches in G. (including Muḫər, Čaha, Ǝnnämor, Ǝndägäñ, Wäläne and Soddo), most of which were destroyed by the campaigns of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"). Some of the oldest G. churches such as Gädam Iyäsus (Muḫər), Mədrä Käbd Abo (Soddo), Amanuel (Enär) and Mikaʾel (Ǝndägäñ) are considered to be products of this period.

Saints like Zena Marqos, ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus and *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob hold vital positions in G. Christian oral traditions, which also give hints of an early 14th-cent penetration of Christianity. Besides, there have been long-established relationships between G. groups (especially Soddo, Muḫər and Zay) and Christian northerners.

The incorporation of the G. into the Ethiopian empire by *aṣe* Mənilək II in 1889 paved the way for the wide spread of Orthodox Christianity, as imperial state and church joined forces to exert influence on local groups. Existing churches were strengthened and a number of new ones were established in and around garrison towns (↗*kätäma*). These churches played a major role in legitimizing the emerging modern state based on the hegemonic Amhara/Christian cultural values, serving at once political, religious and educational purposes. This had a significant impact on G. traditional religions and ritual practices, changing the meanings and nature of Gurageness. As such, the term "G." was assigned to refer to those traditional believers ("pagans") who were neither Christians nor Muslims.

Catholic and Protestant missionaries' activities during the 20th cent. were among major forces that re-shaped Gurageness.

Islam

There is no documentation showing the exact time of the advent of Islam, but some traditions claim that it began to penetrate East G.-speaking groups (mainly the Səlṭe, ↗Səlṭi) during the 12th and 13th cent., a distinct period of Islamic expansion in Ethiopia that led to the emergence of several Muslim sultanates. The earliest known reference to G. Muslims is contained in a chronicle of the 14th cent.

Some factors contributed to the introduction of Islam: the action of Muslim merchants engaged in the east-west long-distance trade; the campaigns of Grañ, which weakened Christianity and traditional religions and left pockets of Muslim soldiers in the G. area; figures like *ḥağğī* Aliyye of Səlṭi and Ali Dänäbo, a warrior from the clan of Yäqotəb in Čaha. *Ḥağğī* Aliyye is believed to be the ancestor of most East G.-speaking groups and many G. (sub-)groups. Islamic oral traditions hold that he was an important religious leader coming from Arabia (some attribute his origin to Bärbära, others to Ifat). Ali Dänäbo accepted Islam under the guidance of *šayḫ* Yaruna Gošte in Səlṭi. He fought ritual practices related to *Dämʷamʷit*, introduced Islam to Čaha and facilitated the establishment of the ↗Qabeena Muslim state. This state emerged as a strong Islamic centre for *imām* ↗Ḥasän Ǝnğamo's revivalist movement, which, during the second quarter of the 19th cent., spread Islam among the G.

After the defeat of Ḥasän Ǝnğamo, Islam continued to expand. This was also due to the emergence of important Islamic centres and leaders such as *šayḫ* Budäla of Abrät (the "*šayḫočč*") in Ǝnnämor, *šayḫ* Issa (and his son, *ḥaǧǧī* Sulṭan) of Qatäbarä near Wälqiṭe and Yaruna Gošte of Səlṭi, as well as the mosques of Alkäso and ↗Butağira. Today Muslim G. follow the *Qādirīya* and *Tiǧānīya* orders (↗Islamic brotherhoods).

Today the G. population consists of nearly equal numbers of Muslims and Christians, as well as some traditional believers. G. traditional religions are still lingering and co-existing with the dominant religions, particularly in *Säbat bet* G. Communities are characterized by religious tolerance, manifested historically through intensive social interactions, consisting of both co-operation and competition, at all levels.

Src.: WÄRQU NIDA, ጄብዱ። የጉራጌ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ታሪክና፡ ባህል (*Ǧäbidu. Yägurage ḥəzb tarikənna bahəl*, '*Ǧäbidu.* The History and Culture of the Gurage People'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1991 A.D.]; ID., "The *Waq* Cult of the Gurage", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 359–74; WILLIAM SHACK, "Gurage", in: RICHARD V. WEEKES (ed.), *Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey*, Westport, CN ²1984, 301–04; TrIslam.

Worku Nida

Gurgura

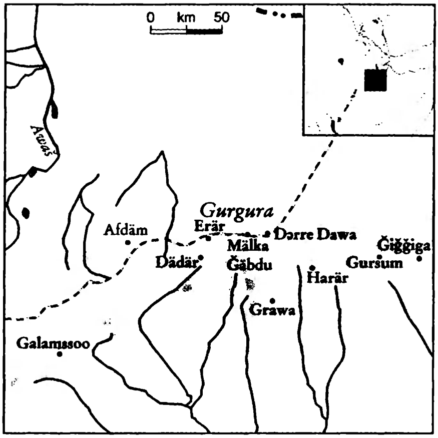
G. is the name of an area to the north of the Addis Abäba – Dərre Dawa railway and of a group inhabiting this area. The G. people are descendants of Nole Oromo. Once sold as slaves to the ↗ᶜIssa clans, they were settled on the piedmont of ↗Erär. The G. have two sub-clans, Libidor and Kutube; the latter gave birth to the ᶜIssa Gurgura Liberation Front (IGLF).

During ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase's reign the administrative borders in the area frequently changed. G. at most times formed a *wäräda* within the Adal–ᶜIssa–Dərre Dawa and Gurgura *awrağğa*, which extended as far as the lower Awaš valley.

During the time of the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), the G. *wäräda* was part of the Dərre Dawa–ᶜIssa and Gurgura *awrağğa* with Gurgur as its capital. It was centred upon a relief, also called G.

Today G. *wärada* is one of the two subdivisions of the Dərre Dawa provisional administrative region. It has 113,672 inhabitants distributed over 1185.52 km² (i.e. a density of 95.1 inhabitants per km²). The capital of G. is in Mälka Ǧäbdu (13,672 inhabitants, CSA 2004).

Src.: CSA 2004; EMAtlas; MesfAtlas; JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Éthiopie (1901–1903)*, Paris 1909.



Lit.: ALULA ABATE, *Studien zur jüngeren Entwicklung der Kulturlandschaft im Hochland von Harar*, Ph.D. thesis, Bonn University 1969.

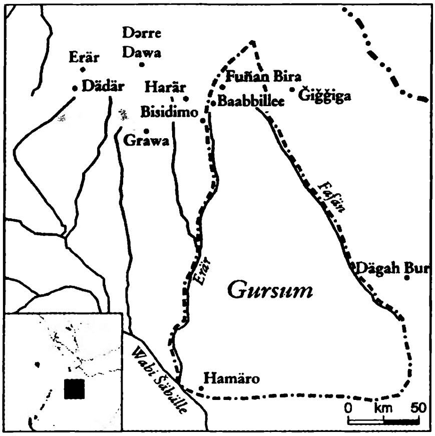
Marc Fontrier – Alain Gascon

Gurra and Garri ↗Garre

Gursum

G. *awrağğa* was one of the subdivisions of ↗Harärge, until with the federal reform of 1991 its *wärädas* were divided between the Eastern Harär zone of Oromiyaa and the Ǧiǧǧiga and Fiq zones of the Somali *kəlləl*. G. stretched from Bisidimo and Baabbillee outside ↗Harär in the north to Hamäro on the middle ↗Wabi Šäbälle in the south. It was bounded in the east by the Fafän river and in the west by the ↗Erär. The capital of G. is Fuñan Bira (Somali: Funyaabirra; 14,089 inhabitants in 2003).

The highlands, which stand above 2,000 m A.S.L., are densely populated and are inhabited by the ↗Qottu Oromo, who cultivate terraces of millet and *čat*, which has replaced coffee due to its higher cash value. To the south, Somali pastoralists belonging to the Ogaadeen clans (reer Maalingur) live in the lowlands (1,000–1,800 m A.S.L.), which are covered by a clear bush. During the dry season (December to February), they remain within reach of the wells at Fiq and in April they head northwards along the Hamäro –Baabbillee track towards the mountains of Galča, where they spend the summer rains (Gallais 1989). The border between Oromiyaa and the Somali *kəlləl* follows the ethnolinguistic



boundaries between Oromo and Somali.

In 1977/78 a Somali military advance stopped half-way up the mountains on the edge of the Somali settlements. The population of the G. *awrağğa* (76,000 km²) has more than doubled between the 1970 (70,200 inhabitants; density 9.2) and the 1984 (181,631 inhabitants; density 23.9) censuses. This is probably the consequence of the 1977/78 war. After the fall of Mängəśtu, there were sporadic lingering fights, as testified by the lack of demographic data. If we total the 1994 census figures for the G. and Baabbillee *wärädas* of the East Harär Zone (201,609 inhabitants), the G. and Baabbillee *wärädas* of the Ğiğğiga Zone (98,041 inhabitants) and the Fiq and Hamäro *wärädas* (145,614 inhabitants), we find that the former division had a total population of 445,644 inhabitants. In 2003 the same operation gives the figure of 475,306 inhabitants according to CSA estimates. Densities show a contrast between the highlands (228.8 inhabitants/km² in the G. *wäräda*) and the lowlands (13.4 inhabitants/km² in the Baabbillee *wäräda*). The most recent estimate shows a stagnation of the demographic increase in the mountains. In the north the towns of Baabbillee and Fuñan Bira have a population of up to 15,000 inhabitants, further south Fiq has more than 11,000 inhabitants, while Hamäro has a mere 3,000. It is generally estimated that the population of the three towns has increased by more than 50 % since the 1994 census.

Src.: CSA 1984; CSA 2004; EMAtlas.

Lit.: ALULA ABATÉ, "The Growth and Development of Small and Medium-Sized Ketema Settlements", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 727–44; CSA 1998; CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE (PROVISIONAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA), *Results of the National Sample Survey, 2nd Round*, vol. 5: *Land Area and Utilization*, Addis Ababa 1975; MARC FONTRIER, *Abou-Bakr Ibrahim. Pacha de Zeyla – Marchand d'esclaves. Commerce et diplomatie dans le golfe de Tadjoura 1840–1885*, Paris 2003; JEAN GALLAIS, *Une géographie politique de l'Éthiopie. Le poids de l'État*, Paris 1989, 121–22; ALAIN GASCON, "Intégration économique, intégration nationale et irrédentisme: le Harär, la rivalité somalo-éthiopienne et l'emprise de Djibouti", *NEASt* 13, 2, 3, 1991, 51–67; GasEth; *Guida*; TESFAYE GEBRE SELLASSIE, "Harer Awraja", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 5, 1, 1967, 37–46.

Alain Gascon

Guruz ↗Hairstyles

Ğūšah

Gärad Ğ. (جوشه), once governor of ↗Däwaro, was first a Christian serving *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. While he served in the Ethiopian army, his son, Bišāra b. Ğūšah, a follower of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"), was killed during the campaign against the land of the ↗Maya archers early in 1532 (BassHist I, 40, 264f., II, 94, 361f.; ᶜAbdalqādir ᶜArabfaqīh 1974:45, 270f.). At the beginning of the battle of Wāṣil, on 28 October 1531, Ğ. changed sides and converted to Islam.

During the Muslim pillage of the monastery at Lake ↗Ḥayq on 6 December 1531, Ğ. showed Grañ how to build a raft from inflated cowskins. As Ğ. had seen some lake people in Ethiopia making what is called in their language *läḫa*, by means of which they ferry people across, he gave Grañ the advice to slaughter a cow, to skin it, then to make it into a water-skin and fill it with air. After he had ordered the Muslims to fasten the inflated water-skin, tied underneath it, they put nine water-skins under every raft, three at the front, three joined under the middle and three at the back, and Ğ.'s idea worked.

In April/May 1532, Grañ sent Ğ. to Däwaro, having appointed him governor of the province. After the battle of Zalla in July/August 1532, the vizier ᶜAddalī sent Ğ. to block the outlet of ↗Bale at Dārah. While he was on the road, they met a group of Christians descending the Bale road after just having crossed the Wabi Šäbälle. Unable to flee, they asked for mercy. Ğ. ordered them to lay down their weapons and took all of them captive, five generals along with 60 cavalry. Then he ordered all to be beheaded, except for a general called Faris, who was able to flee whilst all the other Muslims were engaged in killing the prisoners. Ǧ. himself beheaded the general (*al-baṭrīq*) Ḥağah and sent his head to Grañ in Ǧīna. Grañ had been cheated by Ḥağah when the latter sent him a messenger saying that he wanted to become a Muslim just to kill shortly after Grañ's own messenger and to flee to the lands of Bale. Overjoyed, Grañ prayed, gave the messenger and his companions matching garments of honour along with two golden bracelets, and held the general's head up in front of the Muslim army.

Ǧ. is last mentioned when Grañ leaves him with the *amīr* Ḥusayn b. Abī Bakr al-Ǧāturī in Däwaro, after the conquest of the Bale province by the vizier ᶜAddalī in July/August 1532.

Src.: BassHist I, 207, 234, 280, 291ff., 301, II, 301, 333, 377, 387ff.; Šihābaddīn Aḥmad b. ᶜAbdalqādir ᶜArabfaqīh, *Tuḥfat az-zamān aw Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša, aṣ-ṣirāᶜ aṣ-ṣūmālī al-ḥabašī fī l-qarn as-sādis ᶜašar al-mīlādī* ('The Gift of the Time, or the Conquests of Ethiopia, the Ethiopian-Somali Conflict in the 16th cent. A.D.'), ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Šaltūt, Cairo 1394 H. [1974 A.D.], 218, 242f., 286, 295–98, 305.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Guummaa

G. was one of the earliest ↗Gibe states to be formed – in the second half of the 18th cent. – and the only one that produced a chronicle of its rulers (s. Gibe for map).

Information on the formation of G. is confusing and contradictory. A number of sources written between the 1840s–90s claim that the founder was a certain Adam, a Muslim trader from Təgray. The *Chronicle of the Kingdom of Gumma*, published by Cerulli, also makes Adam the founder of the state, but presents Adam, rather than as a historical figure, as Satan and an evil spirit (CerFolk 152ff.). All sources agree, however, that the founder of G. was a Muslim, a claim denied by historical evidence: the founder of the state might in fact have been a non-Muslim and the tradition of Adam invented in order to islamicize the founder of a dynasty that was the first to declare *ǧihād* in the name and interest of Islam in the Gibe region.

The state of G. emerged out of the power struggle between the war leaders of the Dagoye and Cirra clans, Sarbaroda and Ǧiilčaa. The latter, an able organizer and inspiring leader, was powerful in war, and quick in taking decisive action. The cunning Sarbaroda, who was unable to stop Ǧiilčaa's rise to power, came to terms with his formidable rival and underpinned their relation by giving him the hand of his daughter. However, the political marriage failed to unite the contenders to the throne of G. Sarbaroda was defeated and killed in a battle and Ǧiilčaa, a non-Muslim, became the first king of G. Ǧiilčaa would die shortly after under mysterious circumstances and was succeeded by his son ↗Ončo (1810–30s).

Ončo was the first Muslim king of G. and was most probably converted to Islam by Muslim traders from Təgray. However, despite his acceptance of Islam, he continued to practice traditional Oromo religion and it was only during the reign of his successor that Islam fully replaced traditional religion. Ončo Ǧiilčaa was remembered for his tyrannical rule and for involving G. in continuous war with all its neighbours. During his reign Islam spread in the kingdom, due largely to Abbaa Maano, king of ↗Gomma (1800–40), who sent teachers and preachers to G. and encouraged Ončo to establish schools and build mosques. Some of the royal children, including ↗Ǧaawe Ončo, heir to the throne, received a good Muslim education. The relationship between Abbaa Maano and Ončo was strengthened by the marriage of Ǧaawe Ončo to a daughter of Abbaa Maano.

The succession of Ǧaawe Ončo (1830–54) to the throne of G. provided the basis for the replacement of traditional Oromo religion by Islam. Abbaa Maano persuaded his son-in-law, not only to abolish the ↗*buttaa* festival, but also to patronize Muslim scholars and provide land to the *Qādirīya* and *Tiǧānīya* ↗brotherhoods. During the reign of his follower, Abbaa Dulaa (1854–79), Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina replaced the traditional Oromo pilgrimage to the land of ↗*abbaa muudaa* in southern Ethiopia.

It was one of the pilgrims from G. who in the early 1866 brought to Abbaa Dulaa a letter from the custodian of the tomb of the Prophet Muḥammad at Medina announcing the end of the world was coming and urging all the believers to fortify themselves in their faith (CecZeila 268f.; TrIslam 202). It was probably in response to this letter that G. declared *ǧihād* against non-Muslim Oromo. G., the fourth Gibe state to be converted to Islam, thus became the first to declare *ǧihād* in the name and interest of its new religion, forming a Muslim league for the purpose of imposing Islam on non-Muslim Oromo neighbours.

However, the Amhara invasion in the Gibe region brought such an ambitious goal to an end. In 1881, ↗Abbaa Ǧoobir, the king of G., declared a *ǧihād* against Amhara invaders and was killed in battle (Tesema Taʾa 1986:134). Interestingly, even after the Amhara occupation of the Gibe region, G. remained a flash-point for resistance, such as the revolt organized and led for years by ↗Firrisaa (CerFolk 46).

Lit.: CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, "On the Countries South of Abyssinia", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 13, 1843, 254–69; CecZeila, vol. 2, 268f.; CerFolk, vol. 3, 46, 152ff.; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Storia dei Loro (dei Mecca)", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen* 10, 1907, 167–84; MHasOr; TESEMA TAʾA, *The Political Economy of Western Central Ethiopia: from the mid-16th to the early-20th Centuries*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 1986, 134; TrIslam 202.

Mohammed Hassen

Guzara ↗Gubaʾe

Gʷalʿa

G. (ጓልዓ) was a district with a few scattered hamlets 3 km east of the town of ↗ʿAddigrat. In January 1844 Giustino De ↗Jacobis passed there on his way to the monastery of ↗Gundä Gunde. A local Gälawdewos and his wife Mäqdäs cordially received him and it was recorded that, when leaving the hamlet, the priest said: "Lord, grant me a place like this!"

After they had spent months looking for a place to settle down, the son of Gälawdewos, *abba* Täklä Haymanot, a former monk of Gundä Gunde, suggested that they should try to purchase land at G. Negotiations were concluded on 10 December 1844 and the peach-orchard and one third of the water passed to De Jacobis at the cost of 100 Maria Theresia Thalers. By 1845, the local Ethiopian church of St. John was transferred to the Catholic mission, while a new house for the latter, with a seminar and a chapel both devoted to the Immaculate, and a school for girls and boys were established. The latter is credited with being the first school in Ethiopia to follow a "modern" curriculum.

The Capuchin Guglielmo ↗Massaja, who arrived at Massawa on 19 December 1846, was in G. a few days after. During his stay, he ordained 25 Ethiopian priests, 13 being married and 12 celibate. Although the ordinations were performed according to the Latin rite, it was understood that they would exercise their ministry in the Ethiopian rite.

In the following 69 years on no less than 15 occasions the people and priests of G. were subjected to vexations, persecutions and the destruction of their church and property. Often the local authorities forbade Catholics to graze their animals on communal land, draw water from the well, cut firewood or be given employment. As a result some families took refuge either in Alitena or Monoḫoyto. Despite the years of harassment the people preserved their faith. Today, the first Catholic church of modern times in Ethiopia has been restored and dedicated to St. Justin De Jacobis. There is also a kindergarten and a primary school, a retreat centre, a community of sisters and a seminary for candidates to the priesthood.

Src.: ANON., *L'Abyssinie et son Apôtre*, Paris 1866, 168f., 236–41, 256; ANDREA D'AGOSTINO, *Storia della Vita del Venerabile Giustino De Jacobis*, Napoli 1910, 154; MAURICE DEMIUID, *Vie du vénérable Justin De Jacobis, de la congrégation de la Mission* (*dite des Lazaristes*), *premier vicaire apostolique de l'Abyssinie*, Paris 1905, 378f.; GIUSTINO DE JACOBIS, *Scritti*, vol. 1: *Diario*, ed. by VINCENZO LAZZARINI – MARIO GUERRA, Roma 2000, 679, 708f., 725, 787–96.

Lit.: SALVATORE ARATA, *Abuna Yacob, apostolo dell'Abissinia: 1800–1860*, Roma 1934, 446; OMahPh vol. 1, 39, 42–45, 47f., 57ff.; vol. 2, 13, 87, 111, 129, 248; vol. 3, 6, 117ff., 131, 186ff.

Kevin O'Mahoney

Gʷalu ↗Ǝgʷalä Ṣəyon

Gʷangul

G. (ጓንጉል, or Gʷangʷəl, Oromo sp. Guwaanguul, horse name "Abba Seru", often referred to as "Seru Gʷangul"; d. ca. 1777) was a political leader active during the very beginning of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. His base was the territory of ↗Yäǧǧu. G. founded the dynasty that in ↗Wällo traditions is called Wärräsek and in the literature is often referred to as the Yäǧǧu dynasty, which dominated Ethiopia for over 50 years.

G. was known to his contemporaries and to later chroniclers as a "Galla", indicative as much of his ambiguous relationship to Christianity as of his ethnic origin. Local tradition in Yäǧǧu also reflects this ambiguity, although it also records that the earliest church in the district, Galla Giyorgis, was founded in G.'s time, apparently by one of his brothers. Son of a petty Wällo lord Abbəyye "Abba Getəyye", G. reportedly claimed descent from one of the generals of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ), a certain *šayḫ* ʿUmar. He married *wäyzäro* Gälläbu, daugther of *ras* Färis of ↗Lasta and Säläwa, which gave him land rights in Lasta. Of their children, ↗Ali Gʷangul (later *ras* Ali I, also Ali "the Great") became a powerful king-maker; ↗Aligaz, too, achieved the status of a *ras* (his children Bərru Aligaz, Färis Aligaz and Goğe Aligaz also rose to a relative prominence during the later years of the "Era of the Princes"). Käfay Gʷangul is equally remembered in Yäğğu today, mostly as mother of *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa "the Great". Another daughter of G., Anqʷalit, was married (by Ali) to *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq of Goğğam.

G. first entered the historical record at the beginning of 1766 when he, after negogiations conducted by *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Səḥul, returned to ↗Gondär the royal crown, lost by *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II during a military expedition to ↗Sinnār. Mikaᵓel handed over the crown, which he received from G. on 23 March 1766, to the Emperor ↗Iyoᵓas on 2 January 1768.

Later G. appears in the chronicles fighting the Oromo in ↗Təgray on the side of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis I, who also appointed G. ↗*šaläqa* in 1783. The following year, however, his son Ali was appointed *däğğazmač* of Bägemdər, indicative of G.'s political eclipse. Traditions in Yäğğu speak of armed conflict between G. and his son. James Bruce describes a visit by G. to Gondär, an account that is a caricature rather than an accurate sketch and is not to be taken seriously, although it may reflect attitudes of members of the imperial court towards G.

Src.: Guilyas 204, 208f., 226 (text) = 214, 218ff., 236 (tr.); BlunChr 24, 43, 60, 66, 107f. (text) = 237, 263, 288, 297, 357, 359 (tr.); BruNile 99ff.

Lit.: AbPrince 30, 140; RubTew 18, 43; MOLLA TIKUYE, "The Rise and Fall of the Yajju Dynasty (1784–1980)", in: *PICES* 11, 197–216; SHIFERAW BEKELE, "Reflections on the Power Elite of the Wärä Seh Mäsfenate (1786–1853)", *AE* 15, 1990, 157–79.

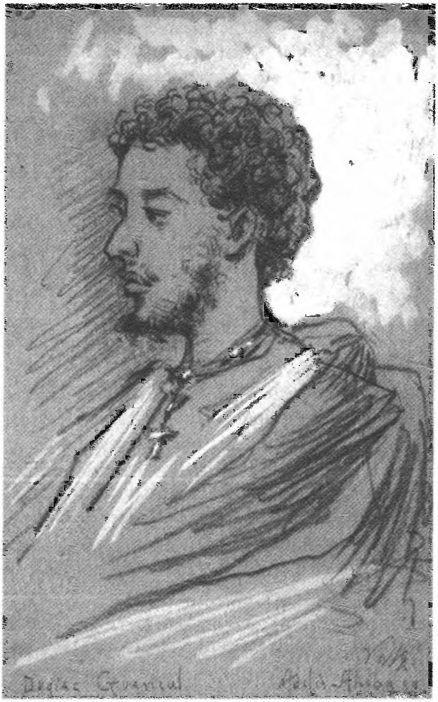
Donald Crummey – Red.

Gʷangul Bərru

Wag šum G.B. (ጓንጉል፡ብሩ, d. 1905, Addis Abäba) was a military lord and a son of *wag šum* ↗Bərru Gäbrä Mädḫən. In good relations with *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, in 1889 G.B. was appointed governor of Ambassäl with the title of *ğanṭərar*. He held this office until his appointment over Wag with the title of *wag šum* in June 1895 after his father had been removed from office and imprisoned because of contacts with the Italians.

In September 1895 G.B. was ordered to mobilize his forces into Təgray. Italian sources indicate that he had between 10,000 and 11,000 firearms, indicating a fairly well-equipped army. His army saw action at ↗Ambalage on 7 December 1895, next to *ras* Mängäša Yoḥannəs. At the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa G.B. fought on the Maryam–Šawito front, facing, together with other Ethiopian commanders, the right wing of the Italian army commanded by General ↗Albertone. He captured about 400 Italian soldiers and according to Mənilək's chronicler was instructed to take the captives with him into Wag before the return of the Emperor to Šäwa.

After the battle, G.B. was opposed by his powerful brothers for his earlier collaboration with Mənilək, who despite a promise of release was keeping their father in detention, a fact that also disappointed G.B. himself. As G.B. was the most colourful nephew of *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis II, Mənilək began to suspect that he aspired to the throne. In 1905 G.B. was summoned to Addis



Drawing of "*däğğač* Gʷangul", Addis Abäba 1890; courtesy of Enrico Castelli

Abäba and put under house-arrest. Soon afterwards he died under mysterious circumstances. His father also died suddenly on receiving news of the death of his son.

Src.: GSMen = GueCopMen, passim; FRANÇOIS MARIE CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET, Letters, IES, ms. 344A.

Lit.: GEORGE FITZ-HARDINGE BERKELEY, *The Campaign of Adwa and the Rise of Menelik*, London 1902; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Italia ed Etiopia dal Trattato di Uccialli alla battaglia di Adua*, Roma 1935; AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYLDE, *Modern Abyssinia*, London 1901; WUDU TAFETE, "The Two Wagshums and the Battle", in: *CentAdwa*; *Documenti sul combattimento d'Amba Alagi e sulla difesa di Macallè*, Roma 1896.

Wudu Tafete

Gʷäšən

G. (ጐሽን, also Gošən; d. 1587, Wärq Amba, Səmen) was a ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel leader. In 1586–87, he led a hopeless raid in ↗Wägära against *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl. The belligerent attempt to retain control of the region ended with the captivity of hundreds of Betä Ǝsraʾel, the massacre of a number of them and the enslavement of women and children. In the last battle, on the 21 *Ṭərr*, G. and some 50–60 of his supporters preferred to commit suicide by throwing themselves off a cliff rather than to submit to the Christian Emperor.

According to some sources, as well as Betä Ǝsraʾel informants today, G. was the brother of the more successful leader ↗Gedewon. He might also have been brother of Śärṣä Dəngəl's mistress, *əmmäbet* Harago (or Harägʷe), by whom the Emperor fathered four sons. There are also some suggestions that both G. and Gedewon were brothers of the two Betä Ǝsraʾel commanders, Raday (↗Rädaʾi) and ↗Kalef, who tried to wage earlier wars against Śärṣä Dəngəl in the Səmen mountains in 1580 and 1582–83. They were, however, crushed by the Emperor (CRHist 96–100, 102–09 [tr.]). The Scottish traveller Bruce relates that G. was finally defeated on 19 January 1594, and 4,000 Betä Ǝsraʾel soldiers died in his campaign.

Src.: BruNile vol. 3, 251; JOSEPH HALÉVY (ed., tr.), *La guerre de Sarsa-Dengel contre les Falachas*, Paris 1907, 143f., 150–53; CRHist 96–100, 102–09, 118, 122–25, 164f., 168–71 [tr.]; BTafA, s. index; BassÉt I 17, 329f., II, 100; BegCron 21; CRHist 122f., 170f.; PerChron 116ff., 136, 146, 209, 215–18.

Lit.: JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha)*, Philadelphia 1992, 79f.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Ethiopian Dynastic Marriage and the Beta Israel", in: TUDOR PARFITT – EMANUELA TREVISAN SEMI (eds.), *The Beta Israel in Ethiopia and Israel*, London 1999, 81–93.

Shalva Weil

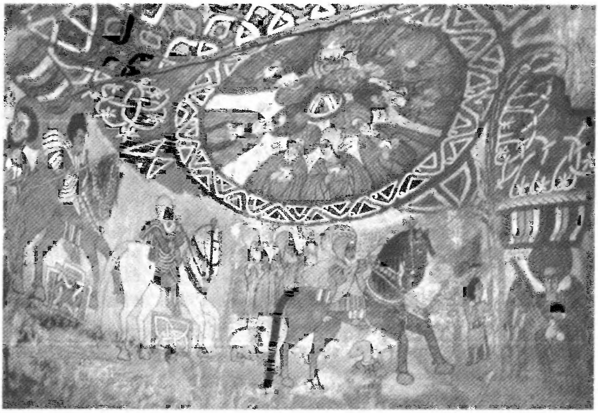
Gʷəḥ

G. (ጕሕ, also Guḥ) is a mountainous area with characteristic perpendicular rocks, situated close to the northern tip of the ↗Gärʿalta massif, about 12 km south-west from ↗Ḥawzen (s. map for Gärʿalta). A monastic community which once flourished there was established by *abba* ↗Yəmʾata, one of the ↗Nine Saints. According to tradition, he arrived to Ethiopia from Qosəya(t) (possibly a corruption of [al-]Fusṭāṭ near Menfi in Egypt, Conti Rossini 1897:175; Guidi 1894:61). The church, cut in the middle of a tall rock, is presently dedicated to him and is thus known as [Abba] Yəmʾata (Gʷəḥ Yəmʾata, Yəmʾata Gʷəḥ).

The church, accessible after a difficult climbing, can be approached by a narrow ledge going along the south wall of the building, with a drop off over 300 m to the valley. The partly weathered wall is repaired with stone blocks. At the end of the ledge there is a round cell containing two open graves. Another one, also with graves is cut in the adjacent cliff 100 m below.

The relatively small (ca. 10 m x 9 m x 3.5 m) church is oriented. Four cruciform pillars divide the interior into three equal naves and nine bays. Heavy curtains screen the eastern section serving as the sanctuary. It is enlightened by a single window, cut in the eastern wall and visible from outside. The ceiling above the central bay is formed as a shallow oval dome while these above the western bays, middle and north, are circular and almost one meter deep. The single entry to the church, in the south-west corner, leads directly to the south-west bay, which serves as the vestibule.

The whole accessible area inside the church is covered by wall paintings. The main scene is displayed on the walls of the north-western bay and represents *abba* Yəmʾata on a horseback, preceded by a young armed attendant and followed by the hermits Kiros and Matthew, an anonymous ecclesiastic on horseback and a young rider. A lion, a cock and a cynocephalous figure around the horse of the saint most probably come from the narrative of his Vita, still unpublished. In the dome, the remaining eight of the Nine Saints



Abba Yəmʾata on horseback and the "Nine Saints"; wall-paintings, 16th cent.; cupola of Gʷəḥ Yəmʾata; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

are depicted. Two more anonymous monastic figures are represented on the southern pillar. Another thematic group includes figures from the O.T.: six patriarchs in the central oval dome and the prophets distributed on walls and pillars. The N.T. is evoked by the twelve Apostles, nine of them in the dome of the central-western bay, and by St. Joseph on the north-west pillar, facing St. Mary with the Child. The archangels Michael, Gabriel and Afnin as well as the martyrs Abib, Mamas and Esi complete the programme. A frieze of geometrical and vegetal motifs is enhancing (or imitating, as in the north-west dome spandrels) the architectonic elements.

Short prayers in which a certain Bənyam is mentioned accompany the images of *abba* Yəmʾata, the martyr Esi, St. Mary and the Apostles. Bənyam certainly was an abbot of the local monastic community and possibly the donor of the wall-paintings, dated to the beginning of the 16th cent. on iconographic grounds (Balicka-Witakowska 2003:362). Their style, very distinctive in spite of several repaintings, can be compared with that of the original murals at ↗Yädibba Maryam in Dawənt, Wällo.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'omilia di Yohannes, vescovo di Aksum, in onore di Garimâ", in: *Actes du XIe Congrès International des Orientalistes, Paris 1897,* IVème Section, Paris 1897, 139-77, here 147, 153, 175; ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed., tr.), *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]), XXIII and n. 16; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Il 'Gadla Aragâwî'", *MRALm* ser. 5a, 2, 1894, 54–96, here 61 (text) = 89 (tr.); GIUSEPPE SAPETO, *Viaggio e missione fra i Mensâ, i Bogos e gli Habab*, Roma 1856, 411.

Lit.: ChojPaint 127f.; CRStor 159; EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "Monastisk konst från Etiopien. Abba Yemata-kyrkan och dess målningar", *Kirke & Kultur* 4, 2003, 351–64; DAVID BUXTON – RUTH PLANT, "Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province", *EthObs* 13, 3, 1970, 157–267, here 210f.; OTTO DALE, "The Rock-hewn Churches of Tigre", *ibid.* 11, 2, 1968, 121–51, here 131–37; GEORG GERSTER, *Churches in the Rock*: *Early Christian Art in Ethiopia,* London 1970, 135f., figs. 182–98; ID., "Verbogene Schätze in Äthiopiens Bergwildnis", *Woche* 8, 1973, 12–17, here 15f.; EWALD HEIN – BRIGITTE KLEIDT, *Ethiopia – Christian Africa. Art, Churches and Culture,* Ratingen 1999, 96ff.; OTTO JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia*, Stuttgart 1974, 120ff., figs. 14–18; IVY PEARCE, "Pearce's Pilgrimage to the Rock-hewn Churches of Tigray", *EthObs* 11, 2, 1968, 77–120, here 99–106; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, here 73ff., no. 27; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Yamʾātā", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 1351 (Lit.); ROGER SAUTER, "Églises rupestres au Tigré", *AE* 10, 1976, 157–75, here 166, no. 1203 (Lit.); SerHist 118; TEWELDE MEDHIN JOSEPH, "Introduction générale aux églises monolitiques du Tigray", in: *PICES* 1, 83-98, here 96.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Gʷätära ↗Grainery

Gʷəlt

G. (**ጕልት** or **ጉልት**, *gult*) is a concept fundamental to historic Ethiopian land tenure. It is usually understood as over-rights, the rights to tribute and rent, which the historic Ethiopian ruling class held in land. It contrasts with, and was often complementary to, ↗*rəst*, the inherited rights to agricultural land held by many Ethiopian farmers. Most recently, however, Habtamu Mengistie has established that the 19th-cent. grants of G. to some of the major churches of Goǧǧam displaced pre-existing *rəst*-holding farmers and gave to the receiving institution, and to the individual, who held it on the church's behalf, property rights to the land itself. The terms G. and *rəst* were frequently juxtaposed. In 1856 a chronicle tells us *nəguś* ↗Tewodros "gathered first his soldiers and then the churchmen with respect to *rəst* and *gʷəlt*" (CRNuov 412). They could be used as a byword: "How", *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot declaimed a century and a half earlier, in 1708, "may one change your faith by proclamation, like *rəst* or *gʷəlt*?" (BassÉt 58 [text] = 169 [tr.]).

G. is a nominal form derived from the verb **ጐለተ** (Gəʿəz *gʷällätä* or *gʷälätä*; KaneDic 1893f.; Isenberg 1841:171; d'Abbadie 1881:815; DillmLex, col. 1139; GuiVoc, col. 707; BaetDic, col. 1055; LesDic 192; Amsalu Aklilu 1986:294). The verb is most commonly rendered as 'to grant a fief'; whence the meaning of 'fief' for G.

The principal historical treatments have been by Taddesse Tamrat (TadTChurch 98–103), Berhanou Abebe (1971:22–33), and Crummey (CrumLand passim). Taddesse Tamrat, with primary reference to the 13th and 14th cent., perceived the origins of G. in the conquest by the Ethiopian state of new territories and peoples and the alienation of pre-existent local rights in land in favour of military and civil agents of the state. For him, G. was closely tied to, and supportive of, administrative functions. Berhanou Abebe, by contrast, concerned himself with property relations during the reign of Mənilək II (1889–1913). He construed G. as a property right in land, but a rather narrow one in which the state granted some of its rights to private individuals. Crummey concurs in seeing G. as a property right in land, notes that the term has a generic meaning as evinced in the historic documents, and stresses its social character and the ways in which private individuals arranged for its transfer within and across generations (CrumLand 8–13 and *passim*).

Primary documentation of grants of G. begins in the 13th cent. in two remarkable collections of marginalia in Gospels from the monasteries of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana, in southern Eritrea, and ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Esṭifanos in Wällo (CRDLib; ms. EMML 1832). The former contains records of numerous grants dating to the 13th and 14th cent., some attributed to the Zagʷe ruler ↗Lalibäla. The Ḥayq records, while starting later in that same century, run down into the 16th cent. A third compendium of G. records commands attention: those contained in the manuscript originally published by Conti Rossini (CRAxum) and subsequently in English by Huntingford (HuntLand). Both the Däbrä Libanos and Aksum manuscripts contain records ostensibly dating from as early as the 4th cent. and the reigns of ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa (documents 1–6 in both CRAxum and HuntLand). While these documents may reflect the origins of G. in antiquity, their authenticity is more difficult to establish than that of the burgeoning literature of the 13th and 14th cent., which also appears as marginalia and end material in manuscripts principally devoted to other purposes (for a discussion of the authenticity of the earliest grants and comprehensive listing of all known grants of G. from 1200 to 1540, s. CrumLand 24 and tables 1 and 2 in the appendix to ch. 1). Although rich, this documentation is undoubtedly skewed, since, with very few exceptions, it records the grant of land to and on behalf of churches, leaving no account of the numerous grants in support of military and other civil activities (ms. EMML 3389: Four Gospels from the church of Märṭo Mikaʾel, Gubbalafto, Wällo, is remarkable for the number of secular grants it records).

Granting of G. seems one of the most characteristic acts of the Solomonic rulers (and their late Zagʷe predecessors) and is an important source of continuity in the social and political spheres running from the 13th through into the 20th cent. The extant grants were most conspicuously for the founding of royal churches, that would serve, during the founder's lifetime, as sources of support; and following their deaths as tombs (DerDom ch. 6–7). Particularly well known are the grants of *ətege* Məntəwwab and *aṣe* Iyasu II founding the churches of ↗Qʷəsqʷam and ↗Narga Śəllase. The Qʷəsqʷam grant, in turn, was to serve as amodel for later foundations down into the late 19th cent. To be sure princely donors did not neglect older, established institutions and granted, or re-granted, lands to the church of Aksum as well as to the northern monasteries associated with the Nine Saints and the monasteries founded in Amhara, Goǧǧam, Šäwa and the environs of Lake Ṭana during the great revival of the 13th and 14th cent. In the 18th and earlier 19th cent. there is an unusually rich documentation of individual participation in the holding and manipulation of G. While land was given as G. to churches, it was often held, on the church's behalf, by individuals, who, in return, performed service functions for the church. Those individuals, in turn, gave their G. to others, sold it, and bequeathed it (CrumLand, ch. 5, 7, 8). In the later 19th cent. G. played a prominent role in the efforts by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV to reconstruct the historic empire through the founding of churches (CrumLand 210–15). G. land, held in this way on behalf of churches by individuals, was often known as *rim*.

G. continued to be held in time-honoured ways down to 1935. The occupying Italian authorities were the first to attempt to eradicate G., but their efforts proved ephemeral (Haile Mariam Larebo 1994:240ff.). The restored state of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, however, from its first edicts on taxation and church lands in 1941 and again in 1944 began to modify the context in which G. was held, and moved, inexorably, to its abolition in an edict of 1966 (CrumLand 234–44).

↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church; ↗Land tenure

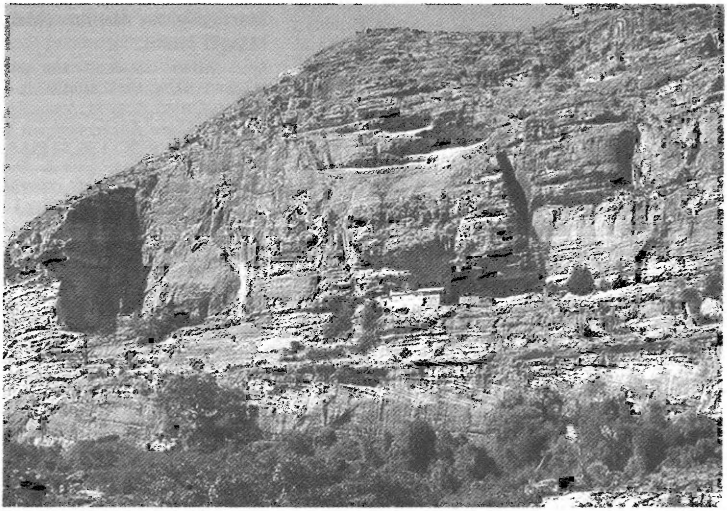
Src.: KaneDic 1893f.; BassÉt 58, 169; DillmLex, col. 1139; GuiVoc, col. 707; BaetDic, col. 1055; LesDic 192; Carl Wilhelm Isenberg, *Dictionary of the Amharic Language*, London 1841, 171; Antoine d'Abbadie, *Dictionnaire de la langue Amareñña*, Paris 1881, 815; Amsalu Aklilu, *Amharic–English Dictionary*, Addis Ababa 1986, 294; CRAxum; CRDLib 177–219; CRNuov 412; Carlo Conti Rossini, "L'editto di Ras Gugsa sui feudi", *La Rassegna Coloniale* 1, 1, 1921, 1–6; EMML 1832, 3389; HuntLand; Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots of Däbrä Hayq, 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117; Ignazio Guidi, "Il racconto di Nārgā", *RRALm* 5^{a}, 14, 1905, 233–67.
Lit.: TadTChurch 98–103; Alessandro Bausi – Giovanni Dore – Irma Taddia (eds.), *Materiale antropologico e storico sul 'rim' in Ethiopia ed Eritrea*, Torino 2001; Berhanou Abebe, *Évolution de la propriété foncière au Choa (Éthiopie) du règne de Ménélik à la constitution de 1931*, Paris 1971, 22–33; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916; DerDom ch. 6–7; Habtamu Mengistie, "Lord, *Zéga* and Peasant: a Study of Agrarian and Property Relations in Rural Eastern Gojjam", M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2003; Haile Mariam Larebo, *The Building of an Empire: Italian Land Policy and Practice in Ethiopia, 1935–1941*, Oxford 1994, 240ff.; CrumLand 8–13, 24, 210–15, 234–44, ch. 1, 5, 7, 8; PancEcon, s. index.

Donald Crummey

G^{w}ənag^{w}əna

G. (**ጕናጕና**, also sometimes **ጉናጉና** Gunaguna, lit. Tgn. for ↗*ənsät*) is a site on the border between Šəmäzana, Akkälä Guzay (Eritrea), and ^{c}Agamä (Təgray), 22 km from ↗Mäṭära (s. map for Gundä Gunde). The oldest name of the place, according to Ullendorff (1945:78, 1951:31), was "Aw^{c}a ʾIlfi", as it can be read in the inscription of the obelisk of Mäṭära (RIÉ no. 223:3–4; but s. Fiaccadori 2004:129, 155). Nearby, along the steep slopes of a mountain, there is the old church of Ǝnda Maryam (Mordini 1941) or Ǝnda Mäsqäl (Ricci 1953:19) of G., which is connected by local tradition to King ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl; two rough wall paintings have been recorded there (cf. Ricci 1953:19, figs. 16–17; Godet 1980–82:92).

The oldest mentions of G., in the "Golden Gospel" of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana, are probably spurious (cf. CRDLib nos. 1, 5, 25). The Acts of *abba* Libanos (Conti Rossini 1903:



The church of G^{w}ənag^{w}əna, lying against a steep rocky wall; photo courtesy of Marilyn E. Heldman

28, 31f.; Bausi 2003, §§ 134ff., 146, 154) know G. as a dwelling place of the Saint, as well as a monastery with a church dedicated to the Holy Cross (Betä Mäsqäl), endowed with ↗*gʷəlt*-land by King Gäbrä Mäsqäl and entrusted to *abba* Adḫani/Mädḫani, a disciple of Libanos. G. is also mentioned in the Miracles (*Täʾammərat*) of Libanos (Bausi 2003, § 454).

The treasury of the church of G. boasts of some old manuscripts, among which a Gospel book written by a certain Gäbrä Krəstos and dating to the time of ↗Dawit II (cf. Bausi 2003:xxviii, n. 22 [tr.], from pictures by Marilyn E. Heldman; for a miniature of St. John the Evangelist from the same manuscript, s. Heldman 1994:100, fig. 56). On visiting the church in 1937, Antonio ↗Mordini acquired the carved wooden door (the oldest known in Ethiopia and Eritrea), and shipped it to the Museo Coloniale of Rome, later Museo Africano, where it is currently preserved.

Src.: Alessandro Bausi, *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]); Carlo Conti Rossini, *Ricordi di un soggiorno in Eritrea*, I, Asmara 1903, 23–41 [iii. "Il Gadla Libânos"]; CRDLib 184, 186, 211, nos. 1, 5, 25; *The Illustrated London News*, 21 March, 1868, 288 (ill.), 290; RIÉ no. 223.

Lit.: Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 129, 155 (Lit.); Eric Godet, "Répertoire des sites pré-axoumites et axoumites d'Éthiopie du Nord. IIème partie: Erythrée", *Abbay* 11, 1980–82 [1983], 73–113; Marilyn E. Heldman, *The Maryan Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon. A Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6), 100, fig. 56; Antonio Mordini, "Un'antica porta in legno proveniente dalla chiesa di Gunaguna (Scimezana, Eritrea)", *RSO* 19, 1941, 105–07, pl. IV (Lit.); Lanfranco Ricci, "Ritrovamenti archeologici in Eritrea (Notizie del dr. Vincenzo Franchini)", *RSE* 12, 1953 [1954], 5–28; Edward Ullendorff, "Exploration and Study of Abyssinia: a Brief Survey; with an Appendix on the 'Obelisk of Matara'", *Il Lunedì dell'Eritrea* [Asmara] July 1945, 13–80; Id., "The Obelisk of Maṭara", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1951, 26–32, here 31 [repr. in: Id., *Is Biblical Hebrew a Language? Studies in Semitic Languages and Civilizations*, Wiesbaden 1977, 223–29, here 228].

Alessandro Bausi

Gʷənṣ

G. (ጕንጽ, also ጕንጥ Gʷənṭ, ጕጽ Gʷəṣ, ጕጥ, Gʷəṭ) is a locality in the district of ↗Käsäm in northern Šäwa, which acquired its notoriety in the medieval period as a place of harsh imprisonment and banishment of state offenders. Emperor ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I imprisoned there *abunä* ↗Filəp̣p̣os of Däbrä Libanos, one of the monks who chastized him for taking his father's concubine (Kur 1968:10). In the 15th/early-16th cent., G. is reported to have been the place used by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob for torturing the *däqiqä Ǝsṭifanos* (↗Stephanites) and other offenders (Conti Rossini 1910:25). G. was the place where *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam punished the palace people who complained about his dereliction of his state duty (PerZarY 129), and ↗Naʿod, one of his officers, for an unspecified offence. The prison itself was called *betä mäzagəbt* (lit. 'store house'?) and was described as *məḫyakä mälaʾəkt* (lit. 'a place where officers are chewed'?; Caquot 1961:87). *Gʷənṣ*/*gʷənṭ* is definitely related to Amharic *gʷənč̣* 'cheek' – part of the body where food is chewed. Both the name of the locality and the description of the prison house as "a chewing place" speak about the level of torture which the offenders who were sent there had to suffer. G. was most probably a small hamlet in a deep gorge, cp. the resemblance of the name to the original meaning of "gorge".

In Käsäm, there is a locality which up to this day is called *Gʷəč̣*, with a church dedicated to Mary, *Yägʷənč̣ Maryam* (Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl 1968:121).

Src.: André Caquot, "Les actes d'Ezrā de Gunda-Gundē", *AE* 4, 1961, 69–121, here 87 (text) = 114 (tr.); Carlo Conti Rossini, *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum. I. Gadla Abuna Abakerazun seu Acta Sancti Abakerzun*, Louvain 1910 (CSCO 56, 57 [SAe 25, 26]), 25 (text) = 23 (tr.); Stanislas Kur, *Actes de Samuel de Dabra Wagag*, Louvain 1968 (CSCO 287, 288 [SAe 57, 58]), 10 (text) = 7 (tr.); Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl, ቡልጋ፣ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ባህል፡ ጥናት (*Bulga. Yäʾityop̣ya bahəl ṭənat*, 'Bulga, a Study of the Ethiopian Culture'), *JES* 6, 2, 1968, 87–122, here 121, no. 95; PerZarY 129.

Getatchew Haile

H

Hab Śəllus

Däǧǧazmač H.Ś. (also Habtä Śəllase, Ab Śəllus, b. Ṣälale, d. 6 September 1704) was a 17th-cent. ruler in ↗Märäb Məllaš. His parents were the local chief *käntiba* Gärä [Gäbrä] Śəllase of Ṣälale, son of Täsfallase, and *ətiye* Märᶜatä Ab (KolTrad I, A67, A84).

According to legend, H.Ś., wishing to obtain the *nägarit* of ↗Ḥamasen (which was in the hands of his cousin Ǝmməḥa, son of *käntiba* Gärä Ḵəstos [i.e. Gäbrä Krəstos]), went to Gondär to be close to the court of *nəguśä nägäśt* ↗Fasilädäs (KolTrad II, 49ff.). While living a simple life for "seven" years, H.Ś. attracted the Emperor's attention and proved his courage, and finally was awarded a honorary garment (*qämis*). Later, according to tradition, he received the title ↗*abeto* and the governorate of ↗Bambolo Məllaš, i.e. the authority over all the northern provinces of the Empire, and married the Emperor's daughter (or a relative) – but killed her shortly thereafter in anger. He was pardoned for this offence, but lost his governorate and title and was reduced to governor of Märäb Məllaš (i.e. the smaller provinces Säraye and Ḥamasen with their surrounding dependencies) with the title of *däǧǧazmač* (he possibly was later promoted to the rank of *baḥər nägaš* of Dəbarwa, cp. KolTrad III, A18, A36). According to tradition, H.Ś. governed for forty years, his appointment should have thus been around 1663/64. So important was his rule that *mədrä* Ab Śəllus ('Land of H.Ś.') is used as a synonym for Ḥamasen, his power base in the "short chronicles" (s. BegCron 93). H.Ś.'s son Gäbrä Krəstos later emulated his father: after a stay at the court he was promoted to *däǧǧazmač* and governed Bambolo Məllaš (before February 1693, BegCron 64). Thereafter father and son ruled jointly, Gäbrä Krəstos sitting by his father's throne during assemblies and judicial sessions which were always held at May Bäla. The most important achievement of their reign was the creation of a law code for Ḥamasen, the ↗*ḥəggi Ḥabśəllus*. Ḥamasen tradition attributes H.Ś. the first cultivation of the *bäräḵa* of ᶜAdwa, thus creating the conditions for the legendary foundation of ᶜAdwa by his descendant *baḥər nägaš* ᶜAndä [ᶜAmdä] Haymanot (KolTrad II, 66). H.Ś.'s hereditary fief was ᶜAddi Ḵefälät of the Loggo Č̣əwa in Ḥamasen, where he also was buried.

H.Ś. had two sons with his wife Ǝḥəta Mäläʾəkt, four more with a concubine. He was the founding father of the influential Ḥamasen dynasty of the ᶜAd Däggiyat ('family of the *däǧǧazmač*') from the ↗Däqqi Täššəm, which exercised power over the Märäb Məllaš and other regions until the appointment of *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda in the 1870s.

Src.: interview with Bärhe Gäbrä Mikaʾel Gäbrä Ab, 72 years old, Ṣäᶜazzäga, March 2000; BegCron 64, 93.

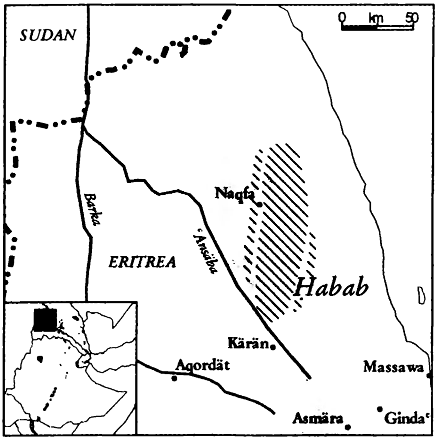
Lit.: WERNER MUNZINGER, *Ueber die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, Winterthur 1859, 16–19; KolTrad I, II, III; RUFFILLO PERINI, *Di qua dal Marèb* (*Marèb-mellàsc*'), Firenze 1905 [Tgn. tr. by GÄBRÄ NƎGUS, *Märäb Məllaš*, Roma – Asmära 1995].

Wolbert Smidt

Ḥabab

The Ḥ. are a people in the ↗Saḥəl region of Eritrea, some groups also living in the Sudan. They speak a ↗Təgre dialect and are considered today part of the Təgre. Historically, however, they had a high degree of autonomy and have preserved a feeling of distinctiveness up to present, similarly to the neighbouring ↗Beni ᶜAmər and ↗Mänsaᶜ.

The Ḥ. are predominantly animal-husbanders. The Ḥ. highlands (Rora Ḥabab) – a mountain plateau accessible through deep stony valleys and winding mountain roads after a journey of some 14 hours from the Sudan – are inhabited by ca. 12,000 Ḥ. who confess ↗Islam and are semi-nomads. They spend the winter months in the highlands and in summer, when water grows scarce, travel with the animals to the Sudan, to the north-eastern coast, or to the ↗Barka valley. Today, some Ḥ. are sedentiary agriculturists and live in permanent settlements (e.g., the village of Rora Ḥabab). Water shortage is regulated by a new dam; Norwegian aid set up a huge agricultural rehabilitation programme in the 1980s. Thanks to initiatives of the local Rora Health Centre, the traditional female ↗circumcision



stopped in 1985 (Dorkenoo 1994; cp. also the study of Rora Ḥabab, Christian Aid 1993). There are still natural ↗forests in the Rora Ḥabab area. The migration patterns of the Ḥ. have changed only slightly in modern times. Today, Ḥ. groups also migrate and settle permanently in Sudanese ports, such as in Port Sudan, where they live in a situation of multiethnicity, together with the ↗Beǧa, ↗Beni ᶜAmər, ↗Hausa, ↗Fellata, Nuba and other Sudanese peoples.

The Ḥ. highlands are, together with Ḥamasen, settlement areas of the so-called ↗ᶜOna culture of ca. the second millennium B.C., as archaeological evidence such as stelae, ruins and pottery from the Rora Ḥabab shows (↗Rora). This culture was linked with ancient Nubia through overland routes (Jones 1991).

Genealogically, the Ḥ. leaders are the most important of three branches of the ↗Bet Asgäde (KilHDic 235). The members of this "aristocracy" (*šəmagəlle*) claimed a common descent from Habtä Iyäsus. Every chief of the Ḥ. has borne the title ↗*käntibay* since this title was conveyed to the Ḥ. leader by the emperor of Ethiopia (17th cent.). The Christian *šəmagəlle* "class" dominated Muslim serf groups, called *təgre*, who, in return for protection, were paying tribute. Corresponding to this, tradition reports that they were serfs of the Bet Asgäde (KolTrad II:13).

The Ḥ. ancestors are mostly said to have originated from ↗Akkälä Guzay, from where their leader Asgäde migrated to today's Rora Ḥabab in the early 16th cent. ca. (Crawford 1955; Conti Rossini 1913:381). Some claim the ↗Ṣänᶜadäglä as their ancestors; other Ḥ. groups, however, claim to descend from ↗Ḥamasen. Ḥ. oral history has kept detailed ↗genealogies (cp. d'Avray 1996; 2000). Ḥ. genealogies often start with the apical ancestor Mäfläs. He is said to have had three sons, who formed the Ḥ. groups ("the three Ḥ."). These brothers were called Abil (also Ḥabib), Täkles (i.e. Täklä Iyäsus; ↗ᶜAd Täkles) and Təmaryam (i.e. Habtä Maryam; ↗ᶜAd Təmaryam). The origin of the term "Ḥ." is not clear; it might come from Ḥabib, or could be an older geographical term for the province governed by the Bet Asgäde. From the early period of Ḥ. migration, conflicts with the ↗Funǧ are remembered, who later incorporated most of the surrounding areas.

Under the influence of the ↗ᶜAd Šayḫ, the Ḥ. leadership converted to Islam in the early 19th cent., also entering into a tributary relationship with them. In the second half of the 19th cent. the Ḥ. were incorporated into the Egyptian Massawa Province, accepting Egyptian suzerainty. The comparative stability of this period attracted a considerable number of foreign visitors, e.g., for hunting-expeditions or research (Ernst von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha 1864; Heuglin 1877), or seeking for possibilities of Catholic mission (cp. Sapeto 1857).

However, after the Egyptian defeats of 1875/76, *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda's army repeatedly made incursions into Ḥ. territory. In this period, *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV also started to claim Ḥ. in his letters to foreign powers (1881, cf. Bairu Tafla 1981: 200). After the Ethio–Italian battle of ↗Dogᶜali in 1887, the British envoy Portal was sent to Yoḥannəs to negotiate the recognition of the possessions already acquired by Italy in the environs of Massawa, Gindaᶜ becoming the border town, Sänḥit being annexed by Italy and the Italian "Protectorate over the Asaorta and the H. Arabs" being recognized by the Emperor (Portal 1892:26). At the same time, on 9 July 1887 *käntibay* Ḥamid b. Ḥasan (Ḥaməd wäd Ḥasän) of the Ḥ. concluded a treaty with Italy, wishing protection against Alula's armies. This opened the way for the Italian plans to create a greater Red Sea colony. Step by step, Italian hegemony was replaced by sovereignty; the Ḥ. resistance was harshly suppressed, e.g., the *käntibay* was arrested (cp. the Naqfa documents 1887–1902; d'Avray 2000). The resistance resulted in the ↗"Ḥabab defection", which ensured that the Ḥ. could keep a number of their ancient privileges (Lenci 1999).

Src.: NRO Archives, Khartoum, Kassala 4.1/025/141: Habab, 20.10.–4.11.1936; KolTrad I–III; ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *The Nakfa Documents* ..., Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 53).
Lit.: ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *The Lords of the Red Sea* ..., Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 45); ENRICO CERULLI, "Habab", in: *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. 18, Roma 1933, 296–97; ERNST II. VON SACHSEN-COBURG UND GOTHA et al., *Reise des Herzogs Ernst von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha nach Ägypten und den Ländern der Habab, Mensa und Bogos*, Leipzig 1864; MARTIN THEODOR VON HEUGLIN, *Reisen in Nord-Ost-Afrika. Schilderungen aus dem Gebiete der Beni Amer und Habab*, Braunschweig 1877; TERRACCIANO ACHILLE, "Escursione botanica alle terre degli Habab", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 32, 1892, 774–86, 987–91, 30–40, 121–37, 214–28; GERALD HERBERT PORTAL, *My Mission to Abyssinia*, London 1892, 26; ENNO LITTMANN (ed., tr.), *Publications of the Princeton Expedition*, vol. 3 (text) = vol. 4 (tr.): *Lieder der Tigrē-Stämme*, Leyden 1915; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia, III. Note sul Sahel Eritreo", *RSO* 6, 1913, 365–92, here 381; ANGELO CASTALDI, *Africa orientale. Gli Habab*, Milano 1936; OSBERT GUY STANHOPE CRAWFORD, "The Habab Tribe", *Sudan Notes and Records* 36, 1955, 183–87; GIUSEPPE SAPETO, *Viaggio e missione cattolica fra i Mensâ i Bogos e gli Habab, con un cenno geografico e storico dell'Abissinia*, Milano 1857 [abridged version 1941]; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Germany*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5), 200; SCOTT JONES, "Archaeological and Environmental Observations in Rora Habab, Eritrea", *Azania* 26, 1991, 5–12; CLAUDINE LOSCH, *Vegetation Change from 1973 to 1987 in the Rora Habab Plateau, Northern Eritrea, Based on Landsat MSS Imagery*, M.A. thesis, Geography department, University of California at Santa Barbara 1995; CHRISTIAN AID (ed.), *Eritrea, Africa's Newest Country*, London 1993; EFUA DORKENOO, *Cutting the Rose: Female Genital Mutilation*, London 1994; KilHDic 235f.

Wolbert Smidt

Ḥabab Defection

At the end of January 1895, almost all the ↗Ḥabab, led by *käntibay* Mäḥamud wäd Ḥamәd, left their region in north-western ↗Eritrea and crossed the frontier to the Anglo–Egyptian ↗Sudan in order to escape from Italian colonial rule. The episode, known as the Ḥ.D., was, firstly, a protest against Italian authoritarianism and, secondly, an attempt to evade the heavy taxes imposed by the colonial power.

The Ḥ.D. caused some tension in Anglo–Italian relations. It ended some weeks later when the majority of the Ḥabab returned to Eritrea (though *käntibay* Mäḥamud and his supporters remained in the Sudan). In the failure of the Ḥ.D. a leading role was played by ^{c}Ətman wäd Ḥәdad, who was appointed as the new Ḥabab *käntibay* by the Italian Government. ^{c}Ətman, the fourth *käntibay* in eight years, was to prove durable: at the end of World War II he was still in power.

Src.: ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *The Nakfa Documents* ..., Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 53), 88–98; FERDINANDO MARTINI, *Il diario eritreo*, 4 vols., Firenze 1942–43, index.
Lit.: ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *The Lords of the Red Sea* ..., Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 45); MARCO LENCI, "Gli Habab d'Eritrea e il governatorato di Ferdinando Martini: dalla defezione alla sottomissione", *Africa* 54, 3, 1999, 349–78 (Lit.).

Marco Lenci

Habait

In the poetry of ↗Beğa, the H. is a kind of four-line verse of varying metre (Roper 1927:150). The word is the accusative form of Beğa *hábay* (pl. *habáya*), which could have an etymological link with Somali *gábay*, the term used for epic poetry. Today, the word H. is frequently replaced by *faḍig girmét* (lit. 'with four heads'), since modern H. may be longer than the original four line H. When composed, a H.-quatrain is regarded different from such collective and traditional pieces as songs (*kwal*) and dances (*biiboob*).

As such, the H. is a kind of poetic discourse through which the personality of the poet (*labiib*) can be fully expressed. The poet composes as a H. what he wants to say (*miyaad*) and he 'throws' (*gaad*) this while challenging or addressing somebody. The word *gaad* is identical to ^{c}Afar *gad*, which is the generic term for ^{c}Afar poetry (↗^{c}Afar literature).

Unlike the ritual poetic forms, the H. is a 'saying of the heart' (*gin'aa duuy*), with its inspirations ranging from political protest to allusive poetry, e.g.: *Ilaylayiit aagra/ Ishafet ingadiinhoob/ Hadiidiini duuri eeḍab/ Uusak han gallabaaheeb*: 'The young girls of Laylay [in Sawākin]/ When they stand looking at me/ My uncle tells me to run/ whereas even walking is difficult for me' (Muḥammad Ad^{c}arob Al-Hağğ 1972:16).

Lit.: MUḤAMMAD AD^{c}AROB AL-HAĞĞ, *Min turāṯ al-Biğā aš-ša^{c}bī* ('From the Folk Heritage of Beğa'), Ph.D. thesis, University of Khartoum 1972; DIDIER MORIN, "Mimetic Traditions in Beja Poetry from Sudan", *Research in African Literatures* 28, 1, 1997, 15–34; ID., *Le texte légitime*, Paris 1999 (Langues et Cultures africaines 25); E.M. ROPER, "The Poetry of the Haḍenḍiwa", *Sudan Notes and Records* 10, 1927, 147–58.

Didier Morin

Habar Awal

The name H.A. denotes one of the confederacies stemming from the Somali ↗Isaaq clan, described as the most numerous group of inhabitants in ↗British Somaliland in 1969. The H.A. were described as rich due to their trade connection with the port of ↗Berbera. The alleged founder of the confederacy was the son of *šayḫ* Isḥāq b. Aḥmad Abdarraḥmān, nicknamed "Hawal".

Unlike other alliances and sub-clan confederacies, the Isaaq names H.A., as well as Habar Yuunis, Habar Tol Ǧaᶜlo and Habar Garhağis, are preceded by the word *habar*, 'mother', which also occurs for other Somali clan groupings, e.g., the Habar Gidir. In the Somali language the term is used for a person who is a child of a mother belonging to a specific group. However, different sons and daughters born from the same mother consider themselves as belonging to the same *bah*, 'grouping of children united by the allegiance of being born from the same mother'. Such uterine commonality is sometimes referred to as "having been suckled from the same breast".

Sources do not agree on the number of children *šayḫ* Isaaq had in Somalia (seven or eight), nor on how many of them were born in Somalia and how many in the Yemen. Abdurraxmaan "Hawal" was among the sons born in Somalia and, according to the *manāqib* of *šayḫ* Isḥāq b. Aḥmad, he was the son preferred by the *šayḫ*, for he had inherited the father's *baraka*, more than the other sons. Some sources also indicate that the children born from *šayḫ* Isaaq in Somalia were begotten from two different mothers. Ismaᶜiil "Garhajis", Abdurraxmaan "Hawal", ᶜAli "Arab" and Ayyuub, had a mother of the Magaadleh clan of the Somali ↗Dir, being nowadays denominated Habar Magaadleh, namely, children of a same mother belonging to the Magaadleh clan.

As to Abdarraḥmān "Hawal", a tradition reports that he was born from a noble mother, a *šariifa*, who died before suckling him, and was brought up by a step-mother, wife of his father, belonging to the Magaadleh clan of the Somali Dir. Having been breast-fed by the same mother of Ayyub, a Magaadleh sister of the mother of Ismaᶜiil and ᶜAli married by *šayḫ* Isaaq in sororate (*higsiisan*), Abdarraḥmān is also often considered part of the same *bah* Magaadleh of the four brothers. Yet, despite oral traditions concerning the biological mother of Hawal and Ayyub as well as their nurturing mother, descendants of Ayyuub have been for a while included in the H.A. confederacy and uterine group, Ayyub being less prolific than his brother Hawal.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO GORI, *Studi sulla letteratura agiografica islamica somala in lingua araba*, Firenze 2003 (Quaderni di semitistica 24), 80–83; LewPeople 23f.; ID., *Blood and Bone: the Call of Kinship in Somali Society*, Lawrenceville 1994, 107f.; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Anthropologie der Somâl, Galla und Hararî*, Leipzig ^{2}1888.

Francesca Declich

Ḥabašāt

It has been generally accepted that the ethnic, geographic and cultural term *Ḥabäša* (Amh.), *al-Ḥabaša* (Arab.; ↗Abyssinia) derives from Gəᶜəz *Ḥabäśa*, which is attested for the first time in Epigraphic Gəᶜəz *ḥbś* (RIE nos. 185 II, 1 and 185bis II, 2f.) and pseudo-Sabaic *ḥbśtm* in royal inscriptions from Aksum (RIE 185 I, 1 and 185bis I, 2), where it is mentioned among nine regions and places forming the kingdom of ↗ᶜEzana – here corresponding to Gr. ↗Aithiopía, in the sense of 'Highland(s)' (Fiaccadori 2004:126f.). According to traditional scholarship, the Gəᶜəz lexeme ultimately originates from Ḥ., the name of a South Arabian tribe which, probably in the first half of the first millennium B.C., crossed the Red Sea to North-East Africa. There exists, however, up to now, no attestation to the Ḥ. from the archaic period of the Sabaic inscriptions, either in South Arabia or in Ethiopia.

Since the time of Eduard Glaser, it has been repeatedly claimed that the hieroglyphic Egyptian *ḫbstjw*, indicating a foreign people from incense-producing regions, is connected with the Ḥ. The name *ḫbstjw* is first recorded in the ↗Punt inscriptions of Queen Hatshepsut, ca. 1460 B.C. With regard to the enormous temporal difference of a millennium or more, it is hardly acceptable that the Ḥ. have anything in common with this mythical people from a southern region.

Stephanos of Byzantium (first half of the 6th cent.), quoting in his *Ethniká* from the third book of the lost geographical work *Arabiká* of Uranios (probably from the 1st cent. A.D.), mentions the Ἀβασηνοί (*Abasēnoí*), an Arabian people living next to the Sabaeans together with the Ḥaḍramites. The region of the *Abasēnoí* produces myrrh, incense and cotton and they cultivate a plant which yields a purple dye (probably *wars*, i.e. *Flemingia Grahamiana*). It lies on a route which leads from Zabīd on the coastal plain to the Ḥimyarite capital Ẓafār. For that reason Hermann von Wissmann located the *Abasēnoí* in the fertile and rainy mountainous region of the Ǧibāl Ḥubayš to the north-west of present-day Ibb. There are, of course, other place names in western and south-western Yemen formed from the nominal root *ḥbš* which could likewise be compared with Gr. *Abasēnoí*, e.g., the district around the Ǧabal Ḥabašī in the western part of the Ḥuǧarīya, to the south-west of present-day Taᶜizz. It can be assumed that the Ḥ. who immigrated from South Arabia into north-eastern Africa are the *Abasēnoí* of Uranios who settled either in the region of Ǧibāl Ḥubayš or in the surroundings of Ǧabal Ḥabašī in south-western Yemen, the inhabitants of which are called al-Aḥbūš up to now.

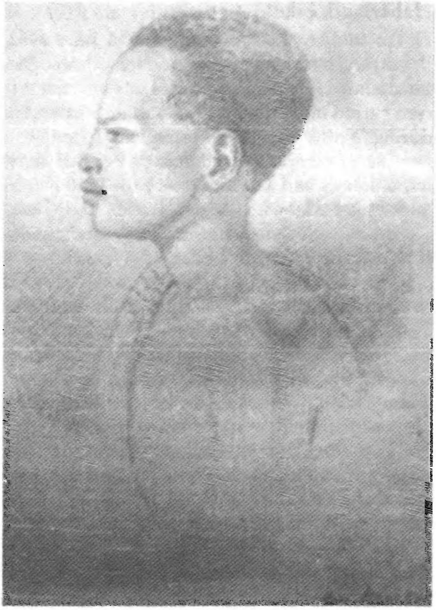
From the end of the 2nd cent. A.D., we repeatedly encounter in Sabaic inscriptions the terms *ḥbšt* (Ḥabašat) and *ʾḥbšn* (Aḥbūšān) which refer exclusively to Abyssinia and to the Abyssinians, namely, to the African country and its inhabitants, e.g. *ʾrḍ/ḥbšt*, the country of Abyssinia, or *mṣr/ʾḥbšn*, the army of the Abyssinians. These terms occur frequently in texts from the 3rd cent. A.D., when the Abyssinians were invading the coastal plain of the Yemen and were constantly waging war against the Sabaeans and Ḥimyarites. The last reference to Abyssinia and the Abyssinians in South Arabian texts appears in the Sabaic inscription CIH 541, which was set up by the Christian king of Abyssinian origin ↗Abraha in the year 544 A.D., when he was assembling his troops from Abyssinia and Ḥimyar (*ḥbšt/wḥmyrm*) in order to suppress a revolt of the tribes and to repair the dam of Mārib.

Lit.: EDUARD GLASER, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, München 1895; WILHELM MAX MÜLLER, "Zur Frage nach der Herkunft der alten 'Aethiopen'", *WZKM* 15, 1901, 24–32; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Sugli Ḥabašāt", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 15, 1906, 39–59; ARTHUR KINLOCH IRVINE, "On the Identity of Ḥabashat in the South Arabian Inscriptions", *JSS* 10, 1965, 178–96; HERMANN VON WISSMANN, "Uranios", in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband XI, 1968, 1277–92; ID., "Zabida", *ibid.*, 1312–22; WALTER WILHELM MÜLLER, "Abessinier und ihre Namen und Titel in vorislamischen südarabischen Texten", in: *PICES* 5b, 309–14; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'Gran Re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 126f.

Walter W. Müller

Habasch, Karl Aman

H. (birth name Aman Gonda; b. ca. 1828, Hibi, Gomma, d. 1847, Mergentheim) was an Oromo informant of the scholar Karl ↗Tutschek. Son of an *abbaa fuññoo* (Tutschek 1844:xl; lit. 'master of the cord', s. ↗*abbaa gandaa*), H. was enslaved ca. 1836 and transferred to Khartoum. In 1840 Duke Paul Wilhelm von Württemberg (1797–1860) bought him free and took him to his residence in Mergentheim, South Germany. H. was baptized as a Lutheran and prepared to study medicine, so as to return to his motherland as a physician (Anon. 1844:365f.).


Karl Aman Habasch; drawing by an unknown artist; from Firla 2001:83

Tutschek was invited by the Duke in 1841. Before that, he had already been studying ↗Oromiffa in Munich with the help of Akaafadee Dallee, one of the "Moors" of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria (1808–88). In Mergentheim, Tutschek met H. and started with him an important, though short, linguistic collaboration. Due to the detailed knowledge of his country and language, H. proved to be Tuschek's best informant. He died of tuberculosis five years after Tutschek's death (Firla – Forkl 1998:85).

Src.: ANON., "Eine Neger-Confirmation", *Evangelisches Kirchenblatt zunächst für Württemberg* 5, 1844, 365f.; KARL TUTSCHEK, *Lexicon der Galla Sprache*, I. Theil: *Galla–Englisch–Deutsch*, ed. by LORENZ TUTSCHEK, München 1844, xxxiii–xlvii, here xl; ID., *A Grammar of the Galla Language*, ed. by LAWRENCE TUTSCHEK, München 1845.

Lit.: MONIKA FIRLA (ed.), *Exotisch – höfisch – bürgerlich. Afrikaner in Württemberg vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 2001, 83 (ill.); EAD. – HERMANN FORKL, "Herzog Paul Wilhelm von Württemberg (1797–1860) und Afrika (Sudan, Äthiopien, Kanuri und Afroamerika)", *Tribus* 47, 1998, 57–96, here 83ff.

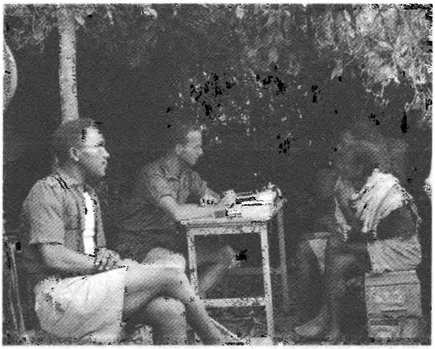
Monika Firla

Haberland, Eike

H. (b. 18 May 1924, Detmold, d. 6 June 1992, Frankfurt am Main) was a German ethnologist. H. attended a secondary school in Potsdam. After a period of military service and imprisonment during World War II, he commenced studies of law (never completed), ethnology, oriental studies, indology and ancient history. In 1950 he obtained his Ph.D. with the dissertation *Das Gada-System der südwest-abessinischen Völker*, under the supervision of Adolf Ellegard ↗Jensen.

Between 1950–56, H. was research fellow at the ↗Frobenius Institute at the University of Frankfurt am Main and led field-work in Ethiopia. In 1962, he habilitated at the Faculty of Philosophy with his study *Untersuchungen zum Äthiopischen Königtum*. In 1965, he obtained the chair on Ethnology at the University of Mainz and two years later was called back for the same post at Frankfurt. Henceforth, his academic base was at the Frobenius Institute, which he directed from 1968 till his death. In the 1970s and 1980s H. also carried out research projects on the Yimar of Papua New Guinea and on crafts and pottery in Burkina Faso.

H. played a significant role in the scientific exploration of Ethiopia. Under his guidance pioneer ethno-historical studies on Ethiopia appeared (Lange 1982; Braukämper 1983; BrHad). H. also supervised a number of dissertations by African scholars, including that of Nagaaso Gidaada, first president of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. He profoundly shaped the curriculum of Ethnological studies in Frankfurt and the Frobenius Institute.



Eike Haberland (centre) during fieldwork in Ethiopia; photo 1950/52, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23–Ha045–01)

H.'s field research was pioneering with respect to its breadth, joining an ethno-historical focus, paying attention to material culture with a comparative perspective. He was one of the first ethnologists deeply interested in historical and cultural relations between the Ethiopian highland state and the southern peoples, including the various ↗Oromo societies and the Omotic-speaking kingdoms and chiefdoms. His important 1963 monograph *Galla Süd-Äthiopiens* (VSAe II) is a valuable and unparalleled record of the Oromo people. H.'s field notes reveal an industrious researcher, driven by a deep sense of discovery. His major historical and comparative study of Ethiopian ↗kingship is still a reference source. Interested as well in the history of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity and its various influences on Ethiopian society, H. discovered numerous ancient churches and Christian cult objects in Wälaytta and Dizi. (For a comprehensive listing of H.'s works s. Jungraithmayr – Kronenberg – Striedter 1989, vol. 1, 7–15.)

Though he was not a social anthropologist in the modern sense of the word, H.'s work remains, with its great descriptive quality and detail, an essential tool and resource for the study of Ethiopian society, having inspired many anthropologists.

Src.: HabKön; EIKE HABERLAND, *Hierarchie und Kaste: Zur Geschichte und politischen Struktur der Dizi in Südwest-Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1993 (SKK 100); ID. – MARCELLO LAMBERTI, *Ibaaddo ka-Ba'iso: Culture and Language of the Ba'iso*, Heidelberg 1988 (Studia Linguarum Africae Orientalis 2); VSAe II; HERRMANN JUNGRAITHMAYR – ANDREAS KRONENBERG – KARL HEINZ STRIEDTER (eds.), *Afrika-Studien: Eike Haberland zum 65. Geburtstag*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1989 (= *Paideuma* 35, 36), here vol. 1, 7–15.

Lit.: BrHad; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Die Kambata: Geschichte und Gesellschaft eines Süd-Äthiopischen Bauernvolkes*, Wiesbaden 1983 (SKK 65); WERNER J. LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwest Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61); WILHELM J.G. MÖHLIG, "Eike Haberland 18.5.1924 – 6.6.1992", *SUGIA: Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 15, 1994, 7.

Jon Abbink

Ḥabeš

Ḥ. (Ottoman Turkish حبش, Turkish *Habeş eyaleti*, in 16th-19th cent. European sources: [Coast of] Abex, Abech, from Portuguese "Costa de Abex") was the designation of the Ottoman province on the African shore of the Red Sea between ↗Sawākin and ↗Zaylaᶜ, with ↗Massawa as its first administrative centre. Within the Ottoman administrative system it was a *beglerbegi-*

lik ('Province of a *bey* of *beys*'), also called *eyalet* ('Governorate-General') in more recent times. Ḥ. is derived from the Arabic word for ↗Abyssinia, *al-Ḥabaš.*

After the ↗Dahlak Sultanate had vanished, ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāḥīm al-Ġāzī's short-lived empire had collapsed and the empire of Ethiopia was weakened, the Ottomans under Süleyman the Great used the vacuum of power to bring the African shore of the Red Sea under their control. The ports of Sawākin, Massawa and Zaylaᶜ were subsequently occupied by ↗Özdemir *paša*, who had been appointed *beglerbegi* ('governor-general') in 1555. The province of Ḥ. was formed in 1557. An important aim was the contention of the Portuguese in the Red Sea, who had started to obstruct the pilgrimage to ↗Mecca and the spice trade. The first two years were a period of active expansion further inland. Vassals of the Ethiopian emperors, such as *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq in the highlands (in today's Eritrea), changed sides and allied with Özdemir *paša*; the Ottomans even built a mosque in *baḥər nägaš*'s capital Dəbarwa. Ethnic groups dominating the coast, such as the ↗Balaw, declared their allegiance, their leader becoming the hereditary Ottoman "deputy" (↗*Nāʾib*) over the coastline opposite Massawa.

The expansion was halted by a military expedition of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl against the *baḥər nägaš* in 1578 (Conti Rossini 1923), and the Ottomans retired from most of the highlands. Only a few areas near the edge of the highlands, important for the control of trade routes into Ethiopia, stayed under their suzerainty (like the ↗Ṣänᶜadäglä in Akkälä Guzay, ↗Dəgsa becoming the half-Christian, half-Muslim border town).

During the following centuries, the Ottoman administration largely refrained from further interventions, relying on a system of indirect rule. The ↗Sämhar coastlands opposite Massawa were under control of the *nāʾib* in ↗Ḥərgigo, who acted almost as an independent ruler. He received rents from Istanbul and paid tribute to the Ethiopian ruler in times of strength of the Christian Empire. Only on the island of Massawa itself was there an Ottoman governor, who controlled trade and taxes; in Sawākin the Ottoman authorities appointed a customs officer. The garrison of Ḥərgigo, made up of Kurds, Albanians, Turks and Arabs, on the coast mixed with the local population, their descendants keeping the Ottoman rents and titles, while the *nāʾib* founded a petty dynasty (↗*Nāʾib* family).

Massawa being of secondary economical importance, Ḥ.'s administrative capital was soon moved across the Red Sea to Jeddah (end of the 16th cent. until the early 19th cent.; Medina temporarily served as the capital in the 18th cent.). Ḥ., which originally meant all "Abyssinia", was now a ***beglerbegilik*** of the Southern Red Sea ("Abyssinia" itself was later designated Habeşistan in Ottoman Turkish to avoid confusion with Ḥ.). It also appeared as the "*vilayet* of Jeddah and al-Ḥabaš". Administratively Ḥ. was divided into the *sanǧaqs* ('districts') of Ibrīm, Sawākin, Arkiko (Ḥərgigo), Massawa, Zaylaᶜ and Jeddah (s. Işıksal in EI^2, vol. 3, 11).

In the 19th cent. ↗Egypt radically reversed the political balance within the Ottoman Empire, and also Ḥ.'s political structure was deeply affected. When Egypt's leader ↗Muḥammad ᶜAlī *bāšā* successfully fought the Wahhābī revolt in the Ḥiǧāz (1811/13), he received the administration of Ḥ in 1813 (Talhami 1979:9). His son, the commanding general in Arabia Aḥmad Tūsūn *bāšā*, was appointed its governor (*wālī*) by a *firmān*, thus also gaining control over the ports of Sawākin and Massawa (Burckhardt 1968:47). In May 1822 Muḥammad ᶜAlī licensed the *kaymakam* of Massawa and installed his own candidate, Ḥusayn *effendi*, thus ensuring control over the customs (cp. the income of the year 1236 H. [1820/21 A.D.]: 24,000 tallaris; expenses: 18,000 tallaris). Yaḥyā *nāʾib* of Ḥərgigo, due to the loss of his de-facto independence and influence, immediately attacked Ḥusayn with 600 men, but quickly gave up. Shortly thereafter, his relative ᶜUṯmān was declared the new *nāʾib* "of Massawa" by Muḥammad ᶜAlī (s. his note to the customs director of Jeddah of 1 January 1823, Douin 1944:299). Muḥammad ᶜAlī's control of Ḥ. was only temporary; after the Wahhābī emergence came to an end, it reverted to Turkish rule in 1827. However, Massawa and Sawākin were given to him again in 1846 (until his death in 1849), formally staying under Jeddah, which still received tribute. Again in 1865 his son and successor, the *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāᶜīl of Egypt, acquired Ḥ. (with Massawa and Sawākin) under comparable conditions. In 1866, however, it was taken away from Jeddah and formally incorporated into the Egyptian vice-kingdom as a separate entity. Thus Ḥ. ceased to exist in its traditional form and starting from 1869 was replaced by a series of subsequent Egyptian governorates of different shape and included in the Egyptian East ↗Sudan.

The ambivalence of the term Ḥ., as both a provincial name and as a synonym for "Abyssinia", was felt throughout the whole Ottoman rule, up to its very end. The Ottoman *sulṭān,* during negotiations over the Ethiopian monastery of ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān, repeatedly declared that all the Ethiopians were his subjects and that he would never renounce his title over Abyssinia, "Ḥ." (s. RubInd 220), just like the medieval *sulṭān* of the Sublime Porte in Istanbul who kept this name in his titulature (s., e.g., Cumming 1937:32).

Src.: Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşıvı, Kepeci tasnıfı, *Divan-i Hümayûn rüûs kalemi,* nos. 213, 212; StrBritLib 102f.; ENNO LITTMANN, "Abessinische Glossen", *ZA* 21, 1908, 50–109, here 56f.; JOHANN SAMUEL ERSCH – JOHANN GOTTFRIED GRUBER (eds.), *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste,* I. Section, vol. 1, Berlin 1818, 95 ["Abex"]; II. Section, vol. 1, Berlin 1827, 46–49 ["Habesch"]; JOHN LEWIS BURCKHARDT, *Travels in Arabia: Comprehending an Account of those Territories in Hedjaz which the Mohammedans Regard as Sacred,* London 1968, 47.

Lit.: T. IŞIKSAL, "Ḥabesh", in: *EI²* vol. 3, 11; "Habeş Beylerbeyliği", in: FETHÎ TEVETOĞLU (ed.), *Türk Ansiklopedisi,* vol. 18, Ankara 1970, 255–56; CENGIZ ORHONLU, *Osmanlı Imperatorluğu'nun Güney Siyaseti. Habeş Eyaleti,* Istanbul 1974 (Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları 1856); ID., "XVI. asrın ilk yarısında Kızıldeniz sahillerinde Osmanlılar", *Tarih Dergisi* 12/16, 1–24; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La guerra turco-abissina del 1578", *Oriente Moderno* 1, 1921–22, 634–36, 684–91; *ibid.* 2, 1922–23, 48–57; GHADA TALHAMI, *Suakin and Massawa under Egyptian Rule 1865–1885,* Washington, DC 1979, viii, 9; *abba* FILƎṔṔOS, ለኢትዮጵያ፡ በቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በቅዱስ፡ መካን፡ ያላት፡ መብት። *The Rights of the Abyssinian Orthodox Church in the Holy Places.* የሰነድ፡ ማስረጃዎ። *Documentary Authorities,* Jerusalem 1962, 21; DUNCAN CAMERON CUMMING, "The History of Kassala and the Province of Taka", *Sudan Notes and Records* 20, 1, 1937, 1–45, here 32; RubInd; GEORGES DOUIN, *Histoire du Soudan égyptien,* vol. 1, 1944, 298f.; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Habeschistan vs. Barnagassia", paper presented at the Vortragsreihe Nord-Süd, Technische Universität Berlin, 19 May 2000; ERICH PROKOSCH (tr., annot.), *Ins Land der geheimnisvollen Func. Des türkischen Weltenbummlers Evliya Çelebi Reise durch Oberägypten und den Sudan nebst der osmanischen Provinz Habeş in den Jahren 1672/73,* Graz – Wien – Köln 1994 (Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber NF, 3).

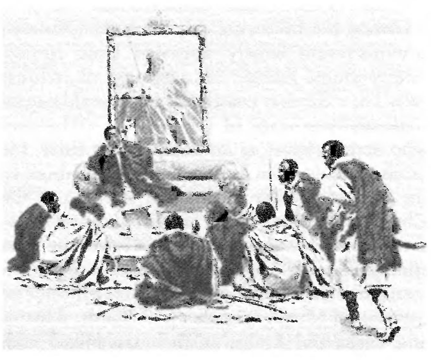
Wolbert Smidt

Ḥabšī ↗India; ↗Diaspora

Habtä Giyorgis Dinagde

Fitawrari H.G. (ሃብተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ዲናግዴ, birth name Yädesa; b. 4 May 1854, Çäbo, d. 12 December 1926, Addis Abäba) was a military leader and a close associate of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. H.G. received his name from *azzaž* Abba Tämsas, the Šäwan commander who had captured him in the course of one of Mənilək's campaigns to the Gurage region. Abba Tämsas, who had no offspring, had hoped to adopt the 13-year-old lad, training him in horsemanship and the wielding of spears and shields. When faced with the prospect of setting him free in line with an imperial edict, he entrusted him to the custody of Mənilək, who placed him under the charge of the chief of the *baldäras.* Impressed by his skills and diligence, Mənilək made H.G. successively chief of the palace servants (*əlfəñ aškär*) and governor of his native district, Çäbo and Wänči.

H.G. took part in many of Mənilək's campaigns, including the Battle of ↗Ǝmbabo (June 1882), the crushing of the Islamic revivalist movement in the Gurage region led by ↗Ḥasän Ǝnǧamo (1888) and the Wälaytta campaign (1894), and commanded a contingent in the Italian war of 1895–96. Though still addressed as ↗*ato,* he was such an important figure in the court that was appointed by the Emperor a member of the delegation (along with *ras bitwäddäd* ↗Mängäša Atikäm and *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən) for the last-minute peace negotiations in the camp at ↗ᶜAdwa when Baratti sent Major Salsa. The negotiation failed; the intrepid general, *fitawrari* ↗Gäbäyyahu, fell in the battle of ᶜAdwa (GueCopMen 433). H.G. not only inherited Gäbäyyahu's title and position as commander of the imperial troops but also his lands in what eventually became the Märkato district of Addis Abäba (↗Addis Kätäma). A bridge marking the entry point of the district remains named after him to this day. His fiefs also expanded to in-



Fitawrari Häbtä Giyorgis Dinagde in 1922; from Jannasch 1930:57

clude Bäčo and Ambo as well as the sprawling province of Boräna in southern Ethiopia.

In 1907, when Mənilək introduced the ministerial system, H.G. naturally assumed the portfolio of Minister of War, a position that he retained until his death in 1926. Following the incapacitation of Mənilək after 1908, H.G. emerged as one of the power brokers. His political adroitness and keen sense of timing helped him play a decisive role in the momentous political decisions of the day. Thus, he was instrumental, along with the Regent, *ras bitwäddäd* ↗Täsämma Aśmärom, in the downfall of *ətege* ↗Taytu in 1910, cashing in on popular disgruntlement at her high-handed political interventions. In 1916, he led the opposition that resulted in the deposition of *ləğ* ↗Iyasu. At the Battle of ↗Sägäle that followed, he played a pivotal role in the victory of the Šäwan forces against Iyasu's father, ↗Mikaʾel of Wällo, lulling that ruler with pacific declarations until the Šäwans were ready to administer a decisive strike. He also led the subsequent campaign to subdue conclusively the province of Wällo.

In the new political order that ensued, H.G. had an uneasy relationship with *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (the future ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), *de-jure* heir to the throne but *de-facto* ruler. H.G. was at the head of those who resented Täfäri's steady corrosion of the powers and prerogatives of Empress ↗Zäwditu, to whom, as the daughter of Mənilək, H.G. felt more loyally attached than to Täfäri. Yet, it was a measure of the power and awe that he exercised that he was the only minister who was not dismissed following the public agitation of 1918 against ministerial corruption and nepotism – an agitation behind which many contemporary observers saw the hand of Täfäri. In 1926, Täfäri's patience paid off when H.G. died of natural causes. Täfäri promptly inherited both his estates and his troops. Thereafter, his path to the throne became clear and smooth.

H.G. was noted, amongst other things, for his high sense of justice and the wisdom of his judgements. He reportedly had his own adopted son hanged for banditry. Of the many Solomonic judgements that are attributed to him, some of them apocryphal, perhaps the most famous is the one that he is said to have passed in a divorce case. A man had taken a woman to his house for the night, agreeing to pay the two *bərr* that she had demanded for her services. They grew fond of each other and went on to live together for many years. Then, the man's affection apparently wearing off, he told her to leave his house empty-handed. The woman appealed to H.G. for justice. Noting that the partners had no marriage contract, H.G. ruled that the man was free to divorce the woman, but should pay her for the entire number of years they had been together at the nightly rate they had initially agreed upon. As this came to quite a hefty sum, the man was forced to beseech the woman to come back to his house.

Src.: GueCopMen, s. index.

Lit.: BZHist 115, 125, 128, 131f.; HANS JANNASCH, *Im Schatten des Negus: Vierundzwanzig Jahre in Abessinien*, Berlin 1930, 57 (ill.); MISLU GUGSA, *Estate Administration in Part of Present Day Jibat and Mecha under Fitawrari Habte Giyorgis*, B.A. thesis, Ḫaylä Śəllase I University, Addis Abäba 1974; MahHorse 16f.

Bahru Zewde

Habtä Maryam

H.M. (ሃብተ፡ ማርያም; d. 22 November 1497, Däbrä Libanos) was an Ethiopian holy monk. His Vita, composed in the early 16th cent. by ↗Iyasu of Ǧär Śəllase, is preserved in at least eight manuscripts; there are also ↗*mälkəʾ*-hymns in his honour (s. Raineri 1990).

According to his Acts, H.M. was a son of Yosṭena and of Fəre Buruk, a well-to-do landowner of Yärawʿəy in ↗Šäwa. While a boy, H.M. distinguished himself through his piety. Preparing H.M. to the secular life, his father sent him to a teacher, but H.M. went away to stay 12 years with a certain monk Samuʾel in Efär practising ascetic discipline and working miracles. Later, he went to the monastery Ǝllä Adbar (where he assumed the monastic habit from the abbot Mälkä Ṣedeq) and visited several other places, before settling at Gʷaḥarb. There, he kept practising strong asceticism (the most severe exercise was similar to the "standing" described in the legend of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, s. Raineri 1990: 44f.), while being well-loved by monks and people.

Following the order of the Archangel Michael, H.M. was ordained deacon by the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yəsḥaq (in 1481/82), and lived supervising the religious life of the area. Enraged by the local people who were eating and entertaining themselves during a church feast (↗Feasts), H.M. left the place. St. Michael took him on a voyage to Sheol, Gehenna, Paradise (where he met Täklä Haymanot and other eight abbots of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, Raineri 1990:82–85) and heavenly Jerusalem. After the journey, H.M.

was initiated into the whole of secret knowledge. Again on the order of St. Michael, H.M. went to the metropolitan to be consecrated priest. While H.M. was exercising his ministry in Hʷällagʷət and in Gʷana, God sent him to *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod (who in the Acts is to fight the ↗*Ayhud*), to bring him "the book of mysteries" that Jesus had revealed to H.M. (Raineri 1990:116f.); the Emperor, in his turn, asked H.M. to pray for his country. Finally, H.M. entered Däbrä Libanos, where he died of plague on 26 *Ḫədar*.

The historical identity of H.M. remains vague. It seems certain that he was a prominent member of the community of Däbrä Libanos already in the time of *əç̣ç̣äge* ↗Märḥa Krəstos and stayed behind the early-16th-cent. *əç̣ç̣äge* ↗Ṗeṭros (cp. H.S.'s important role in the destiny of *əç̣ç̣äge* ↗ᶜƎnbaqom, s. Ricci 1955–58:75f.; contrary to the chronology in H.M.'s Acts, Raineri 1990:8, 136f.). H.M.'s ascetic life was rather hermitic than coenobitic; he acted as the community's "prophet" and "seer" (↗Hermits). He seems to be connected also with Ǧär Śəllase in ↗Ǝnsäro (historically affiliated to Däbrä Libanos); the Acts of its founder Iyasu proclaim the latter H.M's disciple (Raineri 1990: 201). There are very few other traces of H.M.'s veneration (Sauter 1963:277, no. 97).

H.M. of Säwa should not be confused with a number of other persons by the same name (cp. Raineri 1990:8 and n. 12). Historical identities of most of them are not established: among those worth mentioning is H.M. from Təgray (KinBibl no. 74), possibly identical with the 15th-cent. *abunä* H.M. in a legend of Ǝnda Iyäsus in Qästa Agam, Wälqayt (Ellero 1948:121f.).

Src.: STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 115 (text) = 103f. (tr.); OSVALDO RAINERI, *Atti di Habta Māryām* († *1497*) *e di Iyāsu* († *1508*), *santi monaci etiopici*, Roma 1990 (OrChrA 235), esp. 1–164, s. index; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Le Vite di Ĕnbāqom e di Yoḥannĕs, abbati di Dabra Libānos di Scioa", *RSE* 13, 1954, 91–120, here 74; *ibid.* 14, 1955–58, 69–107, here 75f., 79, 96.

Lit.: GIOVANNI ELLERO, "Il Uolcaìt", *RSE* 7, 1948, 89-112, here 121f. [repr. in: *EllLusAnt* 109–31, here103f.]; KinBibl 76f., nos. 73-74; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Habta Māryām († 1497)", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 150–52; ID., "Habta Māryām di Tacazzè", in: *ibid.* 152; ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 277, nos. 97f.

Osvaldo Raineri – Red.

Habtä Maryam Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer

Däǧǧazmač H.M. (ሃብተ፡ ማርያም፡ ገብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር; b. June 1910, Neqemte, d. January 1937, Neqemte) was an important political leader in the first half of the 20th cent. The son of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Moroda, governor of Wälläga, H.M., like his father, received a traditional church education and, together with the sons of other local notables, was sent for further education to Europe, where he learned French. When his father died, he was given the title of *däǧǧazmač* by *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (the future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) and was acknowledged as hereditary ruler of Wälläga, a position he originally held under a council of local elders (*salge*). When H.M. reached the age of 21, he officially took control of state affairs and adjudicated court cases. He promoted education and encouraged development and trade, particularly in coffee and tobacco. In October 1934, after a series of central-government appointees and their ↗*näfṭäñña* soldiers had mismanaged ↗Ǧootee Tulluu's country and abused its resources, he was entrusted with the administration of ↗Qälləm, a responsibility he kept until the eve of the Italian occupation.

Däǧǧazmač Habtä Maryam Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer; photo 1934, courtesy of Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg

When rumours of the pending invasion reached Neqemte, H.M. raised funds for the war efforts and sent a contingent of troops from Wälläga. H.M. himself stayed behind at the Emperor's request. After the Italian troops took over Addis Abäba in 1936, H.M., together with another 30 chiefs and notables, attempted to establish a provisional Government for Western Oromo that sought independence from Ethiopia. After this, he hosted in Neqemte a group of cadets from the Holota Academy (↗Ṭəqur Anbäsa) – these same cadets foiled the Italian's attempt to contact H.M. in July 1936 by killing the crew of an Italian plane which had landed near Neqemte. H.M. finally submitted to Italian rule and was shortly after recognized by them as the hereditary ruler over the western district.

H.M. fell ill after the Italians forcefully recruited him to join their expedition in the Ǧimma region against *ras* ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase's loyal troops and soon after this he died.

Lit.: KEBEDE KEJELA, *A Biography of Dejazmach Habte Mariam Gebregziabher*, 4th-year essay, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1989; ALEMU SHUIE, *Wallaga during the Italian Occupation (1936–1941)*, M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 2002.

Alessandro Triulzi

Habtä Maryam Marqos

H. (**ሀብተ፡ ማርያም፡ ማርቆስ**; b. 3 July 1930, Ǝndəbər [Gurage], d. 1992, Addis Abäba) was a linguist, folklorist, and pioneer in Ethiopian higher education. He attended elementary school at the Dərre Dawa Lazarist Mission and high school at the Täfäri Mäkʷännən Secondary School in Addis Abäba. In 1951, H. joined the University College of Addis Ababa (UCAA; ↗Addis Ababa University) and graduated in Education in 1954. In 1955, he went to Canada to continue his studies at the University of Manitoba, and then to Georgetown University, where he did a Master's degree in Linguistics. In 1958 he joined for one year the Department of Near Eastern Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).

In 1959, back home, H. started working with the Ministry of Education as head of a language research section. In 1960, he took a teaching position at the Faculty of Education of UCAA. While in the same Faculty, he helped organize the Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature in the Faculty of Arts and taught linguistic courses. In 1964, he went to UCLA to do a Ph.D. in Linguistics under the supervision of Wolf Leslau, who had already started researching on Ethiopian Semitic with a focus on the Gurage languages, for which H. proved an indispensable assistant. Unfortunately, interpersonal relations deteriorated and he had to return home while he was well into his thesis on the phonology of ↗Ənnämor, one of the varieties of Western ↗Gurage.

H. resumed teaching at the Faculties of Education and Arts, where he continued helping the Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature. In 1969, he took a one-year leave to teach Amharic at Northwestern University, Evanston, IL. Back in Ethiopia, he served as head of the Department of Secondary Education until his transfer to the Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature in the Faculty of Arts. With the establishment of the Institute of Language Studies in 1978, he helped in the course-design of the Department of Linguistics. He also helped start Graduate Programs in Linguistics, Literature, and Test of English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) in 1979, the year in which he became dean of the Institute.

H. sat on several Senate Committees of the University and, at the national level, was a member of the National Committee for Language Policy. He also had an advisory role in the Academy of Ethiopian Languages. In 1981 he was appointed Executive Director of the Eastern African Center for Research on Oral Traditions and African National Languages, a position he held in Zanzibar until 1985. After this, he came back to the Institute of Language Studies.

In his earlier research, H. compiled a substantial collection of Gurage folk songs, which he published with William Shack (1974). Other publications include articles on a variety of issues on Semitic and Omotic languages, and translations into Amharic of such works as Carlo Conti Rossini's Gəʿəz Grammar and Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince* (1973). He also contributed to the design of orthographies for a number of languages introduced for the series of literacy campaigns launched by the government. His lifelong services were recognised by Addis Ababa University on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee Anniversary in 2000.

Src.: HABTÄ MARYAM MARQOS 1960–86, Personal File, Institute of Language Studies, Addis Ababa University; ID., "Amharic as a Medium of Instruction in Primary Schools in Ethiopia", in: ID. et al., *Language in Education in Eastern Africa; Papers from the First Eastern Africa Conference on Language and Linguistics*, Nairobi 1970, 13–17; ID., "Regional Variation in Amharic", *JES* II, 2, 113–29; ID., "Palatalization in Ennemor", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 2, 251–62; ID., "Italian", in: *BendLang* 170–80; WILLIAM ALFRED SHACK – HABTE-MARIAM MARCOS, *Gods and Heroes: Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1974; ANTOINE DE SAINT-EXUPÉRY, **ትንሹ፡ ልዑል** (*Tənnəšu ləʿul*, 'The Little Prince'), tr. by HABTÄ MARYAM MARQOS, Addis Abäba 1973.

Baye Yimam

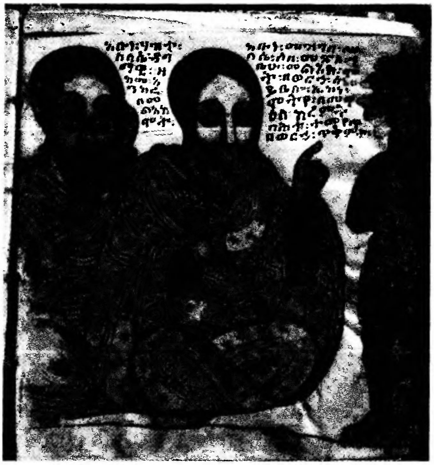
Habtä Śəllase I

H.Ś. (ሃብተ፡ ሥላሴ; fl. 16th cent.) was a monk and the head of the monastery of ↗Gundä Gunde, the stronghold of the ↗Stephanites, who suceeded *abunä* ↗Gäbrä Mäsiḥ I ca. 1522 (Beylot 1991:7). According to his Vita, Gäbrä Mäsiḥ predicted that H.Ś. would follow him as the head of the monastery (ibid. 11; in keeping with the sequence in Mordini 1953:59, but with different chronology). H.Ś. was obviously a contemporary of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl (r. 1508-40); possibly, he was in tenure for 17 years (ibid. 57f.) and died on 17 *Miyazya*. A manuscript with the Vita of H.Ś. (which includes also the Vita of Gäbrä Mäsiḥ) is preserved in Gundä Gunde (ibid. 50, nos. 1, 112 [cp. also the incipit of the Vita ms. 1, fig. 22]) and was copied for Conti Rossini (StrANL no. 9, fol. 33r-48v, with printed incipit and explicit). Besides, the text was photographed by Roger Schneider (Beylot 1991:6), and a microfilm has been deposited at the Institute of Archaeology, Addis Abäba (KinBibl 77, no. 75), but remains unexplored.

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, "Les actes de Gabra Masiḥ I (ca 1419-1522)", *RSE* 1991 [1993], 5–11; KinBibl 77, no. 75; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *RSE* 12, 1953 [1954], 29–70, here 50 and nn. 7, 9, mss. 1, 112 [*Gadla Habta Sĕllāsē I*] and fig. 22; StrANL 29ff., no. 9; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Some Notes on the Fifteenth-Century Stephanite 'Heresy' in the Ethiopian Church", *RSE* 22, 1966, 103–15.

Denis Nosnitsin

Habtä Śəllase II



Abunä Habtä Śəllase II, *abunä* Mäzgäbä Śəllase and the Angel of Death, ms. *Gädlä Mäzgäbä Śəllase* (= Mordini 1953:50, no. 116), fol. 11r; 17th cent., Gundä Gunde, photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

H.Ś. (ሃብተ፡ ሥላሴ; fl. late 17th cent.) was a monk and the head of the monastery of ↗Gundä Gunde. According to the fragmentary information from his Vita (preserved in the monastery [s. Mordini 1953:50, no. 117]), he was born as the eldest of four children to Fares and Sofiya in the land of ↗Irob, where his ancestors, who originated from Wäsoma, near Aṣbi (Kəlləttä Awləʿalo), had to flee on account of disputes. After his parents died, at the age of 12 (a frequent hagiographic topos), H.Ś. decided to become a monk and, together with his sister, went to Kaswa (i.e. Gundä Gunde), where he later received the monastic habit from the abbot *abuna* Täklä Näbiyat. A certain *abba* Bənyas became his teacher. H.Ś. was sent to *abuna* ↗Krəstodolu (probably the one who was a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos) to be ordained priest. Several years after his return to Gundä Gunde, he was elected head of the monastery (but cp. the chronology in Mordini 1953:59, where H.Ś. appears to have succeeded Mäzgäbä Śəllase, whereas Täklä Näbiyat is supposed to have died in 1554).

By that time the ↗Stephanites had reconciled with the Church, and H.Ś.'s most significant contribution was his strong stand for Orthodoxy against ↗Catholicism. He hosted in the monastery Orthodox clergy who fled from northern areas because of the persecutions of *aṣe* Susənyos. As a theologian, he rebutted Catholicism and is reported to have written a book against Catholic doctrines. H.Ś. died on 8 *Mäskäräm* and was buried in Gundä Gunde (Mordini 1953:57ff., however, credits H.S. with a five year tenure only and puts his death in 1709).

Apart from the manuscript of the Vita of H.Ś. preserved in Gundä Gunde (Mordini 1953:50, nos. 1, 112), a microfilm of the text is reported to be in the Institute of Archaeology, Addis Abäba (KinBibl 77, no. 76). The Vita, still unexplored, may be a valuable source, since virtually nothing is known on the history of Gundä Gunde during the 17th–18th cent.

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, "Les actes de Gabra Masiḥ I (ca 1419–1522)", *RSE* 1991 [1993], 5–11; KinBibl 77, no. 76; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Il convento di Gunde Gundiè", *RSE* 12, 1953 [1954], 29–70, here 50, no. 117 [*Gadla Habta Sĕllāsē II*]; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Some Notes on the Fifteenth Century Stephanite 'Heresy' in the Ethiopian Church", *RSE* 22, 1966, 103–15.

Mersha Alehegne – Denis Nosnitsin

Haɖánɖowa

Haɖánɖowa language

Through various pronunciations, depending on the degree of Arabization of the speaker or on alleged etymologies, H. (also Hadendoa, Hadendiwa, Haɖánɖiwa) is the autonym of the most-numerous ↗Beğa-speaking group, mainly located in the Gaš valley and in the region of Sinkat and Port-Sudan. The forms without a retroflex *ɖ* are usually used by non-Beğa Arabic-speaking groups and have been popularized by the British administration.

The H. speak the southern dialect of Beğa, as opposed to the northern variety (*mímhít beɖáwie*), with two main isoglosses: /i/ instead of /u/ (*ti-beɖáwie, ti-bɖáwie*, 'in the Beğa language', north *tu-beɖáwie*), and vowel lengthening (*déela*, 'hole', north *déla*). Sinkat, inside the migration area of the H., appears as a transition zone with the northern dialect (as described by Almkvist), sharing some phonemic features, e.g. keeping the vowel /ə/ before a stressed syllable: *naa məhín*, 'what place?' (Roper 1928:108), Gaš *naa mhíin*. Both varieties are mutually intelligible, but speakers are highly sensitive to these local differences, which can be also sociolects (the /s/ added by the Halanga recorded by Reinisch). Hudson's data deal with a variety of southern Beğa in contact with Təgre in Tokar. Muḥammad Adʿarob's corpus (in Morin 1999:115–32) consists of an important collection of texts where the southern dialect, as spoken in Port-Sudan–Haya area, is found along with northern data due to the prestige of poetry composed in that variety. One can compare (Roper 1927:150, in Morin 1997):

- *te šankete baasʾaabik*, '(Contrary to those) with clothes caught';
- *yi hindi te taageyetee*, 'In the thorn bushes, and also hats',;
- *u rʾad atʾafeyaa baadə hiin daa*, 'Who died protecting their family';
- *dawit teteb abaaɖen*, 'He, he has forgotten his relatives';
- and Muḥammad Adʿarob: *ti šankete baasʾaabiik/ yhindi titaagiyaytee/uu rʾad atʾaffiyaa baa hiin ʾar/ dawitayteeb ibaaɖin*.

Lit.: Richard A. Hudson, "Beja", in: *BendNonSLang* 97–131; Muḥammad Adʿarob al-Hağğ, *Min taʾrīḫ al-Biğā aš-Šaʿbī*, Khartoum 1972 (ms.); Didier Morin, *Des paroles douces comme la soie: introduction aux contes dans l'aire couchitique (bedja, afar, saho, somali)*, Paris 1995 (Langues et Cultures Africaines 19); Id., "Mimetic Traditions in Beja Poetry from Sudan", *Research in African Literatures* 28, 1, 1997, 15–34; Id., *Le texte légitime: pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Paris 1999 (Langues et Cultures Africaines 25), 115–32; E.M. Roper, "Poetry of the Haḍenḍiwa", *Sudan Notes and Records* 10, 1927, 147–58; Id., *Tu-Beɖawiē: an Elementary Handbook for the Use of the Sudan Government Officials*, Hertford 1928, 108.

Didier Morin

Haɖánɖowa ethnography

The H. (Hadändowa, Hadendoa) are a section of the ↗Beğa ethno-linguistic group, belonging to the Southern Beğa, who live in the North-eastern Sudan between the Nile and Red Sea Hills, as well as in the Western Lowlands of Eritrea (Killion 1998:112). The relationship between H. and ↗Ḥədareb is often misinterpreted, i.e. it is not clear if they are one ethnic group, as sources as well as oral historical accounts state, however (Seligman – Seligman 1930:93; Paul 1950:235). The word Ḥədareb in Beğa (*tu-beɖawiye*) means serf and explains their subordinated status within the H. group (Zaborski 1998:49; Nadel 1945:7; Paul 1950:235; Mohammed Sheikan 1996). During the 1950s the three main groups of the Beğa, i.e. H., the Amarʾar and Bisharyyin population in Sudan was 285,000 and has certainly doubled today. Historically the H. were a feudal society with a *Nazir* as a paramount chief governing over about 40 sections (*badanas*), similar to the organization of the Təgre-speaking Beni ʿAmər, who live in Eritrea, but also along the Sudanese border. The neighbourhood of these two "confederations" was not always peaceful, as the war from 1943–46 shows, but the struggle to increase their territory lead to the fact that the spheres of influence of both groups are much overlapping (Herzog 1979:616).

H. are Muslims and pastoralists – herding cattle, sheep and camels – who migrate seasonally throughout this semi-arid, but fertile region in search for adequate pasture for their animals. Their homesteads are tents, made of bent wooden poles covered with a layer of smoked doum-palm fibre mats, which are scattered throughout the area. Inside the houses goats'-hair blankets cover the walls; on doum-palm fibre mats stands the large bed (*arkai*) or an *angareb*. Women are active in producing household utensils from doum- or argun-palm, fibre such as baskets, bags, plates and milk containers (*ʿamur*). Since milk is not allowed to touch metal or clay, these handicrafts play a vital role in daily life. The H. live on a sorghum, milk and meat diet (Streck 1982:110).

H. men have a distinct appearance. They wear long untrimmed black curly hair (nowadays partly covered with cotton cloth), which

Rudyard Kipling termed "Fuzzy Wuzzy". It is decorated with a comb with three prongs and/or a one-prong hair-scratcher. A cotton cloth is draped crosswise over the upper body. On his upper arm he wears a dagger and on his waist a cross-handle sword; formerly he also carried a spear and a leather shield (Herzog 1979:616, Streck 1982:110f., cf. Fisher 1984:268f). The women are dressed with three cloths wrapped around the waist, the shoulders and the head. Formerly, before the H. were Islamized and Arabized the women wore a skin skirt with a belt only and were probably organized on a matrilinear basis (Streck 1982:111).

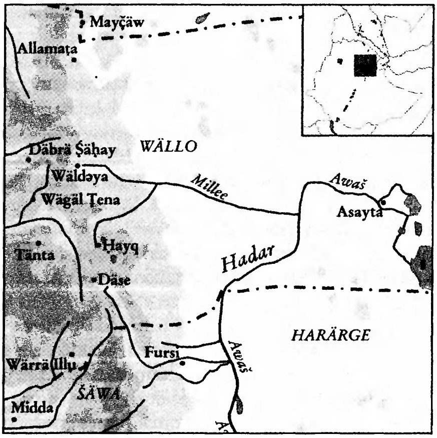
Src.: personal communication with Mohammed Sheikan, ʿAd Ṣäʾada, Eritrea, April 1996.

Lit.: ANGELA FISHER, *Africa Adorned*, New York 1984, 268f.; ROLF HERZOG, "Ägypter, Nubier und Bedja", in: HERMANN BAUMANN (ed.), *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre traditionellen Kulturen*, vol. 2. *Ost-, West- und Nordafrika*, Wiesbaden 1979, 616; KilHDic 112; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, "Notes on Beni Amer Society", *Sudan Notes and Records* 26, part 1, 1945, 51–94, 7; ARTHUR PAUL, "Notes on the Beni Amer", *ibid.* 31, 223-45; BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN – CHARLES GABRIEL SELIGMAN, "Notes on the History and Present Condition of the Beni Amer (Southern Beja)", *ibid.* 13, part 1, 1930, 83–97, here 93; BERNHARD STRECK, *Sudan: Steinernde Gräber und lebendige Kulturen am Nil*, Köln 1982, 110f.; ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, "Beja", in: HERRMANN JUNGRAITHMAYR – WILHELM J.G. MÖHLIG (eds.), *Lexikon der Afrikanistik*, Berlin 1983, 49.

Kerstin Volker-Saad

Hadar

H. (**ሀዳር**) is a regional place-name referring to an area of approximately 65 km² located about 300 km north-east of Addis Abäba in the west-central area of the ↗ʿAfar Triangle (11° 10' N – 40° 35' E). The region owes its name to the Qada Hadar *wādī* (seasonal watercourse). Extensive semi-arid badlands topography and a narrow strip of riverine woodlands immediately adjacent to the ↗Awaš River characterize the H. area landscape.



The area contains substantial outcrops of Plio-Pleistocene sediments, some as old as 3.4 million years, and represents one of the most productive areas of palaeoanthropological research in Africa. It has been the location of long-term interdisciplinary palaeoanthropological, geological, and palaeoenvironmental research since the early 1970s. More than 300 specimens of the early hominid species ↗*Australopithecus afarensis* have been recovered within the H. area, including, among others, the "Dənqənäš" ("Lucy") specimen (ʿAfar Locality 288), the "First Family" specimens (ʿAfar Locality 333) and a nearly complete male cranium (ʿAfar Locality 444). Important palaeoanthropological finds from H. also include a maxilla of a *Homo habilis* (↗Homo) specimen (ʿAfar Locality 666) associated with Oldowan stone tools and dating to about 2.3 million years.

Lit.: DONALD C. JOHANSON – MAURICE TAIEB, "Plio-Pleistocene Hominid Discoveries in Hadar, Ethiopia", *Nature* 260, 1976, 293–97; DONALD C. JOHANSON – MAURICE TAIEB – YVES COPPENS, "Pliocene Hominids from the Hadar Formation, Ethiopia (1973–1977): Stratigraphic, Chronologic, and Paleoenvironmental Contexts, with Notes on Hominid Morphology and Systematics", *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 57, 1982, 373–402; DONALD C. JOHANSON – TIMOTHY D. WHITE – YVES COPPENS, "A New Species of the Genus *Australopithecus* (Primates: Hominidae) from the Pliocene of Eastern Africa", *Kirtlandia* 28, 1978, 1–14; WILLIAM H. KIMBEL – DONALD C. JOHANSON – YOEL RAK, "The First Skull and Other New Discoveries of *Australopithecus afarensis* at Hadar, Ethiopia", *Nature* 368, 1994, 449–51; ID., "Systematic Assessment of a Maxilla of *Homo* from Hadar, Ethiopia", *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 103, 1997, 235–62; WILLIAM H. KIMBEL et al., "Late Pliocene *Homo* and Oldowan Tools from the Hadar Formation (Kada Hadar Member), Ethiopia", *Journal of Human Evolution* 31, 1996, 549–61; MAURICE TAIEB et al., "Découverte d'Hominidés dans les séries plio-pléistocénes d'Hadar (Bassin de l'Awash, Afar, Éthiopie)", *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie de Sciences de Paris* 279, série D, 1974, 735–38; ROBERT C. WALTER, "The Age of Lucy and the First Family: Single-crystal ^{40}Ar/^{39}Ar Dating of the Denen Dora and Lower Kada Hadar Members of the Hadar Formation, Ethiopia", *Geology* 22, 1994, 6–10.

Matthew C. Curtis

Ḥadārém

Ḥ. (Arab. Ḥadārim, also known as Ḥadāréb, Ḥadārmó in the kingdom of ↗Dankáli, Balawtá among the Southern ↗Adᶜáli) is an ↗ᶜAfar tribe scattered between Miᶜdír and ʿÍddi (↗ᶜEdd), on the Red Sea coast. According to popular traditions (Pollera 1935), the tribe originated from Yemen (↗Ḥaḍramawt). This is not contradictory with a parallel influx of ethnic ↗Beğa groups speaking Təgre, still called Ḥadāreb (↗Hədaräb), in Eritrea (Ḥadāriba, Ḥadārib in the Arabic sources on the Sudan). Among the Arteyga, *hadarabaít* is parallel to *beḍawiét* 'in Beğa language' among the ↗Hadándowa.

In Eritrea the group is divided into two main sub-groups, Datá Ḥíggi and ᶜAsá Ḥíggi, the sons of two homonymous related ancestors ʿÚmar "Datá Ḥíggi" b. Bassá Ḥámad b. *ḥāğği* ʿÚmar (or ᶜAmūdaddīn Bā Saffār), from Ḥaḍramawt, and his nephew ʿÚmar "ᶜAsá Ḥíggi". Datá Ḥíggi includes the sub-clans Awli-Gúra (or ᶜAli-Gúra), Garbalé, Bitᶜáytu and Ḥamōdādí (among whom the traditional chiefs *rēdántu* were chosen). The ᶜAsá Ḥíggi sub-clans are: ᶜAli Góhli (elder lineage); ᶜAsá ʿUdúm; Datá ʿUdúm; Húmmad-Dāba; and Bōraᶜadó, also known as Gurmaḥtó or Bōliytá. Odorizzi (1911) mentioned in his 1910 survey the ᶜAsá Híggi in the sultanate of Bîḍu, who could be related to the ᶜAsá ʿIbád of Sidīḥá ᶜAlé. Among the Southern ᶜAfar, the Ḥadarmó are historically considered as linked to the ᶜAblé, both tribes being of an older stock than the ᶜAfar Adᶜáli, whom they helped in gaining power against the Ankālá.

Lit.: DIDIER MORIN, *Poésie traditionnelle des Afars*, Paris 1997 (lit.); DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il Commissariato regionale di Massaua al 1° Gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911; PollEr [= *The Native Peoples of Eritrea*, English tr. by LINDA LAPPIN, ed., annot. by ALEXANDER NATY, Lawrenceville, NJ 1999].

Didier Morin

Ḥaddis ᶜAlämayyähu

Ḥ.ᶜA. (**ሐዲስ፡ ዐለማየሁ**; b. 17 October 1909, Ǝndodam, near Däbrä Marqos, d. 7 December 2003, Addis Abäba) was a statesman and writer.

Born to ᶜAlämayyähu Solomon, an Orthodox priest, and Dästa ᶜAlämu, the daughter of a priest, Ḥ.ᶜA. pursued traditional church ↗education up to the level of *zema*-chants at home under his maternal grandfather, ᶜAlämu Śəyyum. He then proceeded to ↗Däbrä Gännät Elyas, thence to ↗Däbrä Wärq and finally to ↗Dima Giyorgis, where he graduated in *qəne*.

In 1925/26, Ḥ.ᶜA. went to Addis Abäba and joined the Swedish Mission School, where he became acquainted with the English language. Two years later he was transferred to the Täfäri Makʷännən School under the auspices of *ras* ↗Ḥaylu Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam. Before he was forced to quit by the rescission of his boarding-student status due to a student strike towards the end of 1930/31 academic year, Ḥ.ᶜA. took active part in the school activities, especially in award-winning play performance.

Ḥ.ᶜA.'s first Amharic play, **የሐበሻ፡ እና፡ የወደኋላ፡ ጋብቻ** (*Yäḥabäša ənna yäwädäḫʷala gabəčča*, 'The Marriage of Ḥabäša and the Backward'), was written for a school performance, but staged in the Majestic Hotel in Addis Abäba. This and another play, staged at Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḥaylä Śəllase's wedding in May 1932, made him noticed by many prominent persons, including the newly crowned Emperor ↗Ḥaylä Śəllase I. After a brief experience as a teacher in Addis Abäba, in 1933 Ḥ.ᶜA. was appointed by *näggadras* Wädağo ᶜAli a customs officer, and later a member of a team to enforce the anti-slavery proclamation at ↗Dangəla in Goğğam. Shortly after, he was re-assigned to open and run a grade school in the newly abandoned premises of a British Consulate there.

In 1935, on the eve of the Italian war, he was transferred to Däbrä Marqos, where he played an active role in rousing people to defend their motherland. Ḥ.ᶜA. fought at the front in northern Ethiopia and later as a guerrilla fighter in the south-west of the country, in both places under *ras* ↗Ǝmməru Ḥaylä Śəllase. Captured in 1936, Ḥ.ᶜA. was shipped to detention in Italy with ↗Yəlma Däressa and did not return to Ethiopia until November 1943.

Ḥ.ᶜA.'s subsequent governmental career was long, spaning from 1943 to 1974 and including assignments like: Ethiopian Consul-General in Jerusalem (April 1945), where he met and married his wife in 1946; First Secretary of the Ethiopian Legation in Washington under Ǝmməru Ḥaylä Śəllase (14 August 1947), where his tasks included handling also Ethiopia's United Nations responsibilities; Director-General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (19 December 1950); Vice-Minister (29 July 1952); Ethiopian ambassador to the United Nations (26 July 1957).

On 10 June 1960, he was re-appointed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a Minister of State. The ↗Coup d'état of 1960 occurred six months later, prompting him to submit immediately to the Emperor a memorandum calling for a complete constitutional overhaul. In February 1961 he was appointed Minister of Education; he resigned in July 1961 and was immediately appointed Ethiopian ambassador to the United Kingdom, also accredited to the Netherlands. In May 1966 he came back as Minister of Planning and Development in the new ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld cabinet. The "Third Five-Year Development Plan", prepared by his ministry, proved too controversial to implement, and Ḥ.ᶜA. resigned in 1969. The same year he became a member of the Ethiopian "Senate", where he presented a draft proclamation on freedom of speech and written expression. He served there till the start of the 1974 ↗Revolution. Ḥ.ᶜA. declined the post of Prime Minister, offered to him by the *Därg* in the last days of imperial rule. He served, however, in the *mämakərt šängo* (**መማክርት፡ ሸንጎ**, lit. 'assembly of advisors'), representing the people of Goǧǧam.

Ḥ.ᶜA.'s more enduring contribution to Ethiopian society lies in his literary activity. In 1956 he published two small-sized works: **ተረት፡ ተረት፡ የመሠረት** (*Tärät tärät yämäśärät*, 'Tales, Tales of Old'), a collection of eleven fables, and **የትምህርትና፡ የተማሪቤት፡ ትርጉም** (*Yätəmhərtənna yätämaribet tərgʷəm*, 'The Meaning of Education and School'), a book expounding his views on the goals of education.

Ḥ.ᶜA.'s first novel, ↗*Fəqər əskä mäqabər*, published ten years later, was an immediate success, having enjoyed nine reprints to this date. In 1969 this work won the author The Ḫaylä Śəllase First Prize for Amharic Literature. His later novels were **ወንጀለኛው፡ ዳኛ** (*Wänǧeläññaw dañña*, 'The Criminal Judge', 1981/82) and **የልምዣት** (*Yälməžat*, 'Sweet Only in Dreams', 1988) and did not attract much critical attention or public interest. Ḥ.ᶜA. also penned a political tract, **ኢትዮጵያ፡ ምን፡ ዓይነት፡ አስተዳደር፡ ያስፈልጋታል** (*Ityopya mən ᶜaynät astädadər yasfälləgatal*, 'What Kind of Governance does Ethiopia Require', May 1974). His memoir **ትዝታ** (*Təzzəta*, 'Remembrance', 1943) recounts the events of the 1935/36 Italian war and Ḥ.ᶜA.'s subsequent seven years of detention in Italy.

Src.: ḤADDIS ᶜALÄMAYYÄHU, "Seven Years of Exile", *Ethiopian Herald*, 11 December 1943.

Lit.: ASFAW DAMTÄ, **የክቡር፡ ዶክተር፡ ሐዲስ፡ ዐለማየሁ፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ፤ አጭር፡ ማስታወሻ** (*Yäkəbur doktär Ḥaddis ᶜAlämayyähu yäḥəywät tarik: aç̣ç̣ər mastawäša*, 'The Biography of Dr. Ḥaddis ᶜAlämayyähu: a Brief Note'), *Ethiopian Journal of Languages and Literature* 10, special issue, 2000, 3–42; MolLit 133–54; KaneLit 106–09, 209.

Asfaw Damte

Ḥaddis Kidan ↗New Testament

Ḫadgä Anbäsa

Däǧǧazmač Ḫ.A. (**ኀድገ፡ አንበሳ**, vars. in oral tradition Ḥadgämbäs, Ḥadgämbäsa, Ḥadgu Ambäsa; b. ca. 1854, d. ca. 1891 ᶜAsäb) was a ↗Ḥamasen leader from ↗ᶜAd Täkäläzan, descendant of the ᶜAd Elos, one of the two local *šəmagəlle* (aristocratic) clans, the other one being the ᶜAd Kəflom. On killing an elephant, Ḫ.A. received the honorific title of *ḥanta*.

The ᶜAd Elos rose to prominence under Ḫ.A.'s father, *käntiba* Gʷəlbät (or Gəlwät) Tedros, who had a blood-feud with the Ǝnda ↗Hazzäga. In 1851 Gʷəlbät killed their most important member, ↗Ǝllen, the regent of Ḥamasen. Her son, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel, avenged by burning down ᶜAd Täkäläzan in 1855. The peace, finally established through the traditional reconciliation method of a political marriage between Wäldä Mikaʾel's daughter and Gʷəlbät's nephew, did not last. One generation later Ḫ.A. used the arrival of the Italians to establish his supremacy and take revenge on Hazzäga.

Ḫ.A. entered the Italian service as the head of a *banda* (a group of local soldiers under Italian command). First he took control of ᶜAd Täkäläzan, chasing away *käntibay* Našəḥ of the ᶜAd Kəflom. Next, in July 1889, Ḫ.A. burnt and pillaged Hazzäga, placing it under the Italian rule (KolTrad III, A110; KolTrad II, 198f.). This was one of the crucial moments that enabled the annexation of the whole Ḥamasen and, consequently, the proclamation of the Colonia Eritrea on 1 January 1890. Like many other local leaders who had used the Italians to achieve their own political goals, Ḫ.A. was arrested in ca. 1891 in Massawa and incarcerated in ᶜAsäb, where he died (KolTrad II:199; cp. KolTrad I:257; II:197).

In the 1920s, Ḫ.A.'s son Asfäḥa Ḥadgämbäsa was appointed representative of ᶜAd Täkäläzan within the Italian system of indirect rule. He was still in office during the period of British occupation (1941–52), when he succeeded in settling the ᶜAd Elos – ᶜAd Kəflom feud (KilHDic 32).

Lit.: KilHDic 32; KolTrad I–II, index; III, A110; RUFFILLO PERINI, *Di qua dal Marèb* (*Marèb-mellàsc'*), Firenze 1905 [Tgn. tr. by GÄBRÄ NEGUS, *Märäb Məllaš*, Roma – Asmära 1995].

Wolbert Smidt

Hadiyya

Hadiyya language

H. (in older literature also referred to as ↗Gudela) belongs to the H. language group, which forms one subgroup of the ↗Highland East Cushitic languages. In view of the number of speakers, H. is one of the most-sizeable languages in Ethiopia. A census published in 1998 numbers native speakers at 923,958, of which 595,107 are monolingual (Grimes 2000). "Within Hadiyya there is very little lexical variation, and only [the] Baadowačo [dialect] shows minor morphophonemic differences" (Korhonen – Saksa – Sim 1986a:37). ↗Libido (Maraaqo), which has 82 % lexical similarities with H. (Grimes 2001), can be considered a separate language because of "important differences in the verb paradigms and numerous small differences in the lexical shape of many grammatical morphemes" (Korhonen – Saksa – Sim 1986a:37).

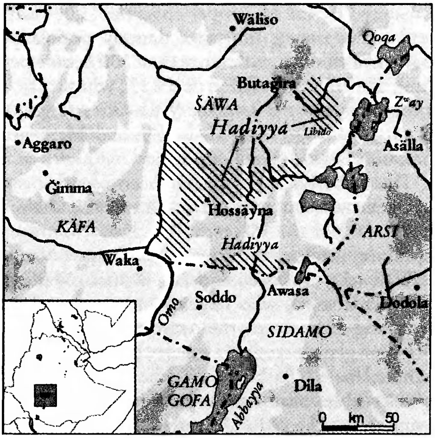
The vowel system consists of the five phonemically short and long vowels *i*, *e*, *a*, *o* and *u*. The consonant system includes 23 phonemes, of which four are the ejective stops *p̣*, *ṭ*, *č̣* and *q* (Sim 1989:11ff). Consonant gemination is phonologically distinctive. Within the verb paradigms numerous morphophonological processes occur, such as assimilation, epenthesis, metathesis and consonant strenghtening.

In the noun morphology "gender has been almost completely lost" (Sim 1989:108). The number system includes a semantically unmarked form called indefinite, a singular definite form called singulative and, finally, the plural (Sim 1989:104ff.). The case system includes the marked nominative, the absolutive for citation and direct objects, genitive, dative, comitative/instrumental, locative and adessive (Sim 1989:110ff.).

Personal and possessive pronouns have a gender distinction masculine vs. feminine in the third person singular. Demonstratives have three deictic distances.

Verbs are inflected by suffixes, only. A verb form is composed of four morphemes: verb base –person marker–tense/aspect marker–final suffix. The tense/aspect marker is represented by a vowel, which marks one of the three tenses/aspects. The simple perfect is marked by *u* both in H. and Libido. The imperfect and the present perfect are marked conversely, i.e. in H. *aa* is used for the present perfect and *oo* for the imperfect and in Libido *aa* is used for the imperfect and *oo* for the present perfect. Further verb paradigms are the imperative/jussive, two converb and two subjunctive paradigms.

The unmarked word order is Subject–Object–Verb. Special verb forms are used for adverbial clauses.



The Herman Bell ten word list for H. is: *mato* 'one', *lamo* 'two', *saso* 'three', *giira* 'fire', *wo'o* 'water', *eelliinčo* 'sun', *agana* 'moon', *ṭiiga* 'blood', *allabo* 'tongue', *inqe* 'tooth' (Korhonen et al. 1986b).

Src.: BARBARA F. GRIMES, *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas ^{14}2000; ELSA KORHONEN – MIRJA SAKSA – RONALD JAMES SIM, "A Dialect Study of Kambaata-Hadiyya (Ethiopia)", part 1, *AAP* 5, 1986a, 5–41; part 2 (Appendices) *ibid.* 6, 1986b, 71–121; RONALD JAMES SIM, *Predicate Conjoining in Hadiyya: a Head-Driven PS Grammar*, Edinburgh 1989.

Lit.: RONALD JAMES SIM, "The Morphological Structure of Some Main Verb Forms in Hadiyya", *AAP* 2, 1985, 10–43; HERMA PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER, "Die Hadiya-Sprache", *RSE* 16, 1960, 38–76; ID., "Texte der Hadiya-Sprache", *ibid.* 17, 1961, 83–115; ID., "Wörterbuch der Hadiya-Sprache", *ibid.* 20, 1964, 133–82.

Joachim Crass

Hadiyya ethnography

The name H. has been used for different ethnic units in southern Ethiopia speaking ↗Cushitic as well as ↗Semitic languages. The groups which are to be labelled H. proper are linguistically part of the Highland East Cushitic cluster and inhabit a region between the 6th and the 8th parallel of northern latitude, reaching from the upper Omo (↗Gibe) to the plains west of Lake Zʷay. This area was allocated the status of a separate administrative zone within the "Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State" (SNNPRS) in the 1990s. It comprises the seven *wärädas* of Leemo, Miišaa, Sooro, Gibe, Šaašoogo, Duuna and Baadawwaaččo, whereas the Hadiyya-occupied territory of Maaraqo (Libido) west of Lake Zʷay belongs to the Gurage zone. The area inhabited by the H. proper covers ca. 5,000 km² and ranks among the most densely populated parts of Ethiopia, with more than 300 people per km². The total population of the H., whose major subgroups are the Leemo, Wito-Giira (Agara), Sooro, Šaašoogo, Baadawwaaččo and Maraaqo, amounts to ca. 1.5 million.

The name H. has explicitly been used for the ↗Qabeena, who adopted a ↗Kambaata dialect at the end of the 18th cent. The East ↗Gurage-speaking groups of the eastern Gurage (↗Səlṭi, ↗Wəlbaräg, Azärnät, Bärbäre, Wuriro, Wälläne and Gädäbano), who migrated to their present dwelling-areas from the western parts of the ↗Harär plateau in the 16th cent., laid claim to the ethnic label "*seba* Hadiyya" (the seven H.). The most visible cultural peculiarity of all these remnants from the old H. cluster in central-southern Ethiopia was their Muslim background. It inevitably dwindled, the longer their separation from the Islamic centres in the east lasted and the stronger simultaneously the impact of folk religions surrounding them became. The following description is restricted to the H. proper whose habitat and subgroups were defined above.

According to their oral traditions, the H. formerly practised a mixed economy based on the two pillars, livestock-breeding and the cultivation of barley. The presently predominating system of intensive agriculture focused on the so-called false banana (*Ensete ventricosum*; ↗*ənsät*) was not adopted before the middle of the 19th cent. from the Gurage, Kambaata and ↗Wälaytta neighbours. The extraordinary high productivity of this plant has so far saved the H. from serious shortages of food. Because of the dense population the property in livestock per capita has considerably reduced, but cattle, sheep, goats, horses, donkeys and mules continue to be indispensable for providing milk and dung, as well as for ploughing and as means of transport. In areas above ca. 2,000 m A.S.L. the H. rely for their subsistence – besides *ənsät* – mainly on barley, wheat, *ṭef*, horse-beans and cabbage; in regions of lower altitude, maize, *Sorghum bicolor*, finger-millet (*Eleusine coracana*) and sweet potatoes are the most common items of staple food. From the 1950s onwards, coffee and red pepper gained a growing importance as cash crops. In the gardens and fields around the houses, most agricultural works are carried out with digging-sticks and hoes. After the Amhara conquest in the last decades of the 19th cent., the H. peasants additionally adopted the Highland Ethiopian type of plough. These tools fully meet their demands, because the average size of cultivated land per household rarely exceeds two hectares at present. Throughout their history the H. have mainly earned their living as agro-pastoralists, whereas other activities, such as handicrafts and trade, were of minor importance in their economy.

Groups of craftsmen called ↗*Fuga* have immigrated from the beginning of the 20th cent., mainly from the neighbouring areas of Gurage, Kambaata and Wälaytta. They usually observe a division of labour, i.e. the women produce pottery and the men are active as tanners and woodworkers. Male persons of the *Waanča* group are specialized in leather-works, such as saddles. Blacksmiths (*Woqqaç̣ç̣a*), frequently descendants of liberated slaves, produce iron tools mainly employing scrap-metal of European provenance. Weaving is rarely practised by immigrants from Wälaytta and Gamo Gofa. As it is widespread in Ethiopia, the craftsmen are to a large extent socially outcast groups and strictly endogamous, i.e. they are excluded from intermarriage with the so-called *Wolaaba*, the commoners. On the other hand, they are respected as ritual experts and feared because of their alleged magical power.

The original type of H. settlement consisted of beehive-shaped houses which were constructed around enclosures of thorn fences. This pattern has almost completely been replaced by hamlets consisting of the "Gurage type" of cylindrical houses with conical roofs.

Usually, several hamlets constitute a parish of considerable size, inhabited by members of different clans (*sulla*). These are subdivided into lineages (*moollo*) and sub-lineages (*mine*). The different social units are presided over by *dannuuwwa* (sg. *danna*), chiefs who are also in charge of the mutual help organizations (*seera*) for funeral ceremonies, house construction and agricultural works. The rules of descent are patrilineal and the patterns of residence virilocal. Politically, H. society was characterized by an outstandingly egalitarian structure. Centralized hierarchies comparable to the kingships of the Kambaata or Wälaytta never developed, and age-grade systems of the ↗*gadaa* type were likewise absent. The status of an individual largely depended on his personal achievements, i.e. brave deeds in warfare and killing dangerous animals, intelligence and eloquence in public affairs and gaining wealth, particularly a large number of cattle. In such cases so-called feasts of merit were performed and the *mahaaraano*, the honoured persons, received titles (e.g. *dadaaččo*, *azmaač*, *ašan garaad*) and insignia, such as necklaces, earrings and bracelets, manifesting their prestigious position. The whole community praised those "heroes" and "people of merit" with songs and offered them grandiose funerals.

The settlement pattern of scattered groups of houses surrounded by gardens and plantations is adequate to the highly intensive horticulture, which demands a steady care, particularly of the *ənsät*. The so-called villagization program of the Ethiopian government in the late 1980s, aiming at concentrating the population in centralized villages, had, therefore, a disastrous effect on the socio-economic conditions of the H. and was spontaneously discarded after the fall of the ↗*Därg* regime in 1991.

The former socio-religious system of the H., a way of life and code of behaviour called ↗*Fandaanano*, has meanwhile totally disappeared. It was characterized by numerous syncretic elements that revealed the Muslim background of the H. in earlier phases of their history. The high priests (*anǧaamma*), who in former times acted as spiritual leaders of the H. subgroups, have totally lost their influential position. Orthodox Christianity started gaining ground after the Amhara conquest, particularly among those people who, appointed ↗*balabbat*, were expected to co-operate loyally with the new authority. However, a systematic missionary campaign was not conducted by the Orthodox Church before the mid-1940s. Protestant and Roman-Catholic missionaries from Europe and America became active in the 1930s and succeeded in converting most of the H. after the 1960s. Islam became the dominant religion in the lowlands of Maaraqo and Šaašoogo. Although far-reaching changes have resulted in the extinction of the traditional *Fandaanano* way of life, the H. have obviously been developing a growing interest in their cultural heritage since the 1990s (for ill. on H. life s. the articles on ↗Dämära, Fandaanano and ↗Gänna).

Lit.: BrauHad; Ulrich Braukämper – Tilahun Mishago, *Praise and Teasing*: *Narrative Songs of the Hadiyya in Southern Ethiopia*, Frankfurt am Main 1999; Haile Bubamo Arficio, "Some Notes on Traditional Hadiya Women", *JES* 11, 2, 1973, 131–55; Burkhard Peter, *Kulturelle Identität und religiöses Bekenntnis*: *Synkretismus bei den Hadiyya Südäthiopiens*, Ammersbek bei Hamburg 1999.

Ulrich Braukämper

Hadiyya history

The most ancient Ethiopic document to mention the Muslim principality of H. is the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (BezKebr 127 [text] = 100 [tr.]). A number of Muslim principalities existed between the Somali coast and the eastern escarpment of the Ethiopian highlands. The presumably oldest of them, Šäwa, emerged in the late 9th cent. (s. Cerulli 1941). H. was the westernmost of seven political units connected in a confederation which was named after its capital ↗Zaylaᶜ on the northern Somali coast – the others were ↗Ifat, ↗Däwaro, ↗Arabäbni, ↗Šarḫa, ↗Bale and ↗Dära. Between the 13th and the 16th cent., H. seems to have occupied a large territory between the western Harär Plateau and the eastern escarpment of the Rift Valley, which is now mainly inhabited by ↗Ittuu- and ↗Arsi-Oromo.

The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, while describing his campaign against Ifat, reports that in 1332 the Emperor fought the H. leader (*amano*), who was labelled a "false prophet" by the Christians, forced him to take refuge in Ifat and deported parts of the population to other areas. Three years later a rebellion of H. was suppressed. From this period onwards H. was listed among the dependencies of the Ethiopian Empire, but obviously maintained a certain degree of independence through a system of indirect rule (KrAmdS 2; HuntAmdS 58ff.; PerrAmdS 335).

The fact that H. as a member of the Islamic Zaylaᶜ federation was at the same time tributary to the Christian empire in the 14th cent. was confirmed by reports of Arab historians. In Abū l-Fidā's work *Taqwīm al-Buldān* ('The True Position of the Countries') it was mentioned as a locality with an exact geographical position, where slaves, who had been castrated in a place called Wašlu, were taken for treatment before they were sold to Egypt (Reinaud 1848:329). Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ᶜUmarī repeated this information and referred to H. as the largest and strongest military unit among the seven principalities of the Zaylaᶜ federation, with an army estimated at 40,000 horsemen and twice that number of foot-soldiers (UmMasGaud 15ff.). Details about the economy of the sultanate are also reported. Al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Ilmām* (*History of the Islamic Kingdoms of Ethiopia*; 1434), in addition to summarizing al-ᶜUmarī's reports, mentions that the Ifat/ᶜAdal *sulṭān* ↗Ḥaqqaddīn II b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad once defeated (ca. 1370 A.D.)

the *amano*, prince of H., who fought against him as a vassal of the Christian emperor (MaqIlmam 14ff., 23).

During the 15th cent., H. struggled repeatedly to obtain its independence from Ethiopia. A song in honour of *aṣe* Yəsḥaq (r. 1414–29) refers to victories against rebellious ↗Allaaba and ↗Gudela, who can be identified as subgroups of the H. people. The Chronicle of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob (r. 1434–68) reported a conspiracy of the H. leader Mahiko, son of *gärad* Meḥmad (Muḥammad). This rebellion failed because another chief, Gadayto, revealed the conspirator's plans to the Emperor and advised him to entrust the governorship of the H. country to *gärad* Bamo (most probably the Boyaamo of the oral traditions), who had been loyal. With the assistance of imperial troops from the ↗Damot province, Bamo conquered the rebels and re-established Ethiopian rule. Sections of the Damot soldiers were then settled as military colonists in H. The Emperor himself married a H. princess, the daughter of *gärad* Meḥmad, who under her Christian name ↗Ǝleni played an important role in Ethiopian history until her death in 1532. Despite such peaceful interactions and marriage links, the relations between the Christian empire and H. remained precarious under Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob's successor *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam (r. 1468–78; PerrZarY 16–23, 47, 112, 131).

At the beginning of the 16th cent., the Portuguese traveller Francisco Alvares witnessed the intervention of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl (r. 1508–40) in the internal disputes of the H. sultanate in the region of Lake Zʷay (BeckHuntAlvar 193, 427f., 430ff.). After the outbreak of the *ǧihād* of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"), ᶜAdal troops invaded H. from the region of Däwaro in 1531/32 A.D. Since the majority of the population of H. were Muslims, they seemed to have joined the conquerors voluntarily, established intensive socio-economic connections with them and supported their northward incursions into the heartland of the Christian empire. During the ᶜAdalite "holy war", considerable parts of the H. population migrated from Harär and present-day Arsi-land to the region of the Rift Valley as far as Kambaata (BassHist 377; BrHad, chs. 3.3.3–3.3.5).

After Aḥmad Grañ's death, *aṣe* Gälawdewos (r. 1540–59) defeated the allied forces of H. and Oromo. An important document concerning the relations of Christian Ethiopia with the H. sultanate is preserved in the Chronicle of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl (r. 1563–97). In 1568/69 this Emperor won a decisive victory over the H. under their leader Ase, who was supported by ↗Mäläsay, Muslim cavalrymen from the Harär region equipped with cuirasses. Seven years after Śärṣä Dəngəl had left H. in 1570, a new rebellion broke out, incited by *gärad* Ǧaᶜfar, who was killed in action. However, warlike activities, in which the Oromo became increasingly involved from this point on, continued. For political reasons *aṣe* Yaᶜəqob (r. 1597–1603) took a H. princess and treated her as his wife, but she died before the actual marriage (ConzGal 141; CRHist 46–49, 52, 59ff., 67; BeckHuntAlm 59).

In early 17th-cent. accounts the name H. is repeatedly mentioned. From then on the vassalage of this principality to the Ethiopian Empire was only nominal. According to Ludolf (LudHist L, II, 17), however, the Amhara governor of Kambaata held the title "rex Hadiensium", and the maps of that time located H. in the vicinity of Kambaata.

As a principality, H. seems to have existed between the 13th and the early 17th cent. It was weakened by the warlike actions and the consequences of the ᶜAdal *ǧihād* (1527–68) and then disintegrated through the expansion of the Oromo, who largely conquered and assimilated the population of former H. east of the Rift Valley. In the second half of the 20th cent., a strong substratum of people among the Arsi and the Ittuu could still be recognized as having descended from the autochthonous H. population of those areas. It can be assumed that the inhabitants of the sultanate were linguistically heterogeneous, comprising Cushitic-speaking (Hadiyya proper, ↗Allaaba, ↗Qabeena) as well as Semitic-speaking (↗Səlṭi, ↗Wəlbaräg and other East Gurage-speakers ["Adäre"]) groups but sharing a number of common cultural features, such as a strong Muslim impact and an agro-pastoralist economy. In their oral traditions the above-mentioned groups have more or less clearly preserved the claim that their ancestors were representatives of the ancient H. sultanate (BrHad ch. 3.5; Braukämper 2004:55–68).

Src.: BassHist 377; BeckHuntAlm 59; BeckHuntAlvar 193, 427f., 430ff.; CRHist; Enrico Cerulli, "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 19, 1, 1941, 5–42 [repr. in *CerIslam* 207–43]; ConzGal 141; UmMasGaud 15ff.; HuntAmdS 58ff.; LudHist L, II, c.17; PerrAmdS 335; PerrZarY 16–23, 47, 112, 131; Joseph-Toussaint Reinaud (ed., tr.), *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, 2 vols., Paris 1848, 1883, vol. 2, 329; MaqIlmam 14ff., 23; BezKebr 127 (text) = 100 (tr.); KrAmdS 2.

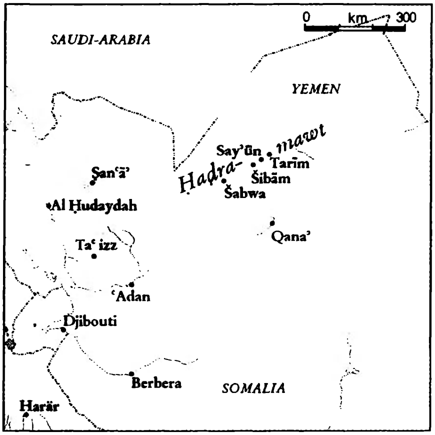
Lit.: BrHad chs. 3.3.3, 3.3.4, 3.3.5, 3.5; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia. Collected Essays*, Münster 2004 (Göttinger Studien zur Ethnologie 9), 55–68.

Ulrich Braukämper

Ḥaḍramawt

The name Ḥ. is applied in its narrow sense to the deeply incised valley (*wādī*) that runs approximately 170 km parallel to the South Arabian coast and extends from the confluence of the Wādī Kasr until just east of the town of Tarīm. In a more comprehensive sense, however, as was also used in antiquity, Ḥ. comprises the plateau and the narrow coastal plain to the south of the large valley and, in the west, the catchment area of the tributary *wādīs* of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt up to the old capital Šabwa. In the north Ḥ. included the range of mountains merging into the large central Arabian sand desert, and in the east the region around the Wādī Masīla, the south-eastward continuation of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, as far as the country of the Mahra.

In the Old South Arabic inscriptions, Ḥ. is the name of a South Arabian sedentary tribe (ŠᶜB) and of the country and kingdom inhabited by it. In the native Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions the name is always written in the form ḤḌRMT, that corresponds to the pronunciation of the name in the country itself up to the present day as Ḥaḍramūt or Ḥaḍramōt. This is in accordance with the forms of the name transmitted in secondary sources by Greek and Latin authors: e.g., for the country, Ἁδραμύτα, i.e. *Hadramýta*, in Theophrastus (*Historia plantarum* IX, 4, 2), Χατραμωτίτις, *Chatramotítis* in Strabo (*Geographica* XVI, 4, 4) and, for the people, *Chatramotitae* in Pliny (*Naturalis historia* VI, 154), Χατραμωθῖται, *Chatramōthîtai* in Ptolemy (*Geographia* VI, 7.25) and Χατραμῶται, *Chatramôtai* in Stephanus Byzantinus (after the lost *Arabica* of Uranius). In Arabic the name is vocalized *Ḥaḍramawt*, which might also have been the pronunciation of the form ḤḌRMWT in the Sabaic inscriptions. This form has certainly been influenced by a folk-etymology of the name as consisting of two roots, *ḥḍr* and *mwt*, and meaning 'abode of the death'. The new interpretation arose from records and legends widespread in antiquity that were invented to deter travellers from the allegedly unhealthy frankincense-growing region. In the biblical Table of Nations, where Hazarmaweth (Gen 10: 26) is a son of Joktan and hence the ancestor of a South Arabian people, the Hebrew tradition, too, followed this popular interpretation, whereby *_Ḥaṣ(a)rmōt_, postulated by the Septuagint Ἀσαρμωθ, became *Ḥăṣarmāwet* in the Masoretic text. A satisfying etymology of Ḥaḍramūt or Ḥaḍramōt, respectively, could hitherto not be given. It is, however, certain that *-ūt*/*-ōt* must be considered a suffix, which occurs frequently in the toponymy of south-eastern Arabia.



Numerous prehistoric findings indicate that ancient settlements existed in the *wādīs*, in which artificial irrigation may have been used as early as the end of the second millenium B.C. A dense population is to be assumed for the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, as well as for the capital of Ḥ., Šabwa, and the seaport of Qanaʾ.

Special importance was attached to Ḥ. because of the possession of the frankincense-producing regions (↗Incense), which especially lay in present-day Ḍofār, from where the valuable resin was brought by an overland route or by sea via Qanaʾ to Šabwa. In spite of its geographical position in the utmost western part of Ḥ., Šabwa became the capital of the ancient kingdom, since it was from this point that the caravans started assuring the transport of the frankincense along the west coast of Arabia to the markets of the Mediterranean. The capital had also a significance as a cult-centre, for the main Ḥaḍramite deity, the moon-god SYN, Siyān/Sīn, whose name was borrowed from the Babylonian religion, had his principal temple ʾLM, Alīm, there.

The earliest epigraphical Ḥaḍramitic documents go back to the 8th cent. B.C. The first attestation of Ḥ. outside its own country is found in the Old Sabaic inscription RES no. 3945, a record of Karibʾil Watar from the early 7th cent. B.C., in which the Ḥaḍramite king Yadaʿʾil is mentioned as ally of the Sabaean king. In the 4th cent. B.C., when the Minaeans started to control the caravan route to the north, the king of Ḥ. became – probably because of commercial interests – a confederate of Maʿīn. The Ḥaḍramitic inscription RES no. 2687, engraved on the fortification wall of al-Bināʾ along the road connecting the harbour of Qanaʾ with Šabwa towards the end of the 1st cent. B.C., provides an account of the efforts that Ḥ. made at that time to defend its territory against the Ḥimyarites (↗Ḥimyar), who had gained ground on the South Arabian coastal strip. The Ḥaḍramite kingdom reached its largest expansion after it had annexed, to the west, the remaining parts of the former Qatabān in the second half of the 2nd cent. A.D.

The subsequent period was marked by continuous warfare and hostilities with the Sabaeans and Ḥimyarites, in the course of which, in the first quarter of the 3rd cent. A.D., the Sabaean king Šaʿirum Awtar even succeeded in conquering the Ḥaḍramite capital Šabwa. During this phase of conflict between the two South Arabian kingdoms at the time of Šaʿirum Awtar, Abyssinian troops even marched from the western coastal plain into the Yemeni highland and encamped in the neighbourhood of Ẓafār (Ja 631/21f.), while from the southern coast detachments and auxiliaries of the Aksumite army campaigned against Ḥ. (Ry 533/21f.) as allies of the Sabaeans. Towards the end of the 3rd cent. the Ḥimyarite king Šammar Yuharʿiš subjugated Ḥ. and unified South Arabia into a large realm. Henceforth he and his successors used a title claiming Ḥ. as part of their dominion. Efforts of indigenous princes in the following decades to regain the independence of Ḥ. met with failure.

When, in the year 518 or 523 A.D., the persecution of the Christians in ↗Naǧrān began, resulting in the Ethiopian invasion of Yemen, martyrs had also to be lamented over in Ḥ. (ḤṢRMWT), according to an anonymous Syriac letter attributed to Simeon of Bêṯ Aršâm (Shahîd 1971, IVf. [II.B], 45); in the table of contents of the fragmentary Syriac *Book of the ↗Ḥimyarites*, both the burning of the holy church and the martyrdom of the holy martyrs who suffered in the town of Ḥ. are mentioned (ḤṢRMWT; Moberg 1924:xxxf.).

King ↗Kaleb Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa, the conqueror of Yemen, added to his titles Ḥ. in an Old Ethiopic inscription from ↗Aksum written in monumental South Arabic (RIE no. 191.9). ↗Abraha, the Ethiopian viceroy in Yemen and the last ruler bearing the title of king of Ḥ. in CIH 541.7, according to the same Late Sabaic inscription, waged war on Ḥ. towards the middle of the 6th cent. He should have also founded a few churches in Ḥ., together with St. ↗Gregentius, archbishop of Ẓofār.

Among the Yemeni immigrants into Ethiopia in Islamic times there were also Muslims from Ḥ., who settled in the eastern part of the country and especially in the region of Harär, where they were eager to convert people to ↗Islam, took action in the movements of *ǧihād* and fought in the army of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ).

↗Arabia; ↗Epigraphic South Arabian; ↗Ḥimyar

Src.: RIE 191.9; CIH 541.7; IRFAN SHAHÎD, *The Martyrs of Najrân. New Documents*, Bruxelles 1971, IVf. [II.B]; AXEL MOBERG (ed., tr.), *The Book of the Himyarites. Fragments of a hitherto Unknown Syriac Work*, Lund 1924, xxxf.

Lit.: HERMANN VON WISSMANN, *Zur Archäologie und antiken Geographie von Südarabien. Ḥaḍramawt, Qatabān und das ʿAden-Gebiet in der Antike*, Istanbul 1968 (Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 24); ALFRED FELIX LANDON BEESTON, "Ḥaḍramawt. I. Pre-Islamic Period", in: *EI²*, vol. 3, 51–53; KARL-HEINZ BOCHOW – LOTHAR STEIN, *Hadramaut: Geschichte und Gegenwart einer südarabischen Landschaft*, Leipzig 1986; MUḤAMMAD ʿABDALQĀDIR BĀFAQĪH, "Ḥaḍramawt", in: AḤMAD ǦĀBIR ʿAFĪF et al. (ed.), *Al-Mawsūʿa al-Yamanīya* ('The Encyclopaedia of Yemen'), Ṣanʿāʾ 1992, vol. 1, 405–10; WALTER WILHELM MÜLLER, "Hazarmaveth", in: *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 3, New York 1992, 85–86; PIOTR A. GRIAZNEVICH – ALEKSANDR V. SEDOV (eds.), *Hadramaut: arheologicheskie, etnograficheskie i istoriko-kulturnye issledovaniya* ('Ḥ.: Archaeological, Ethnographic and Historico-Cultural Research'), Moskva 1995 (Trudy Sovetsko-Yemenskoy kompleksnoy ekspeditsii 1).

Walter W. Müller

Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər

The Ethiopian Patriotic Association (E.P.A.; **የሀገር፡ ፍቅር፡ ማህበር**, *Yähagär Fəqər Mahbär*) was founded in July 1935, on the eve of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. Its chief inspiration was *ato* ↗Mäkʷännən Habtäwäld, then Director-General of Commerce and Communication. It was established primarily to do agitation work among the population, drawing on the resources of such influential writers as *blattengeta* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs and *qäññ geta* ↗Yoftahe Nəguśe, who wrote exhortative tracts. In addition, powerful speakers roused the population at rallies held on Sundays, when arms were also collected to help the war effort. Subsequent to the Italian victory and the occupation, the association was disbanded. But some members continued the struggle as *yäwəsṭ arbäññočč* (↗Patriots). Mäkʷännən and Yoftahe, who chose exile, founded kindred organizations in France and Sudan, respectively.

Restored after the Liberation in 1941, the E.P.A. moved to its current premises, which was originally an Italian officers' club. Initially, it continued with its program of speeches on the unity and freedom of the country, with Mäkʷännən Habtäwäld as the regular speaker. A dominant theme of his speeches was the need for Ethiopians to engage in trade and investment. Subsequently, it was felt that one should diversify the activities of the association by providing entertainment to the public. A musical band playing traditional instruments was set up and it staged its first show in February 1942. Instrumental in this transformation were ↗Bäšah Täklä Maryam and Iyoᵓel Yoḥannəs. The latter not only distinguished himself as a singer, but also served as director until 1975. National celebrities like Ṭəlahun Gässäsä also started their careers here. This process of transformation culminated in the change of the name of the centre to H.F.T. (**ሀገር፡ ፍቅር፡ ቲያትር**) in 1957/58. It thus emerged as a pioneer of modern music and drama, touring, not only the provinces, but also staging performances abroad, including representing the country at the International Negro Art Festival in Dakar in 1966. It also provided night-club entertainment and engaged in the publication of two Amharic magazines, successively ↗*Mänän* and *Hagär Fəqər*.

Lit.: **ሀገር፡ ፍቅር፡ ቲያትር** (*Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər*, 'Hagär Fəqər Theatre'), Addis Abäba n.d.; *Hagär Fəqər*, *Mäskäräm* 1988 A.M. [1995 A.D.], 2–6; KIROS G. EGZIABHER, *The Origin and Historical Development of Hager Fikir Theatre up to 1974*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1983; ṢÄGGAYE DÄBALQE, "**የኢትዮጵያ፡ ህዝብ፡ የሀገር፡ ፍቅር፡ ማህበር፡ አመሰራረት** (*Yäᵓityopya həzb yähagär fəqər mahbär ammäsärarät*, 'On the Foundation of the Ethiopian Patriotic Association')", *Addis Zämän*, 27 *Säne*, 4 *Hamle*, 11 *Hamle*, 1963 A.M. [1969 A.D.]; **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ህዝብ፡ የሀገር፡ ፍቅር፡ ማህበር፡ አመሰራረት** (*Yäᵓityopya həzb yähagär fəqər mahbär ammäsärarät*, 'On the Foundation of the Ethiopian Patriotic Association'), Addis Abäba 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.] (*Hagär Fəqər*, special edition).

Bahru Zewde

Hagärä Sälam

H.S. (**ሀገረ፡ ሰላም**, lit. 'Land of Peace') is the name of several localities in Ethiopia.

According to the "short chronicles", H.S. was a location in Bägemdər (close to ↗Aringo) used as a base by several Gondärine rulers. *Aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs left his residence in ↗Gondär in 1660 to spend most of the year in H.S., before he went to fight the Hankaša Agäw in Goǧǧam. ↗Iyasu I retreated to H.S. in 1698. Both the "short chronicles" and the royal chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa report that in 1724 H.S. became the place of retreat for the Emperor while he was waiting for *bitwäddäd* Täsfa Iyäsus and *bağərond* Mammo to put an end to the rebellion of ↗Gubala in Lasta. On 8 December 1729 Bäkaffa once again entered H.S. and stayed there, without his court, till 24 January 1730 when he returned to Gondär.

Another H.S. is located 40 km north-west of Mäqälä, in Tämben, Təgray. The settlement is today the main town of Dəggəᶜa Tämben (the capital of Qʷälla Tämben being ↗ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi) and of H.S. *wäräda*. It was founded in 1943 A.M. [1950/51 A.D.] by *däǧǧazmač* Gäbrä Ḫəywät (Gäbru) from Siḥäta (ᶜAgamä) in the ↗Mälfa area. He also laid the foundation stone for the church dedicated to the Saviour of the World (Mädḫane ᶜAläm) in 1948 A.M. Twice in the course of history did the land of H.S. become the seat of Təgrayan rebel government, once of Kaśa Mərč̣a (the future ↗Yoḥannəs IV, who was also baptized and grew up in the Mälfa area) and over a century later of the ↗Tigray People's Liberation Front. Many more important historical personalities came from or are connected with the area, e.g., *bağərond* ↗Lawṭa who was born in Ḥarena. Pre-historic stone-tools have been discovered on the archaeological site of May Bäᵓatti next to H.S.

The largest of today's H.S. lies on the mountain ridge on the edge of the fluvial basins of Lake Abbayya, of the Dawa and of the Gänale rivers in ↗Sidaama. It belongs to the first generation of ↗*kätäma*-towns built on high ground by Mənilək II's generals at the time of the conquest. It was founded by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Balča Safo, who used it as one of his residences (↗*Gəbbi*) when he subjugated the region at the end of the 19th cent. H.S. never had any important administrative functions, which were carried out by ↗Yərga ᶜAläm and later by ↗Awasa. Too distant from the main Awasa–Moyale asphalted road, it is a mere halt on the gravel road leading to Kəbrä Mängəśt, Nägäle and Dolo. The town often suffers from cold and dampness due to its high altitude while Awasa enjoys a mild climate on the shore of its lake.

The growth of H.S. is recent: in 1938 it had 2,000 inhabitants (s. *Guida*) and in 1984 2,676 (CSA 1984). No doubt it was the consequence of unrest in the highlands of neighbouring Bale at the end of Ḫaylä Śəllase I's reign and at the beginning of the ↗Revolution. In 1998 the population was 6,369 (CSA 2000) and in 2003 it reached 7,733 inhabitants (CSA 2004).

Before the administrative reform of 1991, H.S. belonged to the ↗Sidamo *awrağğa* (Sidamo region). Today it is the capital of the Hula *wäräda* (Sidaama Zone, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State). The Hula *wäräda* (411.4 inhabitants/km²) is mainly populated by Sidaama peasants, who grow ↗*ənsät* and coffee, which has become their main source of income.

Src.: CSA 1984; 1998; 2000; 2004; EMAtlas; *Guida* 598; BassÉt I 33, 87, 93 (text) = II 290, 356, 364 (tr.); DombrChr 14r, 19v, 46v, 51v (text) = 203, 226, 280, 288 (tr.); GuiIohan 297, 304f. (text) = 318, 326f. (tr.).
Lit.: ALAIN GASCON, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie. Les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanisation contemporaine", in: BENOÎT ANTHEAUME et al. (ed.), *Tropiques, lieux et liens: florilège offert à Paul Pelissier et Gilles Sautter*, Paris 1989, 435–44; ID., "Le miracle de l'*ensät*: Géographie d'une plante peuplante", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 81–89; HuntGeogr 185; CHARLES W. MCCLELLAN, *State Transformation and National Integration: Gedeo and the Ethiopian Empire, 1895–1935*, East Lansing, MI 1988; MesfGeogr; PankHist II, 198; STANISLAW STANLEY, "Ensete in the Ethiopian Economy", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 4, 1, 1966, 30–37.

Alain Gascon - Red.

Ḥağğ ↗Mecca; ↗Pilgrimages, Islamic

Haggenmacher, Gustav Adolf

H. (b. 3 May 1845, Island Limmatau, Aargau, Switzerland, d. 18 November 1875, near Lake ʿAssal, Tağūra) was an Egyptian official known for his early exploration of Somali regions. He was an agent of the Egyptian intelligence services, who had to explore the "Abyssinian border regions" of the Red Sea governorate, extending from Sawākin to Zaylaʿ.

H. arrived in Egypt in 1865 and first carried out commercial activities in Kassala, where he married. He was hired by the Egyptian governorate-general of the East Sudan and the Red Sea Coast and moved to Massawa as a confidant of governor ↗Munzinger *bāšā*. In 1873 H. represented the governorate at the World Exhibition in Vienna, accompanied by several locals and exhibiting native products. In 1874 he was appointed Munzinger's secretary and his representative in Kassala and became responsible for the governorate's intelligence services.

Among others H. was charged with the production of maps of the borders, which he delineated "quite arbitrarily", as he himself admitted. These maps served as a basis for the Egyptian territorial claims in the Ethiopian border regions before the Egyptian–Ethiopian war of 1875/76. Then, when Egypt planned a massive extension of her spheres of influence, the *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāʿīl *bāšā* charged H. with a mission to Somaliland in 1874. From Berbera he travelled to the south and reached Libaheli (8°40'N). Officially this was meant to expand geographical knowledge of virtually unknown Somali regions, including trade routes to Harär. Unofficially, the journey had the political aim of exploring Egypt's chances for expansion. H.'s geographical report was published in 1876, but his political report to the *ḫidīw* remains unpublished and is possibly still kept in the Egyptian State Archives. In October 1875 H. was ordered to join the Egyptian expedition to Šäwa via Awsa under the command of Munzinger, which, however, in the night of 14/15 November was attacked at the ʿUddumma lake in Awsa by order of the Awsa *sulṭān*. H. died of thirst and hunger on his flight back through the desert.

His son, the "black Konrad", born in Massawa, educated in Switzerland and Germany, went to *aṣe* Mənilək II's court on the initiative of Alfred ↗Ilg in order to serve Ethiopia. Later he became an employee of the German colonial railways in Tanganyika.

↗Egypt, relations with

Src.: Stadtarchiv Winterthur; GUSTAV ADOLF HAGGENMACHER, *G.A. Haggenmacher's Reise im Somali-Lande 1874*, Gotha 1876 (Petermanns Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft 47); "Séance du 18 février 1876, communications de Heuglin sur les nouveaux territoires annexés, Dor-Bey sur Haggenmacher", *Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie* 1, fasc. 2, 1876, 235, 246.
Lit.: JOHANN VALENTIN KELLER-ZSCHOKKE, *Adolf Haggenmacher. Sein Leben und Wirken*, Aarau 1903; H. SCHINZ, "Schweizerische Afrika-Reisende und der Anteil der Schweiz an der Erschliessung und Erforschung Afrikas überhaupt", *Neujahrsblatt der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich* 106, 1904; ALFRED KITT, "Adolf Haggenmacher", *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 5 Juni 1936; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Germany: Cultural, Political and Economic Relations, 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5), 47; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Before Eritrea, before the Diaspora – Habesha in Exile and on Missions abroad in the 19th Century", *Eritrean Studies Review* 2005 4, 2, 1-36, here 21, 27f.

Wolbert Smidt

Hagiography

H. is a term describing literary products related to the veneration of the ↗saints. In Ethiopian context, H. encompasses a number of genres, or different types of texts: Vita, or Acts (↗*Gädl*), Miracles (↗*Täʾammər*), Homilies (↗*Dərsan*), ↗hymns and hymnological compositions of different kinds, accounts about the translation of relics, and a number of smaller texts like monastic ↗genealogies, prayers and inscriptions (↗Painting; ↗Equestrian saints) etc.

In Ethiopia, the veneration of some of the most famous saints and martyrs certainly goes back to the early period of ↗Christianity. Hagiographic texts are found among works translated from Greek during the Aksumite period: e.g., Vitas of ↗Anthony the Great and Paul of Thebes, Passions of Mark the Evangelist and Arsenofis (s. BrakKirche 166ff.), of Euphemia, Philea and some others (s. Bausi 2002:15–18). These works are known to us from hagiographic collections contained in manuscripts from the 14th cent. at the earliest. A few other ancient hagiographic works are styled as homilies (*dərsanat*), and are chiefly transmitted in the celebrated ms. EMML 1763 (1336/37 or 1339/40 A.D. from ↗Däbrä Daga Ǝsṭifanos): in honour of Fəremnaṭos/Frumentius (originating possibly from a Greek source, s. Getatchew Haile 1979; *abba* ↗Sälama Käsate Bərhan), *abba* ↗Mäṭaʿ by a certain Elyas ("bishop of Aksum", s. Getatchew Haile 1990; Bausi 2003:xxivff. [tr.]), *abba* Yoḥanni by Bishop Minas, Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa (↗Kaleb) etc. – at least some of them written by Ethiopians, all antedating the mid of the 14th cent. There could have been some other early Ethiopian hagiographic compositions, but all of them were either lost or absorbed by later works.

Translated H. enriched ↗Gəʿəz literature, linked it to the Mediterranean Christian world and contributed to the post 14th-cent. development of Ethiopian H. In the 14th cent. Ethiopic literature adopted the ↗*Gädlä sämaʿtat*, a huge collection of passions established according to the days of the Church ↗calendar (s. Bausi 2002: 2–7). The core of the work was translated from Arabic, but in the course of time it embodied other pieces of H., among which, obviously, also a few translated from Greek in Aksumite period. The *Acts of the Apostles* (↗*Gädlä ḥawaryat*) must also have exercised considerable influence, as well as the ↗*Sənkəssar*, translated from Arabic ca. 1400. For the later period, some occasional influences of other (e.g., European) hagiographic traditions are recorded (cp. BeckHuntAlm 308–14; on the Gəʿəz version of the *Passio s. Sebastiani*, s. Conti Rossini 1927).

The intensive growth of Ethiopian H. must have started in the period of the late 14th–early 15th cent., and in the subsequent century most of the important Ethiopian hagiographic works (first of all Vitas) were composed. This growth was closely linked to the development of the Ethiopian ↗monasticism, on the one hand and to the increased role and local veneration of Ethiopian ↗holy men, on the other. Likewise, H. was bound to the coeval flourishing Gəʿəz literature. During the 16th cent., hagiographers gradually shifted from creating new works to revising and reproducing the old ones (the most recent texts known being the Acts of ↗Sayfä Mikaʾel, ↗Abranyos and the Miracles of ↗Zärʾa Buruk, from the first half of the 18th cent.).

On the whole, Ethiopian H. was more dynamic than Ethiopian ↗historiography: all extant types of hagiographic texts emerged prior to the formation of the classical type of the royal chronicles. The dominating and most important kind of hagiographic composition became the Vita. There are a few examples of hagiographic works entitled *dərsan*, but within Ethiopian H. the homiletic genre appears to be less prominent, its original panegyric function being not clearly defined (*dərsanat* in honour of Ethiopian saints, are, in fact, not very different from Acts, many of which include passages of a homiletic nature).

In their literary methods and attitudes, Ethiopian hagiographers did not substantially differ from their colleagues of other Christian Oriental traditions. Ethiopian hagiographers based their accounts on generally similar ideas about what elements the life of a holy man – male or female – should include (cp. an overview of the *topoi* in Cerulli 1969:i–xviii [tr.], and Marrassini 1981:x–lx). Thus, biographies of Ethiopian saints contain many similar elements, while demonstrating a remarkable diversity in their literary shape: they range from brief and rather modest accounts, composed of a few episodes and written in a simple style, to lengthy and highly elaborate masterpieces. The hagiographers had the ↗Bible as the primary source of literary material and ideas; besides, they relied extensively upon other H., apocryphal and monastic literature, liturgical texts and oral traditions.

The Vita of a saint can be either a part of a larger hagiographic collection (e.g. the *Gädlä sämaᶜtat*) or an autonomous work; and be transmitted, in manuscripts, either by itself or with a few other relevant pieces such as a homily in his honour and a collection of his miracles (e.g., the popular Acts of ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus; Marrassini 2003), as well as a *translatio* account – even though this gender is rather uncommon in Ethiopia (for some remarkable examples s. Getatchew Haile 1990; Id. in EtRicci; Nosnitsin 2003). The writing of a Vita marks the foundation of a "hagiographic dossier". Exceptionally, miracles may be composed of (posthumous) wonder-tales in subsequent series, each introduced by a short homily for the corresponding annual feasts of the saint (as is the case of the Acts of Täklä Haymanot). In several instances, the hagiographic dossier is also complemented by ↗*mälkəʾ* hymns, and/or by a monastic genealogy of the saint (if not already included in his Vita). The Vita frequently antedates the Miracles; the creation of some (or all) of these texts may often take a number of years and be achieved by more than one author. With quite a few remarkable exceptions, most Ethiopian saints enjoyed local veneration, their H. (first and foremost the Acts) circulating in a limited area and being usually represented in a small number of manuscripts. Yet, for many of those saints one should further consider both the memorial readings in the *Sənkəssar* (most of them having entered the latter's "second recension", between 1559 and 1581, s. Colin 1988:312), followed by ↗*sälam* hymns, and the interlinked material from such works as the ↗*Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä* and other – sometimes very numerous and extensive – hymnological compositions.

For the period indicated above, the number of hagiographic works created in Ethiopia is considerable; the number of the known Acts of Ethiopian saints goes alone beyond 200 (cp. KinBibl; EMML catalogues). ↗Cerulli proposed to distinguish five "hagiographic cycles", with reference to Vitas sharing common elements, mostly in the subject: 1) the cycle of the "five dissident monks" – those who participated in the controversy with *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I; 2) the cycle of the kings of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty; 3) the cycle of the ↗Nine Saints; 4) "the cycle of the founders" – Iyäsus Moʾa and Täklä Haymanot; 5) "the cycle of the south" – Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus and Yoḥannəs "the Oriental". However, the growing amount of hagiographic material is moving the focus onto the importance of the "centres" that produced hagiographic works, while sharing ideas, ideology, attitudes and some literary features. This classification cannot cover all the known Acts, yet it seems possible to speak of the H. of the ↗Stephanites, the followers of Ǝsṭifanos in ↗Gundä Gunde; the existence of the H. of ↗Ewosṭateans can be positively assumed (LusStud), at least for the works produced in ↗Däbrä Maryam and other Eritrean monasteries. The H. of the Nine Saints is centred around ancient monastic foundations near Aksum (but includes Acts of ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi created at ↗Däbrä Damo). In the south, quite a number of hagiographic works originated from the scriptorium of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, the literary influence of which extended to several monasteries in the neighbouring regions. The communities on Lake Ṭana also created quite a number of hagiographic works.

While historiography was mostly confined to the royal court, H. had a more popular basis, being created in ecclesiastical circles, in particular the numerous monastic communities scattered throughout Ethiopia. It is a well-accepted fact that monks composed hagiographic works, not only for the immediate need of promoting the cult of the saints (frequently founders and abbots of the respective monasteries), but also for securing monastic rights and privileges and achieving their own goals within the political situation of the Ethiopian feudal monarchy (KapMon 1–14). Nonetheless, it should be remembered that the Ethiopian hagiographic production was prompted by the omnipresent role that the veneration of saints had in the local culture and the mentality of the faithful, both of the elite and the populace. In this respect, the function of H. was manifold. For a long time hagiographic works (especially Vitas), centred around the image of saintly miracle-makers, were the most important tool for edifying the commoners (the absolute majority of them being illiterate) and conveying to them Christian ethics more clearly and conveniently than could be done with any other books of Church literature. People listened to H. during the liturgy and saw the images of the saints in the churches. Oral legends about saints in vernacular languages, originating from and/or interacting with the written H., were circulating among the people; in this respect the miraculous stories (*täʾammər*) being less "official" than

Acts, proved to be particularly attractive. In the absence of fiction, both translated and indigenous H. were to meet not only religious, but also aesthetic and, to a certain extent, intellectual needs of its audience: through H. the Ethiopians used to acquire the knowledge of their own and the universal Church history – about other Christian traditions and other countries. Thanks to H., the images of the most popular saints, both non-Ethiopians (like ↗George of Lydda, ↗Gäbrä Krəstos, ↗Fasilidäs, ↗Qirqos, ↗Menas, ↗Susənyos; Anthony the Great, ↗Pachomius, ↗Shenute etc.) and Ethiopians (Täklä Haymanot, ↗Ewosṭatewos, ↗Samuʾel of Waldəbba, Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, ↗Zena Marqos and a few others) exercised strong spiritual influence across regional and ethnic borders, contributing substantially to the spread and preservation of the Ethiopian Christian tradition and culture.

Ethiopian H. appears to be a challenge for Ethiopisants, due to both the great number of works and their specific features. Like any other form of traditional culture, it was never supposed to preserve historical accounts. In order to extract historical information, hagiographic material should undergo a complex analysis, with the time of the composition, possible attitudes of the hagiographer and literary features taken into consideration (cp., e.g., Marrassini 1981, Fiaccadori 1988). E.g., Acts range in their shape from almost biographical accounts (some of them written soon after the death of the saint by his disciples), as in the case of, e.g., those of ↗Filəppos and ↗Yoḥannəs of Däbrä Bizän, ↗Abäkärazun, ↗ᶜƎzra or ↗Isayyəyas, to a kind of "religious romance", like the Acts of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot (Conti Rossini 1936–37:409). In general, Ethiopian H. is indeed a most valuable source, providing a large amount of positive information (Taddesse Tamrat 1970; Marrassini 1992), which is indispensable for the reconstruction of social and political history of the region (cp. TadTChurch; Ricci 1979:40–75; KapMon) from recent periods back to the Aksumite age (cp. Bausi 2003).

The Ethiopian H. attracted the attention of scholars somewhat later than the Ethiopic Bible and historiography: the Acts of *abba* ↗Yoḥanni of Däbrä ᶜAśa appears to be the first Vita of an Ethiopian saint entirely edited in its original text and translated into a European language (Basset 1884). Starting from the early 20th cent., the number of editions was growing quickly, in particular thanks to the efforts of ↗Turaiev, ↗Guidi, ↗Conti Rossini and others, who applied to Ethiopic H. the full set of "Bollandiste" methods of critical H. (e.g., TurIz; Conti Rossini 1936–37; 1938). Yet, both then and in the later time, the studies were mostly focusing on the edition, often with little or no scholarly discussion (↗Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium; ↗Patrologia Orientalis), rather than on the comprehensive analysis of the works. Later contributors to this field were Cerulli and Ricci; more recently, Kur, Marrassini, Beylot, Colin. The work on collecting, systemising Ethiopian H. and including it in the broader context of hagiographic studies continues (s. BHO, EncSan), but an up-dated overview still remains a desideratum. Muslim H. in both Arabic and vernaculars became recently an object of scholarly interest (s. Miran – O'Fahey 2003; ↗Arabic literature), but still remains largely unexplored and unedited (with a few exceptions, as in the case of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn).

Src.: RENÉ BASSET, "Vie de Abbâ Yohanni", *Bulletin de Correspondence Africaine* 3, 1884, 433–53; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 295, 296 [SAe 105, 106]), XXIVff. (tr.); BeckHuntAlm 308-14; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Di alcuni scritti etiopici inediti", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 3, 1927, 497-528; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Homily in Honour of St. Frumentius Bishop of Axum (EMML 1763 ff. 84v–86r)", *ABoll* 97, 1979, 309–18; ID., "The Homily of Abba Eləyas, Bishop of Aksum, on Mäṭṭaᶜ", *ibid.* 108, 1990, 29–47; ID., "The Translation of the Relics of Abuna Filəppos of Shoa", *RSE* 34, 1990 [1993], 76–113; ID., "Martyrdom of Abunä Täklä Ḥawarəyat of Shoa and the Translation of his Relics", in: *EtRicci* 93–113.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La versione etiopica degli* Acta Phileae *nel* Gadla samāᶜtāt, Napoli 2002 (Supplemento 92 degli «Annali IUO» – vols. 60–61 [2002]), 15–18; BrakKirche 166ff.; ENRICO CERULLI, *Les vies éthiopiennes de Saint Alexis l'homme de Dieu*, Louvain 1969 (CSCO 298, 299 [SAe 59, 60]), I–XVIII (tr.); CerLett s. index; GERARD COLIN, "Le synaxaire éthiopien. État actuel de la question", *ABoll* 106, 1988, 173–217; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'agiografia etiopica e gli Atti del santo Yâfqeranna-Egziʾ (Secolo XIV)", *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze lettere ed arti* 96, 2, 1936–37, 403–33, here 403–12; ID., "Note di agiografia etiopica. ᶜAbiya Egziʾ, Arkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus", *RSO* 17, 1938, 409–52; ID., "Pubblicazioni etiopistiche dal 1936 al 1945", *RSE* 4, 1944–45 [1946], 1–133, here 65–69; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Nota su Yoḥannes Meśrāqāwi", *Quaderni utinensi* 6 [11–12], 1988 [1991], 141–50; ALESSANDRO GORI, *Studi sulle letteratura agiographica islamica somala in lingua arabica*, Firenze 2003 (Università di Firenze. Istituto di Linguistica e di Lingue Orientali, Quaderni di Semitistica 24); KapMon (Lit.); KinBibl (Lit.); GuiSLett, s. index; LusStud; PAOLO MARRASSINI, *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi. Vita di Yohannes L'Orientale,* Firenze 1981 [1982] (Università di Firenze. Istituto di Linguistica e di Lingue Orientali, Quaderni di Semitistica 10), X–LX [Lit.]; ID., "Ethiopian Hagiography: History of Facts and His-

tory of Ideas", paper read at the *International Symposium on History and Ethnography in Ethiopian Studies, November 18–25, 1992*, ms., IES, Addis Abäba; JONATHAN MIRAN – REX SEAN O'FAHEY, "The Islamic and Arabic Writings of Eritrea", in: REX SEAN O'FAHEY (ed.), *Arabic Literature of Africa*, vol. 3: *The Writings of the Muslim Peoples of Northeastern Africa*: *Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia*, Leiden 2003; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "Mäṣḥafä fəlsätu lä-abunä Täklä Haymanot: a Short Study", *Aethiopica* 6, 2003, 137–67; PAUL PEETERS, *Orient et Byzance*: *le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine*, Bruxelles 1950 (Subsidia hagiographica 26), 9, 172f.; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Fonti orali e agiografia", in: BERNARDO BERNARDI – CARLO PONI – ALESSANDRO TRULZI (eds.), *Fonti orali. Antropologia e storia*, Milano 1978 (Collana di antropologia culturale e sociale 62.7), 407–16; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Hagiographies and the Reconstruction of Medieval Ethiopian History", *Rural Africana. Current Research in the Social Sciences* 2, 1970, 12–20; TadTChurch; TurIz.

Denis Nosnitsin

Hağira

H. was the consort of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ). According to the *↗Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, she was first the wife of Täklä Haymanot, a Christian garrison commander in ↗Bale, captured by the *imām* during one his campaigns in Bale in ca.1530. Later, she became the concubine of Grañ, who gave her the name H. She bore him at least one child and accompanied him during his campaign.

H. is mentioned further in the account as a cousin of *Aybis* Lahaṭī, a nobleman of Qäwät in northern ↗Šäwa and a relative of the Emperor, who adamantly refused to convert to Islam when ordered by the *imām*. His steadfastness earned him the admiration of the latter, although later he embraced Islam under threat from his followers, who had already converted, only to return to his former faith shortly afterwards.

Src.: BassHist 87, 98, 158, 178 (text) = 159f., 172, 246, 270 (tr.); PAUL LESTER STENHOUSE (tr.), *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša, the Conquest of Abyssinia*, Hollywood, CA 2003, 112, 124, 207f.

Hussein Ahmed

Ḥagos Täfäri

Däǧǧazmač Ḥ.T. (ሐጎስ፡ ተፈሪ) was one of the leading officials of ↗ᶜAgamä in the late 19th and early 20th cent. Very little is known about Ḥ.T.'s background. In the early 1890s he began to play an active role as an officer of *ras* ↗Səbḥat Arägawi. This alliance was, however, short-lived and he soon joined the supporters of *šum ᶜagamä* ↗Täsfay. Ḥ.T. repeatedly switched his allegiance between the two until the Italians arrived in the region. At this time he offered both *ras* Səbḥat and *šum ᶜagamä* Täsfay his services and fought against the Italians. After an altercation with the Italian border commission – who were responsible for demarcating the boundary between the Italian colony of Eritrea and Ethiopia – he was recalled to Addis Abäba and sentenced to confinement at Amba Śəllase, ca. 130 km north-north-east of Ǝnṭoṭṭo. Nothing is known about him thereafter.

Src.: GOVERNO DELLA COLONIA ERITREA, DIREZIONE DEGLI AFFARI CIVILI, *Biografie dei capi di oltre confine*, Asmara 1903, 26–41; GueCopMen 430ff., 458, 474.

Lit.: ErDizBio 159.

Bairu Tafla

Hairstyles

Ethiopian traditional H. are comprised of a variety of designs prepared through oil, henna, mud and ash, and accentuated with a variety of objects including wooden combs, beads, foliage, ostrich feathers, and head clothes that frame the head and face. H. often indicate a great deal of information about the wearer (his or her age, class, gender, religious background, institutional affiliation, and social status) to those familiar with the local designs and their associations. A H. is rarely worn isolated, but it is one part of an ensemble of body art practices that may include ↗jewellery, ↗clothing, scarification, tattooing (↗Body ornamentation), and ↗henna designs.

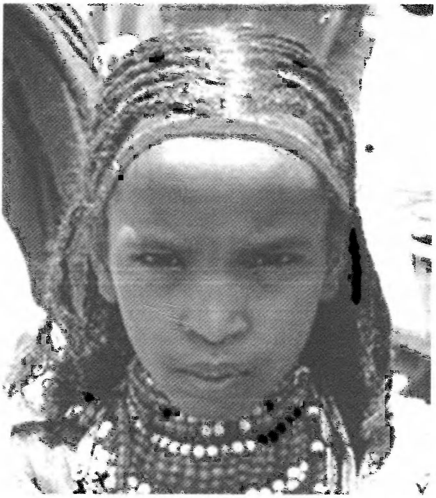


Fig. 1: Oromo girl with a typical hairdo; photo courtesy of the author

As a person moves from childhood through adolescence to old age, he or she undergoes both physical and social changes. These life passages are often announced visually through hair dressing due to its unique sculptural properties. Hair is a suitable marker of transformation as it can be molded, teased, flattened, twisted, braided, and coloured in a matter of hours, cleaned, and redressed again. If the results are still not satisfactory, hair can be cut for a new style. Since hair, unlike other parts of the body, is porous and malleable many societies have crafted it to reflect their aesthetic and moral ideals.

Girls in many places in Ethiopia are given their first haircut as soon as they have sprouted a full head of hair. Among female infants in the Highlands, the centre of the head is often shaved, leaving a round tuft of hair at the crown to continue to grow and sometimes allowing a thin outer ring of hair to continue to grow. For boys a round tuft of hair is left at the front of the crown and the remaining hair is shaved. These two distinctive H. communicate the sex of the baby to any onlooker regardless of the child's clothing or jewellery.

Central to childhood and adolescence for females throughout Ethiopia is the braid. Girls and young women throughout the country wear braids in a variety of styles.

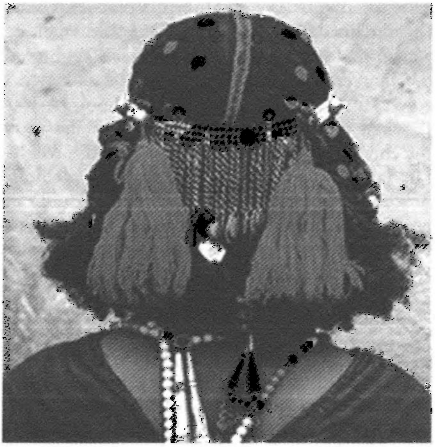


Fig. 2: Argobba girl; photo courtesy of the author

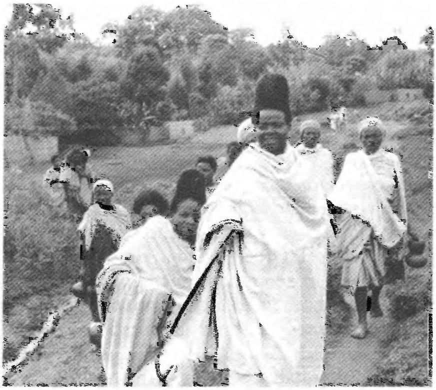


Fig. 3: Dorze women on the way to market, in the front wifes of *halaka* (local leaders) with typical hairdress greased with butter; photo 1954/55 by Helmut Straube; courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (27-Str109-20)

The young ↗Oromo girl in fig. 1 wears typical braids tightly fitted to her scalp and worn open at the bottom. Her hair has been divided down the middle and the braids are allowed to hang loosely to the ears, framing the face. A modified version of this style found throughout the Highlands consists of five or more braids woven from the front of the scalp back to the nape of the neck. The bottom of the hair may be braided or left free. Some girls in Eastern ↗Harärge cut their hair short on top, leaving a puffy pillow of hair at the top of the head surrounded by shoulder-length braids. ↗Argobba girls, on the other hand, commonly sport two or three layers of braids that fall about the face in a stepped pattern.

Among married women in the south-west, all head hair is shaved off once a woman has given birth to her first child. Among the ↗Añwaa, this signals to others that the woman has matured and can participate more fully in social and political affairs. Before their children come, Añwaa women wear sculptural, asymmetrical H. that mirror the patterns of the clay pipes that they smoke.

For men, adolescence is a time to try new H. and to decorate the hair with ornaments and butter. As the late teens were by tradition a time for a young Ethiopian man to become educated and/or initiated into their respective communities, they would often allow their hair to grow full and high. One common style is simply a rounded Afro that is fluffed daily with a comb. Another popular style includes close-cropped hair on the sides and long hair in the front and on top.

In places where age grade societies once flourished, H. and hair ornaments marked the age grade level and occupation of each man. For instance a warrior in the ↗*gadaa* system would wear his hair long and tucked under with applied mud and butter. In pastoralist societies in the south-east, great attention is given to coiffure. Young men between the ages of 15 and 22, for example, enter into a new age grade in which they begin education in warriorhood and live outside the village in closely knit fraternities with others of their age group. A fearless and brave young man will be rewarded with ornaments, including ostrich feathers to adorn the hair. During this stage of life, young men take great pride in their hair, spending idle hours packing mud or rancid butter onto one another's hair. Men generally travel in pairs so that each may help the other in daily hair maintenance and special wooden headrests are one of the few implements these young men will carry in order to keep their hair intact. If a headrest is not available, a young men will sleep in a sitting position to avoid ruining their H.

Warriors throughout Ethiopia have used their hair as a marker of their power and prestige. Historically, during periods of warfare as men gathered in forested areas for military training, their hair could not receive proper care. This matted and dreaded style became an indicator of a man's training in the wilderness and his ability to withstand the comforts of family life. His hair also alluded to the temporarily dangerous period of war likely marked by bloodshed and tragedy.

But dreaded H. also have other connotations. Worn by Muslim or Christian male elders, long dreadlocks can signal holy men who devote themselves to a spiritual quest. Further, when dreadlocks are worn by children, it might suggest a parent's attempt to divert attention away from the child's faces and thus, protect them from the evil eye of a stranger.

Hairdressing often completes the H. One of the most crucial elements of a married woman's hairstyle among Argobba, ↗Harari, ↗Hawiya, and Oromo women in ↗Harär is a black, woven hairnet. The most common style of wear is when unbraided hair is pulled back to form two balls that are tied at the nape of the neck and covered with the net. Its use came into Harär society sometime before 1850. An early drawing by the explorer Richard ↗Burton (1987:16) shows an urban Harari woman with this hairnet and H. Fig. 2 exhibits a decorative hairnet worn by an Argobba woman and decorated with a metal headband and red, fibre tassels to complete her braided coiffure.

Src.: RICHARD BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa*, New York 1987, 16; PERI KLEMM, "Crowning Creations: Ethiopian Hairstyles in the Cycle of Life", paper presented at the *Society of Friends of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa University 2000.

Lit.: ANGELA FISHER, *Africa Adorned*, New York 1984; JILL LAST, "Hairstyles Today", *Selamta* 12, 2, 1995, 14–18.

Peri Klemm

Ḥākim b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad

Āw Ḥ. (حاكم بن ابراهيم بن احمد) is a saint in ↗Harär. Ḥ.'s tomb is venerated on top of Mount Ḥākim, south of the town. A document kept at his sanctuary states that he arrived from ↗Arabia on 26 September 1239 and shows his genealogy as going back to the nephew and son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, through the sixth *imām* of the Šīᶜa, Ǧaᶜfar aṣ-Ṣādiq. Although such a genealogy appears too long for a person who lived in the 13th cent., 1239 could still be the correct date since the genealogy has several repetitions and it could be shortened. According to Robecchi Bricchetti, Ḥ. was the father of two saints, *āw* Zerbay and ↗Ibrāhīm Abū Zaḥarbūy. The former may be identified with *āw* Zarbīt (Zarbīn), mentioned in the ↗*Fatḥ Madīnat Harar* as a companion of the national saint of Harär, ↗Abādir ᶜUmar ar-Riḍā. This would point to Ḥ.'s flourishing in the 13th cent., too. However, the fact that the second saint lived in the first half of the 15th cent. rises some doubts on the exactitude of the above-mentioned date.

A legend tells that, as a child, Ḥ. lived with his parents in ↗Zaylaᶜ. He had a chicken which became his daily companion. One day, when he was in the Qurʾān school, his father slaughtered the chicken and his mother cooked it as a medicine. When Ḥ. came back from school, he was shocked at what happened. However, he took the chicken out of the pot and restored it to life. His father, also a saint, noticed the miraculous power of his son and told him that it would not be good to have two saints in the same place. Hence, Ḥ. moved to Harär. From this legend, along with the fact that his brother Ibrāhīm Abū Zaḥarbūy is venerated in Zaylaᶜ, one may conclude that Ḥ. came to Harär via Zaylaᶜ.

Lit.: LUIGI ROBECCHI BRICCHETTI, *Nell'Harrar*, Milano ^{3}1896, 99; RICCARDO DE SANTIS, "Piccoli testi harari", *RSO* 18, 1940, 386–98, here 395; EWALD WAGNER, "Eine Liste der Heiligen von Harar", *ZDMG* 123, 1973, 269–92, here 281f.; ID., "Arabische Heiligenlieder aus Harar", *ibid.* 125, 1975, 28–65, here 33, 43; ID., "Genealogien aus Harar", *Der Islam* 51, 1974, 97–117, here 116f.; EMILE

FOUCHER, "Names of Mussulmans Venerated in Harar and its Surroundings: a List", *ZDMG* 138, 1988, 263–82, here 273.

Ewald Wagner

Ḥakunu

Ḥ. (also *ḥanuku*) was a monetary unit. The etymology of the term is uncertain. Perhaps Ḥ. is to be connected with the term for a piece of ↗iron or ↗salt (UmMasGaud 14f., no. 4.). According to Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ᶜUmarī (d. 749 H. [1349 A.D.]), the inhabitants of four of the seven southern Muslim trading states, ↗Däwaro, ↗Arabäbni (Arᵓen), ↗Hadiyya and ↗Šarḫa, did not conduct their trade with Egyptian money (dirhams and ↗dinars), as in ↗Ifat, but used as coinage iron plates called Ḥ. It is reported that these small pieces of iron were of the length of a needle and their thickness was of three needles. A cow could be bought for 5,000 of them and a goat for 3,000. The value of 3,000 Ḥ. was equivalent to one dirham. Al-ᶜUmarī's accounts were repeated by the Egyptian encyclopaedist al-Qalqašandī (d. 821 H. [1418 A.D.]) who, however, stated that 7,000 Ḥ. were needed to purchase a good cow. The historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 845 H. [1442 A.D.]), following al-ᶜUmarī, vocalized the term as *ḥanuku* explicitly and gave also the abovementioned examples. Furthermore, the usage of Ḥ. is attested by Almeida's report from the first third of the 17th cent. He related that, apart from the use of gold, such small pieces of iron circulated as money in Hinnaryo (↗Ǝnnarya). They were described as "light and flat, two inches wide and three long" and thus larger than the Ḥ. of Däwaro in the 14th cent.

↗Currency

Src.: UmMasSezg 4, 21ff., 27; UmMasGaud 14–17, 26; AḤMAD IBN ᶜALĪ AL-QALQAŠANDĪ, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā fī ṣināᵓat al-inšāᵓ* ('Dawn for the Night-Blind in the Art of Calligraphy'), 14 vols., Cairo 1913–18, vol. 5, 331; MaqIlmam 11f. (text) = 13f. (tr.); MaqIlmam^2 7; BeckHuntAlm 150.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "'Primitive Money' in Ethiopia ('Monnaie primitive' en Ethiopie)", *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 32, 2, 1962, 213–44, here 236f.; ID., "A Preliminary History of Ethiopian Measures, Weights, and Values", *JES* 7, 1, 1969, 31–54; *ibid.* 7, 2 1969, 99–164; *ibid.* 8, 1 1970, 45–85, here 70; PankBord 70, 73, 98, 336; AHMED ZEKARIA, "Harari Coins: a Preliminary Survey", *JES* 24, 1991, 23–46, here 24; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia, Collected Essays*, Münster 2002 (Göttinger Studien zur Ethnologie 9), 71.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Ḥalay

Ḥ. (ሐላይ; 15° 1' N, 39° 20' E, s. map for Ḥalḥal) is a village in northern ↗Akkälä Guzay, in the district of the Däqqi Dəgna, at the very edge of the highlands. In local genealogies, it is listed among the settlements of the Zəban Bur. Ḥ. was founded in the 17th cent. Travel reports mention Ḥ. and ↗Dəgsa as the first villages to be reached on the caravan route of Taranta, linking Ḥərgigo on the coast with the eastern edges of the highlands (the Akkälä Guzay–ᶜAgame route). As a market place at the borders of the Ottoman influence domain, Ḥ. naturally had some Muslim inhabitants.

When in the mid-19th cent. the movement of conversion to ↗Catholicism started, it particularly involved regions peripheral for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and Ḥ. was one of the villages to convert. Giustino De ↗Jacobis, the then-persecuted founder of the mission, died in 1860 near Ḥ. in Aligäden valley. Ḥ., together with neighbouring Dəgsa, ↗Ḥebo and ↗Akrur, became one of the centres of Catholicism.

When in 1887 the Italians at Massawa had decided to move further inland, two battalions were named "Ḥ." by General Asinari di San Marzano. Ḥ. was included in the Italian possessions at the end of the 1880s. In a secret treaty of 1889, *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs of Təgray, hoping for an alliance with Italy against *aṣe* Mənilək II, ceded Ḥ. to the Italians together with Sägänäyti and Asmära. The treaty was never brought up, as about the same time Mənilək recognized these new Italian possessions in the Treaty of ↗Wəčale (Art. IV), allying himself with Italy. Due to its prominent position at the edge of the highlands, Ḥ. was chosen for a fort, built in 1890. Four years later, the inhabitants of Ḥ., used to local autonomy, participated in the anti-Italian revolt led by the Catholic governor of Akkälä Guzay ↗Bahta Ḥagos. In December 1894, in the battle of Ḥ., Bahta was killed, while his 1,600 poorly armed men were besieging the Italian fort of Ḥ. with its 220-strong garrison under Captain Castellazzi. Upon the suppression of the revolt many locals returned to the Orthodox faith.

In the 1970s, the residents of Ḥ. took an active part in the Eritrean struggle for independence, supporting the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front, which was operating in neighbouring Sāho areas along the escarpment.

Lit.: KilHDic 165f.; MahPh; RubInd s. index; *Guida* 289.

Wolbert Smidt

Haletat

The term H. (**ሃሌታት**, sg. **ሃሌታ**, *hal(l)eta*) derives from **ሃሌ፡ ሉያ**, *halle*(*luya*) 'hallelujah' (cp. DTWDic 404), the old Jewish and Christian exclamation of joyful devotion and praise to God that is written at the beginning (and sometimes at end) of several psalms from the ↗Psalter. It plays an important role in Ethiopian liturgy (↗*Qəddase*), all the more so as ↗hymns are concerned. In fact, no hymn is sung without inserting the "hallelujah" (i.e., H.). According to an Amharic saying, **መዝሙር፡ በሃሌ፡ ነገር፡ በምሳሌ**, *Mäzmur bähalle, nägär bäməssale*, 'Like every psalm [but here also "hymn"] opens with a halleluja, so a speech must begin with a proverb' (BaetDic 4; KWK 373).

The H. may consist of a sequence of one to ten hallelujahs sung in one of the three modes of the ↗*zema* ('sacred chant'): i.e. ↗*gəᶜəz*, ↗*ᶜəzəl* and ↗*araray*. The following parts of the ↗*Dəggʷa* are opened by a H.: ↗*aryam*, ↗*arbaᶜət*, **መዝሙር** (*mäzmur*), **አቡን** (*abun*), **ሠለስት** (*śäläst*), ↗*sälam*, as well as, though not always, *ᶜəzəl* and ↗*wazema* (for a description of them s. HabUff). A few other elements, like **መኃትው** (*mäḫatəw*), *sälam*, *ᶜəzəl* or **ሀየንተ፡ ዕዝል** (*həyyäntä ᶜəzəl*), may have the H. in their midst. In this case, the H. are called *Haletat zämaʾəkäl* ('H. of the middle').

In both (*Ṣomä*) *Dəggʷa* manuscripts (none of them antedating the 18th cent.) and printed Church service books, H. are featured in a table usually at the end or between the parts of the text, whence its name: **እንቀጸ፡ ሃሌታ** (*Anqäṣä haleta*, 'Gate of the H.', cp., e.g., Henok Wäldä Mikaʾel 1996 A.M.). The H. may have their own musical notation (↗*Mələkkət*) – Gəᶜəz letters or signs (**ሥረዩ**, *śəräyu*) indicating a whole group of notes and reminding the cantors of the tune of the (next) hymn to be sung (Powne 1968:88f.; HabUff 377, 383).

Src.: **እምስቱ፡ ጼዋትው፡ ዜማዎች** (*Amməstu ṣewatəw zemawoččč*, 'Five Types of Chanting'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 98–101; BaetDic 4; DTWDic 125, 404; DillmLex 3; DillmLond 37, no. 31 [Add. 16, 195], fol. 30; EMML V, VII, s. index; GuiVoc 2f.; HamTana I, 193f., Ṭānāsee 48 = Kebrān 48; KWKDic 372; LesCDic 217; **ምዕራፍ፡ ዘደረሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ያሬድ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ** (*Məᶜəraf zädäräsä qəddus Yared Ityopyawi*, '*Məᶜəraf* Composed by St. Yared the Ethiopian'), Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1987/88 A.D.]; THMDic 1177; *mäggabe aᶜəlaf* HENOK WÄLDÄ MIKAʾEL, **ዝክረ፡ ቃል፡ ዘውእቱ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ዚቅ፡ ወመዝሙር** (*Zəkrä qal zäwəʾətu mäṣḥafä ziq wämäzmur*, 'The Memory of the Word which is the Book of Chants and Psalms'), Addis Abäba 1996 A.M [2003/04 A.D], 375–80; VelSoDe I, IX–XV, 255–61, II; SixDeu 430f., no. 214.

Lit.: *liqä śəlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, **ጥንታዊ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ትምህርት** (*Ṭəntawi yäʾityopya śərᶜatä təmhərt*, 'The Old Order of Ethiopian Learning'), Addis Abäba 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.], 300; HabUff 377, 379; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music: an Introduction*, London 1968, 88f.; VelMe I, II; PETER JEFFERY, "'Melody Types' and 'Melodic Formulas' in Ethiopian Chant: the Manuscript Evidence (13th–20th cent.)", Paper read at the *Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society*, Baltimore, November 1988 [earlier version read at the 10th International Conference of the Ethiopian Studies].

Habtemichael Kidane

Halévy, Joseph

H. (b. 15 November 1827, Adrianople, Turkey [? b. in Hungary according to recent research], d. 21 January 1917, Paris) was a leading 19th-cent. Semiticist. H. spent most of his adult life in France, where he lead a distinguished career as an Orientalist and archaeologist, publishing numerous studies on Semitic languages and epigraphy as well on the Bible. In 1868, he volunteered to the Alliance Israélite Universelle to go to Ethiopia to investigate the situation of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, becoming the first practising Jew to visit them. His reports on their circumstances are among the most important early descriptions of their society and also contain interesting information about Ethiopia during the last years of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. H. believed the Betä Ǝsraʾel were Jews and called for programs to assist them in resisting the incursions of Christian missionaries (↗London Society for Promoting Christianity). His position was, however, not accepted and only with the arrival of his student Jacques ↗Faitlovitch were such programs initiated in Ethiopia.

Later, in 1869–70, H. also travelled to the Arabian peninsula (Yemen) in search of Sabaean and Ḥimyaritic inscriptions (↗Epigraphic South Arabian) for the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres of Paris. There he was the first European to venture as far as the ↗Nağrān region; and discovered the ancient Minean kingdom and its inscriptions. On his return, H. published 683 epigraphic documents, some also in Minean.

In 1879 H. began teaching Gəᶜəz at the École Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris and became the librarian of the Societé Asiatique. In 1893 he founded the *Revue sémitique d'epigraphie et d'histoire ancienne*, in which he published much of his work (1893–1914). He also published five volumes of *Recherches bibliques* (Paris 1895–1914), studies of the Hebrew fragments of Ben Sira (*Le nouveau fragment hébreu de l'Ecclèstiastique*, 1902), and on the origins of Christianity (*Études évangéliques*, 1902).

Src.: Joseph Halévy, *Seder Tefillot ha-Falashim. Prières des Falachas, Ethiopic text with a Hebrew translation*, Paris 1877; Id., *Excursion chez les Falachas en Abyssinie*, Paris 1869; Id., *Tĕ'êzâza Sanbat* (*Commandments du Sabbat*) *accompagné de six autres écrits pseudo-épigraphiques admis par les Falachas ou Juifs d'Abyssinie*, Paris 1902; Id., *La Guerre de Sarsa Dengel contre les Falachas*, Paris 1907; Id., "Études sabéenes", *JA* 1, 1873, 305–65, *ibid.* 2, 1874, 497–585; Id., *Archéologique dans le Yéman*, Paris 1872; Id., *Essai sur la langue Agaw*, Paris 1873; Id., "Vocabulaire de diverses langues africaines", *Revue de philologie et d'ethnographie* 1, 1974, 50-63; Id., "L'alliance des Sabéens et les Abyssiniens contre les Himyarites", *RevSem* 4, 1896, 64-86; Shlomo Dov Goitein (ed.), *Travels in Yemen: an Account of Joseph Halévy's Journey to Najran in the Year 1870*, Jerusalem 1941.

Lit.: David Sidersky, *Quelques portraits de nos maîtres des études sémitiques*, Paris 1937; Shlomo Harmati, *Šloša še-qadmu le-Ben-Yehuda* ('Three Who Preceded Ben-Yehuda'), Jerusalem 1978, 11–46; Tom Bard Jones, *The Sumerian Problem*, New York 1969, 22–47; Steven Kaplan – Shoshana Ben-Dor, *Ethiopian Jewry: an Annotated Bibliography*, Jerusalem 1988, 9–11, 73–717; Elizabeth Antébi, *Les missionnaires juifs de la France 1860–1939*, Paris 1999, 111–18; Yair Adiel, "Iṣuv Zikro šel Yosef Halevy" ('In Memory of Joseph Halevy'), *Peamim* 100, 2004, 73–89.

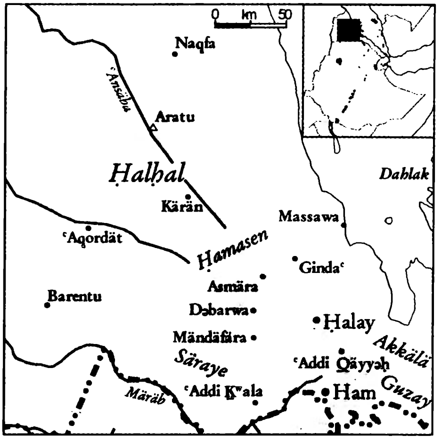
Steven Kaplan

Ḥalḥal

Ḥ. (ሐልሐል) has been since early times the name designating the mountainous Eritrean region north-west of Kärän and its population. This region dominates the middle valley of the ↗ᶜAnsäba and is limited by the left bank of this river. The extended archaeological area of ↗Aratu proves that the Aksumite civilization reached this part of the Eritrean highlands too.

According to the current interpretation of oral traditions, since the 10th cent., ↗Bilin speakers coming from ↗Lasta settled in a large part of the northern highlands around Kärän, giving birth to the ruling clan of the Bet (Gäbre) Tärqe or Bogos. In the 14th cent. a new ethnic and linguistic change brought a second group of Bilin speakers to the region of Ḥ., the Bet Ṭaqʷe, coming from ↗Ḥamasen. Owing to the overlapping of clanic and geographical terms, the Bet Ṭaqʷe were called also Ḥ.

Nowadays the Ḥ. people are all bilingual and speak Bilin and Təgre, which is also the language of their poetry and songs. The four main Ḥ. groups are called ᶜAd Samara Čon, ᶜAd Čafa, ᶜAd Gabša and ᶜAd Fäza. The two major centres are Waliqo and May Awalid. The material culture and social organization of the Ḥ. are the same as those of the rest of the Bilin. Since the mid-19th cent. the Ḥ. have abandoned Christianity for ↗Islam, unlike the Bogos, who largely accepted the Catholic and the Protestant denominations.



Lit.: Werner Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen 1864, 185–209; Abele Piva, "Una civiltà scomparsa dell'Eritrea e gli scavi archeologici nella regione di Cheren", *Nuova antologia* ser. 3ª, 16, 1907, 323–35; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Racconti e canti bileni", in: *Actes du XIVᵉ Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris 1907, 331–94; Id., "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia, ii. La seconda migrazione Agau dell'Eritrea", *RSO* 4, 1912, 599–651; PollEr 153–67.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Halibo

Azzaž H. (ሀሊቦ, full name [probably] ሀሊቦ፡ ወንጌል Halibä Wängel, 'Milk of the Gospel') was a trusted ↗*azzaž* at the court of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl. As such he was appointed commander of a newly organized guard regiment *qʷərban* ('associates') in 1574 and served loyally his sovereign both as war-lord and diplomat.

In 1575, H. was sent as head of a delegation of high ecclesiastics to *bahər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq to pledge loyalty to the Emperor. He tried, in vain, to persuade Yəsḥaq to submit, and then informed the Emperor through his son about separatist plans of the *bahər nägaš*. Shortly after, he was central in securing the final victory of *aṣe* Śärṣä Dəngəl over Yəsḥaq in December 1578.

H. is also known to have taken part with his regiment in a successful campaign of the Emperor against the Betä Ǝsraʾel prince ↗Kalef in October 1579.

Lit.: CRHist 53, 55, 61, 63, 98, 100.

Sevir Chernetsov

Ḫalīfa

In Islamic political history, Ḫ. (خليفة, Engl. caliph) was the Arabic title given to the four immediate successors (known as *al-ḫulafāʾ ar-rāšidūn*; r. 632–61) of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad. The first Ḫ., Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq (r. 632–34) was referred to as *ḫalīfa rasūl Allāh* ('deputy of the Apostle of God'). The rulers of the two Umayyad dynasties in Damascus (r. 661–750) and Spain (r. 756–1031), as well as the Fāṭimids (r. 909–1171) and the ᶜAbbāsids (r. 750–1258), claimed the title until the destruction of Baghdad by the Mongols under Hulagu in 1258.

The title of Ḫ. was assumed by Ottoman *sulṭāns* such as Selim I (r. 1512–20) and the 34th *sulṭān*, Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909). The latter "... adopted his own 'modern' concept of the caliphate according to which the caliph – rather like the pope for the Catholics – had a spiritual power over Muslims throughout the world" (Georgeon 2000:616).

On the outbreak of ↗World War I in 1914, the Ottoman *sulṭān* Muhammad V proclaimed himself as Ḫ. in order to mobilize the support of the Muslims for his call for a ↗*ǧihād* against the Allied Powers. In 1924 Kemal Atatürk abolished in Turkey the office of the Ḫ. After 1924 the title was not claimed by any ruler in the Muslim world (with the notable exception of those of the Sokoto state in northern Nigeria), although there have been attempts to revive the caliphate.

In mystical Islamic traditions, including those of Ethiopia, the title of Ḫ. was granted to the successor or delegate of a Ṣūfī saint who was either a direct descendant of the saint or the most prominent among his disciples who had served him loyally and obediently in his lifetime, implying that faithfulness and trustworthiness were sometimes more crucial than genealogical affinity to qualify for succession. For example, in Wällo, *al-ḥāǧǧ* ↗Bušrā Ay Muḥammad (d. 1863) of Gatā was succeeded by his son (*al-ḥāǧǧ* Walē), while, upon the death of *šayḫ* Aḥmad b. Ādam (1903) of Dānā, a follower of the *Qādirīya*, it was one of his disciples, Muḥammad Yāsīn (d. 1924), who succeeded him as Ḫ. (TrIslam 241). It is customary for the saint to designate such a successor before his death and his *murīd*s ('novices') and the community are expected to accept the position of, and swear allegiance to, such a person. However, there were times when disputes arose among the sons of the dead saint over the succession, possession of property, including land, left by him, and the sharing of the income and material gifts collected from pilgrims and other pious visitors to the shrine of the holy man. It is believed that the Ḫ. inherits and transmits some of the *baraka* ('grace') of the deceased saint and is therefore revered for his piety. However, he does not claim the same status of sainthood (*wilāya*) as that of his predecessor, nor does the community recognize such a claim. He is perceived only as the custodian of the shrine, and the votive gifts offered to him are presented in honour and memory of the saint, not in those of his Ḫ.

The principle of succession applies especially to the major mystical orders in Islam, such as the *Qādirīya*. Among the adherents of the *Ṭīǧānīya*, the Ḫ. is "the inheritor of the spiritual power (*baraka*) of the founder of the order, to whom alone the title Shaikh is applied" (Arnold 1987: 881).

In the ↗Mahdist tradition, the Ḫ. is the successor of the *mahdī*. Thus, in the Sudan, ᶜAbdallāhi inherited, not the mystical powers or mahdiship, but only the political leadership of the Mahdist state after the death of its founder, Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Mahdī in 1885. Under ᶜAbdallāhi, who claimed the title of *ḫalīfat al-mahdī* by virtue of his superior position in the Mahdist hierarchy, there were three junior Ḫ. whose status was analogous to the first, second and fourth historical Ḫ. who succeeded the Prophet Muḥammad.

Ḫ. is also used as a proper name for a male member of a Muslim family.

Lit.: T.W. ARNOLD, "Halifa", in: *E.J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936*, ed. by MARTIJN THEODOOR HOUTSMA et al., vol. 4, Leiden – New York – København – Köln 1987, 881–85; D. SOURDEL – A.K.S. LAMBTON – F. DE JONG – P.M. HOLT, "Khalifa", in: *EI*^{2} vol. 4, 937–53; ENRICO CERULLI, "La questione del Califfato in rapporto alle nostre colonie di diretto dominio", in: *Convegno Nazionale Coloniale*, Napoli 1917, 3–12 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 83–87]; FRANÇOIS GEORGEON, "Abdülhamid II (1876–1909)", in: KEMAL ÇIÇEK (ed.), *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation*, vol. 1, Ankara 2000, 612–20; HUSSEIN AHMED, *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia: Revival, Reform and Reaction*, Leiden – Boston – Köln 2001; ID., "*Al-Hāǧǧ* Bushrā Ay Muhammad: Muslim Reformer, Scholar and Saint of Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia", in: MANFRED KROPP – BERTRAND HIRSCH (eds.), *Saints, Biographies and History in Africa*, Frankfurt am Main 2003, 175–90; CARLO ALFONSO NALLINO, "Califfato", in: *Dizionario di Politica*, vol. 1, Roma 1940, 364–65 [repr. in: ID., Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti, ed. by Maria Nallino, vol. 3, Roma 1941, 227–33] (Lit.); TrIslam 241.

Hussein Ahmed

Hall, David

H. (b. 7 May 1877 Jaffa, d. 4 March 1971 Addis Abäba) was a businessman. The son of Moritz ↗Hall and of ↗Wälättä Iyäsus, he settled in Ethiopia after World War I and in 1922 founded the import-export firm Hall & Co., which represented several foreign firms in Ethiopia. In addition to his activities in the cattle trade, Hall obtained a brewery concession and founded the Saint George Brewery, today still in existence as the Addis Brewery. Hall also served as director of government purchasing and adviser to the Foreign Ministry and later as a Counsellor of State during the reigns of ↗Mənilək II and ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. In 1930, at the time of the celebrations of Ḫaylä Śəllase's coronation, H. was official press officer and government liaison representative to foreign correspondents and dignitaries. His diplomatic activities included a secret mission to ↗Germany in 1935 to buy arms for use against the Italian army. During the Italian occupation, H. lived in Palestine and, as a diplomat in the service of the exiled Emperor, travelled to England and Europe to further the Ethiopian cause.

Soon after the liberation, H. returned to Ethiopia and, after World War II, he went to Europe as a representative of the Ethiopian government to interest displaced persons in settling in Ethiopia. In his role as an administrator of enemy (Italian) property, he had a pasta factory brought to Ethiopia, in an effort to provide much needed food, and was also the founder of the Ethiopian Cooperatives and Mutual Assistance Fund, which proved successful in its endeavors to provide employment and assistance. The activities of these cooperatives included a medical insurance fund with its own hospital and an experimental farm and agricultural school on H.'s own property, administered by Seventh Day Adventist missionaries, for the education and training of street children from Addis Abäba. As holder of government concessions for road construction, he supervized this work in southern Ethiopia. As late as the 1950s, H. continued to serve as a government adviser and accompanied the Emperor on State visits.

H. paid for the construction of the central synagogue in Addis Abäba. Highly esteemed for his knowledge of Ethiopia and its affairs, in his old age his advice was sought by all foreign visitors.

Src.: "Ethiopian cooperatives", *New Times and Ethiopia News* 524, 18 May 1946, 3–4.

Lit.: "Emperor Attends Funeral Rites of Veteran Adviser", *Ethiopian Herald* 7 March 1971 (vol. IX, no. 54), 1 and 3; RICHARD PANKHURST, *Sylvia Pankhurst: Counsel for Ethiopia*, Hollywood 2003, 172, 219; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Germany: Cultural, Political and Economic Relations, 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5), passim; MANFRED FUNKE, *Sanktionen und Kanonen: Hitler, Mussolini und der internationale Abessinienkonflikt, 1934–1936*, Düsseldorf 1970, passim.

Toby Berger Holtz

Hall, Moritz

H. (b. 14 March 1838 Cracow, Russia [now Poland], d. 27 January 1914, Jaffa, Palestine) was an adventurer, businessman and founder of an enterprising family. Born to Jewish parents,

The Hall family at the wedding of Daniel Hall, residence of Baron von Ustinov, German Colony, Jaffa, photo 1902, courtesy of Otto Bertsch. From left to right, upper row: Joseph, Friedrich Salomon, Jakob Gottlieb, David, Christina, Augusta and Vera Hall; middle row: Mrs. Klimscher, Daniel Hall, Natalie Klimscher née Michalski, Moritz Hall, Wälättä Iyäsus, Magdalena von Ustinov née Hall, holding Tabitha von Ustinov, her husband Platon Baron von Ustinov; bottom row: Olga Hall, Katia Hall (later Bertsch), Immanuel Hall, Jonah ("Klop") von Ustinov, Peter ("Petja") von Ustinov.

Johan Jakob Salomon Hall and Sofia Rebeka Babette Hall née Kunze, he went to Ethiopia in the 1850s, during the reign of the *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, probably as a merchant and adventurer, after having served in the Russian army.

H. lived and worked with the artisan missionaries from ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission at their colony at ↗Gafat, and converted to Christianity at this time. There, H. married ↗Wälättä Iyäsus, also called Katherine Zander (1850–1932), the daughter of Christoph Eduard ↗Zander by his first Ethiopian wife. Their two oldest children, Jakob Gottlieb (1866–1919) and Magdalena (1868–1945), were born in Ethiopia.

As an experienced caster of brass, H. was considered the head of the arms foundry at Gafat, where he and his colleagues, at the orders of Tewodros, successfully cast several pieces of ordnance, most notably the cannon named "Sebastopol". The foundry is regarded as an early instance of modern industry in Ethiopia. Later, H., his family, and the other foreign artisans and missionaries were taken captive by Tewodros and eventually moved to the fortress of ↗Mäqdäla. Freed by the British forces led by Lord ↗Napier on 13 April 1868, they left Ethiopia with the latter's army.

The H. family settled in Jaffa, where the rest of their 13 children were born. H. became a lumber merchant and lived with his family in the mission house of the ↗London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews. He was employed as the manager of the Society's Artouf colony, in the Judean hills, near Jerusalem, from 1883 to 1885. He then returned to Jaffa and lived in the German Colony, a European enclave on the outskirts of Jaffa, where he and his family came under the protection of the German Consulate, which he served as an Honorary Dragoman and interpreter. H. died in Jaffa and was buried in the German Colony's cemetery there. In 1952 his remains were transferred to the cemetery of the Jerusalem German Colony.

Accompanied by her son Jakob, Wälättä Iyäsus returned to Ethiopia without her husband, around 1902. She became a Lady-in-Waiting, in charge of the Royal Pages at the court of Mənilək, and a close confidante of *ətəge* ↗Ṭaytu.

Jakob Gottlieb Hall lived in Jaffa and in Haifa. He went to the United States with his brother Daniel and Daniel's wife, but returned to Ethiopia with his mother around 1902. There he was importer of machinery in Addis Abäba and, at the Royal Palace, operated a machine shop and directed a school for the children of the aristocracy. He obtained concessions for the exploration of minerals and for mining, and served as a diplomatic and commercial emissary under Mənilək.

In 1888 Magdalena Hall married the Russian Baron Platon von Ustinov (1840–1917), a Protestant convert, who also resided in Jaffa. Ustinov helped the Hall brothers open the Hôtel du Parc in Jaffa. Wälättä Iyäsus persuaded her son-in-law, Ustinov, to purchase property in Jerusalem near the Ethiopian Church. After his death, Magdalena sold this property to Empress ↗Zäwditu. Ustinov and Magdalena had four sons and a daughter. The oldest son, Jonah, was the father of the British actor and director Sir Peter Ustinov (1921–2004).

Other children of H. who were active in Ethiopia: David ↗Hall; Friedrich Salomon Hall (in Ethiopia Sälomon; 1879–1964), who went to Ethiopia in 1906 and founded and managed the Imperial Hotel, the first modern hotel in Addis Abäba. During World War I, he was a member of a secret German mission to Ethiopia, led by Leo ↗Frobenius and later lived with his English wife in Dərre Dawa, where he was a coffee merchant; Christina Hall, who became a teacher in Ethiopia and was a governess in the Imperial Palace. She lived in Cyprus during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia; Vera Hall (1886–1983) married the German physician and missionary, Dr. Alfred Schumacher, and served with him for many years in Lebanon. Later she was a governess at the court of ↗ᶜAśratä Kaśa Ḫaylu, before her death in Stuttgart.

Lit.: AVRAHAM HOLTZ – TOBY BERGER HOLTZ, "The Adventuresome Life of Moritz Hall: A Biographical Study", in: *OrbAethChoj* 49–66 (Lit.); RICHARD PANKHURST, "Firearms in Ethiopian History: 1800–1935", *EthObs* 6, 1962, 140–43; ID., "The Emperor Theodore and the Question of Foreign Artisans in Ethiopia", *Boston University Papers on Africa* 2, 8, 1966, 233 (Lit.); PankEcon 583f. (Lit.); BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Germany: Cultural, Political and Economic Relations, 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5), passim.

Toby Berger Holtz

Ham

H. (**ሃም**, also **አሃም**, Aham, not: Ḥam) is a village community located in the historical district of Anbäsät Gäläba, Šəmäzana, in the southern part of the province of ↗Akkälä Guzay (Eritrea), close to the border with ᶜAgamä, Təgray (s. map for Ḥalḥal). Along with the nearby monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos in Šəmäzana, the hamlet of H. is one of the earliest Christianized sites, if not one of the oldest settlements, in the region. The entire H. area contains a number of ↗Aksumite-culture-period and early Christian archaeological and historical sites.

The old church of Ǝnda Maryam (cf. Bausi – Lusini 1992:27–30, figs. 9–13) reveals ancient architectural elements and artefacts possibly dating to the Aksumite culture period, including monolithic pillars, a large stone-basin, amphorae and ceramic vessels (cf. Anfray 1965: 7f., pls. IV C–D and V–VII). The Gə^{c}əz funerary inscription (RIÉ no. 232; cf. Fiaccadori 1990; Kropp 1999) originally embedded in the façade of the old church, has been transferred into the internal wall of the new church of Ǝnda Maryam of H., which was built in 1980 close to the old church, within the same compound. A third building, in the style of the old church – also characterized by monolithic pillars (cf. Bausi – Lusini 1992: figs. 7f.), is likely to have originally marked the main entrance to the church.

Two monolithic pillars similar to those found in the church of Ǝnda Maryam are located on a small hill within 200 m off the church grounds. They may indicate the location of another Aksumite-period building structure. Besides, ancient rock engravings with crosses and human and animal figures, multiple stone tumuli, and a possible fruit or oil press with three tanks and conduits carved into rock have also been found near H. During the 1980s at least 60 wrapped and desiccated ("mummified") ancient human bodies, some with sandals, crosses, and various tools, were found in burials nearby.

Local tradition attributes both the building of the sanctuary at Däbrä Libanos and that of the church of H. to the missionary activity of *abba* ↗Libanos (Mäṭa^{c}) during the late 5th or early 6th cent. A.D.

A memorial writing on the metal binding of the Golden Gospel (↗*Wängelä wärq*) presently hosted at Däbrä Libanos states that this book was written at the order of "King Sälomən" [*sic*] (probably Sälomon, royal name of ↗Yagbə^{ɔ}a Ṣəyon, the son of Yəkunno Amlak), for the church of *abba* Məṭä^{c} [*sic*] (cf. CRDLib 7; Schneider in PICES 8) of Aham. The land charters of the same Golden Gospels frequently mention H. (CRDLib 185, 189, 197f., 202, 204, 207ff., 212f., 215, nos. 4, 7/I, 14, 15, 19, 20, 22, 27, 28, 30), its "treasurer" (↗*Gäbäz*, ibid. 198, no. 15), and its "governor" (*mäk^{w}ännən*, ibid. 213, no. 27). One of the *Gädlä Libanos* recensions (cf. Conti Rossini 1903; Bausi 2003, §§ 148f., 156) has an episode that takes place in H.

Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]); CRDLib; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Ricordi di un soggiorno in Eritrea*, I, Asmara 1903, 23–41 [III. "Il Gadla Libânos"]; ID., "L'iscrizione etiopica di Ham", *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia* ser. 7^{a}, 1, 1939, 1–14; RIÉ no. 232; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Epigraphica Aethiopica", *Quaderni utinensi* 8 [15–16], 1990 [1996], 325–33, here 325ff., 328–31 [I. "Sull'iscrizione di Ḥam"] (Lit.); MANFRED KROPP, "'Glücklich, wer vom Weib geboren, dessen Tage doch kurzbemessen, …!'. Die altäthiopische Grabinschrift von Ḥam, datiert auf den 23. Dezember 873 n. Chr.", *OrChr* 83, 1999, 162–75.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Chronique archéologique (1960–1964)", *AE* 6, 1965, 3–26, here 7f., pls. pls. IV C–D and V–VII; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, here 27–30 (Lit.); ERIC GODET, "Répertoire des sites pré-axoumites et axoumites d'Éthiopie du Nord. II^{ème} partie: Erythrée", *Abbay* 11, 1980–82 [1983], 74–113; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Ritrovamenti archeologici in Eritrea (Notizie del dr. Vincenzo Franchini)", *RSE* 12, 1954, 5–28; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "L'Evangéliaire de Dabra Libanos de Ham", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 163.

Matthew C. Curtis – Alessandro Bausi

Ḥamad-La^{c}de

Ḥ.L. b. *šayḫ* Ḥasan b. Ḥamad-La^{c}de (b. 1940, As-Eyla, d. 1981, Djibouti) was an ↗^{c}Afar poet, renowned in Djibouti as song-writer, playwright and traditionalist. A member of the Debne

Ḥamad-La^{c}de; ca. 1965; photo courtesy of the author

Ḥarkam-mēla Arbaahinto, the family of the *sulṭāns* of ↗Gobaᶜad, Ḥ.L.'s genealogy includes prominent figures: his great-great-grandfather was Loᶜoyta b. Arbāhim (↗Loᶜoyta) and his great-grandfather, Aḥmad (Ḥúmmad) Loᶜoyta; Ḥ.L.'s grandfather, second son of Hummad b. Loᶜoyta, acted as a representative of the Debne at Mənilək II's Court and became *sulṭān* in 1902; he died untimely in Obock on 31 July 1903. Since his son Ḥasan was only two years old, the power and title of *sulṭān* were devolved to his uncles and their descentants. Ḥ.L.'s father, known as *šek* Ḥasan, devoted his life to religious studies and collected data on astronomy, genealogies and ᶜAfar History, which he wrote down in eight exercise-books entitled *Nawādir* 'rare (extraordinary) things'.

Thanks to his familial and intellectual heritage and personal gifts, Ḥ.L., from the turn of the 60's until his death, was one of the most revered personalities of ᶜAfar cultural life in Djibouti. His popularity as a traditionalist grew rapidly through his broadcast programs (*Sabtik Sabti, Sabti waane*) for Radio-Télévision de Djibouti. Unfortunately, many of these recordings have disappeared. It is through books (in Morin 1980, 1991, 1995) that his deep knowledge of ᶜAfar literature appeared in its different aspects. We owe to him a collection of narrative, historical and poetic texts, which makes Ḥ.L. the second major source on ᶜAfar after Reinisch's informant *nugus* Bilal b. ᶜAsa *nugus* Giᶜdár (in Morin 1999).

↗Afar literature

Src.: HASSAN SHEKH MUMIN – HAMAD LAᵓDE, *Contes de Djibouti*, ed. tr. by DIDIER MORIN, Paris, 1980; DIDIER MORIN, *Le Ginnili, devin poète et guerrier afar* (*Ethiopie et République de Djibouti*), Paris 1991 (Langues et Cultures Africaines 16); ID., *Des paroles douces comme la soie: introduction aux contes dans l'aire couchitique* (*bedja, afar, saho, somali*), Paris 1995 (Langues et Cultures Africaines 19); ID., *Le texte légitime: pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Paris 1999 (Langues et Cultures Africaines 25).

Didier Morin

Ḥamälmal

Ḥ. (**ሐመልማል**, lit. 'the flourishing one', b. ca. 1510–25, d. November 1564, Goǧǧam) was a great Šäwan lord of royal descent in the mid-16th cent. Solomonic kingdom. The identity of Ḥ.'s father is not known; his mother was *wäyzäro* ↗Romanä Wärq, daughter of *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod and (half-?)sister of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. Ḥ. was thus a first cousin of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos and ↗Minas, both of them sons of Ləbnä Dəngəl, and a second-degree uncle of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, Minas's eldest son. Thus belonging to the wider imperial family, Ḥ. could lay claim to a position of considerable authority within the Solomonic kingdom, a position which, indeed, he gained and held on to by virtue of his energetic personality and military prowess. At the same time, he could not himself succede to the throne through inheritance because he did not belong to the lineage of Ləbnä Dəngəl. This peculiar position was a key factor in shaping Ḥ.'s career and determining his actions.

Our earliest data on Ḥ. go back to the late 1550s. ↗Baḥrəy mentions him as fighting the advancing ↗Oromo at Dago (likely in eastern Šäwa, in the Däbrä Bərhan area; cp. HuntGeogr 103) during the rule of the *Mičelle* ↗*gadaa* (1554–62); the clash probably took place while Gälawdewos still was reigning. We next hear about Ḥ. in March 1559 when, immediately after Gälawdewos's violent death, he led a campaign against ↗Harär in the course of which its *sulṭān* Habīb was killed. For the same year of 1559 the Chronicle of Minas then includes Ḥ.'s name in a short enumeration of "great lords of the kingdom" (**ዐበይተ፡ መንግሥት**, *ᶜabbäytä mängəśt*) for 1559 (Kropp 1988:53 [text]). At that time Ḥ. bore the title of ↗*däǧǧazmač* and the area under his control is described as "[Šäwa] from the Blue Nile as far as he is able to project his power" (cf. *ibid.* 54 [text]). It must be remembered that at this time, as a result of the devastating *ǧihād* of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ) and the Oromo advances, large parts of Šäwa, especially in the east and south, again were frontier regions for the Christian kingdom. In 1562–63 Ḥ. took part in Minas's campaign against the rebellious *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq, who then for a second time had challenged Minas's authority by crowning a rival puppet emperor under his tutelage (this time Marqos, the infant son of Minas's deceased brother Yaᶜəqob).

Until this period, Ḥ. appears as a loyal supporter of the ruling Solomonic monarchs. This changed, however, with Minas's unexpected death in early 1563 in the course of preparation for a new campaign against Yəsḥaq. Ḥ. and other lords were not present in the royal ↗*kätäma* in Amhara when Minas died, because they had already left for an advance mission. For this reason they did not play a role in the election of Śärṣä Dəngəl, Minas's 13-year-old eldest son, as his fathers successor. His exclusion from the election process, as well as the new monarch's young age, prompted Ḥ. to make a bid for the effective control of the Empire. Śärṣä Dəngəl did not continue the northern campaign against Yəsḥaq, but went to Goǧǧam, where he sought refuge at the residence of his grandmother, *ətege* ↗Säblä Wängel, at Mängəśtä Sämäyat. Ḥ. arrived there a little later. While he shied away from openly challenging Śärṣä Dəngəl's claim to the throne, he confined him to virtual house arrest. At the same time, a large number of regional commanders and ↗*čäwa* garrisons pledged allegiance to Ḥ., thus effectively making him the head of the kingdom outside Yəsḥaq's sphere of influence.

An intervention by Yəsḥaq, however, soon triggered a series of events that reversed the balance of power and rendered the period of Ḥ.'s dominance short-lived. Yəsḥaq had the audacity to dispatch to Mängəśtä Sämäyat an envoy charged with abducting the youthful monarch and bringing him under his control. Embarking on a hazardous flight from Yəsḥaq's agent through Goǧǧam and Šäwa, Śärṣä Dəngəl there found support from some unexpected quarters, among them ↗Täklä Haymanot (Täklo), powerful governor of ↗Damot. Until shortly before Täklo had been a key ally of Ḥ., but the latter's overbearing behaviour once fully in power had moved him to change sides. With Śärṣä Dəngəl having slipped from his control, Ḥ. too now had a rival puppet emperor crowned (a certain Täklä Maryam, an elderly descendant of the 14th-cent. *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Ar^{c}ad). At the same time, Ḥ. sought a military confrontation with Täklo and the other supporters of Śärṣä Dəngəl before they could further strengthen their position. In December 1563 thus began a protracted but inconclusive stand-off between the two armies in their fortified positions in Damot. Ḥ., however, was fighting on Täklo's territory, and in February 1564 he ran into provisioning problems which compelled him to surrender. As a close relative of the monarch, Ḥ. was pardoned for his insurrection, but relegated to Goǧǧam and endowed with a (presumably modest) governorate. He died there in November 1564. The sources do not give any indication as to the cause of his death.

Two other important personalities in Ethiopian history, both associated with the reign of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, also bear the name of Ḥ.: (1) *ətege* Ḥ., *aṣe* Susənyos's mother; (2) *ras* Ḥ., governor of ↗Kämbata 1601–14.

Src.: BassÉt vol. 11 = 110 (tr.); ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* 6^{a}, 4, 2, 40-101, here 89–92; CRHist chs. 1–3; DombrChr 179ff.; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, ዜና፡ ሚናስ. *Historia de Minás, Rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), *Historia gentis Galla*, in: *CRHist* 223–32 (text) = 195–208 (tr.); MANFRED KROPP (ed., tr.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minās*, Louvain 1988 (CSCO 503, 504 [SAe 83, 84]), 53, 61f. (text) = 54, 61 (tr.). **Lit.:** ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Geschichte Äthiopiens. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 2 vols., Berlin 1978, vol. 1, 142–46; MHasOr 24–30; HuntGeogr 103, 134–40; EWALD WAGNER, "The Genealogy of the later Walashma^{c} Sultans of Adal and Harar", *ZDMG* 141, 2, 1991, 387–86.

Michael Kleiner

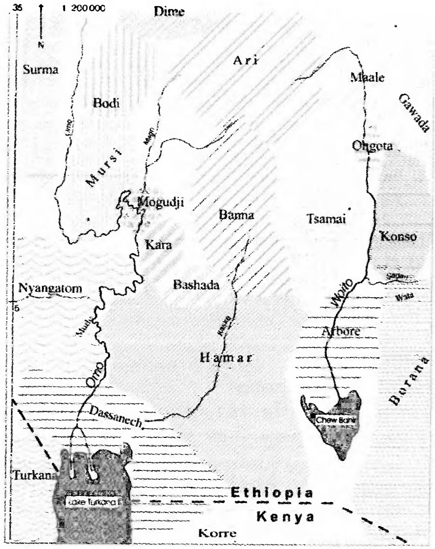
Hamär

Hamär dialect cluster

The people of the H., ↗Banna and ↗Bäšada speak one language (here referred to as H.) in variants with a few lexical differences. Self names are respectively: *hämär*, *bänä*, and *bäšädä äpo* (< *äpo* 'mouth'). The Kara also speak a dialect of the same language. H. is an Omotic language belonging to the ↗Aroid group with ↗Aari and ↗Dime. Its speakers (around 30,000) live in South Omo between the ↗Omo and Woito valleys, and practise a mixture of pastoralism, agriculture, apiculture and hunting.

H. uses ten basic vowels falling into two corresponding categories. Category I vowels are open, unraised, and pronounced with constricted pharynx, category II vowels are close (except for *a*), raised and pronounced with open pharynx.

H. is a generic language in which particular forms of nouns, verbs, and quality words are derived from a general, non-specific form. It is also a suffix language, modifiers taking the form of suffixes, and Subject–Object–Verb order is typical for simple declarative sentences. The following suffixes are attached to general forms of nouns to produce particular forms: *-a*/*-ta* for masc. sing. or particular/small, *-no*/*-tono* for fem. sing. or global/large, *-na* for particular pl., *-o* for address sing., *-nato* for address pl., *-mai* for address intimate, *-mo* for indicating state, condition, quality of. The general form of pronouns can be modified by suffixes to form independent and dependent pronouns. The generic root of the verb is active, suffixes are used alone or in combination to produce derived roots: *-äd* for passive/reflexive, *-s*/*-t* for causative/initiative, *-ïm* for progressive. Verb stems indicating aspect are derived from verb roots as follows: root alone for immediate



Hamär and their neighbours, map courtesy of Ivo Strecker

aspect, *-a* for perfect, *-i* for descriptive, *-e* for imperfect, *-o* for purposive. Relatives can be derived from verb stems by adding noun suffixes. Verbal expressions combine verbal stems and roots with, or without, pronouns. Verbal negation in 3rd pers. involves raised and falling tone on the last two vowels, e.g., *känsâi* 'does not hear'. A small number of quality words may perform as adjectives, adverbs, nouns or verbs.

Ideophones form a large class of words which, unlike the other word classes, do not take on suffixes, but can be varied through reduplication and lengthening. Ideophones sum up states of affairs, mimic sounds, act as vocatives or are used as attitude markers.

The ten-word list for H. is:

'one'	*käla*	'sun'	*ai*
'two'	*läma*	'moon'	*arpi/arfi*
'three'	*mäkän*	'blood'	*zombi/mäkäs*
'fire'	*nu*	'tongue'	*ätäb*
'water'	*noqo*	'tooth'	*äsi*

Lit.: JEAN LYDALL, "Hamer", in: *BendNonSLang* 393–438; ID., "Gender, Number, and Size in Hamar", in: MARIANNE BECHHAUS-GERST – FRITZ SERZISKO (eds.) *Cushitic – Omotic: Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages, Cologne, January 6–7, 1986*, Hamburg 1988, 77–90.

Jean Lydall

Hamär ethnography

The H. are the southernmost group of Omotic-speaking peoples in southern Ethiopia, estimated to number about 15,000–20,000. Oral tradition recalls that the first ancestor of the H. came from ↗Aari. The *bitta* ('ritual leader', lit. 'first') settled in the mountains that rise up high (2,800 m A.S.L.) between the valleys of the Wäyṭo (Woito) and the lower Omo, north of Č̣äw Baḥər and Lake Turkana (formerly Lake Stefanie and Lake Rudolf). Here he made fire and, seeing the fire, people came from Aari, ↗Maale, ↗Ṣamay, ↗Konso, ↗Kara and even from ↗Ñaŋatom.

The composite character of the society is remembered and ritually re-enacted each year in every settlement, partly to strengthen clan identities and partly to ascertain and maintain economic ties with partners to whom one can turn in situations of drought.

In the course of time, two *bitta* emerged, each with his territory and people (*kaissi*, 'subjects', lit. 'lost ones'). Both *bitta* jointly safeguard the good fortune (*barğo*) of all of H. and divide their task in that the line of *bitta* Elto offers protection against threats of disease and drought while the line of *bitta* Banki Marro wards off the menace of war.

The office of the *bitta* has weakened since *aṣe* Mənilək II's armies conquered H. at the end of the 19th cent., just as many other traditional institutions have lost their importance or have altogether disappeared, e.g., the public meeting grounds (*boaka*) and ritual gateways (*kaissin kiri*) that gave identity to the different territorial segments (*sinti*), and the age-sets (*anamo*) that used to play a constitutive role in H. social and political life.

In the wake of the Ethiopian conquest, many H. sought refuge among the ↗Arbore, ↗Đáasanač, Kara and Ñaŋatom, who live in inaccessible and unhealthy habitats that the Ethiopian armies did not dare to occupy for any length of time. However, soon the H. began to return from exile and established themselves in a no-man's-land that extended between the lowlands of their hosts and their former homeland in the mountains. Here they lived a semi-nomadic life, relying more on pastoralism than on agriculture. Also, in order to replenish their herds, they began to raid the ↗Boorana and the Gabare and in Kenya. Since then, raiding of livestock has remained one of the highest goals and expressions of personal achievement in H.

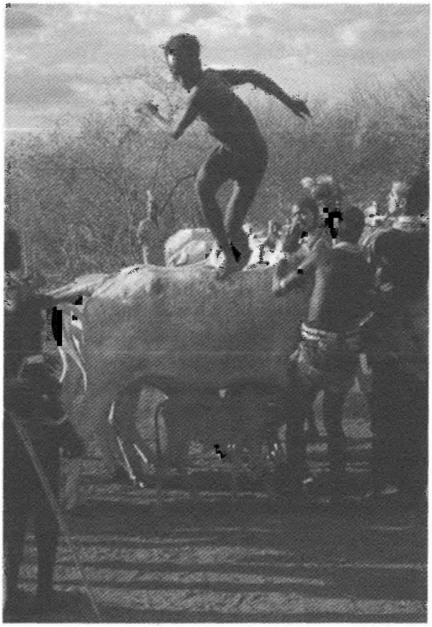
Today, at the beginning of the 21st cent., two all-weather roads have reached the area, one from north to south and one from east to west. Two towns have also been growing, Turmi, where the police are stationed, and Dimaka, where the local administration, schools, a mission station and a clinic are located. Both towns have weekly markets that are regularly visited by an ever increasing number of tourists. Thus, much has changed during the past hundred years.

Yet, H. culture has also retained some of its old features. For example, H. is one of the few places on earth where women still dress in leather. The skins (*aizi*) of goats, sheep and antelope – often decorated with beads and pieces of metal – provide smooth and well-fitting aprons (*toko*), skirts (*palante, korba*) and capes (*kaši, kadi*) that are cheap, durable and elegant to wear. In addition, women wear two heavy iron rings (*issante*) around the neck, and heavy iron rings (*zau*) around their arms and legs. Girls may use a number of different hairstyles, but married women invariably wear long ringlets (*laisso*) cut straight above the eyebrows and covered with butter mixed with red clay and resin. At special (ritual) occasions, married women wear a broad kauri-studded belt (*kalši*) around their waist and insert an ostrich feather in the ringlet (*tiri*) that they put on their head.

Before the conquest, H. men also used to wear *laisso*, but during their exile they adopted the hairstyle of the Đáasanač and Ñaŋatom, that is the *šunšul*, a clay cap adorned with ostrich feathers.

The H. engage in a mixed economy of pastoralism (goats, sheep and cattle), slash-and-burn cultivation (sorghum, maize, various kinds of beans, squash, lettuce etc.), gathering (wild fruits, leaves and roots of trees, various kinds of greens during the rainy season), and apiculture. Traditionally, hunting was also an integral part of the economy, but the introduction of modern arms has decimated the supply of game and by now the Ethiopian government has prohibited hunting. Although the plough is slowly being adopted in the north, in the south the H. still use a sharpened (*wossa*) stick for planting and a small iron blade (*gaita*) for weeding. A small axe (*teṣebe*), an adze (*wollie*) and a knife (*alpha*) complete the tools used in the fields.

One of the most prominent features of H. architecture is the gateway (*kiri*). No man may erect the gateway of his homestead by himself. This is the task of his neighbours, the *zarsi*, who in this way show that they welcome him in their midst. Once the gateway has been built, the fences are added: a high, tightly constructed palisade fence (*kirmi*) for the goat enclosure and a lower and more loosely made fence (*agala*) for the cattle kraal. In olden days, the small circular grass thatched houses (*ono*) had their place inside the goat enclosure, where they were safe from hyenas, jackals and leopards, but nowadays people build their houses also outside the fenced-in parts of the compound.



Hamär, initiation ritual (leap across the cattle); photo courtesy of the author

A spectacular feature of H. culture that also seems to be enduring is the initiation rite, where an initiate (*ukuli*) leaps across a row of cattle. The ritual produces good fortune (*bargo*) for the young man and ensures that his wife will have an abundance of children. Also, it publicly proclaims that the immature young man has been reborn and from now on will act like a responsible elder (*donza*).

Lit.: VSAe I; JEAN LYDALL – IVO STRECKER, *The Hamar of Southern Ethiopia*, 3 vols., Hohenschäftlarn 1979; JEAN LYDALL, "The Power of Women in an Ostensibly Male-dominated Agro-pastoral Society", in: THOMAS WIDLOK – WOLDE GOSSA TADESSE (eds.), *Property and Equality*, vol. 2: *Encapsulation, Commercialization, Discrimination*, Oxford – New York 2005, 152-72; Ivo Strecker, "To Share or not to Share. Notes about Authority and Anarchy among the Hamar of Southern Ethiopia", *ibid.*

Ivo Strecker

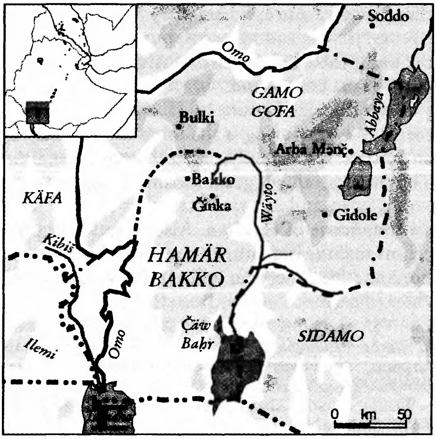
Hamär Bakko

H.B. (**ሃመር ፡ ባኮ**, also Hamär Kokke) is the name of a former *awrağğa* in the southern part of the old ↗Gamu Gofa province. In the late 1960s the area west of the Omo River (previously a part of Käfa province) was added to the *awrağğa*, which was named Gäläb and Hamär Bakko then. H.B. consisted of five *wärädas*: Hamär, Bänakolä (Banna Kole), Mursi Bodi and Gäläb.

The administrative composition of the *awrağğa* changed at various times. For some time, e.g., the Bakko sub-district was affiliated to Bulki, the administrative centre of Gofa, and then again to Hamär. Also, the ↗Konso district temporarily formed part of Hamär until it was given back to ↗Gardula in 1934. Under Italian occupation H.B., or "Baco", was administrated by the *residenti* of Bakko and Koke (VSAe I, 25f.).

In recent times the H.B. *awrağğa* was succeeded by the South Omo Zone, which belongs to the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State. The Zone is constituted by the *wärädas* of Hamär Banna, Bakko Gazär, Sälamago, Wäyṭo and Kuraz (Gäläb). The administrative centre of the district today is ↗Ğinka.

The eastern boundary of the *awrağğa* follows the River Wäyṭo (Woito) and Lake Çäw Baḥər. In the south the boundary is defined by the Ethio-Kenyan border at the northern shore of Lake ↗Turkana. In the west H.B. borders the disputed "Ilemi Triangle" (s. ↗Boundaries) west of the Kibbiš river and to the north-west and north to ↗Gofa *awrağğa*.



H.B. *awrağğa* includes the territories of various ethnic groups such as the ↗Aari, the ↗Arbore, the ↗Banna, the ↗Bäšada, the ↗Đáasanač, the ↗Hamär, the ↗Kara, the ↗Kʷegu, the ↗Maale, the ↗Mursi, the ↗Ñaŋatom and the ↗Ṣamay. Most of these ethnic groups are semi-nomadic agro-pastoralists. An important crop is sorghum. Cattle has high symbolic value and traditionally is object of a belligerent inter-ethnic competition.

The area north of Lake Turkana (previously called Lake Rudolf and, by Mənilək II, Samburu Baḥər; s. Nene Mburu 2003) was integrated into *aṣe* Mənilək II's territories by a military expedition led by *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye in 1897/98.

For the control of the new territory a couple of ↗*kätäma* were established. The highland camp of Bakko, called after a sub-group of the Aari, at the beginning of Ethiopian dominance became the most important *kätäma* in the area. It was founded by *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw as a military bridgehead and administrative centre of the so-called equatorial provinces. Another important *kätäma* was Koke. In 1899 Count ↗Leontiev was appointed governor of the "equatorial provinces". Three other Russian adventurers supported the establishment of Ethiopian control over the area, the Seljean brothers and Nikolai Chedeuvres. The last set up a military post by the name of "Mənilək" which was situated south-west of Lake Turkana in today's ↗Kenya. Sebillon, a Frenchman, founded a post called "Senegal" on the banks of the River Omo (PankHist II, 194f., 200, 358). Mənilək's claim of the "equatorial provinces", which for the most part was only nominal, was a disregard of British interests in the region. As Marcus (1975:188) suggests, Mənilək used the presence of Europeans in the region to deter them from military interference (for the historical context cp. also ↗Fashoda).

Src.: CSA 1964, 192; CSA 1970, appendix: 2, 7; EMAtlas 35; Alexander Bulatovitch, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes: Country in Transition, 1896-98*, ed., tr. by Richard Seltzer, Oxford – New York 2000; Nikolai Stepanovich de Léontieff, *Exploration des provinces équatoriales d'Abyssinie*, Paris 1900, 112f.

Lit.: PankHist II, 194f., 200, 358; VSAe I, 25f.; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II, Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 185–89; Nene Mburu, "Delimitation of the Elastic Ilemi Triangle: Pastoral Conflicts and Official Indifference in the Horn of Africa", *African Studies Quarterly* 6, 4, 2003.

Dirk Bustorf

Ḥamärä Noḫ

Ḥ.N. (**ሐመረ፡ ኖኅ**, 'Noah's Ark') is a church in ↗Gondär established by *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos in the former "tower" (*maḫfäd*) of *bitwäddäd* ↗Basəlyos. On 24 *Ḫədar* [1 December] 1709, the Emperor gave it ↗*gʷəlt*-land in the region of Bäläsa, and had its ↗*tabot* dedicated to the "318 (Orthodox) Fathers [at the Council of ↗Nicaea]". Hence its other title of *Śälästu Məʾət*, 'The 300' (abridged from *300.wä.18*, '300 and 18'; "Selestù Mit" in the Italian colonial literature: e.g., Monti della Corte 1938:101). Mentioned in the chronicles (BassÉt I, 379; BégCron 92; DombrChr 92, 105) and in an Amharic historical text found in ms. EMML 1706, fol. 50ᵛ (Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, 370), it is located near the royal palace (↗*Gəmb*, cp. GuiVoc 760). Its name is especially bound to a celebrated collection of 146 18th-cent. historical documents preserved at the end of a Gospel manuscript from Ḥ.N., London, BritLib Or. 508, fols. *277b–87a* (fol. *278a* on the foundation of the church). They form an important local archive (Lusini 1998:15) that was almost completely published by Guidi (1906:653–98).

Src.: BassÉt I 379 [65] (text), II 330 (tr.) [177] (tr.); BégCron 92; DombrChr 92, 105 (text) = 254, 267 (tr.); GETATCHEW HAILE, *Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church*, in: *PICES* 10, 370-75, here 370, 372; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Gli archivî in Abissinia", *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche (Roma 1-9 aprile 1903)*, Roma 1906, 651-98; GuiVoc 760; WrBriMus 29f., no. 44 [= Or. 508].

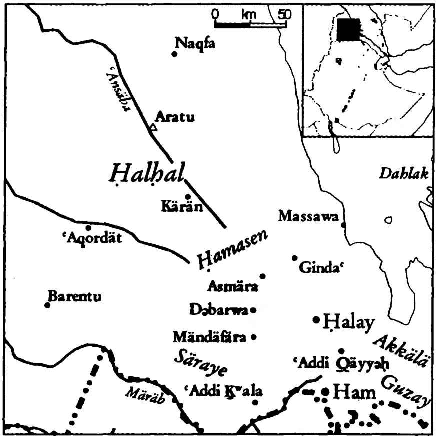
Lit.: CrumLand 92, 286 n. 108, 287 n. 6 (ignoring Guidi 1906); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Scritture documentarie etiopiche", *RSE* 42, 1998 [1999, but 2000], 5–55, here 15; ALESSANDRO AUGUSTO MONTI DELLA CORTE, *I castelli di Gondar*, Roma 1938, 101, no. 28; PankHist I, 144 and n. 15.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Ḥamasen

Ḥ. (**ሐማሴን**, with vars., seldom [in chronicles] also Amasen) is the name of a historical province in the northern Eritrean highlands, roughly corresponding to, however smaller, *zoba* Maʾəkäl (Tgn. 'Central province') of contemporary Eritrea.

The name, perhaps originally an ethnonym, is probably ancient. It has been suggested that it corresponds to ʾMSW ("Amasu"), a province of ↗Punt registered, along with WDLṮT (↗Adulis), in the Egyptian "Lists of Foreign People" of Pharaoh Thutmosis III, ca. 1458/25 B.C. (s. SerHist 25; Fiaccadori 2004:108). Later on, in Aksumite times, Ḥ. appears (as ḤMS^{2}M, i.e. ḤMŠ) in a pre-Christian 4th-cent. "pseudo-Sabaic" inscription of the beginning of ↗ʿEzana's reign: after subduing the coastal kingdom of ↗Gäbäz, the King went to Ḥ., here also receiving the homage of the Mətin(ə) (MṮNM, s. DAE IV, 19, no. 8.13 [RIE no. 186]). As Μετίνε (Metine) the latter are already mentioned in the ↗*Monumentum Adulitanum*, the anonymous Greek inscription of ca. 200 A.D. copied at Adulis by ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes (RIE no. 277.15, s. Fiaccadori 2004:138). Archaeological evidence shows that Ḥ. had been an area with an economically flourishing culture since around 800 B.C. at least, its settlement density being one of the highest of the entire Africa (↗ʿOna Culture). It soon became a part of the Empire of ↗Aksum, as proved, e.g., by the inscription King ↗Sembrouthes left in ↗Däqqämḥare, Dämbäzan, ca. 200 A.D. (*ibid.*, 131); and is also reflected in popular traditions making Ḥ. the first realm of the mythical ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa (CRStor 258).



On its early way from the Eritrean coast to the Təgrayan highlands via Akkälä Guzay, ↗Christianity also spread, though to a lesser extent, into the neighbouring regions of Säraye and Ḥ., the latter having preserved until recently important evidence of Aksumite church architecture (e.g., ↗Ǝnda Maryam in Asmära). Yet, only in the 14th cent. did the creation of a chain of monastic communities of ↗Ewosṭateans, the movement inspired by ↗Ewosṭatewos of Däbrä Ṣärabi and for a long period of time pivoting on the monastery of ↗Däbrä Bizan in Ḥ., mark the beginning of a deeper Christianization (Lusini 2004:249ff.; LusStud).

Local folk-etymology explains Ḥ. as a corruption of *ḥamat Ḥusayn* (Tgn.: 'mother-in-law of Ḥusayn'), attributing the first settlements of Ḥ. to a Muslim woman. This legend reflects the historical fact that, after the fall of Aksum, or rather since the 10th cent., part of Ḥ. was controlled by factions of ↗Beǧa and other Muslim tribes, perhaps responsible for the first exploitation of the gold-mines in the region (CRStor 279). During the last decades of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, probably connected with Ḥ. (ibid. 305), and the first period after the re-establishment of the ↗Solomonic dynasty, whose rulers extended their influence far to the north, ↗Agäw groups linked with the Zagʷe fled from ↗Lasta to Ḥ. (the Zagʷe are still the inhabitants of a remote district of Ḥ., the Liban, with toponyms of Agäw origin, e.g., Wägäriqo, its capital, s. CRStor 318). Also from Lasta, according to their own traditions, were to migrate the ancestors of the Bogos (↗Bilin), who dwelled in Ḥ. (ibid. 286f.). Likewise, the names of ancient settlements in Ḥ. (e.g., Dək̲anamo or ↗Dəbarwa) are often of ↗Cushitic origin. It is known from local chronicles and traditions that several subgroups of Cushitic stock came from Ḥ.: e.g., the ancestor of the Sāho ↗Irob in ʿAgamä and a Təgre-speaking faction of the Beǧa ↗Beni ʿAmər, called Ḥamaseyn (Paul 1954, index). In the progress of time, however, the Semitic speakers, traditionally much better rooted in Ḥ., prevailed again: the spoken language became Təgrəñña, the population consisting today of Təgrəñña-speakers alone. Their oldest genealogies often go back to the early Solomonic period, when the legendary ancestor of Ḥ. and the Təgrəñña groups of Akkälä Guzay, "*nəguś* Meroni", would have moved to Ḥ.

Important trade routes departing from the Red Sea (esp. from Massawa) and then following the course of the ↗ʿAnsäba river to the north connect Ḥ. with the lowlands of the Sudan: hence the economic importance of the region and its rulers, who acquired influential positions within the power framework of the Ethiopian empire. The local Təgrəñña groups of Ḥ. kept their own petty leaders, but were possibly tributary to the *maʾəkälä baḥər* (lit. 'the middle of the coast'), as the governor of the provinces between the Ethiopian highlands and the Red Sea area (*baḥər*) is called in a series of local 13th- to 15th-cent. documents from the "Golden Gospel" of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Ham (CRDLib 189–99, nos. 7-16, s. TadTChurch 74f.).

Since the 15th cent., these governors are known as ↗*baḥər nägaš* (Tgn. *baḥri nägaśi*'), under whose authority two ↗*kantiba* of Ḥ. were put by *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (PerZarY 47f.). The *baḥər nägaš* dominated the northern trade routes from and to the Red Sea, whereas most of Təgray was put under the ↗*təgre mäkʷännən*. The capital of the "kingdom" of the *baḥər nägaš* was Dəbarwa (today in Säraye, but originally part of Ḥ.), next to the ↗Märäb sources; he also occasionally moved to the chief places of other districts, such as the nearby ↗ʿAddi Baro (sometimes erroneously thought to be the first seat of the *baḥər nägaš*). In the early 16th cent. the Portuguese envoy ↗Alvarez, while mentioning "Barra", i.e. ʿAddi Baro, describes with awe "Debarua", i.e. Debarwa, as the rich settlement of the *baḥər nägaš* (BeckHuntAlvar 98, 104f., 112, 118f., 125) – who ruled not only Ḥ., but the whole ↗Märäb Məllaš, for which the term "Ḥ." is often used interchangeably.

Ḥ. was seriously threatened by the Muslims led by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") in the mid-16th cent., when its *śəyyum* was killed by Sāliḥ, a page of *amīr* Muǧāhid b. ʿAlī (BassHist 203). After Grañ's fall, the Ottomans established themselves on the coast. The *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq eventually allied with them, so that Ḥ. was included in the Ottoman rule from the 1560s to 1578, with Dəbarwa as its centre (↗Ḥabeš). Recovered again by the Ethiopian emperors, the northern power was split by appointing several governors; but in the 17th cent. a ↗Däqqi Täššəm dynasty, loyal to the ↗Gondärine kingdom, could emerge with *däggiyat* ↗Habsəllus, Ṣäʿazzäga (near Asmära) becoming his power base. Ḥ. was then to gain a high degree of autonomy and to include Säraye; in the 18th-cent. versions of the ↗*Śərʿatä mängəśt*, it appears devided into *Amasen gra* and *Amasen qaññ* ('northern' and 'southern Ḥ.', s. HuntGeogr 249, cp. Varenbergh 1915–16: 25). The customary laws of the Däqqi Täššəm in Ḥ. were collected and unified under a new law-code, the ↗*Ḥəggi Habsəllus*, while other districts within the region kept their own customary law (e.g., ↗Karnäššəm). The successive governors mostly came from Habsəllus's dynasty, which split up into two competing branches, the (Ǝnda) Ṣäʿazzäga and the (Ǝnda) ↗Hazzäga. Their power extended even over Bogos, which paid tribute until it became Egyptian in the 19th cent.

The Ḥ. leaders, interested in the protection of trade routes, mainly kept practical relationships with the Ottoman administration of Massawa and surroundings, including marriage relationships; oral tradition also knows of treaties with the ↗*naʾib*. In the 18th cent. the *naʾib* founded Bet Mak̲ʿa (today's hill called Forto in Asmära) with Muslim settlers who had acquired rights to graze lands. Travellers coming from the Red Sea sometimes first stayed here, before getting permission to enter the Ethiopian empire.

Since the end of the first half of the 19th cent., Ḥ. has experienced Catholic presence and missions, falling within the Apostolic Prefecture, then Vicariate (1847) of Abyssinia, and witnessing the subsequent activities of the French ↗Lazarists and the Italian ↗Capuchins, presently settled in the Eparchy of Asmära (↗Catholicism). Starting from the late 1860s, a religious reform movement (the "Bible readers") in Ḥ. led to the establishment of close ties with German and Swedish missionaries and a partial detachment from the Ethiopian leadership; an important number of priests, close to the Ḥ. leadership, declared themselves Protestant (especially in Ṣäʿazzäga). This was followed by punishment raids by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV; in the long term, however, ↗Protestantism established itself permanently in several villages.

The 1870s saw a virtual depopulation of Ḥ. due to warfare and famine. In October 1875 Egypt annexed Ḥ. with the declared aim of establishing a buffer zone with the realm of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, but had to retreat quickly a few weeks later following the dramatic defeat in the battle of ↗Gundät; the Emperor appointed *däggiyat* (later *ras*) ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel Sälämon of Ḥazzäga as governor of Ḥ. (including Bogos), who, however, quickly submitted his province to Egypt. In 1876 the re-appointed governor of Ḥ. ↗Ḥaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən (titled *śəyyumä ḥamasen*) from Ṣäʿazzäga was killed by the Egyptian-supported *ras* Wäldä Mikaʾel. The new governor created by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, the Təgrayan *ras* Baryaʾu, was also killed by Wäldä Mikaʾel in 1878 in the battle of Bet Mak̲ʿa, the site of which corresponds to what is today the village of Ḥaz Ḥaz (lit. 'catch catch', alluding to the battle, KilHDic 120, 247). This was followed by the appointment of *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda as governor, who established his military camp in ʿAd Täk̲lay and later changed his residence to Asmära; he featured a new form of central government and, through regular raids, extended again the Märäb Məllaš from Ḥ. to Bogos. In July 1889 Ḥ. was annexed by Italy, which used the local rivalries to enforce its supremacy (↗Ḫadgä Anbäsa). In 1899 Asmära became the capital of the new Colonia Eritrea and also served as capital of Ḥ.

In local usage, the term Ḥ., although no longer a (sub-)province designation after 1995 (↗Eritrea: Administrative division), continues to be applied both geographically and culturally, especially when descent is concerned. Alternatively *käbäsa* is also used, a wider Təgrəñña term that means simply the "highland(s)" and is originally a Təgre term used by those leaving at the slopes of Ḥ. (but is etymologically distinguished from the ethnonym Ḥabäša, s. Fiaccadori 2004:126; Littmann suggests etymological connection between *käbäsa* and *Ḥabäsa* through the Təgre language; s. DAE IV, 4). Territorially, Ḥ. extends as far as ↗ʿAd Täkäläzan in the north-west, ↗Ḥəmbərti in the south-west, ↗Näfasit in the north, while reaching in the south the area just north of Dəbarwa; it includes the historical regions of Dämbäzan, Däqqi Täššəm, Karnäššəm, ↗Loggo Č̣əwa, ↗Šäwʿattä ʿAnsäba, Saḥarti, Mənabä Zärʾay, Käbäsa Č̣əwa, Wäkkarti, Lamza and Täkkälä Agäba (cp. D'Amelio 1911:153). Since colonial times, Ḥ. has developed its role as an economic and political centre of Eritrea (possessing ca. 80 % of Eritrea's industries in the colonial period, as well as today). State leaders often originate from Ḥ.

Following famine and fragmentation of land, in the 19th cent. groups of Ḥ. inhabitants migrated to other areas, especially in Western Təgray. Together with other Təgrəñña-speakers from Təgray, these "Ḥamasenay" settled, e.g., on the Šire-Kunama borderlands (Taḥtay Adyabo), formerly Kunama grazing and hunting areas, and in the fertile Wälqayt highlands. They also appear as semi-nomadic cattle-herders in the ↗Ḥumära area.

Src.: CRDLib 189–99, nos. 7–16; DAE IV, 4, 7, 18–24, no. 8; RIE no. 186; KolTrad I, II, III, s. index; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia, II. La seconda migrazione Agau dell'Eritrea (Zaguà e Adchemé Melgà)", *RSO* 4, 1912, 599–651, here 599–625; Id., *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbania 1942, 119–222; BeckHuntAlvar 98, 104f., 112, 118f., 125; Gerhard Rohlfs, *Meine Mission nach Abessinien*, Leipzig 1883, 43, 142ff.; James Theodore Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians, being a Record of Travel and Research in Abyssinia in 1893*, London ^{2}1896, 36f.; Ferdinando Martini, *Il diario*

eritreo, 4 vols., Firenze 1942–43, s. index; JOSEPH VARENBERG, “Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (Šerᶜata Mangešt)”, *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45, here 25 (text), 42 (tr.); ZÄRʾA-YAᶜƎQOB ƎSṬIFANOS – WÄLDÄ MARYAM ABRAHAM – GÄRIMA GÄBRÄMÄSQÄL (eds.), ሕጊ፡ ሥርዓትን፡ ናይ፡ መሬት፡ ዓደቦ *Codes and Bylaws of Eritrean Regions & Counties.* ትግርኛ/ትግሬ *Tigrinia/Tigre Version*, West Germany 1990; ZewYohan, s. index; interview with *daññа* Arʾaya Kidane, ᶜAddi Qonṣi, August 2000.
Lit.: CRStor 48, 258, 275, 279, 286, 305, 318; DaiMarEr; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, “Sembrouthes ‘gran re’ (*DAE* IV 3 = RIÉth 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita”, *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004, 103–57, here 108, 126, 138; SerHist, s. index; KilHDic, 120, 243f., 247; FRIEDERIKE KEMINK, *Die Tegreñña-Frauen in Eritrea, Eine Untersuchung der Kodizes des Gewohnheitsrechts 1890–1941*, Stuttgart 1991 (SKK 101); MARIO D’AMELIO, *L’ordinamento giuridico della Colonia Eritrea*, Milano 1911, 153; ERCOLE PETAZZI, *L’odierno diritto penale consuetudinario dello Hamasien* (*Eritrea*), Asmara 1937; RubInd, s. index; RUFFILLO PERINI, *Di qua dal Marèb* (*Marèb-mellàsc’*), Firenze 1905 [Tgn. tr. by GÄBRÄ NƎGUS, *Märäb Məllaš*, Roma – Asmära 1995]; YƎSḤAQ YOSEF, ንግስነት፡ ሃገረ፡ ምድሪ፡ ባሕሪ፡ (ኤርትራ፡), ታሪኽ፡ ደጊያት፡ ሃይሉ፡ «አባ፡ ጋላ፡» (*Nəgəsənnät hagärä Mədri Baḥri* [*Erətra*], *tarik̠ däggiyat Haylu «abba Galla»*, ‘The Rule of the Land of Mədri Baḥəri (Eritrea), the History of *däǧǧač* Haylu «Abba Galla»’), Asmära 2000; GEORGES DOUIN, *Histoire du règne du khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 3: *L’empire Africain*, partie 1, Le Caire 1936, index; *ibid*., partie 3, Le Caire 1941, index; ANDREW PAUL, *A History of the Beja Tribes of the Sudan*, Cambridge 1954, index; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, “Per una storia delle tradizioni monastiche eritree: le genealogie spirituali di Ēwosṭātēwos di Dabra Ṣarābi”, in: UGO ZANETTI – ENZO LUCCHESI (eds.), *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d’hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés a la mémoire du P. Paul Devos, Bollandiste*, Genève 2004 (Cahiers d’orientalisme 25), 249–72, here 249ff.; LusStud, s. index.

Wolbert Smidt

Ḥāmid b. Ṣiddīq al-Hararī

Ḥ. (حامد بن صديق الهرري) was an 18th-cent. writer from ↗Harär. Ḥ. is known by three treatises he wrote, preserved in a manuscript written between 1756 and 1765, now in the Vatican Library (Vat. Arab. 1791).

The first treatise, *Tanbīh an-nāʾimīn* (‘The Awakening of the Sleepers’), contains admonitions and counsels in a sermon-like style with several quotations from the Koran and the prophetic traditions (*ḥadīt̠*).

The second, *al-Ādāb al-ǧāmiᶜa* (‘The Comprehensive Guide for Good Behaviour’), gives rules for different situations – social, economic, religious – of life. It recommends some Ṣūfī practices, especially the participation in the ↗*d̠ikr*. Ḥ. mentions the most-venerated *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn of Bale and the national hero of Harär, ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid. He also tells his readers that the *amīr* Ḥāmid b. Abī Bakr (1733–47) abolished the ↗*waqf* (pious endowment) and other religious institutions in Harär. They were reinstalled, however, by the ruling *amīr* ↗Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr (1755–82).

The third treatise, *Kitāb an-Naṣīḥatayn li-salāmat ad-dārayn* (‘The Two Counsels for the Well-being in the Two Worlds’, i.e. the present life and the one to come) is also styled like a sermon. The two counsels mean: honouring and following the ancient authorities and preventing modern people from sinning and committing injustices. It is a pamphlet against the introduction of reprehensible innovations (*bidaᶜ*, sg. *bidᶜa*) into religion, law and daily life. Such messages reveal that Ḥ. was a conservative Sunnī theologian.
Lit.: ROBERT BRUNSCHVIG, “L’Islam enseigné par Ḥāmid b. Ṣiddīq de Harar (XVIIIe siècle)”, in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 445–54 [repr. in: ABDEL MAGID TURKI (ed.), *Études d’islamologie*, vol. 1, Paris 1976, 329–38].

Ewald Wagner

Ḥamid Idris ᶜAwate

Ḥ. (ሐሚድ፡ ኢድሪስ፡ ዐዋቴ; d. 1962) was an Eritrean liberation leader and first field commander of the Eritrean Liberation Army. Much of Ḥ.’s

Ḥamid Idrīs ᶜAwate “martyr” on an Eritrean Liberation Front poster, based on his only known photo preserved in the police files of Aqordät police station; photo courtesy of Günter Schröder life remains obscure and controversial. Born into a ↗Beni ᶜAmər clan and according to some accounts with also connections in the Gindaᶜ area, he spent his early years as a farmer. In the early 1940s, however, he turned to so-called ↗šəfta activities, partly in response to attacks by rival highland gangs and perhaps for more personal reasons, too. His activities were considered serious enough for the British Military Administration to offer in 1949 a reward for his capture. Following an amnesty offered by the British authorities in 1951, Ḥ. returned to farming for several years. But by 1956 he had again taken up arms owing to continued attacks from highland šəfta and in protest against land policy in the Barka region.

His activity against the security forces in the late 1950s coincided with the growing belief among a number of Eritrean nationalists in the need for armed struggle against creeping Ethiopian violation of Eritrean autonomy. Ḥ. was persuaded, possibly by his fellow Beni ᶜAmər ↗Idrīs Muḥammad Adim, to join the Eritrean Liberation Front and continue his militia activity under the auspices of the liberation movement. At the head of no more than a dozen soldiers, he led an attack against an isolated police post in the ↗Barka region in September 1961, which has been said to mark the "official" beginning of the armed struggle. The liberation forces would continue to grow, but Ḥ. himself died of natural causes shortly after. Like other fighters who died during that period, he is considered martyr by the official Eritrean historiography.

Perceptions of Ḥ. vary. To some, he was the leader of a "peasant militia" fighting for their rights against the injustices of the British and, later, the Unionist Eritrean government. To others, he was merely the most successful of a number of rural šəfta-bandits in the 1940s and 1950s, raiding neighbouring peoples such as the ↗Kunama for personal gain. The reality may be assumed to lie somewhere between the two extremes.

↗Liberation movements;
↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front

Lit.: Ruth Iyob, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence*, Cambridge, MA 1995; Tekeste Negash, *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1997; Jordan Gebremedhin, *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 1989, s. index.

Richard Reid

Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad ↗Tağūra

Ḥamir, Ḥamər ↗Ḥamta

Hamitic

There are three basic concepts about what constitutes H., one raciological, one cultural, and one linguistic; sometimes these concepts are mixed.

The term H., as opposed to Semitic, has been in use since the middle of the 19th cent. in works of such scholars as Lepsius (1863), Beke (1845), Renan (1855) and Lottner (1860–61). Following the term Semitic (connected with the name of Noah's son Shem), the term H. was coined after the name of Noah's second son, Ham. Thus, the names of Noah's sons and his grandsons were used as a convenient source for naming different language groups, based partly on the Table of Nations in the Bible (Gen 10) where Shem, Ham and Japheth (the sons of Noah) were seen as ancestors of the Semitic, black African and Indo-European "races" and language groups, respectively. In the classification of Lepsius (1863), the "gender languages" (as opposed to the "no-gender languages") are divided into "Japhetic (Indo-Germanic), Semitic and Hamitic" languages.

The sons of Ham are Cush, Mizraim (*Miṣrayim* 'Egypt'), Put (*Pūṭ* 'Libya (?)') and Canaan (*Kənāᶜan* 'Canaan'). Ignoring Canaan (Canaanite is a Semitic language), the remaining three sons of Ham were regarded as corresponding to the language sub-families of the H. family, namely, Cushitic, Egyptian and Berber.

The usage of the term H. is closely connected with the so-called "Hamitic" hypothesis, which considers the African languages genetically related to Semitic as belonging to one language family, named H. (henceforth the original name of the super-family, ↗Hamito-Semitic).

The extent of H. has varied in the history of African studies. Lepsius (1880) correctly included Hausa (Chadic) but "Hottentottisch (Koikoin)" as well (which is not followed today).

A strong difference was seen between H. and the more southern Bantu and Sudanic languages ("Sudansprachen"). Lepsius (1880) used twelve linguistic criteria that distinguish H. from Bantu, such as prefixation vs. suffixation, feminine gender and word-order. The most important criterion was the existence of gender. Already in the language classification of Bleek (1851), the "Stirps sexualis" (Semito-Africani [Semitic, Cushitic, Berber] + Copti + Indogermani) is in direct opposition to the Bantu languages, which are characterized by class prefixes.

In the 19th and early 20th cent. there were many reflections on the origin of peoples and the early history of Africa. The so-called H. were now seen as "Caucasoid" and the racist concept of superior H. peoples from outside of Africa conquering great parts of Africa played an important role. The superiority of cattle-breeding nomadic peoples over sedentary farmers was generally assumed. These thoughts even inflated into a more universal historical concept. The origin and expansion of the great African groups Bantu, Sudanic, Khoisan and (Semito-)H. was therefore explained with the help of linguistic and racial characteristics. Thus the Sudanic peoples were seen as a mixture of H. and Nigritic components. Similarly the Bantu languages were regarded as a merger of "a Hamitic father and a Nigritic mother" (Meinhof 1912).

Seligman stated as late as 1930 (and in several later editions) that "every trace or sign of what is usually termed 'civilized' in Africa was attributed to alien, mainly Hamitic, origin" (Sanders 1969:530). These views have no longer been acceptable since the last half of the 20th cent. The assumption of the H. peoples as immigrants from the Near East into Africa is an attempt to account for their physical similarity to the Semitic-speaking and Indo-European-speaking peoples. The idea of a Near-Eastern origin is today only supported by a small minority; most prefer to see the Semito-H. (Afro-Asiatic) "*Urheimat*" ('original homeland') in the Sahara.

The linguistic arguments in favour of the Hamitic hypothesis have been rejected in the course of the 20th cent. Today H. is seen as an obsolete term and those who use it utilize it exclusively as a linguistic term to designate the non-Semitic members of the Afro-Asiatic language phylum. Only a few scholars assume a genetic unity of the H. language groups in contrast to the obvious unity of the Semitic branch.

Lit.: CHARLES T. BEKE, "On the Languages and Dialects of Abyssinia and the Countries to the South", *Proceedings of the Philological Society* 1845, 89–107; WILHELM BLEEK, *De nominum generibus linguarum Africae australis, copticae, semiticarum aliarumque sexualium*, Bonn 1851; OSWIN KÖHLER, "Geschichte und Probleme der Gliederung der Sprachen Afrikas", in: HERMANN BAUMANN (ed.), *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre traditionellen Kulturen*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1975, vol. 1, 135–373; CHARLES RICHARD LEPSIUS, *Standard Alphabet for Reducing Unwritten Languages and Foreign Graphic Systems*, London – Berlin ^{2}1863; ID., *Nubische Grammatik mit einer Einleitung über die Völker und Sprachen Afrikas*, Berlin 1880, here i–cxxvi; CARL LOTTNER, "On Sisterfamilies of Languages, especially those Connected with the Semitic Family", *Transactions of the Philological Society* 20–27, 1860–61, 112–32; CARL MEINHOF, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, Hamburg 1912; FRIEDRICH MÜLLER, *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, 4 vols., Wien 1876–88, vol. 1, Abteilung 1: *Einleitung in die Sprachwissenschaft*, Wien 1876, vol. 3: *Die Sprachen der lockenhaarigen Rasse*, Wien 1887, 224–419 ["Die Sprachen der mittelländischen Rasse"]; ERNEST RENAN, *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques*, Paris 1855; EDITH R. SANDERS, "The Hamitic Hypothesis: Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective", *JAH* 10, 1969, 521–32; CHARLES GABRIEL SELIGMAN, *The Races of Africa*, London ^{4}1966; GÜNTHER SPANNAUS, "Historisch-Kritisches zum Hamitenproblem in Afrika", in: *In memoriam Karl Weule – Beiträge zur Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte*, Leipzig 1929, 181–95; RAINER VOIGT, "Geschichte der vergleichenden Semitohamitistik", in: E.F. KONRAD KOERNER – SYLVAIN AUROUX – HANS-JOSEF NIEDEREHE – KEES VERSTEEGH (eds.), *History of the Language Sciences: an International Handbook on the Evolution of the Study of Language from the Beginnings to the Present*, 3 vols., Berlin 2001, vol. 2, 1318–25.

Rainer Voigt

Hamito-Semitic

H.-S. (also Hamitosemitic and Semitohamitic) is the original name designating a huge language phylum for which some other terms have been proposed, such as Erythraic, ↗Afro-Asiatic, or Afrasian.

The term H.-S. was originally used in the framework of the so-called "Hamitic" hypothesis, according to which the language family denoted by the term consisted of two sub-families, ↗Semitic and ↗Hamitic. The idea of binary opposition between Hamitic and Semitic found its expression in works of Lepsius (1863), Müller (1876, where the term H.-S. is introduced), Cust (1883) and Meinhof (1912).

A first comparative treatment of the H.-S. languages is given by Müller (1887:224–314). In this work all H.-S. language groups except Chadic are included.

Meinhof, in his *Die Sprachen der Hamiten* (1912), includes all current Afro-Asiatic languages, but he regards Ful, Maasai (Nilo-Hamitic) and Nama as Hamitic as well, which are nowadays classified differently. His reason for doing so was not so much based on racial ideas but on linguistic principles, such as ablaut, grammatical polarity and grammatical gender. In the case of the Nama (Khoisan language group) he saw the existence of grammatical gender (with the masc. *-b* compared with Beğa *-b* and Egyptian *p-*) as decisive, rather than relying on racial properties which are hardly to be found in his work. However, in the inclusion of Ful and Maasai, he regarded the tall stature of their speakers as an important hint. Meinhof's (1912) work was an important step towards a more linguistic treatment of what constitutes Afro-Asiatic. Thus he focused on features like grammatical gender and the inclusion of the "Hottentoti (Koran + Naman)" (Bleek 1851, Meinhof 1912).

The current hypothesis supposes the ancestor language to develop into coordinate decent lines (Semitic, Egyptian, Berber etc.). This approach was suggested already by Beke (1845). Bleek (1851) treats three members of his Semitic-African ("Semito-Africani") language family, namely, Semitic ("Semitae"), Cushitic ("Gallaei") and Berber ("Berberi") as sister families. Likewise, Lottner (1860–61), although using race concepts typical of that time, classified Semitic, Egyptian, Berber and Cushitic as equal members of a larger language family. Delafosse (1914) presented the internal classification of Afro-Asiatic languages. The fundamental work by Cohen (1947), although continuing to use the term H.-S., in fact rejects the dichotomic opposition of Hamitic and Semitic and secures the wide acknowledgement of the Afro-Asiatic hypothesis. Greenberg (1950) includes Chadic in the Afro-Asiatic and presents a five-branched language family. The status of ↗Omotic is a matter of discussion until now.

Greenberg (1966) argued against grammatical gender as a criterion in classification, but stressed the relevance of a feminine formative *-t*. His use of "mass comparison" was strongly criticized by Möhlig (1983:157f.) and others.

All language groups which are nowadays considered to form an Afro-Asiatic or H.–S. genetic phylum have been discussed since the beginning of comparative work in the 19th cent. In Müller's (1887:224–419) comparative treatment of the Semitic and Hamitic languages only Chadic languages were not included. Chadic was, however, considered as "Hamitic" by Lepsius (1863) and Müller (1886) also spoke about the Hamitic character of the Musgu language, later designated as Chadohamitic or Chadic.

A new stage in the comparative grammar of H.-S. languages was reached with the work of Rössler (1959; 2001) who laid emphasis on the genetic reconstruction of the verbal inflexion and of the phonological system of the proto-language.

Lit.: CHARLES T. BEKE, "On the Languages and Dialects of Abyssinia and the Countries to the South", *Proceedings of the Philological Society* 1845, 89–107; WILHELM BLEEK, *De nominum generibus linguarum Africae australis, copticae, semiticarum aliarumque sexualium*, Bonn 1851; MARCEL COHEN, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947; ROBERT N. CUST, *Sketch of African Languages*, London 1883; MAURICE DELAFOSSE, *Esquisse générale de l'Afrique et plus particulièrement de l'Afrique française*, Paris 1914; ISTVÁN FODOR, *A Fallacy of Contemporary Linguistics*, Hamburg 1982; JOSEPH H. GREENBERG, "Studies in African Linguistic Classification: IV. Hamito-Semitic", *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 6, 3, 1950, 47–63; ID., *The Languages of Africa*, The Hague 1966; RICHARD J. HAYWARD, "Afroasiatic", in: BERND HEINE – DEREK NURSE (eds.), *African Languages*, Cambridge 2002, 74–98, here 83–95; WILHELM J.G. MÖHLIG, "Massenvergleich", in: HERMANN JUNGRAITHMAYR – WILHELM J.G. MÖHLIG (eds.), *Lexikon der Afrikanistik: afrikanische Sprachen und ihre Erforschung*, Berlin 1983, 157-58; CHARLES RICHARD LEPSIUS, *Standard Alphabet for Reducing Unwritten Languages and Foreign Graphic Systems*, London – Berlin 1863; CARL LOTTNER, "On Sisterfamilies of Languages, Especially those Connected with the Semitic Family", *Transactions of the Philological Society* 20–27, 1860–61, 112–32; CARL MEINHOF, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, Hamburg 1912; FRIEDRICH MÜLLER, *Die Musuk-Sprache in Central-Afrika*, Wien 1886; ID., *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, 4 vols., Wien 1876–88, vol. 1, Abteilung 1: *Einleitung in die Sprachwissenschaft*, Wien 1876, vol. 3: *Die Sprachen der lockenhaarigen Rasse*, Wien 1887, 224–419 ["Die Sprachen der mittelländischen Rasse"]; HANS-JÜRGEN SASSE, "Afroasiatisch", in: BERNDT HEINE – THILO C. SCHADEBERG – EKKEHARD WOLFF (eds.), *Die Sprachen Afrikas*, Hamburg 1981; IGOR MIKHAILOVITCH DIAKONOFF, *Semito-Hamitic Languages*, Moscow 1965; ID., *Afrasian Languages*, Moscow 1988; LIONEL BENDER, "Upside-Down Afrasian", *AAP* 50, 1997, 19–34; OTTO RÖSSLER, "Verbalbau und Verbalflexion in den semitohamitischen Sprachen", *ZDMG* 100, 1959, 461–514; ID., *Gesammelte Schriften zur Semitohamitistik*, Münster 2001.

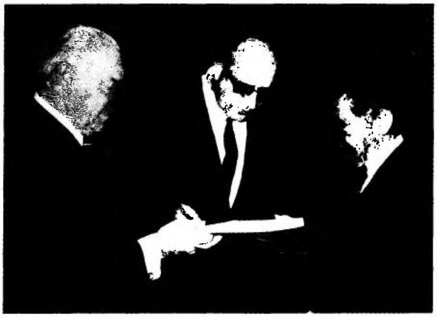
Rainer Voigt

Ḥamle ↗Calendar, Christian

Hammerschmidt, Ernst

H. (Eduard Maria Ernst H.; b. 29 April 1928, Marienbad [Bohemia], d. 16 December 1993, Vienna) was a prominent scholar of ↗Ethiopian studies (*Äthiopistik*) who succeeded in the institutionalization of the discipline within the German-language Oriental studies framework.

H. studied Oriental languages, theology and law (Bamberg 1946–48, Innsbruck 1949–50, St. Florian 1950–51, Salzburg 1951–52, Vienna 1952–53, 1957–58, Münster [Westfalen] 1954–55 and Oxford 1955–57) and in 1958 was ordained as an Old Catholic priest. After habilitation (1962) and appointment as Extraordinary Professor (University of Saarbrücken 1968), in 1970 he became Full Professor (*Ordentlicher Professor*) of African Studies at the University of Hamburg. Till his retirement in 1990, H. lectured in Ethiopian Studies, with codicology, old Ethiopian (Gəʿəz) literature, Ethiopian church and history



Ernst Hammerschmidt (middle) meeting Ḫaylä Śəllase I in Stuttgart during his state visit in Germany; photo 1954, courtesy of Ilse Hammerschmidt

in the focus of his attention. H. acquired four doctorates: Dr. phil. (1952), Dr. theol. (1953), Dr. jur. (1986) and Dr. litt. (1989).

Among H.'s important contributions was the foundation in 1977 of the ↗*Aethiopistische Forschungen*, the only scholarly monograph series specializing exclusively in Ethiopian studies. He continued following it till his death in 1993 (the last volume he edited was no. 35). Of fundamental importance for philological research within Ethiopian Studies were also his catalogues of the Ethiopian manuscripts from the libraries of Lake Ṭana monasteries and Germany published in the *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* (VOHD) series (since 1983 with Veronika Six, s. HamTana I, HamTana II, SixTana III, HamSixBerl).

H. assembled a rich specialized private library (today in possession of the Asia-Africa-Institute, University of Hamburg). His extensive co-operation in Oriental Christian boards and his broad interests contributed highly to the establishment of modern Ethiopian Studies in Germany.

Src.: ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopische liturgische Texte der Bodleian Library in Oxford*, Berlin 1960; ID., *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*, Berlin 1961 (Berliner Byzantinistische Studien 25), Stuttgart ^{2}1987 (AeF 25); ID., *Stellung und Bedeutung des Sabbats in Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1963 (Studia Delitzschiana 7); ID., *Äthiopien: Christliches Reich zwischen Gestern und Morgen*, Wiesbaden 1967; ID., *Äthiopistik an deutschen Universitäten*, Wiesbaden 1968; HamTana I; HamTana II; HamSixBerl.
Lit.: LANFRANCO RICCI, "Ernst Hammerschmidt", *RSE* 35, 1993, 177–79.

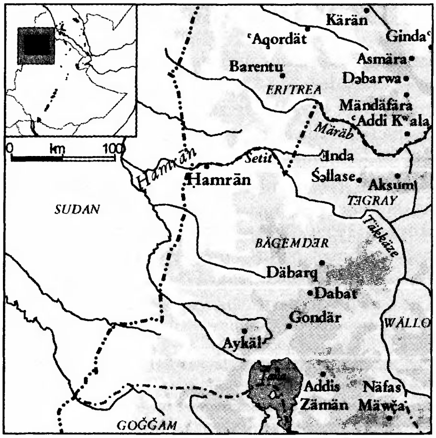
Siegbert Uhlig

Ḥamrān

The Ḥ. (حمران, var. Ḥumran/Ḥomran, 'the Red[s]') are an originally nomadic ↗Beğa group in the Ethio-Sudanese border area, mainly in the Gadārif District in Sudan (in the Šukurīya nazirate), south of ↗Kassala. The Ḥ. are sometimes identified with the Bišārīn in literature, but they are separate groups, like the ↗Haḏánḏowa or the ↗Beni ᶜAmər. The Ḥ. dwell farther south from the other Beğa groups (which are concentrated in the Beğa and Tokar districts of Sudan). The Ḥ. traditional grazing areas along the ↗Setit stretched as far as ↗Ḥumära (now in Ethiopia) and Kunama in the east. By the mid-20th cent. the Ḥ. counted only ca. 700 members (Paul 1954: 139); in the past the group had been much more numerous.

The Ḥ. speak Arabic (therefore they are also known in literature as the "Ḥ. Arabs", cp. Baker 1867; Myers 1876) and claim to be of pure Arab stock, as a branch of the Ḥarb. In fact, they were apparently a branch of the Arteyga Beğa, with whom they share the same original ritual (*šāfiᶜī*). According to a local tradition, their ancestor Muḥammad Adarōb (for genealogy s. Paul 1953: 73, 142) first migrated to the Atbara and later to the Setit. Well into the 19th cent. the Ḥ. still spoke Təgre. Due to intermarriages they are closely interrelated with other groups in the Setit area.

Historically the Ḥ. were subjects of the ↗Funğ sultanate. Until the 18th cent., they were one of the "ten districts of the Sobaha [= Eastern Sudan]" (Penn 1934:64) indirectly governed via the Beni ᶜAmir *diglal* (vassal of Funğ). In the 19th cent. the Ḥ., famous sword hunters (*agagir*, Tgr. 'hunter') of ↗elephants and other game, founded villages (Paul 1953:141; Douin 1941:1232) and became sedentary in Gadārif, along the northern



banks of the Setit. When the Egyptian administration was established, they supported the rebellious ↗Nimrāb (Douin 1936:42) but did not rebel openly and continued living by selling grain to the Egyptian government (Douin 1941: 1198), occasionally paying taxes via the Šukurīya to Khartoum (ibid. 1220, 1232f.; Myers 1876: 179, 180). In the 1880s they did not submit to the Mahdīya, but helped the Egyptian garrison of Kassala; by consequence they were attacked and nearly extinguished by the ↗Mahdists.

Migrations of smaller Ḫ. groups from the Setit explain the fact that there are several Beğa and non-Beğa clans claiming Ḫ. descent (sections of the Haḍánḍowa, and a Ǧaᶜalīyīn-branch in Kordofan).

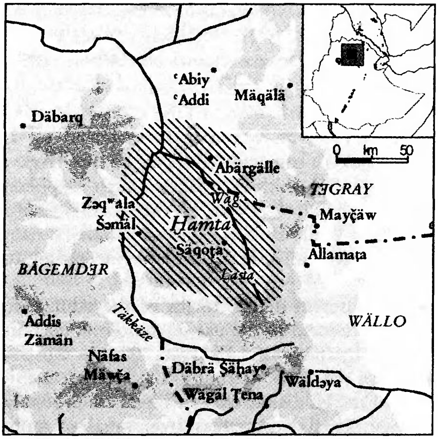
Lit.: Andrew Paul, *A History of the Beja Tribes of the Sudan*, Cambridge 1954, 18, 73, 139, 141f.; A.E.D. Penn, "Traditional stories of the Abdullab tribe", *Sudan Notes and Records* 17, 1, 1934, here 64; Samuel White Baker, *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia and the Sword Hunters of the Hamran Arabs*, London 1867; Arthur Bowen Richards Myers, *Life with the Hamran Arabs, an Account of a Sporting Tour of Some Officers of the Guards in the Soudan, During the Winter of 1874–5*, London 1876, 179f.; Georges Douin, *Histoire du règne du khédive Ismaïl*, vol. 3: *L'empire Africain*, partie 1, Le Caire 1936, 40 (map), 41f., 158; *ibid.*, partie 3, Le Caire 1941, 1198, 1220, 1232f., s. index.

Wolbert Smidt

Ḫamta

Ḫ. (variants Ḫamir, Hamär, Hamər, Hamir, Xamir, Khamir, Ḫaməṭ) live in Abärgälle, Lasta (Säqoṭa), Wag, and Sähala. Their language is ↗Ḫamtaŋa. The term ↗Agäw is sometimes used as a label for these specific Agäw subgroups. Reinisch finds that the root *kam/kəm/ham* means 'cattle' and 'wealth' (1884, vol. 1, 575; vol. 2, 376). Today, the total number of Ḫ. could be 158,000, of which 143,000 are speakers of Ḫamtaŋa, or Eastern Agäw (Grimes – Grimes 2000); the rest speak ↗Amharic. About a millennium ago, the Ḫ. populated a greater region extending into southern ↗Təgray and far into ↗Səmen, according to Conti Rossini (1904:186f.).

The Ḫ. are Orthodox Christians; some still respect a ↗Sabbath on Saturday. In the early 1960s, older Ḫ. of Amdäwärq prayed for rain in the hills in time of drought and interpreted dreams for Ḫ. and ↗Amhara. Trimingham posits that the religious substratum of the Christian Agäw south of Aksum was both pagan and Judaic (TrIslam 54).



The Ḫ. are plough-agriculturalists and animal husbandmen. Simoons (1960) reported that the modes of cultivation, agricultural tools and economic life of the Ḫ. of Sähala differed little from that of the neighbouring Amhara. According to the particular Ḫ. area, crops include *ṭef*, wheat, barley, sorghum, maize, squashes, *nug* (*Guizotia abyssinica*), *tälba* (flax, *Linum usitatissimum*), sesame and cotton. In Bilaz, Səmen, the local Ḫ. have extensive irrigation works at the mouth of the Šikina River. Domesticated animals include cattle, sheep (which are milked), goats, donkeys and bees in cylindrical clay beehives for honey. Ḫ. make no use of fish. Simoons reports Ḫ. craftsmen in Lasta, but their absence in Sähala. Sähala is visited by itinerants like Ḫ. blacksmiths from ↗Säqoṭa, Muslim weavers and, formerly, ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel female potters accompanied by men (Simoons 1960:42f., 75, 102–24, 149, 155, 158, 187, 204).

Ḫ. houses are wattle-and-daub or stone cylinders or ovals with a thatch-cone roof, as well as newer rectangular styles in nucleated villages and dispersed hamlets. Säqoṭa is a bustling town with goods and services provided from shops and an open marketplace. It was bombed during the Ethiopian civil war shortly before the collapse of the *Därg* regime; currently, the Ḫ. are still recovering from the ravages of that war.

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Sulla dinastia Zagwe", *L'Oriente* 2, 1897, 144–59; Id., "Appunti sulla lingua Khamta dell'Averghellé", *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 17, 1904, 183–203; Joseph E. Grimes – Barbara F. Grimes (eds.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas ^{14}2000; Leo Reinisch, *Die Chamir Sprache in Abessinien*, 2 vols., Wien 1884; Frederick J. Simoons, *Northwest Ethiopia: Peoples and Economy*, Madison, WI 1960, 42f., 75, 102–24, 149, 155, 158, 187, 204; TrIslam 54.

Frederick C. Gamst

Ḫamtaŋa

Ḫ. (Amh. ኀምታ, Ḫamta, also referred to as Ḫəmtaŋa) is a language belonging to the ↗Agäw family of ↗Cushitic languages, which is spoken in the region of ↗Wag in the north-western corner of Wällo by the ↗Ḫamta people (variant Ḫamra, pl. Ḫaməṭ, Ḫəməṭ, Ḫamər according to dialect).

The different dialect forms of the ethnonym Ḫ. are reflected in the use of the terms Chamir (Reinisch 1884) and Khamta (Conti Rossini 1904) in the older literature for different members of the Ḫ. dialect cluster. There are probably four principal dialect areas: from north to south Abärgälle (which would seem to correspond to Conti Rossini's Ḫ.), Zəqʷala, Säqʷäta, and west of the Täkkäze river, Sähala. Differences between the recorded dialects are small and are mostly phonological and lexical, except that Conti Rossini's Khamta does show some considerable morphological variation.

Many speakers of Ḫ. are bilingual in Amharic or, in the area of Abärgälle, in ↗Təgrəñña and there are a number of people who identify themselves as Ḫamər/Ḫəməṭ but who no longer speak the language. Monolingualism is now mostly restricted to women and the elderly in more remote areas. The number of mother-tongue speakers has been indicated at 143,369 (Grimes et al. 2000; CSA 1998). Ḫ. is most closely related within Agäw to ↗Bilin, sharing with the latter a number of morphological and lexical innovations.

Amongst the Agäw languages Ḫ. shows a number of particularly interesting features. In phonology, Ḫ. has uvular (*q*, *qʷ*, optionally glottalized), as well as velar (*k*, *kʷ*, g, *gʷ*) stops. It also has a number of glottalized phonemes (*ṭ*, *q*, *qʷ*, *č̣* and *ṣ*), the same that occur in the neighbouring Ethio-Semitic languages. Glottalized phonemes are generally not thought to have been part of the Proto-Agäw system and their presence in the modern languages (Ḫ., Bilin, ↗Kəmantnäy) is certainly due to the influence of Ethio-Semitic. The Ḫ. glottalized phonemes, however, occur in roots of Agäw origin, occasionally in free variation with their non-glottalized counterparts: *ṭəwu* ~ *təwu*, 'he entered', but more often contrasting with the latter: *ṣəbra*, 'ashes' ~ *səbra*, 'snake'. In more recently collected material (Appleyard 1987, from where all the following data are taken) they also seem to be more frequent than in the older (e.g., Reinisch 1884). Consonant length or gemination is also phonemic in Ḫ. in certain morphological forms (e.g., *abən* 'guest' ~ *abbən*, 'guests'), but lexically appears to be sometimes optional (e.g., *tabbu* ~ *tabu*, 'he threshed'). Accent (pitch accent) placement is also phonemic (e.g., *əfära*, 'boy', *əfärá*, 'girl'; *gə́rək*, 'daylight', *gərə́k*, 'days').

Like all the Agäw languages, Ḫ. has a rich morphology, particularly in the verbal system. The morphological categories and patterns of Ḫ. are for the most part similar to those in other Agäw languages and can indeed be formally related to what is found in the latter, especially the other two northern branches (Bilin, Kəmantnäy). Thus, verbs inflect maximally for a seven-term person system, three persons, sg. and pl., with a further distinction between masc. and fem. in the third person (sg.); in some subordinate paradigms distinction between the 1st and 3rd pers. masc. sg., and the 2nd and 3rd pers. fem. sg., respectively, is neutralized. There are also separate paradigms for affirmative and negative.

Like Bilin and unlike the other Agäw languages, Ḫ. has a special future affirmative main-verb tense alongside the inherited past – non-past (present), e.g., *qalč̣ər*, 'I shall see' alongside *qaläkʷən*, 'I see'. The verbal inventory is greatly augmented by the existence of a large number of subordinate forms, separate paradigms for subject relatives (where the subject of the relative verb and the head noun are identical) and oblique relatives (where the two are not identical), as well as at least 15 basic adverbial subordinate forms (equivalent to 'when', 'because', 'after', 'if', 'until', etc.). There are also several modal forms, such as jussive, imperative, etc., that are used in main-verb position. The verbal complex may also include stem derivation marking such categories as causative, passive, and reciprocal, e.g. *qal-u*, 'he saw', *qal-s-u*, 'he showed', *qal-əšt-u*, 'he was seen', *qal-əšš-uŋ*, 'they saw one another'.

Noun morphology is somewhat simpler, distinguishing at most six case forms and two numbers, sg. and pl. An interesting feature of noun morphology, which is not found in the other Agäw languages, is marking for definiteness as an integral part of nominal inflexion. The marker of definiteness occurs between the noun stem and the marker of case and is sensitive to gender/number (masc. or pl. versus fem.)

and marginally to case (absolute or object or other): e.g., *ŋən-də libu*, 'the house fell down'; *ŋən-də ỉ ŋən-dəyä-t tässun*, 'I built the house'; *ŋəč̣ər ləwä-šän-t ğibun*, 'I bought the black cow'; *ŋən-i-l gʷäyyun*, 'I sat in the house'. This definite marker (*-də/-dəyä-/-i-/-šän-*, etc.), though unparalleled elsewhere in Agäw, clearly derives from a postfixed demonstrative (cf. *əd/əččän*, 'that') to which may be compared the use of the weak proclitic demonstrative *ən* 'this' in Bilin as a kind of marker of "aforementionedness". Reinisch's (1884) Chamir does not have such a developed definite system, but employs various suffixed demonstratives (*-ən* and *-əz* as well as *-əd*) "for emphasis".

Ḫ. ten-word list is:

'one'	*läwa*	'sun'	*kʷära*
'two'	*liŋa*	'moon'	*arba*
'three'	*šaqʷa*	'blood'	*bər*
'fire'	*ləya*	'tongue'	*laq*
'water'	*aqʷ*	'tooth'	*ərəkʷ*

Ḫ. lexicon is particularly close to Bilin, where cognates of all the 10 basic items may be found.

Ḫ. is not used in education or in the media, though some Ḫ.-speakers have expressed a wish that it might be developed in this way (Berhanu Hailu et al. 1995:3). There is no printed literature and, given the dominance of Amharic and Təgrəñña and widespread bilingualism in one or other of these languages, it is evident that Ḫ. is at present an endangered language, though perhaps not as threatened as its now moribund sister language Kəmantnäy.

Src.: Joseph E. Grimes – Barbara F. Grimes (eds.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas ^{14}2000; CSA 1998. **Lit.:** David Appleyard, "A Grammatical Sketch of Khamtanga", *BSOAS* 50, 2, London 1987, 241–66, 470–507; Berhanu Hailu – Sisay Dereje – Klaus Wedekind, "Khamir: the People ['xɨmra] and their Language [xɨmʾtʾaŋā]", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 23, 1995, 1–8; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Appunti sulla lingua khamta dell'Averghellé", *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 18, 1904, 183–242; Leo Reinisch, *Die Chamir-Sprache in Abessinien*, 2 parts, Wien 1884 [also in: *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 105, 2, 1884, 573–697, 106, 1, 1884, 317–450].

David Appleyard

Ḥanafism

Ḥ. (Arab. المذهب الحنفي, *al-madhab al-ḥanafī*; حنفية, *ḥanafīya*) is one of the four schools (*madhab*, pl. *madāhib*) of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) that Sunni Islam recognizes as a valid and acceptable way of expounding and implementing Islamic Law (↗*šarīᶜa*).

Eponym of the *ḥanafī* school is Abū Ḥanīfa an-Nuᶜmān b. Ṯābit, called *al-imām al-aᶜẓam* ('the supreme *imām*'), who died in Baghdad while in jail in 767 A.D. at the age of 70.

Among Abū Ḥanīfa's pupils, two played a decisive role in shaping the *madhab* of their master in a systematic way: Abū Yūsuf Yaᶜqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Kūfī (d. 798), who was the first *qāḍī l-quḍāt* (grand *qāḍī*) in the history of Islam in the caliphate of Hārūn ar-Rašīd, and Abū ᶜAbdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan aš-Šaybānī (d. 803 or 805), *qāḍī* of Raqqa. Ḥ. thus originated in Iraq and spread in the East to Khurasan, Afghanistan, Transoxiana, Turkish Central Asia and as far as China, and also southwards as to India. *Ḥanafīs* were less present in other part of the Islamic world, although in Maghrib, Ifrīqīya (Tunisia) and Sicily Ḥ. was not unknown (for further details s. Heffening in EI²).

The historical fate of Ḥ. was eventually decided when the Seldjuks first, and then the Ottomans adopted it as their exclusive official *madhab*. The Ottoman Empire thus brought Ḥ. everywhere it established its rule and superimposed the *madhab* of Abū Ḥanīfa on the pre-existing legal schools.

Major distinctive feature characterizing Ḥ. within the four Sunni schools of law is the free recourse to *raʾy* – the personal judgment of the jurisprudence in the process of *qiyās* (the analogical method of reasoning) – to find solutions for unprecedented legal questions. Thus *ḥanafī* jurisprudence usually clarifies and solves new cases by analogy with the previously solved ones, as they try the best of their personal reasoning to manage to single out at least one common element linking the new case to the previous one (*ᶜilla*). Also very peculiar in Ḥ. is the use of *ḥiyal*, legal devices which permit the maintenance a full formal respect of the unchangeable principles of the law, while practically forcing the limits fixed by the recognized rule.

In Ethiopia, Ḥ. has a long history which can be traced back at least to the seven Islamic principalities (↗Ifat, ↗Däwaro, ↗Arabäbni, ↗Hadiyya, ↗Šarḫa, Bali [↗Bale] and ↗Dära) mentioned by al-ᶜ↗Umarī in his *Masālik al-abṣār*, written between 1342 and 1349. According to this source, only Ifat was at that time *šāfiᶜī*, while the remaining six were all *ḥanafī* (al-ᶜUmarī in UmMasGaud 5, 14f., 17ff.; UmMasSezg 18f.). A century later, al-↗Maqrīzī affirms that even in Ifat, *ḥanafīs* were increasing in number (MaqIlmam 11; MaqIlmam^2 7). It thus seems that Ḥ. was the most widely diffused *madhab* in Ethiopia up to the middle of the 15th cent. We are not able to identify the details of the first coming of Ḥ. to Ethiopia. We are well aware of the existence of a very famous *ḥanafī* jurist originating from Zaylaᶜ – ↗ᶜAbdallāh az-Zaylaᶜī, who lived in Cairo during the rule of an-Nāṣir b. Muḥammad and was the main informant of al-ᶜUmarī. Even if we may surmise that az-Zaylaᶜī was an outstanding representative of a wide group of *ḥanafī* jurists from Zaylaᶜ, we lack information about the origin of this possibly very old lineage of *ḥanafī* scholars in Zaylaᶜ or elsewhere in Ethiopia. In a very hypothetical way, on the basis of the process of the spread of ↗Šāfiᶜism in Ethiopia and Somalia, which started from the *šāfiᶜī* academies of the Yemen (especially Zabīd and Ḥaḍramawt), we could imagine a direct role played by some Yemenite *ḥanafī* schools in the first expansion of Ḥ. in Ethiopia. Information about Ḥ. in the Yemen prior to the Ottoman conquest is apparently very limited. Thanks to al-Ḫazraǧī, we know at least one case of a *ḥanafī* jurist from Zabīd who stayed in Ethiopia for almost six years: it was Abū r-Rabīᶜ Sulaymān b. Mūsā b. ᶜAlī b. Ǧawn al-Ašᶜarī, who, in about 1249 A.D., left Yemen for Ethiopia, where he remained till 1255 A.D. (Cerulli 1943:276ff.). We can also add in this connection that some oral traditions collected by Hussein Ahmed (2001:67) in Wällo confirm that the *madhab* of Abū Ḥanīfa spread in Dawway from Zabīd.

The original prevalence of Ḥ. was greatly reduced by Šāfiᶜism, especially in the south of Ethiopia. It is not known in detail how exactly the *madhab* of aš-Šāfiᶜī spread in Ethiopia. In the renowned hagiographies of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn of Bale (end of 13th cent.), we find mention of two legal disputes between the *šayḫ*, who was a *šāfiᶜī*, and two *ḥanafī faqīh* (one of them from Dära) on the legitimacy of beer and hydromel. Both discussions end with the victory of *šayḫ* Ḥusayn and therefore with the spread of Šāfiᶜism. The *Nuzhat al-asrār* also tells us of the arrival in Bale of two famous and widely used manuals of *šāfiᶜī fiqh*, the *Kitāb at-Tanbīh* and the *Kitāb al-Muhaḏḏab* by aš-Šīrāzī (Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī – Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī 1345 H.:28f.; CerStud II, 8–13, 17f.). From these episodes, we may infer that Šāfiᶜism arrived in Bale and Dära from the Yemen and undermined the position of Ḥ.

Resistance of *ḥanafīs* must have been strong. In the middle of the 15th cent., Bale and Dära were still *ḥanafī* (MaqIlmam 13; MaqIlmam^2 8), but in the long run Šāfiᶜism won in the whole of southern Ethiopia. A certain role was possibly played by *šāfiᶜīs* of Somalia, especially of Merca, who were linked by strong ties with the sanctuary of *šayḫ* Ḥusayn of Bale (CerStud II, 26).

Little is known about the history of the Islamic legal schools in ↗Harär. *Ḥanafīs* must have been present in the walled city since early times, their number is unknown. In the mid-18th cent., *faqīh* ↗Ḥāmid b. Ṣiddīq of Harär wrote a work in passionate defence of the high rank of Ḥ. within the four legal school, but evidently from a rear-guard position and with the typical attitude of the representative of a minority group, menaced by extinction (Brunschwig 1974). The Egyptian occupation in Harär, even if apparently strengthened Ḥ. in the city (TrIslam 232), did not stop the *madhab* slowly fading out. According to Cerulli, who visited the town in 1926–27, Ḥ. in Harär was reduced to a scanty presence in the ᶜAmmār Garäčče area in the quarter of Badro Bari (CerStud I, 45).

Ḥ. is nowadays the prevalent legal school of Islam in the highlands of Wällo, in ↗Awsa, where it was brought by *kabīr* Ḥamza, whose ancestors were of alledged Harari origin, and in the regions of ↗Qallu, ↗Boräna, ↗Wärrä Himäno, Wärra Babbo and ↗Yäǧǧu (Hussein Ahmed 2001:66f.). Hussein Ahmed collected many different oral traditions about the first appearance of the *madhab* of Abū Ḥanīfa in Wällo. One of them affirms that Ḥ. was introduced from Shām (Syria) to Təgray and hence, via Yäǧǧu, to the rest of Wällo, while, as we mentioned above, a second path of penetration was from Zabīd to Dawway (south-eastern Wällo). According to another informant, Ḥ. was the oldest legal school in Wällo and it is nowadays the most widely spread in the whole region (ibid. 66, n. 147). Hussein Ahmed explains this apparent exaggeration of the antiquity and importance of the *ḥanafī* presence in Wällo by the influence exerted on his informant by the "later and rapid expansion" of Ḥ. in the region, caused at least partially by its "tradition of moderation". If we imagine a late but rapid diffusion of this *madhab* in Wällo, we should take into consideration the role the Ottoman Turks could indirectly have played in bringing Ḥ. closer to the region by their conquest of the Eritrean coast. Historical data confirm that there existed a "northern route of Islamic expansion from the Dahlak islands through Tamben and Enderta to western and central Wallo" (ibid. 193). Ḥ. could have followed this path, as the overwhelming majority of Muslims of the Eritrean coast was and still is *ḥanafī* (TrIslam 232).

In the costal region, the first phase of the spreading of Ḥ. could be very old, but the Ottomans bear apparently the main responsibility for the spreading of Ḥ. in Eritrea since their arrival in the Red Sea area in the first half of the 16th cent. Massawa fell under Turkish rule in 1557 A.D. Since then, Ḥ. had no rival *maḏhab* in the coastal regions of Eritrea and from there it spread all over the country, where it is nowadays the major legal Islamic school (MuhTarih 287). Only Mālikism, coming from the neighbouring Sudan, has recently started strengthening on the coast and especially in the highlands of Eritrea. At the beginning of the 20th cent., the Ottoman presence, combined with the collaboration of the *ṭarīqa al-mīrġanīya* (↗Islamic brotherhoods), favoured the passage of a complete set of books on *ḥanafī* jurisprudence from al-Ḥudayda to Eritrea, where they surely contributed to the strengthening of the *maḏhab* (Hofheinz 1995).

Finally, according to Trimingham (TrIslam 205), Ḥ. was, and perhaps still is, present in ↗Ǧimma, where the majority of inhabitants is *Šāfiᶜī*. It was introduced there from Gondär by a *walī* called ᶜAbdalḥakīm.

Src.: MaqIlmam 11, 13; MaqIlmam^{2} 7f.; *Kitāb Rabīᶜ al-qulūb fī ḏikr manāqib wa-faḍāʾil sayyidinā aš-šayḫ Nūr Ḥusayn wa-yalih Kitāb nuzhat al-asrār wa-ṭahārat al-aqḏār fī manāqibih wa-faḏāʾil ayḏan … wa-Nisbat aš-šarīf* ('Book of the Spring of Hearts in the Memory of the Virtues and Merits of our Lord *šayḫ* Nūr Ḥusayn, followed by the Book of the Delight of Souls and the Purification of Filth in his Merits and Good Qualities as Well, with the Genealogy of *šarīf*'), ed. by AḤMAD AL-ḤUSAYNĪ – MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤUSAYNĪ, Cairo 1345 H. [1927 A.D.; repr. 1948/49 A.D.], 1–43, 44–62, 63–72, here 28f.; UmMasSezg vol. 4, 18f.; UmMasGaud vol. 1, 5, 14f., 17ff. **Lit.:** ROBERT BRUNSCHVIG, "L'Islam enseigné par Ḥāmid b. Ṣiddīq de Harar (XVIII^{e} siècle)", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 445–54; CerStud I, 45; II, 8–13, 17ff., 26; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 207–43]; ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94, here 276ff. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80, here 261ff.]; ERIC CHAUMONT, "al-Shaybānī, Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Farqad", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 9, 392–94; ALESSANDRO GORI, "First Studies on the Texts of Shaykh Ḥusayn's Hagiographies", *RSO* 70, 1996 [1997], 53–82; WILLI HEFFENING [JOSEPH SCHACHT], "Ḥanafiyya", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 3, 162–64; ALBRECHT HOFHEINZ, "A Yemeni Library in Eritrea", *Der Islam* 72, 1995, 98–136; HUSSEIN AHMED, *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia: Revival, Reform and Reaction*, Leiden 2001, 66f.; JOSEPH SCHACHT, "Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuᶜmān b. Thābit", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 1, 123–24; ID., "Abū Yūsuf Yaᶜqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Kūfī", *ibid.* 164–65; TrIslam 205, 232; MuhTarih 287.

Alessandro Gori

Handicrafts

Craftspeople and artisans

H. is the professional transformation of raw materials into commodities which are produced in excess of the direct requirements of the household. A characteristic of H. is the individual single production and ownership of the generating materials and tools. The distribution and sale of the end-products are the responsibility of the artisans as well. Pre-condition for the emergence and development of H. is that a society produces a surplus to maintain a group of specialists.

Although not all H. occupy an artisan for the entire year, most H. require at least certain fixed cycles of labour, as is the case of ↗iron-melting, or even ↗pottery. ↗Weaving and woodworking (↗Wood) are less bound to time periods and can therefore be exercised as a side-line occupation. The profession of full-time craftsmen is usually hereditary. Until today, H. have throughout the rural areas become the common form of commodities fabrication. Even in urban areas, in the midst of factories and manufactories, H. are prospering.

The period in which the eastern Horn of Africa established a differentiated society with professional artisans cannot be specified due to the still rudimentary prehistoric sources. Aside from ↗Aksum and its surrounding area, only a few archaeological findings are known in this matter. In the tomb-chambers of ↗Yəḥa, abundant pottery was found, probably indicating that professional ceramic-production was developed since the 6th or 5th cent. B.C. A wide variety of ceramics like jars, bowls, flasks and beakers was produced. The processing of imported metal probably started at the same time. Iron was used for tools and ↗weapons, including ↗knives, billhooks, sickles, saws, hammers, nails and ↗spear points. A wider range of artefacts was made of copper alloys.

Among luxury goods, ↗ivory worked with great competence needs to be mentioned. The carved Aksumite stelae and tombs show the high standards of the stonemason. In southern Ethiopia research on prehistoric hide-working (↗leather) was recently undertaken in ↗Konso.

Silversmith in his workshop, Säqoṭa; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Leatherwork

Tanning belongs probably to the oldest H. in Ethiopia. Preferably domesticated animal's hides, e.g. cattle and goats, are processed, but also those of monkeys and wildcats. Where leather clothing was customary, as in the south-west and Oromiyya, the processing has reached a high standard. The work was done by men and/or women, depending on the region. After the prohibition on wearing leather clothing by the imperial government, tanning as a H. in southern Ethiopia has strongly diminished. A further setback was limited demand for leather sandals, which have been replaced by sandals made from old car tires. The formerly wide-range of leather objects, like clothing (capes, skirts, belts, sandals, hats), sacks, cases, packing-straps, saddle-gear, shields (often made from rhinoceros skin) etc. has become rare. Nowadays, in many regions only cow hides are scraped for use as sleeping mats. One exception is the south-west, where pastoralist women wear leather skirts.

Pottery

Ceramic technology has been practised until recent times in a traditional way. Clay is often mined by tunnelling and usually tempered with mineral admixtures. Firing was and is still done at comparatively low temperatures. All locally produced pottery is modelled by hand without the use of the potter's wheel. In most regions pottery was considered women's work, although the firing was done by men. Even though dishes made of aluminium and plastic have become very common, certain ceramic products (e.g., black polished ware) are still very popular.

Ironwork

Forgeable iron is extracted as steel through reduction of iron ore (Fe-O compounds). From the *Periplus maris Erythraei* (1st cent. A.D.) we know, that iron was imported to ↗Aksum for further processing. Around 1630 Gerson ben Elizer reported that the ↗Betä Əsraʾel, who were responsible for the supply of iron to the Amhara, had an equivalent value for both iron and gold. Bruce (BruNile) also gives an account of the rareness of local iron at the end of the 18th cent. Although iron-mining was practised in Šäwa and in Təgray, the need seems to have been covered by imported iron-bars. In the south, e.g., in Wälläga, Käfa and Geeraa and and among the Aari, Basketo, Čako and Dime, iron-melting was common, at least during the 19th cent. In recent times indigenous iron-melting has been documented only among the Dime. Today, industrially produced steel or scrap-iron is processed.

Besides of hammering, most ↗blacksmiths also master the techniques of forge-welding and hardening the steel. Some of them (e.g., in south-western Ethiopia) also know how to cast non-ferrous metals. Nowadays many blacksmiths in urban areas have increased their scale of production, using modern technology. The majority of artisans in non-iron metals were and until today are immigrant Arab, ↗Indian, ↗Armenian and ↗Greek craftsmen, who settled in Ethiopia.

Iron is used for the production of many agricultural tools (↗Agriculture): adzes, axes, machetes (south-western Ethiopia) and billhooks for clearing; plough-shares, socket hoe-blades, ice-axe-like blades, sickles and knifes for harvesting and in the ↗*ənsät*-areas, large, broad knives are needed for the *ənsät*-processing.

Local weapon production include iron arrowheads, spears, lances and daggers. The socket spear-blade is very common and many spears have an additional iron spear shoe. Spear-blade and spear-shoe have regionally distinctive designs.

↗Jewellery made from metal is either hammered or cast. To the surgical inventory of a healer belong spatula for teeth, scalpels, chisels for bones, needles and tweezers. For ceremonial objects in South Ethiopia the cast fore-head jewellery (↗*Kallačča*), bracelets, bells and spears (sometimes with double blades) need to be mentioned. The religious items in the Christian part of Ethiopia include locally made ↗crosses, basins, sistra, bells of ↗gold, silver or bronze.

Weaving

Unlike most African countries, where industrial fabrics drove out the local weaving production, in

Ethiopia weaving manufactures are still prospering. Their products range from heavy cloth to light shawels (↗Clothing). Different weaving techniques spread during the last centuries. One of these techniques, the use of the mechanical double-shafted loom, reached the eastern coast from Asia and has prevailed throughout the country. Preferably, home-spun cotton is processed, but lately industrial thread is used for warps and decorative borders. Only men work on the looms, the spinning is done by women; in the south-west also by men. The ↗Dorze specialized in this H. Nowadays, "Dorze" has even become synonymous with weaving.

Woodwork

Where professional wood-workers are found, like the Gurage, they produce bowls, cups, stools, footed trays and combs. Since the Italian occupation they have also made beds, cupboards and shelves.

Other techniques and specialized crafts

Before the Ethiopian conquest, in the ↗Käfa kingdom further differentiation of H. was known: there were carpenters, masons, gold- and silversmiths. The tanners were divided into those, who made shields and saddles and those who carried out other leather-works. Some regions, like Gurage (↗Fuga), specialized in wood-carving and house-construction. In recent times ↗house-constructors in Konso established themselves as independent craftsmen. The decline of tanning in some places made former tanners turn to wood-working. Near (semi-) urban centres, sometimes the wives of the tanners maintain basket-weaving. However, basket-weaving is rarely found as an independent and a professional H.

Handicrafts in Christian Ethiopia

During the Ethiopian Middle Ages, the Christian Empire's craftsmen specialized in the service of churches and monasteries, as well as rulers and their courts. Some of the religious items were made by monks specialized in H.

In this period the "moving capitals", with their large courts and huge armies, were in need of many kinds of luxury goods made from gold or silver or from costly imported materials. The majority of artisans engaged in the production of such goods were Muslims or foreigners. The founding of the capital in ↗Gondär (1636) led to an increase in the demand for H. and a further specialization (e.g., tent-making). The greatest percentage of potters and masons, as Bruce (BruNile) reported, were the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. Betä Ǝsraʾel women produced pots and other clay vessels for sale in local markets. Gondär remained a principle H. centre until the early 19th cent.

Girl spinning cotton, Säqoṭa; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Aṣe ↗Tewodros II, wanting to modernize his army, exceeded from individual H. to manufactories. He settled European engineers and craftsmen in ↗Gafat (since 1855; ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission), who with the assistance of local craftsmen, manufactured carriages, cannons, gunpowder and bombs.

The status and role of craftsmen vary strongly in the different societies. The extreme poles are the northern Ethiopian empire and several ethnic groups in the south-west:

a) The north: the northern Empire with the *nəgusä nägäśt* and the nobility at the top was characterized by a social ranking system ruled by clientele relationships. There were only three occupations desirable for man: to be a farmer, a soldier, or a clergyman. Getting clients depended on land rights. Since craftsmen did not accumulate land, they were excluded from the possibility of having clients. Consequently H. were found at the bottom of the hierarchical order and were looked down upon. Blacksmiths, moreover, lived in constant danger of persecution (↗*buda*; ↗Marginalized people). Wherever possible, craft activities were shifted on to socio-politically "non-Amharic" groups like, e.g., the ↗Betä Əsraʾel.

b) The south: in southern Ethiopia the full-time craftsmen usually constitute a socially distinct group (with endogamy rules, avoidance regulations etc.) within the respective societies.

Parallel to the numerous variants between north and south regarding the socio-religious and economic importance of craftsmen, there are many hypotheses about their specific social role and their historical formation. Particularly in the publications before 1980, these views reflect ideas or clichés on the "traditional culture", which can be traced back to the value system of the "Amhara/Northerners", which began to unfurl with the northern Ethiopian expansion and which, in some areas, had gained influence as early as the Ethiopian middle ages. By viewing the craftsmen as either "respected" or "despised", scholars tried to identify "castes" or even pariah-groups. The ambivalent role of the artisan was also pointed out. Haberland (1961, passim) tried to illustrate this by the concept of *sacer*, which can mean holy as well as despicable.

Such concepts are not apt to deliver satisfying results, mainly due to their historically insufficient basis and their exclusion of the economical dimension. Similar reservations are called for, with respect to Levine, who has the craftsmen evolve within the confines of an ecological niche starting from which they would spread as guests among "host societies".

Handicrafts in Omotic speaking areas

Many of the Omotic speaking groups were traditionally hierarchically organized by the principle of divine ↗kingship. Here artisans are commonly described as being positioned at the lower end of the social hierarchy. However, there can be no talk of a severe marginalization, since nearly all of the occupational groups and indigenous officials or even the king had a close ritual and economical relationship, e.g., in former ↗Käfa, so that the concept of *sacer* is best used here. Their supernatural powers allowing them to create things, can either be dangerous or a blessing. In Käfa the close relation of the *mango* (occupational group) to the king is expressed by creation-myths and rituals. Such relations can be identified not only in other kingdoms, but also in other small Omotic groups. In northern Ethiopia, however, such a ritual relationship between ruler and craftsmen does not exist; a characteristic difference in the position of the craftsmen. The disappearance of divine kingship in Käfa and the adjustment of the Käfa-elite to the Amhara society certainly affected H. (e.g., the idea of *buda*); one consequence was that only the negative aspects of the ambivalence were left over.

Polycephalous societies in south-western Ethiopia

Most of the craftsmen in the polycephalic peasant societies of the south-west are economically in a good position. As their products are believed to be of a better quality than those of an industrial production, they are able to compete with the latter. The guild-like organization of the ↗*fulḍo* secures production and distribution in the Ethiopian south-west, and has therefore contributed to this.

The tight intertwining of H. and agriculture in economical and religious aspects is very distinctive in these societies. The mutual dependence of the peasant population and the artisans is expressed by their numerous oral traditions, which state that the first ancestors of craftsmen and farmers were created together. In Dullay, and in some other groups, the craftsman is even considered to be the first-born. According to another myth the first craftsmen lived for a time together with God, "like his dogs". In a way, these ancestors were demiurges and their descendants continue to be creative till today. Ritually craftsmen are mostly engaged in ceremonies that concern the whole country. This is also true for craftsmen among pastoralists like the Boorana.

The analysis of the ethnical groups in south-western Ethiopia shows a broad scale in the socio-economical and religious position of the craftsmen. It appears not to be helpful to use the concept of "caste" considering their special social status. The circumscription of agriculturists and craftsmen as forming distinct "collectives" (*Rollenkollektive*) with institutionalized relations between its members, is more accurate. Regarding the development of H. especially in areas of intensive agriculture, we can assume an inner social development, which, through mutual cultural exchange (either peaceful or warlike) with neighbouring ethnic groups, received some stimulation.

↗Betä Abrəham

Src.: BruNile; LIONEL CASSON (ed., tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton 1989.

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, "Social Division of Work in Traditional Agricultural Societies (Southern Ethiopia)", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 3, 22–29; ID., *Differenzierung und Integration, Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Handwerkern und Spezialisten in südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990; ID., "Hunde Gottes: Eisenhandwerker und Demiurgen", in: R. KLEIN-AHREND (ed.), *Traditionelles Eisenhandwerk in Afrika*, Köln 1997 (Colloquium Africanum 3), 146–73; CerEt; DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST (eds.), *Peripheral People: the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003; EIKE HABERLAND, "Eisen und Schmiede in Nordost-Afrika", *Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* 11, 1961, 191–210; ID., "König und Paria in Afrika", in: ID. – MEINHARD SCHUSTER – HELMUT STRAUBE (eds.), *Festschrift für Ad. E. Jensen*, München 1964, vol. 1, 155–66; PankSoc; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, *Ancient Ethiopia. Aksum: its Antecedents and Successors*, London 1998; RAYMOND SILVERMAN (ed.), *Ethiopia. Traditions of Creativity*, East Lansing, MI 1999; ERNST F. ROHRER, *Beiträge zur materiellen Kultur der Amhara*, Bern 1932.

Hermann Amborn

Handicrafts of the Betä Ǝsra'el

From the 15th cent. onward the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel were gradually disenfranchised and lost their right to ↗*rəst*. They supplemented their income by engaging in a variety of crafts, including smithing and weaving by the men and pottery-making by the women. Almeida reported, for example, that the Jews of Dämbəya lived "by weaving cloth and by making (zargunchos) (spears), ploughs and other iron articles, for they are great smiths" (BeckHuntAlm 54f.).

As skilled craftsmen, the Betä Ǝsraʾel developed complex ties with their Christian neighbours. They were valued for the products they produced, especially agricultural tools and weapons, but stigmatized for their involvement in despised low-caste professions. During the Gondärine period (↗Gondärine kingdom), Betä Ǝsraʾel crafstmen were also trained as carpenters and masons and benefited from imperial patronage. In the 18th and 19th cent., their situation deteriorated and they became stigmatized as a caste-like group and associated with the evil eye and ↗*buda*.

Betä Ǝsraʾel women produced pots and other clay vessels for sale in local markets. From the early 1960s onward some began to make pottery figurines for sale to tourists, especially foreign Jews who visited them. These tourist arts have been elaborated since the emigration to Israel, often focusing on their distinctive Ethiopian cultural milieau.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 54f.

Lit.: SIMON MESSING, *The Highland Plateau Amhara of Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania 1957, 185–214; JON G. ABBINK, "A Social-Structural Analysis of the Beta Israel as an 'Infamous Group' in Traditional Ethiopia", *Sociologus* 37, 2, 1987 140–54; JAMES ARTHUR QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha)*, Philadelphia 1992; STEVEN KAPLAN – CHAIM ROSEN, "Created in their own Image: a Comment on Beta Israel Figurines", *Cahiers d'études africaines* 36, 1–2, 1996, 171–82; HAGAR SALAMON, *The Hyena People: Ethiopian Jews in Christian Ethiopia*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1999, 35–45.

Steven Kaplan

Handicrafts in Harär

Arts and crafts in ↗Harär reflected the town's international trade contacts to the east. They catered to the sophisticated needs of the urban elite, the Harari ethnic group in particular. These crafts were in the hands of Harari proper or in those of skilled and respected non-Harari artisans. Trades, in contrast, catered to general household, workshop and fieldwork needs. They were in the hands of castes including ↗blacksmiths, who were men of a very low-caste Harari group; potter-women of the same caste (↗Pottery); low-class tanners and dyers of leather (↗Somali men) and leather-workers (Somali women). Craftsmen and artisans served the needs, not only of Harari customers, but also of those from other ethnic groups like the ↗Argobba, Somali, ↗Qottu and, in recent times, ↗Amhara.

Basket-weaving

Harari women are famous for basket-weaving with intricate patterns in various colours. The production and possession of such baskets was crucial in Harari society. Baskets are woven in a coil technique, and various types of local grasses served as the foundation-coil and the wrapping. In the last century natural dyes were used (soot, plants, minerals, animal feces), yet already in Paulitschke's times (1880s) imported chemical dyes were known. A tourist trade in items of a simpler make has also developed.

Bookmaking and bookbinding

According to Burton, in the 19th cent. Harär was known for strong leather bindings of the Holy ↗Qurʾān with imprinted patterns. The leather was obtained from Somali tanners; a strong piece of cowhide served as the cover, around which the fine leather of the binding was wrapped. Due to the tanning and dyeing techniques (↗Leather), the colour of the binding was usually reddish-brown; the sheen was achieved by a mixture of egg and lemon juice. Patterns were imprinted using a vice. The folios of a book were sewn together and glued into the binding by the Qurʾān-teachers themselves. The bookbinding craft is in decline today.

Jewellery

Jewellery was made from silver, sheet silver, gilded silver, sheet gold, and gold. Recently aluminium has also been introduced. "Gemstones" included the "blue stone of luck" (brought by a *ḥäǧǧī* to Mecca), corals, amber, malachite and glass. The jewellery used to be heavier in make and style than the filigree work fashionable in Addis Abäba. Necklaces of heavy hollow beads in beaten metalwork chains were manufactured, as well as headbands in various combinations, rings and bangles. Specialist craftsmen work for Harari, Qottu and Argobba, while the Somali have their own jewellers in ↗Ǧiǧǧiga, yet they also trade their products in Harär.

Textiles

In Burton's time (1854), women's garments were made of locally spun, hand-woven (Paulitschke 1888:252) and dyed cotton of a type still worn today by Argobba women. Spinning in the Harär region used to be done with the Indian-type spinning wheel. The loom was the horizontal loom common in Ethiopia. Yet even then there were garments made of natural or artificial silk imported from India, Western countries (Burton 1856:326, 338, 342), and, occasionally, China. In the 19th cent. indigo-dyed imported robes were popular (Paulitschke 1888). Factory spun yarns and woven materials have replaced the home-made ones.

Woodwork

Sophisticated woodcarving concentrates on the preparation of the writing-plates (*luḥ*) for Islamic schools, on Qurʾān racks and on the wooden water-flasks to be carried to the mosque for ablutions. Nowadays there is a water-supply within the city and such flasks are often made for tourist consumption. Geometrical decorative patterns are carved in chip-notching technique. The wooden sandals with a foot peg and high supports for the soles, which were common within the Indo-Iranian sphere (Grottanelli 1947), and the strong wooden porringers mentioned by Burton are rarely made today. A special craft developed during the second half of the 19th cent., the period of the Egyptian occupation (1875–84), when it became fashionable to have carved doors for the major entrance to the living-room, and lathe-carved banisters to the upper floor. Some Indian (Gujarati) craftsmen worked in the town. These carvings are often in high relief and have floral patterns (s. Pankhurst 1991, Wilding 1976).

Blacksmithing

Blacksmiths in Harär are called *tumtu*. As everywhere in Ethiopia, they belong to the lowest caste and are said to possess the "evil eye" (↗*Buda*). They lived in Bädrō Bäri quarter, Šañi Tōya neighbourhood ('neighbourhood of the potters'). Today, however, they work in the neighbourhood of Ḥarat Dābli Tōya. In general, they manufacture various types of tools. The materials today are often of Western origin. Bellows are still made of goatskin.

Leatherwork

Tanners and ↗leather-workers are members of the discriminated Somali Bōna caste. They used to work in a special area outside the town where a water supply was available. Special plant materials containing tannin are used for tanning and for dyeing. These also provide the reddish-brown dye for leather fixtures for baskets or for the leather cover of the basket bowl *drät*.

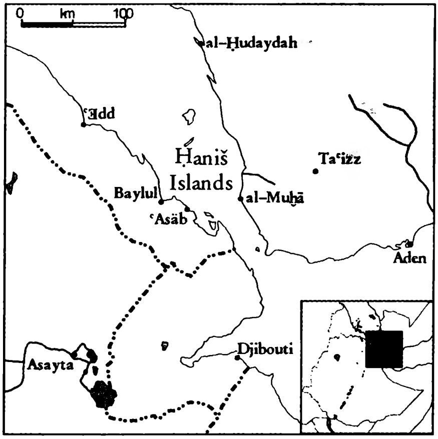
Pottery

Potter-women belong to a discriminated Harari caste, which also supplies the blacksmiths. They live together in special quarters in the "neighbourhood of the potters". Traditional crockery is heavy, neither polished nor burnished, almost crude, with the exception of the *aflala*, a blackened and burnished pottery container with a long-rigged neck, which serves as containers for jewellery and valuables. As materials were used a type of loam and a temper. The potter's wheel was unknown.

Lit.: Richard Francis Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa*, London, 1856; Vinigi L. Grottanelli, "Asiatic Influences on Somali Culture", *Ethnos* 4, 1947; Elisabeth-Dorothea Hecht, *Harari Basketry*, Japan 1993 (African Studies Center, University of Kyoto); Id., "The City of Harar and the Traditional Harari House", *JES* 15, 57–78; Peri Klemm, "Fashioning History: Women's

Costumes from Eastern Harar, 1850-1886", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 195–214; ID., *Women's Costumes from Eastern Ethiopia. IES Museum Exhibition Catalogue November 2000*, Addis Ababa 2000; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1963; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Manuscript Bindings of Harar: a Preliminary Examination", *Azania* 22, 1987, 47–54; ID., "The Last Bookbinder of Harar and his Tools", *The Book Collector* 41, 1992, 214–19; ID., "The Indian Door of Täfäri Mäkonnen's House in Harar (Ethiopia)", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* ser. 3, 1, 1991, 389–92; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888; SIDNEY RALPH WALDRON, *Social Organization and Social Control in the Walled City of Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, MI 1975; RICHARD WILDING, "Harari Domestic Architecture", *Art and Archeology Research Papers* 9, 1976, 31–37.

Elisabeth-Dorothea Hecht



Ḥaniš islands

The islands of the southern Red Sea, collectively referred to as the Ḥ. (Tna. ሐኒሽ, *Ḥaniš*, Arab. الحنيش, *al-Ḥunayš*), are located between the Eritrean and Yemeni coasts, running approximately from 13° 30' N latitude to 15° 40' N latitude. There are three separate island groups: the Zuqar-Ḥanish, the southern-most, composed principally of Greater and Lesser Ḥanish, Zuqar and close to 40 other small islands and rocks; the Zubayr Group, composed of Zubayr, Centre Peak and eight smaller islands and rocks; and the single and northern-most island of Ǧabal aṭ-Ṭayr. For generations, all of the islands have served as fertile fishing-grounds for fishermen from both the African and Arabian coasts.

Prior to the end of the World War I, all of the islands were under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire. Although Italy annexed the adjacent African coastline in 1890 when it established its colony of Eritrea, there is little evidence of Italian activity on the Ḥ. during this period. In 1923, pursuant to the Treaty of Lausanne, the Ottomans renounced sovereignty over all territory in the Red Sea region, including the Ḥ. This was accomplished by Article 16, which also provided that the future of the islands would be "settled by the parties concerned".

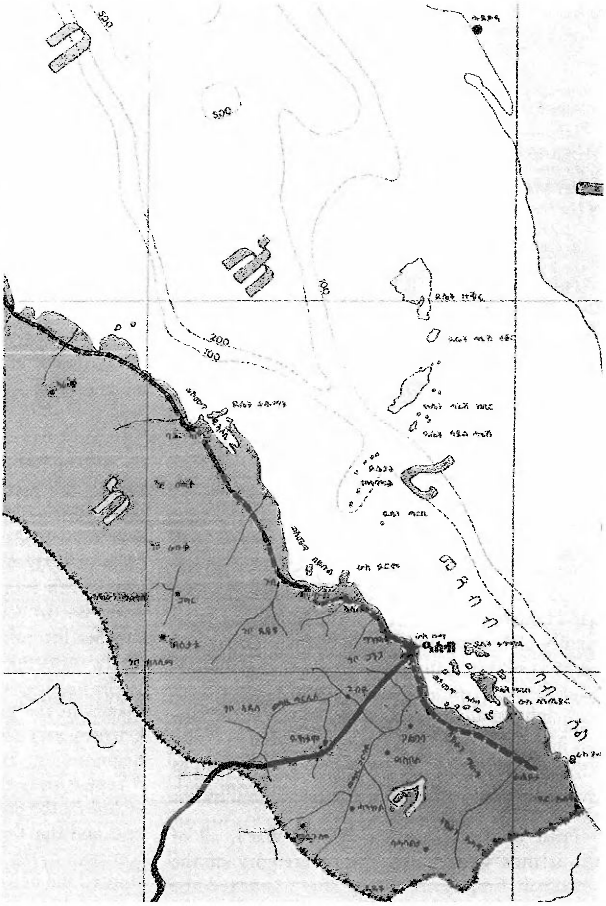
The two powers most active in the region were Great Britain and Italy. While the British generally confined their activities to the eastern shore of the Red Sea, Italy engaged in a variety of acts on the islands. These included granting a concession of a fish-cannery, stationing soldiers, constructing barracks and other buildings and issuing fishing licenses. Italian competition with the British also resulted in two agreements that further solidified the indeterminacy of sovereignty over the islands: the so-called Rome Conversations of 1927 and the Treaty of 16 November 1938. Both involved commitments by the two states not to acquire additional territory in the Red Sea littoral. This treaty was soon abrogated by the outbreak of World War II.

The most significant activity in and around the islands in the post-war period grew out of the Eritrean secessionist struggle against Ethiopia. Beginning in the mid-1980s, the Republic of ↗Yemen undertook a series of actions on the Ḥ., including the erection of lighthouses. Both Ethiopia and the Yemen also granted oil-exploration concessions in blocks that encompassed and abutted the islands. But little exploration activity was conducted on the islands themselves.

In November 1995 Eritrean and Yemeni troops clashed for several days on Greater Ḥ. and several surrounding islands after Yemen began initial preparations for construction of a recreation facility on the Ḥ. Ensuing negotiations led to the drafting of an Agreement on Principles, signed by Eritrea and the Yemen on 21 May 1996, by which the two states agreed to resolve their differences peacefully through arbitration. The two states signed an arbitration agreement on 3 October 1996, providing for the creation of a five-judge *ad hoc* arbitrage tribunal.

The tribunal issued its award in the first stage on 9 October 1998 and awarded the Mohabbakah Islands, the Haycock Islands and the so-called South West Rocks to Eritrea and the remainder of the disputed islands to the Yemen. Importantly, the tribunal also held that "[i]n the exercise of its sovereignty over these islands, Yemen shall ensure that the traditional fishing regime of free access and enjoyment for the fishermen of both Eritrea and Yemen shall be preserved for the benefit of the lives and livelihoods of this poor and industrious order of men".

On 1 November 1998 Eritrea withdrew the last of its troops that had been occupying islands awarded to Yemen. The tribunal issued its award in the second stage on 17 December 1999. The islands previously awarded to the Yemen did not play a significant role in the tribunal's delimitation, as the boundary line chosen was one essentially equidistant between the opposing mainland coasts. However, the tribunal did elaborate on the nature of the traditional fishing regime recognized in the first phase. It held that "[t]here must be free access to and from the islands concerned", as well as an "entitlement to enter the relevant ports, and to sell and market the fish there". The tribunal held that these ports included the major fish marketing centres on the Yemeni coast.



Ḥaniš islands shown as Yemenite on an E.P.L.F. map of 1980; from the collection of Tom Dassel

Src.: PERMANENT COURT OF ARIBITRATION, "Eritrea-Yemen, Awards of the Arbitral Tribunal in the First and Second Stages", 9 October 1998 and 17 December 1999.
Lit.: BARBARA KWIATKOWSKA, "The Eritrea/Yemen Arbitration: Landmark Progress in the Acquisition of Territorial Sovereignty and Equitable Maritime Boundary Delimitation", *Ocean Development & International Law* 32, 2001, 1–25 (Lit.).

Gregory Fox

Ḥanna Ǧimma ↗Gäbrä Ḥanna Ǧimma

Hannibal, Abraham ↗Pushkin, Alexander

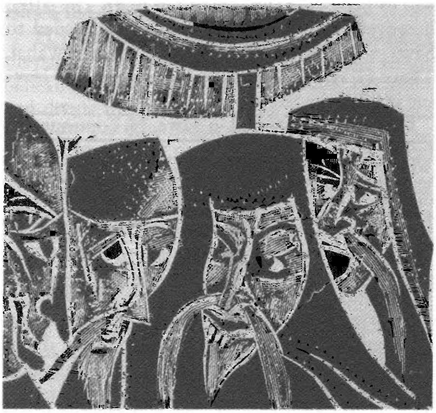
Hansen-Bahia, Karl-Heinz

H. (originally Karl-Heinz Hansen; b. 19 April 1915, Hamburg, d. 14 June 1978, São Felix, Brazil) was a painter. He started working as a wood-engraver in 1946 in Hamburg and in 1949 migrated to São Paulo. After his first exhibition of wood-engravings (Museu de Arte Moderna), he moved to Salvador da Bahia, where he was to develop his own expressive style, reflecting the multicultural atmosphere of the city.

In 1959 H. returned to Germany, working as a wood-engraver at the Bavarian Castle of Tittmoning. In 1963 he was appointed Professor for

Graphic Design at the ↗Fine Arts School in Addis Abäba, where he also produced an important part of his works. In 1966 he returned to Salvador da Bahia, adopted Brazilian citizenship and changed his name.

H.'s oeuvre mainly consists of wood-engravings, a skill where he stands out as one of the most important artists of the second half of the 20th cent. As artistic motifs he preferred people in Bahia and Addis Abäba and their environment. Another focus of his interest were Christian, mythological and historical subjects. His works thus reflect his deep admiration for the cultures of Brazil and Ethiopia. Following ideas from German expressionism, he created a most original way of representation and his artistic work had a lasting influence on the development of contemporary arts in both his countries of adoption.



Ethiopian priests. Woodcut by Karl-Heinz Hansen-Bahia; photo by Wolbert Smidt, courtesy of the German Cultural Institute, Addis Abäba

Src.: JORGE AMADO, *Flor de S. Miguel*, Salvador 1956; KARL-HEINZ HANSEN, *Primero encontro com a Arte*, São Paulo 1955.
Lit.: RUDOLF GROSSMANN, *Hansen-Bahia. Stationen und Wegmarken*, Hamburg 1960; JÜRGEN BECKELMANN, *Begegnung mit Hansen-Bahia*, Darmstadt 1961; KONRAD TEGTMEIER, *Hansen-Bahia erzählt von Brasilien*, Darmstadt 1962; PETER KOTHÉ, *Hansen-Bahia, Holzschnitte aus 25 Jahren*, Mainz 1971; TEO OLTMANNS, *Hansen-Bahia: Werksverzeichnis*, Unkel 2005.

Teo Oltmanns

Ḥaqqaddīn b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr

Ḥ. (حق الدين بن دلحوي بن منصور; fl. before 1332) was the brother of the ↗Walašmaᶜ ruler ↗Ṣabraddīn b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr. Ḥ. is mentioned only in the Chronicle of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I in a message in which the Emperor threatened Ṣabraddīn with the same punishment he had inflicted on his brother: "Do you not know what I myself formerly accomplished when your brother Ḥ. took by force one of my young servants named Təᶜəyentay? I left my soldiers at the place (called) Šägʷəra and, in two days after leaving my country, I entered into your city with seven horsemen and I slew the Moslem people through the power of God my Master, creator of Heaven and Earth. Then that part of my army [i.e. the remainder] arrived and it destroyed utterly the land which is called Ifat ... The [people of] the land of Zəga and Manzəḫ, who were united to attack me, surrounded me. But I defeated them through the strength of Jesus Christ and also their master, the son of your brother, Däradər. Him I killed; and to you I do the same." Hence, the defeat of Ḥ. and the death of Däradər must have occurred before ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's campaign against Ṣabraddīn in 1332.

Some scholars (s. BassÉt II 128; PerrAmdS 332; HuntAmd 24) identified Ḥ. with the third Walašmaᶜ ruler, ↗Ḥaqqaddīn I b. ᶜUmar Walasmaᶜ, who is mentioned by al-↗Maqrīzī. The Arabic "lists of kings", however, show that there was a difference of three generations between Ṣabraddīn and Ḥaqqaddīn I, who was in fact Ḥ.'s great-grand-uncle (Cerulli 1931: 51; MarAmdS 55, n. 6), though the time-difference was only about 30 years. Ḥ. himself is not mentioned in the "lists" as a ruler of Ifat. That means that he could not have been a predecessor of his brother Ṣabraddīn, but only one of his governors.

Src.: PerrAmdS 282ff. (text) = 332f. (tr.); HuntAmd 56f.; KrAmdS 4f. (text) = 8ff. (tr.); MarAmdS 54 (text) = 55 (tr.).
Lit.: BassÉt II 18, 128; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 51 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 136–206, here 149]; AUGUST DILLMANN, "Die Kriegsthaten des Königs 'Amda-Ṣion gegen die Muslim", *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch – historische Klasse* 42, 1884, 1007–38, here 1013f.; TadTChurch 132.

Ewald Wagner

Ḥaqqaddīn I b. ᶜUmar Walasmaᶜ

Ḥ. (حق الدين بن عمر ولسمع; r. ca. 1294/95–1301/02) was the third ruler of the ↗Walašmaᶜ dynasty of ↗Ifat. He succeeded his brother Baziyū b. ᶜUmar Walasmaᶜ and was followed by another brother, Ḥusayn b. ᶜUmar Walasmaᶜ. The time of his reign, ca. 1294/95–1301/02, can only be established by counting back the reigns of his followers. The sources for the history of the Walašmaᶜ dynasty ("Lists of kings"; MaqIlmam) do not mention any event during the rule of Ḥ. If, however, the estimate of 1294/95–1301/02 for his reign is right, the rebellion of *šayḫ* Abū ᶜAbdallāh Muḥammad (1299), which is known to us from another source (al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍāʾil), must have happened during his rulership.

Some scholars (BassÉt II 128, PerrAmdS 332, HuntAmd 24) identified Ḥ. with ↗Ḥaqqaddīn b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr, who fought against ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon. This is due to the fact that the former is mentioned only in Muslim sources, whilst the latter is referred to in Christian ones. However, as Cerulli has shown (Cerulli 1931:51; s. also MarAmdS 55, n. 6) the two persons are distinguished, both for chronological reasons (30 years of difference) and a difference in their fathers' names. Ḥaqqaddīn b. Dallḥūy was in reality Ḥ.'s great-grand-nephew.

Src.: MaqIlmam² 9; PerrAmdS 282ff. (text) = 332f. (tr.); HuntAmd 56f.

Lit.: PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 504; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 41 (Arab. text) = 43 (tr.), cp. 51 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 137, 141, 149, with the Walašmaᶜ dynasty family tree on 268f.]; ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80, here 268f.]; EWALD WAGNER, "Die Chronologie der frühen muslimischen Herrscher in Äthiopien nach den Harariner Emirslisten", in: BRIGITTA BENZING – OTTO BÖCHER – GÜNTER MAYER (eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit: Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 1, Meisenheim 1976, 186–204, table 1; MarAmdS 54 (text) = 55 (tr.) and passim; BassÉt II 18, 128.

Ewald Wagner

Ḥaqqaddīn II b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad

Ḥ. (حق الدين بن احمد حرب ارعد, r. 1376/77–86) was a member of the ↗Walašmaᶜ dynasty which ruled in ↗Ifat and later in ↗ᶜAdal and ↗Harär. He was the son of ↗Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad b. ᶜAlī b. Ṣabraddīn, who was a governor in the Ǧäbärti region during the second rule of his father ↗ᶜAlī b. Ṣabraddīn. After his father's death, Ḥ, who was studying in Ifat, was pursued with hatred by his grandfather ᶜAlī and his uncle *mollā* Aṣfaḥ b. ᶜAlī. *Mollā* Aṣfaḥ was the most-favoured son of ᶜAlī, who wanted him and not a son of Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad as his successor. Thus, ᶜAlī and *mollā* Aṣfaḥ finally drove Ḥ. out of Ifat, placing him under the supervision of a provincial governor. This governor sent Ḥ. to the villages to collect taxes. Ḥ. did not only collect taxes but also recruited people for an army. Eventually, he overthrew and killed the governor, took over his soldiers and distributed to them all the booty he got. Through this, his army expanded.

At that time *mollā* Aṣfaḥ rebelled against his father and asked *aṣe* Nəwayä Krəstos (↗Säyfä Arᶜad) for help. The Ethiopian ruler sent 30,000 soldiers. Supporting his grandfather, Ḥ. defeated the allied forces in two successive battles and killed Aṣfaḥ. With much booty, he returned to Ifat, where ᶜAlī was forced to reconcile with his now-powerful grandson. After some years, ᶜAlī had to hand over the rule of Ifat to Ḥ. The latter, however, did not stay in Ifat but proceeded to Šäwa, where he built a new capital named Waḥal. There Ḥ. resettled many people from Ifat, leaving it finally in ruins.

From his new capital in Šäwa, Ḥ. continued to fight the Ethiopian rulers up to the time of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II. He fought more than 20 battles till he died as a "martyr" in 1386, after a ten-year reign. He was succeeded by his brother ↗Saᶜdaddīn Abū l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad.

The main source for the story of Ḥ. is al-↗Maqrīzī (MaqIlmam²). The biography above is based on his narration, except for the dates, which are taken from the Walašmaᶜ Chronicle published by Cerulli (1931). According to al-Maqrīzī, Ḥ. ruled for ten years and died in 1374/75. Since al-Maqrīzī himself maintains that Ḥ. died while fighting *aṣe* Dawit II, the year 1386, proposed in Cerulli, is more appropriate than Taddesse Tamrat's (TadTChurch 147–51).

Ḥ.'s importance as a protagonist of ↗*ǧihād* in Ethiopia is underlined by the fact that he is one of the few Muslim rulers in Ethiopia included in ↗Ibn Ḫaldūn's work, where he is mentioned under the name Ḥaqqaddīn b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. Walaṣmaᶜ. Since the names Aḥmad and Muḥammad are often interchanged, even for the Prophet, there is no doubt about the identity.

Src.: MaqIlmam² 9; ᶜABDARRAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD IBN ḪALDŪN, *Kitāb al-ᶜIbar wa-dīwān al-mubtadaʾ wa-l-ḫabar fī ayyām al-ᶜArab wal-ᶜAǧam wal-Barbar* ('The Book of Instructive Examples and a Collection of Origins and Stories on the History of the Arabs, Foreign Peoples and the Berber'), vol. 6, Būlāq 1284 H. [1867/8 A.D.], 199;

ID., *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, tr. by WILLIAM MACGUCKIN DE SLANE, ed. by PAUL CASANOVA, Paris 1927, vol. 2, 108.
Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 2, 1931, 39–101, here 41 (Arab. text) = 45 (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 137f. = 142f.]; ID., "L'Ethiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94, here 284f. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80, here 269ff.]; CerStud I 25 [repr. in *CerIslam* 281–327, here 302]; TadTChurch 147–51.

Ewald Wagner

Ḥara Dəngəl ↗Saints, local

Ḥaräg

In Ethiopian manuscript-illumination tradition, Ḥ. (ሐረግ, 'tendril') are ribbon-shaped ornaments applied to the frontispiece and incipit pages of ↗manuscripts; they divide the textual units and, by extension, are used to decorate the ↗Canon-tables, in addition to miniature frames.

Ḥ. consist of a horizontal border at the top of the page, often enriched with perpendicular bands beneath, which frame the text from the sides and divide the columns of the script. Elaborate examples are also closed at the bottom and can enhance the text in four framed compartments (Mercier 2001:65). The bands, which in some cases are more undulating and in others more angular, are filled with interlaced geometric forms and stylized organic motifs, mostly designed on a six-dot grid system (fig. 1). A common addition is the stylized palmettes, usually facing each other, which sprout from the loose ends of the bands. Initially, the ornamentation was only applied in red, but later yellow, green and blue were used. The natural colour of parchment was also included as a part of colouristic compositions.

Although the structural principles of Ḥ. design are based on symmetry and regularity in the application of particular ornamental modules, within them an unlimited number of variations are possible. Consequently, it is difficult to find two identical Ḥ.

The Ethiopian Ḥ. may have originally been adapted from models in the Mediterranean world through the transmission of manuscripts used for translations, but up to now no direct prototypes have been identified.

Judging from the manuscripts whose decoration was unfinished, the scribes responsible for the layout of the text designed the Ḥ., while the colouring was often left to the miniature painters. Any type of book could be adorned by Ḥ., but the most-elaborated decorations are found in the Psalters (e.g., ms. Addis Abäbä, IES 76, from the 15th cent. is decorated with over 170 Ḥ.). The oldest known examples of Ḥ. date to the second half of the 14th cent. At that time, ornaments were enriched with geometrized interlaces, palmettes and crosses. The predominant colours were yellows and reds, with the addition of greens and blues enclosed in black outlines to increase the colouristic value of the composition. In the 15th cent. the same repertory of motifs is applied, but the colours used are yellows, reds and greys with the neutral parchment as a background. Ḥ. originating from scriptoria of the ↗Stephanites, from the 15th/16th cent., additionally use the classical interlace of geometrical and pseudo-architectural forms, which are always vividly painted and outlined with black lines (↗Gundä Gunde). The decoration itself often occupies as much space as the ornamented text and knotted and suspended drapery is also added to the repertory of motifs (Zanotti 1993; Mercier 2001:87).

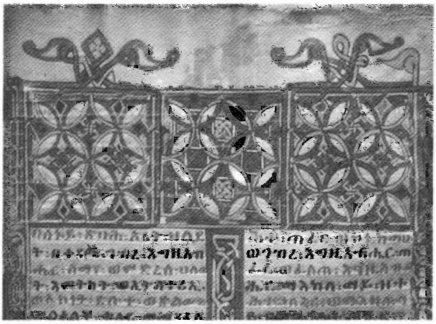


Fig. 1. Ms. Genesis, fol. 18r, 15th/16th cent.; Saʿəsi, Mayraza, Täklä Haymanot church; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

In the 17th cent. a particularly rich Ḥ., which occupies more space than the text, shows in a group of manuscripts originating from ↗Lasta. It is composed of a large frame with a cross-band dividing the text into four sections, each filled with stiff geometric patterns more akin to carpet designs (e.g., London, BritLib Orient. 516). The 17th cent. also saw a transition to a different type of ornament. During this period, Ḥ were limited to a horizontal upper band filled with simplified geometrical forms, often painted only in black and red (AfrZion 64). At the end of the 18th cent., the filler ornamentation becomes organic and is mostly composed of garlands. Ḥ. from the late 19th and the 20th cent. present an eclectic mixture

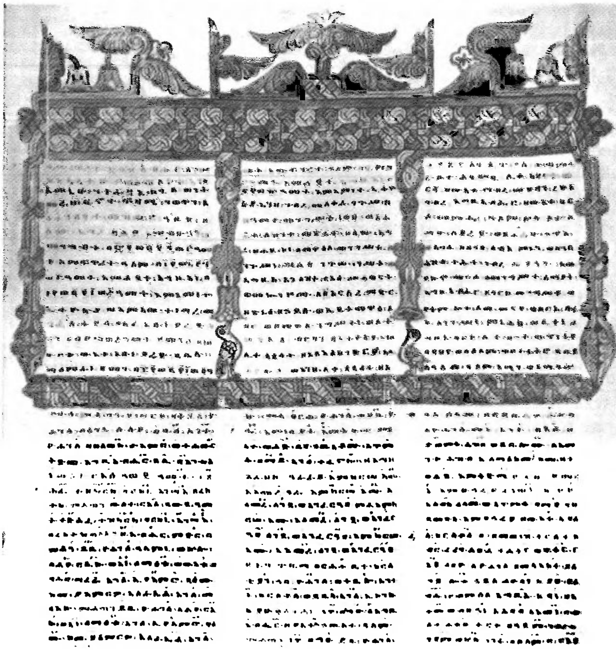


Fig. 2. *Dəggʷa*, fol. 7r, 19th cent., Hawzen Täklä Haymanot church; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

of elements from the previous periods, e.g., classical interlace is added to floral motifs, and the inclusion of all colours, even those atypical of Ethiopian art, such as pink and purple (fig. 2). Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic elements are particularly common in manuscripts originating from the scriptoria in ↗Šäwa, probably due to the influence of the decoration from ↗magic scrolls.

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Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Ḥarägot Abbay

Däǧǧazmač Ḥ.A. (ሐረጎት፡ አባይ; b. 7 May 1909, Asmära, d. 1974, Addis Abäba) was an entrepreneur and politician. A son of *baḥər nägaš* ↗Abbay Habtä Ṣəyon, Ḥ.A. belonged to the *gäza Asmaᶜ* ('house of Asmaᶜ', also known as *hadamu* ↗*Asmära*), one of the four "houses" that constituted the Arbaᶜətä Asmära neighbourhood league reportedly formed back in 1508 (Yəsḥaq Yosef 1993:13f.; Mäsmay Gäbrähəwät 2002:131). According to oral tradition, *gäza Asmaᶜ* was also related to the ↗Asaorta (Mikaʾel Hasama Raka 1986:70; interview with Yämanä Gərmaṣəyon, 2004).

Ḥ.A.'s father died in 1914 and the boy was sent to ↗Mändäfära, where he attended the elementary school of San Giorgio. After finishing the four-grade school system devised for the locals (*indigeni*) by the colonial government (↗Africa Orientale Italiana), in 1924 he entered the service of the Italian administration as a clerk in the army headquarters (Comando Truppe) in Asmära. On 1 February 1938 he was promoted to a lower-court judge, until he terminated his employment on the very eve of the British occupation of Asmära on 31 March 1941 (ErDizBio 161).

Thereafter, Ḥ.A. set up a flour-mill business. With the capital he made, in July 1951 he bought, together with his partner *azmač* Kənfu Kidane, a businessman from Aksum, the Eritrean branch of Salvati Africa – an urban and inter-urban bus service founded by Italians in 1938. Officially renamed *Maḫbär Awtobus Asmära* 'Asmära Bus Company', by 1974 the company held a near monopoly in the town. With the coming of the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) it was, like all other transport companies, put under state control. Ḥ.A.'s family was denied any access to the profit.

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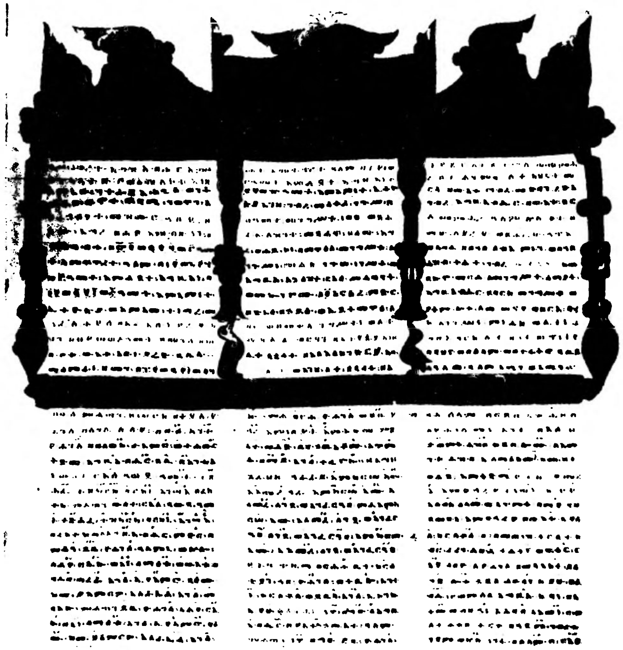

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Src.: Court archives Ref: CE/ASMB/10, Subject: Disputed Election and the Supreme Court Ruling: Sent. No. 7, CRON. 1289, 12 February 1957; ErDizBio 161; TEDLA BAIRU, *Annual Report Delivered to the Eritrean Assembly in Accordance with Article 76(4) of the Eritrean Constitution*, Minutes n. 303, 20 May 1954, Asmara, Eritrean Archive; KilHDic 246; interviews with Śəyyum Ḥarägot (Asmära, 30 May 2004), Yämanä Gərmaṣəyon (Asmära, 2004, 2005), Yosef Nägasi (2004, 2005), Muḥammad ʿUmar Akito (ʿAsäb, February 1999), Ityoṗya Ḥarägot (2005).

Lit.: ʿALÄMSÄGÄD TÄSFAY, አይንፈላለ (*Aynəffälalä, 1941–50*, 'Let us Remain United, 1941–50'), Asmära 2002; YƎSḤAQ YOSEF, ዛንታ፡ ከተማ፡ አስመራ (*Zanta kätäma Asmära*, 'The History of the City of Asmära'), Addis Abäba 1993, 13f.; ZÄWDE RÄTTA, የኤርትራ፡ ጉዳይ (*Yäʾerətra gudday*, 1941–1963, 'The Case of Eritrea, 1941–1963'), Addis Abäba 2000, 452; JORDAN GEBRE-MEDHIN, *Peasants and Na-*

tionalism in Eritrea: a Critique of Ethiopian Studies, Trenton, NJ 1989, 79f., 101, 110, 119; MÄḤARI NƎGUSE, ካብ፡ ጕዞታት፡ ታሪክ፡ ኤርትራ (*Kab gʷəzzotat tarik Erətra*, 'Some Aspects of Eritrean History'), [n.d.], 260 (ill.); MIKAʾEL HASAMA RAKA, ዛንታ፡ ኤርትራ (*Zanta Erətra*, 'The History of Eritrea'), Asmära 1986, 70; MÄSMAY GÄBRÄ HƎYWÄT, ዓገብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ኤርትራ፡ መበል፡ ዕሥራ፡ ዘመን፡ መግዛእታዊ፡ ገበናትን፡ መኸታ፡ ህዝቢ፡ ኤርትራን (*ʿAgäb, tarik Erətra mäbbäl ʿəśra zämän: mägzaʾtawi gäbänatən mäḵäta həzbi Ertran*, 'Injustice: History of Eritrea in the Twentieth Century: Colonial Crimes and the Resistance of the People of Eritrea'), Lawrenceville, NJ 2002, 131.

Kebre-Ab Tesfaí

Harär

Introduction

H. (ሃረር, also ሐረር; Arab.: هرر; in European sources: Harar, Harer, Harràr etc.), one of the oldest Muslim cities of East Africa, is located 525 km east of ↗Addis Abäba (9°19'N, 42°07E) at an average elevation of 1,750 m A.S.L. (s. map for ↗Harärge). The inhabitants call the old city of H. *Gēy* , i. e., 'the City' (cp. ↗*Ge*).

The former capital of the historical emirate on the crossing of important trade-routes, later the capital of the ↗Harärge province, today H. is the capital and administrative seat of the Harari National Regional State. According to the 1994 census, the population of the town was 76,378 (CSA 1999a:6). The latest estimates show that approximately 21,000 persons live in the 60ha of the old H. city encompassed by the wall (*ǧugal*; s. map Gori – Bianchini et al. 2003). The newer area of the city, with administrative buildings, multi-storied shopping centres, and residential quarters, lies to the west of the old H. Throughout the city, housing units are mostly permanent, non-storied buildings, which often have multiple-attached units. Corrugated iron sheets cover most roofs, while the majority of homes still have traditional earthen floors (CSA 1999a:170, 172). Transport connection between H. and Addis Abäba became efficient with the completion of a road in 2003. H. is also connected to the capital city and ↗Djibouti via railway (↗Railways) and airport in ↗Dərre Dawa.

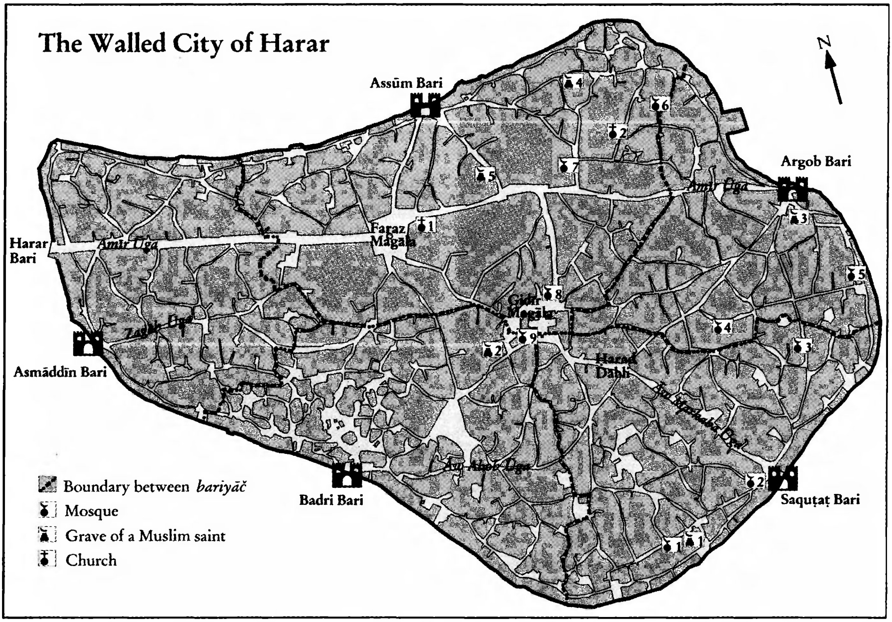
H. is a regional education centre. There are 24 urban primary schools, and four secondary schools near the town (Harari Regional Bureau of Education 2004). The dense concentration of educational facilities – formal and non-formal, religious and secular – has established the Harari region's position as theone with the second highest urban literate population in Ethiopia (CSA 1999b:85).

In H., persons of ethnic Amhara, Oromo, Harari, Gurage or Somali backgrounds and different cultures coexist with a relatively high degree of religious tolerance. The daily interactions between ethnic groups take place especially in areas of commerce and devotional activities. In 2002–03, H. was rewarded for its comity when it received the UNESCO Cities for Peace Prize for urban harmony.

H. inhabitants' occupational distribution is heavily mercantile, with trade in manufactured textiles, imported trinkets and clothing. Many residents rely on small cottage industries for their household earnings. Agricultural activity takes place some distance from the city. Large-scale commodity production of the region's famous Mocha ↗coffee has suffered with the collapse of the world coffee prices (s. OXFAM 2003); the economic base of area farmers has been dramatically changed, since many of them have opted to replace their coffee trees with the lucrative ↗*čat* plant.

The tourist market has recently expanded, influencing local economic activities. Tourism has increased the local sales of handicrafts and cultural items to the extent that the export of antique Harari basketry and manuscripts is now prohibited. Apart from numerous traditional sites in the old H., the city's major tourist attractions include the former residence of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, a museum dedicated to the French poet Arthur ↗Rimbaud, the H. Beer factory, and the ritual of ↗hyena feeding. Over the last three decades, some efforts were made to preserve the H. cultural heritage; both the regional government and private citizens have created several local museums. However, despite the rise of the tourism, the overall prosperity and welfare of the city remains constrained by the privation of adequate potable water resources. The challenge of imminent concern to the city is to overcome issues of sanitation that result from severe water deficiency.

Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AUTHORITY [CSA] (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Results for Harari Region*, vol. 2, Addis Ababa 1999a, 6, 170, 172; ID. (ed.), *Results at Country Level*, vol. 2, Addis Ababa 1999b, 85; ALESSANDRO GORI – ROBERTO BIANCHINI et al., *Cultural Heritage of Harar; Mosques, Islamic Holy Graves, and Traditional Harari Houses. A Comprehensive Map*, Rome 2003; HARARI REGIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION, *Office of the Bureau Head*, October 2004; OXFAM [OXFORD COMMITTEE FOR FAMINE RELIEF], *Press Release: Coffee Collapse is Leading to Global Drug Boom*, 9 December 2003.



Important mosques: 1 ↗Abādir ᶜUmar ar-Riḍā; 2 Ismāᶜīl Ǧabartī; 3 *Amīr* ↗Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbdaššakūr ; 4 Ǧabartī Ismāᶜīl; 5 *šayḫ* ↗Hāšim b. ᶜAbdulᶜazīz b. *amīr* Hāšim (1711–65); 6 ↗ᶜAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad; 7 Ǧāmiᶜ Harar; 8 *sitti* ↗ᶜAlawīya; 9 *sayyid* ↗ᶜAlī Ḥamdūn.
Important Muslim graves: 1 ↗Abādir ᶜUmar ar-Riḍā; 2 *sayyid* ↗ᶜAlī Hamdūn; 3 Šullum Aḥmad; 4 ↗Āy ᶜĀbida; 5 *amīr* ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid.
Churches: 1 Orthodox church Mädḫane ᶜAläm; 2 Catholic church.

After Gori et al. 2003.

Lit.: SIDNEY R. WALDRON, *Social Organization and Social Control in the Walled City of Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University 1975, 263–99; CAMILLA GIBB, *In the City of Saints: Religion, Politics and Gender in Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford 1996, 69ff.

Belle Asante

Harär city structure and main buildings

The traditional city of H. comprises of only a clearly defined area of 1.6 km². It is surrounded by a ca. 4.5-metres-high wall (*ǧugal*), built by Nūr b. Muǧāhid (r. 1551/52-68). The wall has five old gates (*bari*, pl. *bariyāč*): Assum Bari (Amh. Fällana Bärr; Arab. Bāb al-Futūḥ) in the north; Argob Bari (Amh. Yärrär Bärr; Arab. Bāb ar-Raḥma) in the east; Saquṭaṭ Bari (Amh. Sänga Bärr; Arab. Bāb as-Salām) in the south-east; Badri Bari (Amh. Buda Bärr; Arab. Bāb al-Ḥākim) in the south; Asmäddīn Bari (Amh. Šäwa Bärr; Arab. Bāb at-Turk or Bāb an-Naṣr) in the south-west (CerIslam 321–27). The Arabic names were given after the Egyptian conquest of H., and the Amharic ones after its incorporation into the Ethiopian empire.

The town is divided into five quarters, adjacent to the gates (*bari*, pl. *bariyāč*) and also bearing the latters' names. In former times each quarter (also called *bari*) was administrated by a *malāq*. The *bariyāč* were not only administrative units; they also played a role in popular culture, e.g. in the combatant sport *agri-agri* (*agri* 'shield') where the Qurʾānic schools of the different *bariyāč* fought against each other.

Each *bari* is in turn divided into neighbourhoods (*tōya*, pl. *tōyāč*). It seems that the number and the names of the *tōyač* have been subject to changes in the course of time. Waldron (1974: 93–97) listed 59 *tōyāč*, while Gibb (1996:192–97), some 20 years later, listed 103 *tōyāč*. 23 of Waldron's list and 38 of Gibb's are named after a saint (↗*Āw*, pl. *āwāč*; Arab. *walī*, pl. *awliyāʾ*), whose shrine is located inside the *tōya*, others after mosques, markets, streets, shops etc. Every

Market place in front of the ᶜAlī Hamdūn (the so-called "Italian") mosque, built during the Italian occupation (s. map no. 9); photo 1950s, by Hans Helfritz

tōya is composed of several household compounds (*abād/abāt*, pl. *abādāč*) with the typical Harari architecture (Gibb 1996:75ff.).

In addition to the division into *bariyāč*, there exists another division of the town into "seven circles [*širti*] of holiness", the inner circle around the square of Faraz Magāla (lit. 'Horse Market') being the holiest one. The holiness tends gradually to lessen towards the seventh circle which surrounds the wall from outside. Each circle is "reigned over" by a saint (*āw*), the chief of the other saints who have their shrines inside the *širti* (Gibb 1999:101ff. with map).

Before the Amharic conquest, the Friday mosque of the town was located just east of the main place, the Faraz Magāla. It was constructed by the *amīr* Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. ᶜAbdallāh in 1771/62, but destroyed by *ras* ↗Makʷännən Wäldä Mikaᵓel, who replaced it in 1888 with the octagonal orthodox Mädḫane ᶜAläm church, designed by the Italian engineer Luigi ↗Robecchi Bricchetti. On the Faraz Magāla *ras* Mäkʷännən built a fountain which enabled the inhabitants to fetch water inside the wall. Before, the women had to do this from the small rivulets outside the city. Because of the fountain the Italians renamed the Faraz Magāla Piazza della Fontana.

Since the Muslims had lost their main mosque, the mosque located between Assum Bari and Argob Bari became the new mosque for Friday prayers (Ǧuma; Arab.: Ǧāmiᶜ Harar). It is associated with the name of the *ṣāḥib al-fatḥ* ('the conqueror') *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ), although the most probable date of its construction is 1560. It has two minarets one of which, according to a legend, was destroyed twice by the Christans and then stood up again by itself (CerIslam 324f.). Beside the Ǧāmiᶜ Harar, the city owns about a hundred other ↗mosques, most of them consisting only of a small room with a prayer niche (*miḥrāb*) and sometimes of an outside staircase minaret (Horton 1994:196f.; lists of mosques Foucher 1988; Gibb 1996:196ff.; Gori – Bianchini et al. 2003). In 1990s, more than 200 shrines and holy sites of the saints were recorded in the city (Gibb 1999: 94), which greatly vary in their shape: from trees, rocks, small niches in the walls of the houses or mosques to big domed structures like the schrine of ↗Abādir ᶜUmar ar-Riḍā. The number of traditional H. ↗houses (*gārāč*) – many of them of significant artistic and cultural value – has been recently estimated at ca. 2,000.

Between 1890 and 1900 *ras* Mäkʷannən had his palace built east of the church of Mädḫane ᶜAläm (s. Guida 448). It got ruined during the 20th cent. and it is now partly reconstructed. During *ras* Makwännen's time the so called Arthur Rimbaud House was also built, though only after the time of Rimbaud. Having been repaired by the French, it now contains a small museum and a library.

A second market, the Gidīr Magāla ('Big Market') is located in the middle of the town where four of the *bariyāč* meet (the Italians built there in 1937 some market halls and renamed it Mercato Nuovo). During the first half of the 20th cent. the Ethiopian government pulled down the wall in the west where the road from ↗Dərre Dawa reaches the town, and built a sixth gate, the Dūk Bari (after the Duke of Harär; Ital. Porta del Governo, today Harar Bari). The main street of H. (Amh. Andäñña Mängäd; Ital. Via di Piazza della Fontana, today Amīr Ūga) connected this gate with the Faraz Magāla. Big shops have been estabilished there; the Faraz Magāla became the main station for buses and taxis.

During the occupation, the Italians left the *città indigena* almost untouched. They had the intention to build an Italian town south of the walled city. However, their *piano regolatore*, drafted by the engineer Guido Ferrazza, never came true; only a few buildings were erected before the Italians left H. During the last decades, H. expanded a lot outside the wall, especially in the direction to Dərre Dawa and on the slopes of Mount Ḥākim, south-west from the old city.

Lit.: *Guida* 442–49; CerIslam 381–27; EMILE FOUCHER, "Names of Musulmans Venerated in Harar and its Surroundings: a List", *ZDMG* 138, 1988, 263–83; GIULIANO GRESLERI, "1936–1940: Programma e strategia delle 'città imperiali'", in: GIULIANO GRESLERI – PIER GIORGIO MASSARETI – STEFANO ZAGNONI (eds.), *Architettura italiana d'oltremare 1870–1940*, Venezia 1993, 186–97; CAMILLA C.T. GIBB, *In the City of Saints: Religion, Politics and Gender in Harar*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford 1996; EAD., "Baraka without Borders: Integrating Communities in the City of Saints", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 29, 1999, 88–108; ALESSANDRO GORI – ROBERTO BIANCHINI et al., *Cultural Heritage of Harar; Mosques, Islamic Holy Graves, and Traditional Harari Houses: a Comprehensive Map*, Rome 2003; MARK HORTON, "East Africa", in: MARTIN FRISHMAN – HASAN-UDDIN KHAN (eds.), *The Mosque: History, Architectural Development and Regional Diversity*, London 1994, 195–207; EUGENIO LOSARDO (ed.), *Divina geometria: modelli urbani degli anni Trenta: Asmara, Addis Abeba, Harar, Olleta, Littoria, Sabaudia, Pontinia, Borghi*, Firenze 1995, 135–53; SIDNEY R. WALDRON, *Social Organization and Social Control in the Walled City of Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University 1975; ID., "Harar: the Muslim City in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 5b, 239–57; ID., "Within the Wall and beyond: Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Persistance in Harar, Ethiopia", in: GEORGE GMELCH – WALTER P. ZENNER (eds.), *Urban Life: Readings in Urban Anthropology*, New York 1980, 249–56.

Ewald Wagner

Harär history till 1875

The main sources for the early history of H. are of internal origin: the highly legendary ↗*Fatḥ Madīnat Harar* of Yaḥyā b. Naṣrallāh (Paret in PICES 4; WagFath), some genealogies (Wagner 1974b) and lists of the town's rulers (Wagner 1976). The only external reference to the existence of the town can be found in the Chronicle of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's campaign against the Muslims in 1332 (MarAmdS 104f.): H. sent three "governors" (*mäkʷännən*) to assist in the insurrection of the *qāḍī* ↗Ṣāliḥ. That means that H. must have had some importance already in the first half of the 14th cent., and this, at least, makes the dates of the *Fatḥ*, which places the foundation of the town through the national saint ↗Abādir ᶜUmar ar-Riḍā into the 13th cent., not improbable. The genealogies confirm this date and the lists of *amīrs*, which contradict each other, can be conjectured in a way that fit into this dating.

According to the *Fatḥ*, Abādir together with 405 other saints came in 1216 from Mecca to H., where his leadership was acknowledged by the surrounding tribes. In the following years he fought several wars against the "Portuguese" (Būrtuqis) and the "Italians" (Ṭālyān), which in reality might have been Persian (Šīrāzī) settlers who came to Somalia at the end of the 12th cent. In 1234/35 Abādir went back to ↗Mecca where he stayed till 1279. In the meantime several saints ruled over H. Most of them died fighting the "Portuguese". Coming back from Mecca, Abādir continued to fight the "Portuguese" until his final victory in 1301.

Except for the mentioned assistance to the *qāḍī* Ṣāliḥ in 1332, we know nothing about the history of H. for more than 200 years. It seems that the region became part of the ↗Walašmaᶜ sultanate, since after their return from Yemen about 1415 the Walašmaᶜ rulers transferred their political centre from Ifat to ↗ᶜAdal where ↗Dakar (near the modern Fiyambiro, about 40 miles north-east of H.) became the residence of the Walašmaᶜ *sulṭān* ↗Aḥmad Badlāy (MaqIlmam^2 20). With the move they perhaps expected that ᶜAdal would be less exposed to Christian attacks. However, this proved a fallacious hope and in 1479 Dakar was destroyed by *aṣe* ↗Əskənder (PerrEsk 342 [text] = 357 [tr.]).

In 1520, after his victory over the leader of the religious faction Aboñ b. Adaš, the *sulṭān* ↗Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Āzar made H. his capital (Cerulli 1931:42 [text] = 50 [tr.]). Beside the destruction of the former capital, Abū Bakr could have also tried to keep a tighter rein on the religious faction by having the centre of Islam under his close control. However, the strategy did not work out. Although the clergy of the town tried to mediate, the new religious leader, the *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ), strengthened by his victories over the Christians, got the upper hand in his fights with Abū Bakr and in 1525 killed him (BassHist I, 3–16 [text] = II, 9–33 [tr.]). Aḥmad Grañ installed ↗ᶜUmardīn Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn from another line of

One of the gates of Harär, early 20th cent.; photo courtesy of Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg (I 349–461) the Walašmaᶜ family as his puppet *sulṭān* and made H. the centre of his various campaigns which destroyed large parts of Christian Ethiopia.

After Grañ's defeat and death in 1543, his dispersed troops fled back to the region of H. From there, Grañ's nephew, ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid, tried to reorganize the holy war (↗*Ǧihād*). However, he could not get hold of the town proper, where the *sulṭān* might have been glad to have gotten rid of his master from the religious faction. About 1550 *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos conquered H. and deposed the *sulṭān* (ConzGal 42f. [text] = 146f. [tr.]). It seems that Gälawdewos did not establish a direct rule in the town, but only installed a new *sulṭān* from another line of the Walašmaᶜ dynasty (Wagner 1991:383). At any rate, when Nūr b. Muǧāhid entered H. in 1551/52, he had to kill a ruling *sulṭān* – according to the legendary "History of Nūr b. Muǧāhid and *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob" (Getatchew Haile – Wagner 1989:47 [Arab. text] = 57 [tr.]). Since the sources (Paulitschke 1888:513, 515; BassHist 5 [text] = 8 [tr.]; Cerulli 1931:51f.; cf. also Wagner 1991:381f.) mention three further Walašmaᶜ *sulṭāns*, who were sons of ᶜUmardīn and ruled between 1552 and 1559, Nūr b. Muǧāhid must have installed a new puppet *sulṭān* of his choice, after having killed the one appointed by Gälawdewos. Thus, the double rule in H. ended only in 1559 when Gälawdewos's general ↗Ḥamälmal killed the last *sulṭān* Ḥabīb (Cerulli 1931:89–92).

To defend H. not only against the Christians but also against the Oromo who in the middle of the 16th cent. intruded Harärge, Nūr b. Muǧāhid had built the famous wall (*ǧugal*) around the town. The wall proved a successful bulwark against the Oromo who devastated only the lands around the town and forced Nūr b. Muǧāhid to fight them several times. However, it did not prevent the second conquest of H. by Ḥamälmal in 1559. Yet the Christian success was a short lived one. In the same year Nūr b. Muǧāhid assembled a new army and defeated Gälawdewos in ↗Fäṭägar. The Emperor was killed and Nūr b. Muǧāhid brought his head to H. in triumph (ConzGal 101f. [text] = 178f. [tr.]; Cerulli 1931:52 [text] = 56 [tr.]).

In the following years H. suffered from two severe famines due to the devastation produced by the ↗Oromo. The second was followed by a plague during which Nūr b. Muǧāhid died, in 1568, three months on his return from a campaign against the Oromo (Cerulli 1931:52f.; 56ff. [tr.]).

After the death of Nūr b. Muǧāhid, as a result of inner conflicts and the pressure of the Oromo, the rule in H. changed several times. Not only descendants of Nūr b. Muǧāhid and Aḥmad Grañ occupied the throne, but also slaves and sons of *wazīrs*. Nūr was followed by his Abyssinian slave ↗ᶜUṯmān b. Badlāy (Cerulli 1931:53f. [text] = 58f. [tr.]), who soon came into conflict with the religious faction because he did not strictly observe the precepts of the ↗*šarīᶜa* (e.g., allowing alcoholic drinks) and had made an agreement with the pagan Oromo granting them several privileges. Religious opposition was headed by *gärad* ↗Ǧibrīl, who incited an insurrection in ↗Awsa and ↗Zaylaᶜ. ᶜUṯmān successfully fought and killed him in 1569. However, while he was still in field, the clerics (*ᶜulamāᵓ*) of H. installed Ṭalḥa b. ᶜAbbās b. Aboñ, a grand nephew of Aḥmad Grañ, as new ruler of the town. But since Ṭalḥa did not wage a *ǧihād*, he was deposed in 1571 and a son of ᶜUṯmān b. Badlāy, ↗Naṣīr, became the new *sulṭān*. At his death in 1573, he was followed by his son ↗Muḥammad b. Naṣīr b. ᶜUṯmān (Cerulli 1931:54 [text] = 60 [tr.]). As a result, the rule of H. went back to the secular party.

Muḥammad b. Naṣīr was the first – as well as the last – ruler of H., after Nūr b. Muǧāhid, to fight the Christians: he led an unsuccessful campaign against *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl. After an undecided battle in 1576–77 (the first year fits better to the following events), he was betrayed by his own officers who delivered him to Śärṣa Dəngəl. The Emperor had him killed, together with other H. officers (CRHist 48–51 [text] = 56–60 [tr.]; DombrChr 49f. [text] = 183f. [tr.]; Cerulli 1931:54 [text] = 60f. [tr.]).

Meanwhile H. was besieged by the Oromo. Since Muḥammad's brother, the *wazīr* Ḥāmid b. Naṣīr b. ᶜUṯmān, was not able to resist them, a certain ↗Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb organized the defence of the town. After having regained control over the Oromo, he turned against the governor of Awsa, who seemed to have used Muḥammad b. Naṣir's death to make himself independent. However, while marching against other places to subdue them, Manṣūr was attacked by his own soldiers. A member of Grañ's family, ↗Muḥammad Gāsā I, took advantage of the situation and in September 1576 declared himself *imām*, using again the religious title (Cerulli 1931:54f. [text] = 61f. [tr.]).

Muḥammad Gāsā I transferred the capital of the imamate to Awsa because H. was a menaced by the Oromo. H. was, from then on, governed by a *wazīr*. The first was Muḥammad Gāsā's brother, ↗Muḥammad Gāsā II, who later in 1584 became *imām* in Awsa. In the following year, under the new *wazīr* Saᶜdaddīn, H. still played some role in the conflict between Muḥammad Gāsā II and his minister ᶜAbbās b. Muḥammad (Cerulli 1931:71 [text] = 75f. [tr.]; Wagner 1979:664f.). From then on till the establishment of the ↗ᶜAlī b. Dāʾūd dynasty in 1647, we know nothing about the history of H., except some names: Ṣabraddīn b. Ādam (before 1620–24/25; Cerulli 1931:89, 92 [text] = 93f. [tr.]); Ṣadīq (1632–46) and his son *malāq* Ādam who governed the town for eleven months, and, finally, Aḥmad b. *al-wazīr* Abrām whose rule lasted ten days only (Cerulli 1942:4ff.).

In 1647 ↗ᶜAlī b. Dāʾūd, who previously had held different posts, took power. He was the founder of a dynasty under whose rule H. regained an independence lasting until the Egyptian occupation in 1875. Though the list of the ᶜAlī b. Dāʾūd dynasty exists in many manuscripts and was published several times (last editions Cerulli 1942 = CerIslam 365–81; Tedeschi in PICES 4), little more than the names are known till the 19th cent., when European sources start providing information.

During the following two centuries, the principal problem in H. continued to be the defence of the town and its hinterlands against attacks and devastation caused by the Oromo. In 1662 ᶜAlī b. Dāʾūd had to repulse the Illamo Oromo who had attacked the Asmāddīn Gate of the town. ᶜAlī's son, Ṣabraddīn, lost his life in that battle (Cerulli 1931:95f.).

Through an extensive marriage policy, however, the *amīrs* tried to make friends with the Oromo. About ᶜAlī's son ᶜAbdallāh we know specifically that at least five of his sons had different mothers from different Oromo tribes (Cerulli 1942: 2ff.; Pankhurst 1997:210). Together with this, other factors might have helped to protect the town from invasion: the wall; the advantages the Oromo acquired in having within their area an economic centre with far reaching trade connections; and the religious and cultural prestige H. enjoyed even in the pagan environment.

The economic and, at some moments, the political influence of the emirate of H. extended from ↗Aləyyu Amba in the west to Zaylaᶜ with its overseas connection, in the east. In times of peace the Oromo could buy imported goods at the markets of the town.

The importance of H. as a religious centre even in the 17th cent. is attested by the visit of two *šarīfs* (descendants of the prophet) from Mecca in 1621 (Cerulli 1931:92ff.). There is also evidence of the *amīrs* of the ᶜAlī b. Dāʾūd dynasty maintaining the religious reputation of the town. In 1761/62 Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. ᶜAbdallāh built the minaret of the grand mosque (CerStud I, 51ff.) and ᶜAbdaššakūr b. Yūsuf (1783–94) built a mosque in ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn in ↗Bale, dedicated to the famous mystic ᶜAbdalqādir al-Ǧīlānī (Cerulli 1936:44). He also reintroduced the register (*siǧill*) and the chancery (*dīwān*) in the town, which strengthened the influence of the clergy, especially the *qāḍī* (Wagner 1974a:216–19).

The 19th cent. started with the fraternal conflict between ↗ᶜAbdarraḥmān b. Muḥammad and ↗ᶜAbdalkarīm b. Muḥammad, which gave the Oromo the opportunity to interfere in H. politics. In 1825 the Oromo imprisoned ᶜAbdarraḥmān for some time. Later ᶜAbdarraḥmān had to flee to the Somali tribe of the Bersub, marking also the start of Somali involvement in H. affairs. Somali influence increased when ↗Abū Bakr b. *aftal-garād* ᶜAbdalmannān b. Muḥammad got married to *gisti* ↗Fāṭima bint Kawšan, the sister of ↗Ādam b. Kawšan, head of the Garri Somali. She played an important role in politics, especially in her quality as queen dowager during the reign of her weak son ↗Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr (1852–56). The learned Ǧāmiʾ al-Bartarī, an interlocutor of ↗Burton in 1855, was also of Somali stock (from the Bartäri tribe near Ǧiǧǧiga). As adviser of the *amīr*, he was often sent for diplomatic missions to different tribes (Burton 1894:2, 33f.).

Up to the 1840s the balance between Somali and Oromo influence permitted H. to lead quite a successful policy. H. merchants extended their traffic to the markets of Šäwa, and Abū Bakr b. ᶜAbdalmannān even tried to invite the French traveller ↗Rochet d'Hericourt to H. However, at the end of Abū Bakr's reign in 1852 – perhaps as a result of a drought – the Oromo attacked and devastated the territory of H. To save the town Abū Bakr had to pay tribute to the Oromo (Caulk 1977:377). This led to an economic crisis and in 1849, 1862 and 1868 the H. currency had to be devaluated (Abdurahman Yahya Garad 1990: 232–46). During Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr's time the Oromo laid once more siege, for 18 months, to H., which was only ended after the Oromo got new privileges: from then on they were allowed to enter the town with spears (Caulk 1977:377f.).

When Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr died in 1856 without adult issues, a remote relative of his, ↗Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbdaššakūr succeeded with the help of the Oromo, which by then had so many privileges that a special tax, the *maḥallaq al-Gāllā*, had to be levied. At the same time the *amīr* monopolized the trade with several goods to fill his treasury (Mohammed Moktar 1876:393ff.). As a result, the economic situation of the population dramatically deteriorated and when the Egyptians occupied H. in 1875 the town was in total decline.

List of the rulers of H.

A. Early rulers (saints) according to the *Fatḫ Madīnat Harar* (WagFath 136):

Abādir ᶜUmar ar-Riḍā (1216–34/35)
ᶜUmardīn, brother of Abādir (1234/35–51)
Walī Nāṣir I Abrām (1251–53)
Faqīh Naṣrawī (1253)
Walī Nāṣir II Ǧamāladdīn (1253)
↗Barḫadle Yūsuf al-Akwān (1253–79?)
Abādir ᶜUmar ar-Riḍā, second rule, perhaps together with Barḫadle (1279–1301?, last date mentioned in the *Fatḫ*)

B. Walašmaᶜ *sulṭāns* ruling H. (according to Cerulli 1943, folder = CerIslam, folder after p. 268, and the reconstruction of Wagner 1991:386):

Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Āzar (1520–25)
ᶜUmardīn b. Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn (1525–50)
Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Āzar (1550–51/52)
ᶜAli b. ᶜUmardīn b. Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn (1552–55)
Barakāt b. ᶜUmardīn b. Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn (1555–155?)
Ḥabīb b. ᶜUmardīn b. Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn (155?–59)

C. Religious leaders ruling in H. contemporary to the Walašmaᶜ *sulṭans*:

Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ) (1525–43)
Nūr b. Muǧāhid (1551/2–68)

D. Rulers of H. between Nūr b. Muǧāhid's death and the transfer of the capital to Awsa:

ᶜUṯmān b. Badlāy (1568–69)
Ṭalḥa b. Abbās b. Aboñ (1569–71)
Naṣīr b. ᶜUṯmān b. Badlāy (1571–73)
Muḥammad b. Naṣīr b. ᶜUṯmān (1573–76)
Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb (1576)
Muḥammad Gāsā I (1576, transfer of the capital to Awsa)

E. Governors (*wazīrs*) of H. in the name of the rulers of Awsa:

Muḥammad Gāsā II (1576–84)
Saᶜdaddīn (1584–1613)
–
Ṣabraddīn b. Ādam (before 1620–24/25)
–
Ṣadīq (died in 1646)
Ādam b. Ṣadīq (1646–47)
Aḥmad b. Abrām (1647)

F. *Amīrs* of the ᶜAlī b. Dāᵓūd dynasty till 1875 (according to Tedeschi in PICES 4):

ᶜAlī b. Dāᵓūd (1647–62)
↗Hāšim b. ᶜAlī b. Dāᵓūd (1662–71)
ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAlī b. Dāᵓūd (1671–1700)
Ṭalḥa b. ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAlī b. Dāᵓūd (1700–21)
Abū Bakr b. ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAlī b. Dāᵓūd (1721–32)
Ḫalaf b. Abī Bakr b. ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAlī (1732–33)
Ḥāmid b. Abī Bakr b. ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAlī (1733–47)
Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr b. ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAlī (1747–55)
Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAlī (1755–82)
Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr b. ᶜAbdallāh (1782–83)
↗ᶜAbdaššakūr b. Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr b. ᶜAbdallāh (1783–94)
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr (1794–1821)
↗ᶜAbdarraḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr (1821–25)
↗ᶜAbdalkarīm b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr (1825–34)
↗Abū Bakr b. ᶜAbdalmannān b. Muḥammad. b. Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr (1834–52)
↗Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Abdalmannān b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr (1852–56)
↗Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbdaššakūr b. Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr (1856–75).

Src.: BassHist I, 3–16 (text) = II, 8–33 (tr.); RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa, or an Exploration of Harar*, ed. by ISABEL BURTON, 2 vols., London 1894 [repr. 1986]; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206]; CRHist 48–51 (text) = 56–69 (tr.); ConzGal 42f., 101f. (text) = 146f., 178f. (tr.); DombrChr 49f. (text) = 183f. (tr.); GETATCHEW HAILE – EWALD WAGNER, "Die Geschichte Nūr b. Muǧāhids von Harar, oder The History of Aẓe Zärᵓa Yaᶜqob", *ZDMG* 139, 1989, 43–92; MarAmdS 104f.; MaqIlmam^2 20; PerrEsk 342 (text) = 357 (tr.); SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "L'Emirato di Harar secondo un documento inedito", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 481–500; WagFath; EWALD WAGNER, "Three Arabic Documents on the History of Harar", *JES* 12, 1974a, 213–24; ID., "Neues Material zur 'Ausa-Chronik'", in: ULRICH HAARMANN – PETER BACHMANN (eds.), *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut 1979 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 22), 657–73.

Lit.: ABDURAHMAN YAHYA GARAD, *Harar*: *Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines Emirats im Horn von Afrika* (*1825–1875*), Frankfurt am Main 1990 (Europäische Hochschulschriften 3: Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften 426); RICHARD ALAN CAULK, "Harär Town and its Neighbours in the Nineteenth Century", *JAH* 18, 1977, 369–86; CerStud I, 51ff. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 324f.]; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli emiri di Harar dal secolo XVI alla conquista egiziana (1875)", *RSE* 2, 1942, 2–18 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 365–81]; ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80]; MOHAMMED MOKTAR [i.e. MUḤAMMAD MUḪTĀR], "Notes sur le pays de Harrar", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Égypte* ser. 1, 3, 1876, 351–97; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Dynastic Inter-Marriage in Medieval and Post-Medieval Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 206–20; RUDI PARET, "Eine fragwürdige arabische Chronik von Harar", in:

PICES 4, vol. 1, 421–43; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888; EWALD WAGNER, *Harar: Annotierte Bibliographie zum Schrifttum über die Stadt und den Islam in Südostäthiopien*, Wiesbaden 2003 (AeF 61), 247–96 (Lit.); ID., "Genealogien aus Harar", *Der Islam* 51, 1974b, 97–117; ID., "The Genealogy of the Later Walashmaʿ Sultans of Adal and Harar", *ZDMG* 141, 1991, 376–86; ID., "Die Chronologie der frühen muslimischen Herrscher in Äthiopien nach den Harariner Emirslisten", in: BRIGITTA BENZING – OTTO BÖCHER – GÜNTER MAYER (eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit. Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik. Festschrift für Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 1, Meisenheim 1976, 186–204.

Ewald Wagner

Harär under Egyptian occupation 1875–85

The Egyptian expansionist drive in northeast Africa reached its climax in the 1870s with *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāʿīl's grand plan to establish his "African empire" from the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean to the Nile. In late 1875 a wide-scale joint military effort to invade the Ethiopian highlands, encircle Ethiopia, and create territorial continuity with Egyptian territories in the Sudan was launched concertedly by expeditions heading inland from ↗Massawa, ↗Taǧūra and ↗Zaylaʿ. Leaving Zaylaʿ with an expeditionary force of some 1,200 troops on 18 September 1875, ↗Muḥammad Raʾūf *bāšā* advanced towards H. encountering some resistance from Oromo groups. Capturing the city on 11 October with no opposition whatsoever, the Egyptians put an end to the independence of the city-state since the mid-17th cent. On 26 October *amīr* Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdaššakūr (r. 1855–75) was executed.

The first set of Egyptian measures aimed at establishing authority over the neighbouring Oromo, whose submission was instrumental in ensuring the viability of the new conquest – more specifically, securing the caravan routes leading to and from the city and the agricultural exploitation of H.'s hinterlands. To this end, Raʾūf *bāšā* conducted brutal campaigns in the countryside in February and March 1876. The Oromo were compelled to cultivate their lands and plant grain and coffee. Thousands of Oromo notables responsible for parcels of land were appointed and given the old Harari title of ↗*gärad* or *maläq* in return for a fee in cattle and the commission to collect a tithe. This process had far-reaching effects on the social and political structures of the Oromo groups, precipitating the collapse of the ↗*gadaa* system. Many were grouped in settlements, converted to Islam, and were further incorporated into the town's economic and social structures. Nonetheless, instability and insecurity around H. prevailed throughout the decade-long occupation and effective Egyptian authority seldom reached further than 40–50 miles away from the city.

The Egyptians replaced Haräri traditional local government with modern administrative, judicial and taxation systems. H.'s urban landscape (infrastructure) was transformed by the construction of public buildings, including the *dīwān*, the main mosque, a hospital, and a grain store. Impressive geographical and cartographical surveys were conducted in the town and its region, most notably under the direction of ↗Muḥammad Muḫtār *bāšā*. In May 1878 Charles ↗Gordon ended Muḥammad Raʾūf *bāšā's* governorship and replaced him with Riḍwān *bāšā* who served as Governor until June 1880. Under the governorship of ↗Muḥammad Nādī *bāšā*, European merchants, such as Xavier Alfred ↗Bardey, settled in H. establishing trading houses. They mostly purchased coffee and hides for exportation, and imported European goods. Throughout the decade commercial activities intensified and the yearly circulation of caravans between H. and the coast increased from 70 to 400. Further evidence to H.'s increasing exposure to Europeans is attested by the establishment of a French Capuchin mission headed by Monsignore Taurin ↗Cahagne in April 1881. The Egyptian period was also characterized by the dynamic diffusion of Islam in the region and by the construction of mosques, Qurʾānic schools and the introduction of the *Ḥanafī mad̲h̲ab* (↗Ḥanafism). The last governor of H. was ʿAlī Riḍā *bāšā* from December 1882 to early 1884.

The Egyptian occupation of H. came to an end as a result of the Egyptian financial crisis leading to the British occupation of Egypt in 1882. Under British pressure, the gradual evacuation of Egyptian forces began in 1884 and ended in mid-1885. *Amīr* ↗ʿAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad's short reign since 20 May 1885 was ended by ↗Mənilək's occupation of H. in January 1887.

↗Egypt, relations with; ↗Islam

Src.: ALFRED BARDEY, *Barr-Adjam: Souvenirs d'Afrique orientale 1880–1887*, préface de JOSEPH TUBIANA, Paris 1981; ŠAWQĪ ʿAṬĀʾALLĀH AL-ǦAMAL, *Al-Waṯāʾiq at-taʾrīḫīya li-siyāsat Miṣr fī l-Baḥr al-Aḥmar, 1863–1879* ('The Historical Documents to the Egyptian Policy in the Red Sea'), Cairo 1959, 271–338; ID., *Siyāsat Miṣr fī l-Baḥr al-Aḥmar fīn-niṣf aṯ-ṯānī min al-qarn at-tāsiʿ ʿašar* ('The Policy of Egypt in the Red Sea in the Second Part of the 19th cent.'), Cairo 1974, 165–226.

Lit.: RICHARD ALAN CAULK, "Harär Town and its Neighbors in the Nineteenth Century", *JAH* 18, 1977, 369–86; GEORGES DOUIN, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, vol. 3: *L'Empire africain*, Le Caire 1936–41; JONATHAN MIRAN, *L'Occupation égyptiennne de Harar (1875–1885)*, Mémoire de diplôme de recherche et d'études appliquées, INALCO, Paris 1993; MOHAMMED HASSEN, "Menelik's Conquest of Harar, 1887, and its Effects on the Political Organization of the Surrounding Oromos up to 1900", in: DONALD L. DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *Working Papers on Society and History of Imperial Ethiopia: The Southern Periphery from the 1880s to 1974*, Cambridge 1980, 227–46; MOHAMMED MOKTAR [MUḤAMMAD MUḪTĀR], "Notes sur le pays de Harrar", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Ègypte* ser. 1, 3, 1876, 351–97; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, "Le Harrar sous l'administration égyptienne, 1875–1885", *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société Khédievale de géographie du Caire* 2ème sér., 10, mars 1887, 575–91.

Jonathan Miran

Harär from the late 19th to the late 20th century

In 1887 the army of *nəguś* Mənilək (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) defeated a force of Harari and allied troops at ↗Č̣ällänqo. Thereafter, H. and its surrounding regions were incorporated into the future emperor's expanding realm; by the early 20th cent., Mənilək's officers had established firm control over the conquered area.

Unlike with most other subjugated lands in the south, H.'s pre-conquest governments historically employed literacy as a tool of governance. Therefore, *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel and subsequent governors inherited long-established administrative structures and official archives. Prudently, they chose not to destroy or replace them, but rather to rule through and with them.

H.'s governors thus oversaw a complex bureaucracy, at the apex of which was the newly-created Governor's Office (GO). The GO maintained close communications with various ministries in the capital in order to discern imperial policies. It pursued their implementation by controlling and coordinating a variety of pre-conquest institutions, which it staffed with both local and immigrant political appointees.

One of the most important of these institutions was the *dīwān*, historically the backbone of Harari administration. It was comprised of two sections, with one responsible for maintaining land records and the other for judging court cases according to the ↗*šarīʿa*. *Dīwān* documents were enormously helpful to the GO, but they were written in ↗Arabic, which few immigrants knew. Therefore Harari officials were retained, though over time Christian employees were increasingly assigned to work there as well. Another example of a pre-existing institution through which the GO administered H. and the ↗Harärge province was the ↗*afärsata*.

The retention of such historically developed institutions should probably be viewed as a practical attempt to administer a large region as inexpensively as possible. Nonetheless, with the influx of large numbers of other ethnic groups social tensions ensued. The general chaos of World War I years did nothing to assuage matters, especially when H. came to be regarded as a stronghold of support for *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, who appeared to challenge the old socio-political order.

By the 1920s the previously dominant urban position of the Harari had declined in favour of immigrants, mostly Christian, who managed to extend their land holdings from outside the old wall to inside it as well. They did so by granting large and ultimately un-repayable loans to the Harari who, feeling it necessary to host sumptuous funeral and wedding ceremonies, put up their title deeds as collateral.

To stem the growing tide of land confiscations, a small group of prominent Harari men established a cultural organization named *firmāč* (lit. 'signatures', since the founders allegedly signed a covenant together). The goal of *firmāč* was to protect Harari property ownership and maintain ethnic unity by discouraging cultural practices that were deemed to be damaging to the community as a whole. *Firmāč* also opened the first Islamic school in H. that taught "modern" subjects in addition to religious lessons.

The Italian invasion of 1935-36 was generally welcomed in H. The Fascist policy of pitting different ethnic and religious groups against each other resonated with Harari who had grown resentful of Christian "Amhara" domination. Under the Italians, mosques were built, use of Arabic was encouraged, Harari and other Muslims were hired by the administration, and previously confiscated lands were restored to their original owners or their descendents.

That taste of "freedom" was not quickly forgotten after *aṣe* ↗Ḥaylä Śəllase I regained his throne in 1941, particularly when his local representatives endeavoured to restore the status quo ante of the Emperor's political power. Consequently, when members of the ↗Somali Youth League began agitating in H., members of a nascent Harari nationalist movement joined forces with them (↗*Kulub*). In 1947, they sent a joint delegation to Mogadishu, to meet with a

↗United Nations commission that was soliciting and evaluating local opinions about how the ex-Italian colonies should be governed in the future. When Addis Abäba learned of this Harari-Somali delegation it reacted with fury and arrested most adult Harari men, detaining a significant number for several years. Additionally, Harari properties were confiscated and travel restrictions imposed. Thereafter, many Harari began, for the first time in history, leaving their homeland with no intention of ever returning. They settled both near and far, from Ǧiǧǧiga and Dərre Dawa to Addis Abäba and Arab Gulf states, and eventually in Europe, North America and elsewhere.

Those Harari who remained and were willing to cooperate with the dominant political arrangement were integrated into Ethiopia's educational, economic and military structures far more than previously, perhaps encouraged by the state's construction of a high school and a military academy in H. Nonetheless, appointment of Harari to potentially sensitive positions took longer, and by the 1970s Harari dissatisfaction remained high. After the ↗Revolution of 1974, when the *Därg* officials began appropriating personal and family properties and forcibly conscripting Harari youth into the army, and when the town suffered during the Ethio-Somali war of 1977/78, those who could flee abroad did so, mainly to Italy, Canada and the United States.

With this exodus, a strongly rooted centripetal force of Harari culture, which had began to weaken only after the repressions of the *Kulub* crackdown, was broken. The passing of that force meant that little socio-cultural pressure remained to keep Harari at home, or to draw them back to reside there, as in the past. Nevertheless, the urban centre of H. remains central to Harari identity, both in and around the town itself, and throughout its national and global diasporas.

During the early 1990s, after the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) seized power, the Harari and others were encouraged to use their own language (rather than Amharic) in official capacities. Considerable efforts were subsequently undertaken to develop Harari as an educational and administrative language. For writing purposes, the Ethiopic syllabary was selected and adapted to the specific requirements of Harari, and a substantial number of educational materials, administrative guidelines, cultural and historical treatises, and literature pamphlets and books were published.

This development was related to a more general Harari cultural revival, which also stressed the importance of ↗Islam. One example is the increasing observance, by both young and old Harari men and women, of an optional week-long fast, during the month of *Šawwāl*, immediately following ↗*Ramaḍān*. The conclusion of the *Šawwāl* fasting was marked by celebrations (↗Feasts) that occasionally draw to H. large numbers of non-Muslim Ethiopian tourists from Addis Abäba and elsewhere. The complex social interactions of Sufi rituals at H.'s numerous saints' shrines both reified local Islamic identity and served to soften differences between Muslims of different ethnic groups, a noteworthy phenomenon in light of the EPRDF's ethnically-based political philosophy.

The new government in Addis Abäba also urged Ethiopians to develop their own political parties to take responsibility for administering the provinces. By 1994, two groups vied for power in H. The Harari National League (HNL) espoused a narrow ethnic line: H. should be ruled only by the Harari. This stance derived at least partially from the threat of H. being absorbed by the much larger surrounding Oromiyaa region, which would have reduced the Harari once again to minority status. The Harari Democratic Unity Party (HDUP), on the other hand, favoured a broader coalition, consisting of members of all ethnics residing in and around H. After a tense period of competition, occasionally marked by violence on both sides, the HNL gained the ascendancy, which it retains to this day.

Lit.: TIM CARMICHAEL, *Approaching Ethiopian History: Addis Abäba and Local Governance in Harär, c. 1900–1950*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 2001; ID., "Religion, Language, and Nationalism: Harari Muslims in Christian Ethiopia", in: R. MICHAEL FEENER (ed.), *Islam in World Cultures: Comparative Perspectives (Religion in Contemporary Cultures)*, Santa Barbara, CA 2004, ch. 8; CAMILLA C.T. GIBB, *In the City of Saints: Religion, Politics and Gender in Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford 1996; SIDNEY WALDRON, *Social Organization and Social Control in the Walled City of Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University 1974; ID., "Within the Wall and Beyond: Ethnic Identitity and Ethnic Persistence in Harar, Ethiopia", in: GEORGE GMELCH – WALTER P. ZENNER (eds.), *Urban Life: Readings in Urban Anthropology*, New York 1980, 249–56.

Tim Carmichael

Harär Military Academy

The Ḫaylä Śəllase I Military Academy, at Harär, was established by Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I to train elite officers for the Ethiopian ↗army and

↗Imperial Bodyguard. Founded on 6 October 1958, after his state visit to India in 1956, the Academy was initially entrusted to a group of Indian officers led by Colonel N.C. Rawling. The Emperor favoured their country on account of its well-established military reputation, as well as its non-aligned and anti-colonial stance. The institution was later run by two further groups of Indians, but was subsequently "ethiopianized" under a senior Ethiopian officer, Brigadier-General Ḫayle Baykadañ.

The H.M.A. provided three-year courses for around 300 cadets, who had completed their high-school education with good marks. They were given comprehensive instruction in weapons training; tactics; staff duties; map reading; field engineering; signals; intelligence and security; administration, and staff management; military law; military accounts; first-aid, sanitation and hygiene; equitation; animal management; and military history and geography. Scholarships were given to students from Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, as well as freedom-fighters from South West Africa (later Namibia) and apartheid South Africa. The H.M.A. was closed after the 1974 ↗Revolution, in 1977, during the *Därg* regime, by which time it had trained 930 officers, of whom 42 came from other African countries. Many graduates had risen to important positions in the Ethiopian army and others, among them Fəśśəḥa Dästa and Bərhanu Bayyä, in the subsequent military government (Mammo Eshetu Haile Mariam 1990:12-63).

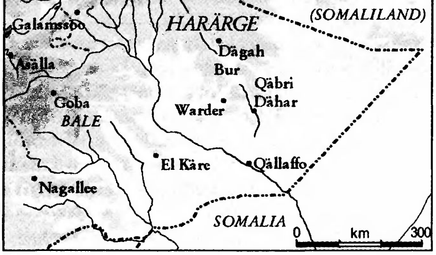
Lit.: N.C. RAWLING, "The Birth of an Academy", *Blood and Iron. Journal of the Haile Selassie Military Academy* 1, 1958, 15–20; ANON., "Haile Sellassie Military Academy", *EthObs* 2, 1958, 79–80; ESTELLE SYLVIA PANKHURST, "The Haile Sellassie Military Academy", *ibid.* 4, 1960, 331–32; SHA[LAKA] ATNAFU MAKONNEN, *Ethiopia To-day*, Tokyo 1970, 97; MAMMO ESHETU HAILE MARIAM, *The History of Haile Selassie Military Academy since its Foundation to 1977*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1990, 12–63.

Richard Pankhurst

Harärge

H. (**ሃረርጌ**, also Hararge; Arab.: هررجى), with the capital in ↗Harär, was one of the largest provinces of the Ethiopian empire (with an area of 254,000 km²), and was composed of some 14 *awrağğas*. The 1987 reform of the ↗administrative division divided the region into East-Harär, West-Harär, ↗Ogaden and ↗Dərre Dawa. In 1991 the ᶜAfar, Somali and Oromo who share the Islamic faith obtained the distribution of the northern, central and south-eastern parts of H. between three *kəlləls*: ᶜAfar, Oromiyaa and Somali respectively. The Adäre (↗Harari) asked for a special status for the city of Harär, which had seen an influx of Täwaḥədo Christian Amhara, Amharicized Šäwans and Catholic missions from France. In the course of redivision, there were riots between Oromo, Somali, ᶜAfar and Amhara in the railway town of Dərre Dawa. The special region of Dərre Dawa (Dərre Dawa Administrative Council), which includes the town and the *wäräda* of ↗Gurgura, adopted Amharic as the working language.

The highlands and lowlands of H. are part of the "arid crescent" (Gallais 1989): summer rains are irregular and interrupted by a usually short dry season, which may occasionally last longer. The mountains of H., of volcanic origin in Çärçär and sedimentary in the Ahmar range, reach altitudes of over 3,000 m A.S.L. and are subject to summer rains. They extend eastwards into Somaliland, rising abruptly to the north over the ᶜAfar Triangle and leaning to the south against the sedimentary plateaux of Ogaden, which are watered by tributaries of the ↗Wabi Šäbälle river (i.e., Fäfän). Scarcely populated, the arid lowlands are used as grazing land by the ᶜAfar and Somali nomadic cattle- and camel-breeders. On the highlands, Oromo ↗Qottu and ↗Ittuu farmers formed settlements with densities over 150 inhabitants/km², mainly in the west in ↗Çärçär and east of Harär. Pastoralists compete among themselves for the control of grazing-land and wells and with the peasants for the oases in the piedmont.



Under the rule of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, H.'s confines expanded to the east and south, annexing the territories of the ↗Dir, ↗Isaaq and Ogaden Somali clans. Mäkʷännən's son *ras* Täfäri (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), governor of H. in 1910, used it as an economic and political base for his rise to the throne, as he controlled the railway which gave Ethiopia its only access to the ↗Red Sea. In 1942 Ḫaylä Śəllase granted his son ↗Mäkʷännən Ḫaylä Śəllase, *mäsfən* of Harär, the gouvernorate-general that included ↗Bale and extended over 383,100 km^{2}. The 1970 census listed H. (which by then became separated from Bale) with 2,440,000 inhabitants (density 9.5; 4,151,706 inhabitants in 1984, density 13.4).

The rulers of Harär – the Egyptians from 1875 to 1885 and Ethiopians from 1887 onwards – forced the Oromo farmers to produce an ever-increasing quantity of ↗coffee. The Qottu and Ittuu, converted to Islam and following the custom of the Harari, started chewing ↗*č̣at*, whose cultivators spread on the highlands around the town. In the lowlands, the ↗ʿIssa Somali and the Oromo pastoralists, who had lost the trade to the coast, were recruited to build, and later to run, the Addis Abäba – Djibouti railway; occasionally, they attacked it, exposing themselves to severe reprisals.

During their occupation of Ethiopia in 1935-41, Italians split the Ogaden (Isaaq and Ogaadeen clans) from Ethiopia and created the Governo di Harar, with a Muslim majority concentrated on the highlands, with a population in 1938 of 1,300,000 and a surface of 200,000 km^{2} (↗Africa Orientale Italiana). They built a road to connect it to Mogadishu and to Addis Abäba and encouraged the production of coffee. From 1941 to 1965, however, *č̣at* was gradually replacing coffee around Harär, being exported by air to Aden, by rail to Djibouti and by road to Somaliland. After 1965 the expansion of *č̣at* was slowed down by an increase in customs duties and the loss of the Yemeni and Somali markets. Under the *Därg* the Qottu and Ittu reacted against the tight control over coffee and resumed the cultivation of *č̣at*, of which 50 % was smuggled into Djibouti and Somalia. Today, the economy of H. and Harär depends on the production of this drug and on early vegetables for the domestic urban markets and for export.

Population indicators, despite their lack of precision, show a continuous growth of the H. population. Today, H. – within its 1984 limits – had 6,023,539 inhabitants (1994 census), a 45 % increase in ten years. The West Harär and East Harär zones of Oromiyaa had a population of 3,102,525 inhabitants, the zones in the Somali *kəlləl* 2,418,824 inhabitants, with a further 76,378 inhabitants for the special region of the town of Harär and 251,864 inhabitants for the special region of Dərre Dawa (164,851 inhabitants in the town itself). Such a growth has aggravated further land scarcity on the highlands, where the average density is over 200 inhabitants/km^{2} (in some places, even 400 inhabitants/km^{2}); the average size of farms ranges from 1 ha to 1.5 ha. Hills are indented with irrigated terraces, cultivated with a mix of cereals (millet, sorghum), of *č̣at*-hedges, potatoes, occasionally sweet potatoes and sugar cane.

The trade in agricultural products relies on a dense network of tracks connected to the Addis Abäba–Harär–Dərre Dawa highway. The highland route (asphalted in 2004) runs through a number of mushrooming towns. The *č̣at* harvest converges to Awä Wäday near ↗Alämayya, to be redirected to Djibouti via Dərre Dawa airport or to Somalia via Ǧiǧǧiga. Small towns have seen an impressive growth. Asbä Täfäri had 2,000 inhabitants in 1938, 9,578 inhabitants in 1970, 11,344 inhabitants in 1984 and 18,978 inhabitants in 1994; the figure rose to 30,423 inhabitants (CSA) in 2004. The military and administrative outposts of the Ogaden also grew substantially. Ǧiǧǧiga rose from 11,000 inhabitants in 1938, 58,360 inhabitants in 1994, to an estimated 89,531 inhabitants in 2004 (CSA). Gode, founded in the 1960s around the irrigated plantations along the Wabi Šäbälle river, saw its population rise from 40,585 inhabitants in 1994 to 62,397 in 2004 (CSA). It was a possible choice as the capital of the Somali *kəlləl* as an alternative to Ǧiǧǧiga.

Src.: CSA 1984; CSA 1998; CSA 2000; CSA 2004; Central Statistical Office (Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia), *Results of the National Sample Survey*, 2nd round, vol. 5: *Land Area and Utilization*, Addis-Ababa 1975; EMAtlas.

Lit.: Alula Abate, "The Growth and Development of Small and Medium-Sized Ketema Settlements in the Harar Highlands", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 727–44; Daniel Gamachu, *Aspects of Climate and Water Budget in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1977; Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Red Tears. War, Famine and Revolution in Ethiopia*, Trenton, NJ 1989; Ezekiel Gebissa, *Leaf of Allah. Khat and Agricultural Transformation in Harerge Ethiopia 1875–1991*, Oxford – Addis Ababa – Hargeisa – Athens 2004; Marc Fontrier, *Abou-Bakr Ibrahim, Pacha de Zeyla – marchand d'esclaves. Commerce et diplomatie dans le golfe*

de Tadjoura 1840–1885, Paris 2003; JEAN GALLAIS, *Une géographie politique de l'Éthiopie. Le poids de l'État*, Paris 1989; ALAIN GASCON, "Intégration économique, intégration nationale et irrédentisme: le Harär, la rivalité somalo-éthiopienne et l'emprise de Djibouti", *NEASt* 13, 1991, 51–68; GasEth; *Guida* 410–60; MesfAtlas; MesfGeogr; NEGA MEZLEKIA, *Dans le ventre d'une hyène. Mon enfance en Éthiopie*, Montréal 2001; PerGov; TESFAYE GEBRE SELLASSIE, "Harer Awraja", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 5, 1, 1967, 37–46; ZerEth.

Alain Gascon

Harari

Harari language

H. (self-name in the spoken language *gēy sinān*, 'language of the town', i.e., 'language of ↗Harär', Amh. **አደርኛ**, *adärəñña*, or **አደሬ**, *adäre*) forms, together with the Eastern Gurage languages (Səlṭi, Wäläne, Zay; s. ↗Gurage), the eastern group of "Transversal South Ethiopic" within the ↗Ethio-Semitic languages (classification of Hetzron 1972:42ff.; 119). While the present-day H. is spoken on a speech island, before the 16th cent. Oromo invasion there might have existed a coherent Semitic-speaking belt up to Eastern Gurage languages.

Until 1974 H. was the language spoken by ca. 30,000 people living inside the walls of the city of ↗Harär in south-eastern Ethiopia. The urban area outside the walls was occupied by the Amharic-speaking administrators, teachers, soldiers etc., while the countryside was populated by Oromo-speaking tribes. The 1974 Revolution destroyed much of the H.-speakers' means of existence, which led to a large-scale emigration to other parts of Ethiopia, especially to Addis Abäba, and to foreign countries like Saudi Arabia and Canada. Today more H.-speakers live outside Harär than inside the town.

We know H. in two chronologically different forms. Old H. was written in Arabic letters (Wagner 1983:7–16). The oldest datable text belongs to the 18th cent., but other texts may be even older. Modern H. seems to have developed during the 19th cent. and differs from Old H. in vocabulary, morphology and syntax. Since the 1990s it has been written with Ethiopic characters (Wagner 2004).

Since Harär was the centre of Islam in south-eastern Ethiopia, there are many ↗Arabic loanwords in Old as well as in Modern H. (Leslau 1956; 1959). The vocabulary of Modern H. is also much influenced by ↗Oromiffa. There might have been an Oromo influence on H. phonology and syntax (Wagner in PICES 13).

The vowel-system of Modern H. offers some problems. Normally H. is considered as one of the few Ethio-Semitic languages in which vowel length is phonemic, because it is lexically and morphologically fixed. On the other hand, it is hard to establish minimal pairs with the opposition between short and long vowels in Modern H., and Old H. did not use the capability of the Arabic script to express vowel length: plene and defective writing are mixed up without any rule. A possible remedy for the problem may be that the phonemicity was revived by Arabic and Oromo influence. In both languages vowel quantity is very relevant (Abdurahman Garad – Wagner 1998:157–68). Tentatively, we may establish the following vowel system: *a* (with the allophones: *ä* inside the words beside other consonants than *ʾ*, *ḥ* and palatals; *e* beside palatals; *å* after *w*); *ā*; *i* (with the free variant *ə*); *ī*; *u* (with the free variant *ə*); *ū*; *e* (seldom); *ē*; *o* (seldom); *ō*.

The consonant phonemes are: labials: *b*, *m*, *w*; labio-dentals: *f*; apicals: *d*, *t*, *ṭ*, *z*, *s*, *n*, *l*, *r*; palatals: *ǧ*, *č*, *č̣*, *š*, *ñ*, *y*; velars: *g*, *k*, *q*, *ḫ*; pharyngals: *ḥ*; glottals: *ʾ*. The most remarkable change in comparison with Gəʿəz is the falling together of *h*, *ḥ* and *ḫ*; a new *ḫ* originated from *k*. While palatalization is common in H., there is no labialization. H. has given up the gemination of consonants in verbal morphology, but there exist lengthened consonants in nouns and in consequence of assimilation, junction of morphemes etc.

The independent personal pronouns are:

	sg.		pl.
1st pers.	*ān*	1st pers.	*iññä, iññāč*
2nd pers. masc.	*aḫāḫ*	2nd pers.	*aḫāḫāč*
2nd pers. fem.	*aḫāš*		
3rd pers. masc.	*azzo*	3rd pers.	*azziyāč*
3rd pers. fem.	*azze*		

The dependent personal pronouns are attached to the noun (possessive suffixes) or to the verb (object suffixes). The former are partly built with the old genitive marker *zi-*. The latter may be proceeded by the originally prepositional elements *-b-* (malefactive) and *-l-* (benefactive).

Possessive suffixes

	sg.		pl.
1st pers.	*-e, -eʾe, -eye*	1st pers.	*-zina*
2nd pers. masc.	*-ḫa*	2nd pers.	*-ḫo*
2nd pers. fem.	*-ḫaš*		
3rd pers. masc.	*-zo*	3rd pers.	*-ziyu*
3rd pers. fem.	*-ze*		

Object suffixes (forms after consonantal ending)

	sg.		pl.
1st pers.	*-añ*	1st pers.	*-ana*
2nd pers. masc.	*-aḫ*	2nd pers.	*-aḫu*
2nd pers. fem.	*-aš*		
3rd pers. masc.	*-a*	3rd pers.	*-ayu*
3rd pers. fem.	*-e*		

There are two sets of demonstrative pronouns, partly identical with the personal pronouns of the 3rd person: *yi* (fem. *yitta*, *itta*, *ḥiya*, *ḥīya*, pl. *yiyāč*, *ḥiyāč*), 'this'; *ya'*, *azzo* (fem. *yatta*, *azze*, pl. *azziyāč*), 'that'.

H. nouns can be made definite by adding the definite article *-zo* (identical with the possessive suffix 3rd sg. masc.). There is no special marker for gender. The plural morpheme is *-āč*. The possessor in Modern H. is only indicated by its position before the governing substantive, while in Ancient H. most often it was additionally marked by a prefixed *zi-*. The direct object may be marked by the suffix *-(u)w* (Wagner 2002). As attributes, adjectives are placed before the qualified substantive and as predicatives they stand before the copula *ta*. In Modern H. postpositions are more common than prepositions.

The triradical verb has four types differentiated by the vowel behind the first radical: A *sabara*, B *sēbara*, C *sābara*, D *sōbara*. Normally, the difference between the types is only formal and no longer semantic. The derivational classes are formed by reduplication (*sibābara* for frequentative) or prefixes (*ta-* for reflexive, *a-* and *at-* for causative). Old H. had two tenses: past (*sabara*) and nonpast (or imperfect) (*yisabri*), and, apart from indicative, two moods: jussive (*yasbar*) and imperative (*sibar*). The nonpast was the normal form for present and future in main clauses. In Modern H. it is restricted to some subordinate clauses. In main clauses it is superseded by the compound nonpast, which is built by combining the simple nonpast with the auxiliary *ḥal*, 'to exist': *yisabri* + *ḥal* = *yisabrāl* (Wagner 1999). Into these forms, the object suffixes as well as the relative pronoun *zi-* are infixed: *yisabruḫāl*, 'they break you', *yisabrizāl*, 'who breaks'. Aside from the triradical verbs, there exist those with two or four radicals.

The normal word order is Subject – Object – Verb. Adjectives, possessors and relative clauses precede the qualified substantive and subordinate clauses the main clause. Several conjunctions are placed at the end of the subordinate clause. Some of them originate from substantives preceded by relative clauses. Relative clauses are widely used in H.: they replace adjectives, can be nominalized and can form cleft sentences. When nominalized, they may be used with a nominal plural marker and may be followed by the definite article *-zo* (Goldenberg 1983). In cleft sentences, which developed only in Modern H., the verb always needs a "pseudo object suffix pronoun" (Leslau 1965:154f.; Abdurahman Garad – Wagner 1998: 252–63) in the 3rd sg. masc., even if the verb has an intransitive or passive meaning. H. does not know a gerund; the suffix *-ma*, however, expresses almost the same meanings as the gerund in other Ethiopian languages (Leslau 1970; Abdurahman Garad – Wagner 1998:327–36).

The ten-word list is: *aḥad*, 'one', *ko'ot*, 'two', *ši'išti*, 'three', *mīy*, 'water', *isāt*, 'fire', *īr*, 'sun', *waḥri*, 'moon', *dam*, 'blood', *arrāt*, 'tongue', *sin*, 'tooth'.

Lit.: ABDARRAḤMĀN MUḤAMMAD QORRĀM, ጩቅቲ፡ ክታብ። የአደርኛ፡ አማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት (*Čuqti kətab: yä'adärəñña-amarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Harari-Amharic Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1978 A.M. [1986 A.D.]; ID., ሀረሪ፡ ሲናን፡ አሳስ (*Haräri sinan asas*, 'Elementary Grammar of Harari'), Harär 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.]; ABDURAHMAN GARAD – EWALD WAGNER, *Harari-Studien. Texte mit Übersetzung, grammatischen Skizzen und Glossar*, Wiesbaden 1998 (Semitica viva 18); CerStud I; WOLF LESLAU, "Arabic Loanwords in Harari", in: *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, vol. 2, Roma 1956 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente 52), 14–35 [repr. in: ID., *Arabic Loanwords in Ethiopian Semitic*, Wiesbaden 1990, 119–40]; ID., *The Verb in Harari (South Ethiopia)*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1958 (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 21); ID., "An Analysis of the Harari Vocabulary", *AE* 3, 1959, 275–98; ID., *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1963 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 1); ID., "Gleanings in Harari Grammar I", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 85, 1965, 153–59; ID., "The *ma*-Clause in Harari", in: DAVID COHEN (ed.), *Mélanges Marcel Cohen*, Hague 1970 (Ianua linguarum. Series major 27), 267–73; GIDEON GOLDENBERG, "Nominalization in Amharic and Harari: Adjectivization", in: STANISLAV SEGERT – ANDRÁS J. E. BODROGLIGETI (eds.), *Ethiopian Studies Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on Occasion of his 75th Birthday*, Wiesbaden 1983, 170–93 [repr. in: GIDEON GOLDENBERG, *Studies in Semitic Linguistics. Selected Writings*, Jerusalem 1998, 343–66]; ROBERT HETZRON, *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification*, Manchester 1972 (JSS Monographs 2); EWALD WAGNER, *Harari-Texte in arabischer Schrift*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 13); ID., "Harari", in: ROBERT HETZRON (ed.), *The Semitic Languages*, London 1997, 486–508; EWALD WAGNER, "The Negative Imperfect in Ancient and Modern Harari", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 596–600; ID., "Das Verb im alten und modernen Harari", in: NORBERT NEBES (ed.), *Tempus und Aspekt in den semitischen Sprachen*, Wiesbaden 1999 (Jenaer Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 1), 159–69; EWALD WAGNER, "Die Funktion des Akkusativmorphems *-w* im Harari", in: WERNER ARNOLD – HARTMUT BOBZIN (eds.), *"Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es!" 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik. Otto Jastrow*

zum 60. Geburtstag, Wiesbaden 2002, 777–87; ID., "Die Verwendung der äthiopischen Schrift für das Harari", in: *StudAeth* 355–60.

Ewald Wagner

Harari ethnography

The H., or Adäre, as they are known in Amharic, are the urban population of the city of ↗Harär, who refer to themselves as the *Gēy usu*ʾ, lit. 'people of the city'. They are a homogenous population with a strict preference for endogamy, and uniform adherence to Sunni Islam.

The city to which the name *Gēy usu*ʾ refers is the old centre of Harär, a clearly defined area that measures only 1.6 km by 0.8 km at its widest points, bounded by a wall known as *ǧugal* (the old city being sometimes also referred to as *ǧugal*). It is distinguished from the largely mixed and Amhara-populated new city, which has grown up beyond the city walls since the time of Harär's annexation into the Christian empire in the late 19th cent., as well as the surrounding area, which is largely inhabited by Oromo farmers.

The notion of "the city" is critical to individual and collective identity as communicated through *Gēy sinān*, the 'language of the City' (↗Harari) and *Gēy āda*, the 'culture of the City'. Since the ↗Revolution of 1974, however, a great number of H. have left Harär, some seeking economic opportunities in larger Ethiopian cities, principally ↗Dərre Dawa and Addis Abäba, a great many more seeking political asylum abroad. 1994 estimates by the Central Statistical Authority put the Adäre population at 15,000 of the 27–30,000 living within the *ǧugal* and estimate a population of more than 65,000 in the combined old and new cities.

Where H. have left the old city, Amhara, Oromo and Somali have moved in, creating a more ethnically diverse environment within the wall, though H. work to preserve homogeneity at the level of the neighbourhood. H. statisticians working on census-gathering in 1994 estimate that two-thirds of the total H. population now live outside Harär, suggesting a total population of 42–45,000 worldwide. While this leaves the H. a minority in the city and environs over which they have historically governed, this is true only in numeric terms.

Viewed in terms of class, as Waldron (1974) first pointed out, the H. occupy a position of privilege and prestige, sitting at the apex of a local pyramid of ethnic stratification, which has historically been built on the monopolization of local resources. H. have a long history as both wealthy landowners employing Oromo tenant farmers, growing the lucrative crops of coffee and ↗*čat* on some of the most fertile land in Ethiopia, and as merchants controlling inter-ethnic trade in local and imported goods and brokers dealing in exports. The importance of Harär as a regional commercial centre, however, was superseded by Dərre Dawa with the construction of the Addis Abäba–Djibouti railway in the early 1900s (↗Railways). The agricultural basis of the H. economy was largely undermined by land reform under the *Därg*, though rules for limited private ownership have allowed most H. families to keep some connection to their land.

With the economic and political upheaval of the 1970s, however, H. began to move out of the city in significant numbers for the first time. As a highly educated and literate population, they have easily adapted themselves to life in other urban centres, many engaging in trade-related activities and a great many pursuing higher education and professional training to become academics, doctors and engineers both in Ethiopia and abroad. Significant communities now exist in cities in Canada, Australia and the United States and a great many H. abroad send remittances back to Harär, allowing their families to continue to live relatively affluent lives (↗Diaspora). Wealth and status have traditionally been displayed through dress and household objects purchased during the ↗*ḥaǧǧ* to Mecca, but are increasingly demonstrated by the acquisition or receipt of western appliances and consumer goods.

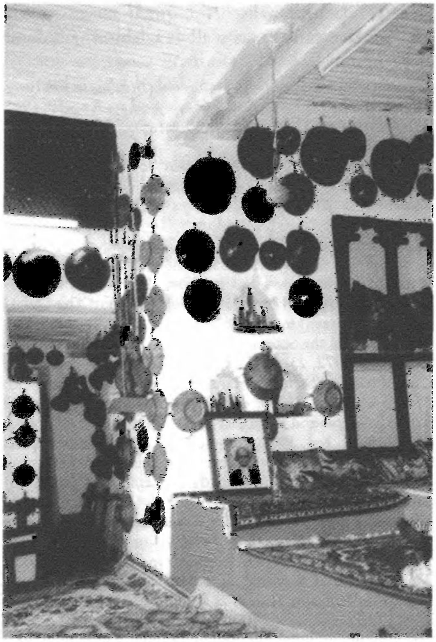
The historical literature suggests that the H. are in fact multi-ethnic in origin, most likely the result of intermarriage between Arab immigrants (arriving between the 9th and 12th cent.) and local residents, as well as strategic inter-ethnic marital alliances with the arrival of the Oromo in the area in the 16th cent. The wall, built in the 16th cent. by ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid to keep out warring Oromo and ensure the governing emirate could strictly regulate and tax traders, allowed for an autonomous, self-governing city state. Even with the incorporation into the expanding Christian empire after the Battle of ↗Čällänqo in 1887, the H. maintained a system of local policing and self-governance through community associations primarily devoted to wedding and funeral observances (known as ↗*afōča*).

Internally, governance and conformity are achieved through a combination of religious, legal and social structures, most of which still exert undefiable influence. First and foremost is strict adherence to ↗Islam. H. place great emphasis on Qurʾānic literacy at an early age and are proud of their city as a historic regional centre of Islamic scholarship with a remarkable density of mosques, shrines and religious schools. Sex segregation in religious and social affairs is expected and observed, as is piety in dress, abstinence from alcohol, regular fasting, visits to the mosque and undertaking the pilgrimage to Mecca. Polygamy is permissible, but rare.

Local religious practices are syncretic, and include the reverence of ↗saints (Harari: *āwāč*; Arab.: *awliyāʾ*; ↗*Āw*), whose shrines are found within and beyond the city walls and whose blessings are sought at critical life junctures. A good number of these saints are female, lending support to the idea that pre-Islamic ancestral worship was not wiped out by the arrival of Islam, but rather reconceived and incorporated into a Muslim framework. Many H., particularly those outside the city, tend to dismiss these activities as superstitious, deeming them as *āda*, or culture, rather than religion.

Āda is the complement to religion and being H. demands adhering to the specific practices of *Gēy āda*, which are honoured daily through such things as manner of dress, food preparation, and the making of handicrafts such as baskets, as well as during rituals surrounding birth, marriage and other rites of passage. A critical part of cultural practice is language and the H. are a distinct linguistic community, whose language has been re-codified during the current era, and is now being taught in local schools. That said, H. are multilingual, most, in addition to their native tongue, speaking Amharic, Oromiffa and some Arabic, Somali and English.

Many co-resident Oromo, Somali and Amhara aspire to belong to the H. community and often do effectively assimilate through achieving religious, cultural and linguistic proficiency. Belongingness, though, is only achieved as Waldron (1974; 1975; 1980) noted: through one's place in the primary social institutions – the kinship group, the friendship group, the *tōya* neighbourhood and the *afōča* association. Overlapping ties and memberships situate an individual in a complex network of social relationships and concomitant obligations. This process of assimilation is a recognized means of enculturation known as *Gēy limād* ('learning the way of the city').



Harär, interior of a house; photo 2000, courtesy of Andreas Wetter

Abroad, H. recreate these basic institutions, founding community associations which act as large *afōčāčč* with extended responsibilities, serving to organize Qurʾānic and language classes for H. children, engage in fund-raising efforts for institutions in Harär, initiate entrepreneurial projects to develop the economy and infrastructure in Harär and encourage community events in the diaspora which are, to some degree, aimed at preserving and promoting endogamy.

In the diaspora, endogamy becomes even more critical and, as in Harär, ↗marriage is a family-sanctioned alliance, which places great emphasis on the achievements and potential of both the prospective bride and groom. In the diaspora, there is an articulated desire for "traditional" girls who will teach H. culture and values to the next generation. Relatives in Harär are consequently enlisted in finding suitable matches for sons abroad and marriages are often arranged in this manner.

A small degree of repatriation has occurred since 1991, largely individuals returning to fill positions in the administration of the new "Region 13" (within which the *ǧugal* serves as administrative centre), as well as within the federal government.

Src.: WOLF LESLAU, *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background*, vol. 1: *Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1965 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 7).

Lit.: ALFRED BARDEY, "Notes sur le Harar", *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive* 12, 1897, 130–80; RICHARD BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa, or an Exploration of Harar*, London ^{1}1856, New York ^{5}1987; ID., "Narrative of a Trip to Harar", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 25, 1855, 136–50; RICHARD ALAN CAULK, "Harär Town and its Neighbours in the Nineteenth Century", *JAH* 18, 1977, 369–86; ID., "The Occupation of Harar: January 1887", *JES* 9, 2, 1971, 1–20; ID., "Religion and the State in Nineteenth Century Ethiopia", *ibid.* 10, 1, 1972, 23–41; CerIslam; EMILE FOUCHER, "The Cult of Muslim Saints in Harar: Religious Dimension", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 71–83; CAMILLA C.T. GIBB, "Sharing the Faith: Religion and Ethnicity in the City of Harar", *Horn of Africa* 16, 1–4, 1998, 144–62; EAD., "Religious Identification in Transnational Contexts: Being and Becoming Muslim in Ethiopia and Canada", *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 7, 2, 1998, 247–67; EAD., "*Baraka* Without Borders: Integrating Communities in the City of Saints", *The Journal of Religion in Africa* 29, 1999, 88–108; EAD., "Negotiating Social and Spiritual Worlds: The Gender of Sanctity in a Muslim City in Africa", *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 16, 2, 2000, 25–42; EAD., "Manufacturing Place and the Embodiment of Tradition: Ethiopian Muslims in a Deterritorialized World", in: GAIL CURRIE – CELIA ROTHENBERG (eds.), *Feminist (Re)visions of the Subject: Landscapes, Ethnoscapes, and Theoryscapes*, Maryland 2001, 109-30; CAMILLA C.T. GIBB – CELIA ROTHENBERG, "Believing Women: Harari and Palestinian Women at Home and in the Canadian Diaspora", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 20, 2000, 243–59; MHasOr; MOHAMED ABDURRAHMAN, "The Harari Wedding Customs", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* 1, 2, 1953, 5–8; 1, 3, 1954, 22–26; JOHN SORENSON, "Essence and Contingency in the Construction of Nationhood: Transformations of Identity in Ethiopia and its Diasporas", *Diaspora: a Journal of Transnational Studies* 2, 2, 1992, 201–28; SIDNEY WALDRON, *Social Organization and Social Control in the Walled City of Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University 1974; ID., "Within the Wall and Beyond: Harari Ethnic Identity and its Future", paper presented at the Conference 'The History and Culture of the People of Harar Province', Addis Ababa, June 1975; ID., "A Farewell to Bab Haji: City Symbolism and Harari Identity 1887–1977", in: DONALD DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *Working Papers on Society and History in Imperial Ethiopia: The Southern Periphery from the 1880s to 1974*, Cambridge 1980, 247–70; YUSUF AHMED [WUBER], "Afōča", *JES* 3, 2, 1965, 125–32.

Camilla Gibb

Harari literature

People living in ↗Harär, the major centre of Islamic learning in the Horn of Africa, have produced a considerable body of written literature in ↗Arabic and in their own language, ↗Harari.

Traini (1973), Drewes (1984) and especially Wagner (1997) provide good surveys of the Arabic literature in Harär. A first group of texts is composed of several religious hymns and prayers. Wagner (1975) published four songs in praise of *šayḫ* ↗Abādir ʿUmar ar-Riḍā, *walī* ↗Hāšim and the other major saints of Harär, but their wider relationship with other instances of this genre from other parts of the Islamic world is still to be examined in proper detail. Among several doctrinal and moral texts in prose, three works by the *ḥanafī* scholar ↗Ḥāmid b. Ṣiddīq written in 1169 H. [1756 A.D.] and the following years have been discussed in some detail by Brunschvig (1974). A major work that is familiar to most Harari families is the *Fatḥ ar-raḥmān* by *šayḫ* Hāšim, probably to be identified as ↗Hāšim b. ᶜAbdalᶜazīz b. Amīr Hāšim (1123–79 H. [1711–65 A.D.]), rather than as the above-mentioned homonymous saint who lived in the 16th cent. It is a large collection of prayers, hymns and other texts of religious character.

Several historical works in Arabic originated from or around Harär. The largest of them is the well-known ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* by ᶜArabfaqīh (Šihābaddīn Aḥmad), a detailed eye-witness account of the campaigns of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") against Christian Ethiopia, that is one of the major sources for knowledge of Ethiopia in the 16th cent. A number of minor historical documents have been published by Cerulli (CerIslam). An important pseudo-historical work is the much-later ↗*Fatḥ madīnat Harar* by Yaḥyā Naṣrallāh that narrates both historical and legendary events from 612 H. [1216 A.D.] to 700 H. [1301 A.D.] involving *šayḫ* Abādir and several other saints of Harär, and depicts many miracles, as well as the arrival of the "Portuguese" and the "Italians".

Finally, one should mention genealogies of *amīrs* or saints as a genre that lies somehow between written and oral literature, in so far as it consists of written lists that were often used as a support for their oral recitation or the narration of events from their lives.

The oral H.l. is still very much alive among the Harari, both in their town and in the diaspora. It includes songs that are performed on different occasion such as weddings, festivals etc. Some of them have been published by Leslau (1947) and more recently by ᶜAbdalmuhaymin ᶜAbdannāṣir (1988 A.M. [1995 A.D.]). As in most oral traditions, there is also a wealth of folktales. Some of them are about animals and are not much different from those of other traditions in the Horn of Africa; yet there are many tales about legendary events that involve the well-known walls of Harär and many of its saints (s., e.g., Cerulli 1936:205ff.). Good collections of proverbs and riddles have been published by Leslau (1982–83) and ᶜAbdarraḥmān Muḥammad Qorrām (1984 A.M. [1991 A.D.]). As frequently observed in such genres, their language is not everyday Harari and includes several archaic words and forms that are typical of Old Harari. Indeed, some speakers call this older language *maḫmāḫa gēy sinān*, i.e., 'Harari language of the proverbs', rather than *awwal gēy sinān*, 'Harari language of former times'.

Old Harari is the language of most of the *ʿağamī* literature from Harär, i.e. of most of its literature in Arabic script. Even though it is difficult to give absolute dates, relative chronologies can be set up on the basis of orthographic peculiarities, such as the systematic use of *tāʾ* (ت) for *č*, and *ṭāʾ* (ط) for *č̣* in the older texts, as well as of linguistic features, such as the occurrence in main clauses of innovated compound imperfect forms like *yisabr-āl* 'he breaks' instead of the older *yisabri*, the forms of negative and relative tenses etc. An important part of this literature consists of religious hymns, that are still sung during *zikri* ceremonies (*↗Ḏikr*) and other important events (Gibb 1996:116f.). One of the oldest of them is the very long hymn by *šayḫ* ᶜAbdalmālik, known to Cerulli (CerLett 132) as the "Canzone dei quattro Califfi", the Song of the Four Caliphs. It has been published by Wagner (1983:53–216) as the *zikri* of ᶜAbdalmālik and counts 542 lines organized in stanzas with alphabetical rhymes. Like other old Harari religious hymns, its language is a peculiar mixture of Arabic and Harari, as pointed out by Wagner (1988). For instance, in Wagner's edition of this poem the fourth line is دواإ تخون لجميع داء صلاتك لة شفاء (*dawāʾ-in tuḫun li-ğamīʿi dāʾ – ṣalātu-ka l-ī šifāʾ*, 'You are a medicine for every disease; your intercession is a cure for me'), where only the suffix *-in* of positive copular clauses and the verbal form *tuḫun*, 'you are', are properly Harari. *Šayḫ* ᶜAbdalmālik is said to be the author of other hymns as well and is traditionally believed to have lived at the beginning of the 13th cent., at the same time as *šayḫ* Abādir. This date is probably too early, but the language and orthography of his works place them among the oldest group of *ʿağamī* texts from Harär, i.e. in the 15th or 16th cent. Other old hymns are those attributed to Aṣlaḥaddīn Taqī and published by Wagner (1983:222–65). Several other texts are yet to be published and properly studied in their internal and external history. Locally they are still copied by devout people and a few learned Hararis even compose new hymns in the old language. An example of this is the new *↗Mawlūd* published by *šayḫ* Abū l-Ḥasan Nūraddīn ᶜAlī (2000), that includes, besides well-known Arabic religious poems like the قصيدة البردة (*Qaṣīdat al-burda*) by al-Būṣīrī, widespread in the entire Muslim world, also Harari hymns by contemporary authors (s. Gibb 1996:116f.).

Šayḫ Hāšim, who was mentioned above as the author of the *Fatḥ ar-raḥmānī* in Arabic, is also the author of a well-known prayer (*duʿāʾ*) in rhymed prose, the *Muṣṭafā*, where Arabic alternates with Harari (Wagner 1983:21–52; *šayḫ* Abū l-Ḥasan Nūraddīn ᶜAlī 2000:6ff.). Like the above-mentioned *zikri* of ᶜAbdalmālik, there are both long and considerably shorter versions of the *Muṣṭafā*. Another well-known text in Harari prose is كتاب الفرائض (*Kitāb al-↗farāʾiḍ*; s. Cerulli 1936:282–343), which consists of two texts from the 16th or 17th cent. The first one is a collection of numerical sayings about several aspects of life including religion, that is attributed to *āw* ᶜAbdarraḥmān al-ᶜArāšī in the colophon of most manuscripts. The second was composed by *faqīh* Ṭayyib al-Wanāğī aṣ-Ṣadrī according to some manuscripts, and by ᶜAbdallāh ʿUmar b. Ğibrīl according to others; it begins as a catechism and goes on with a series of numerical sayings about Islam.

Non-religious poetry in Old Harari is represented by the *Masnoy*, still sung by women especially during wedding ceremonies. Parts of it have been published by Cohen (1931) as "Chants de noce", but it is clearly written as a single text of at least 250 lines in the three manuscripts – probably from the 18th cent. – that preserve it, and also the Harari perceive it as such. A less known poem is the كتاب الفقر (*Kitāb al-faqar*, 'The Book of Songs') by *kabīr* ʿUmar ᶜAbdōš, that praises the bride and her bridegroom and depicts the situation in Harär at the end of the 19th cent.

After the conquest of Harär by Mənilək II in 1887, the Ethiopian script started to be used for Harari. One of the first examples is the **ጌይ፡ አጃእብዞ** (*Gēy ağāʾibzo*, 'The extraordinary things of Harär'), a short narration of the history of Harär from the time of Aḥmad Grañ to 1887 by Yosef Täklä Haymanot. During the last decades, while the *ʿağamī* script is still widely used for traditional religious purposes, the Ethiopian script with an adapted orthography has been increasingly used for publishing in Harari, from the journals like *Šahan* and *Zi-Harari Ṭaba* published in the diaspora, that frequently include short narrative texts and poems, to the above-mentioned volumes of proverbs and of songs by ʿAbdarraḥmān Muḥammad Qorrām and ʿAbdalmuhaymin ʿAbdannāṣir, the books that are used in the Harari-speaking schools of Harär, and a few other ones as well.

Src.: ʿABDARRAḤMĀN MAḤAMMAD QORRĀM, መኽማኽ (*Maḫmāḫa*, 'Proverbs'), Addis Abäba 1984 A.M. [1991 A.D.]; ʿABDALMUHAYMIN ʿABDANNĀṢIR, ሐረር፡ ጌይ፡ ፈቀር (*Harar gēy faqar*, 'Songs of Harar'), Harär 1988 A.M. [1995 A.D.]; *šayḫ* ABŪ L-ḤASAN NŪRADDĪN ʿALĪ, *Kitāb ʿunwān aš-šarīf bi-l-mawlid aš-šarīf*, ('The Book of the Elevated Example of the Noble Mawlid'), Addis Abäba 2000; BassHist; CerStud I; CerIslam; MARCEL COHEN, *Études d'éthiopien méridional*, Paris 1931; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Testi in lingua harari", *RSO* 8, 1919, 401–25; WOLF LESLAU, "Chansons harari", *RSE* 6, 2, 1947, 130–61; ID., "Harari Riddles", *ibid.* 29, 1982–83, 39–85; EWALD WAGNER, "Arabische Heiligenlieder aus Harar", *ZDMG* 125, 1975, 28–65; ID., *Harari-Texte in arabischer Schrift*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 13); WagFath.

Lit.: ROBERT BRUNSCHVIG, "L'Islam enseigné par Ḥāmid b. Ṣiddīq de Harar (XVIIIe siècle)", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 445–54; CerLett; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, *Classical Arabic in Central Ethiopia*, Leiden 1976; ID., "The Library of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Shakūr, Sulṭān of Harar, 1272–92/1856–75", in: ROBIN L. BIDWELL – G. REX SMITH (eds.), *Arabian and Islamic Studies: Articles Presented to R.B. Serjeant on the Occasion of his Retirement*, London – New York 1983, 68–79; CAMILLA C.T. GIBB, *In the City of Saints: Religion, Politics and Gender in Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University 1996; RENATO TRAINI, "I manoscritti arabi esistenti nelle biblioteche di Pavia", *RRALm* ser. 8a, 28, 1973, 841–65; EWALD WAGNER, "Harari Texts – a Literary Analysis", in: SIEGBERT UHLIG – BAIRU TAFLA (eds.), *Collectanea Aethiopica*, Stuttgart 1988 (AeF 26), 203–15; EWALD WAGNER, *Afrikanische Handschriften*, Teil 2: *Islamische Handschriften aus Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1997 (VOHD 24, 2).

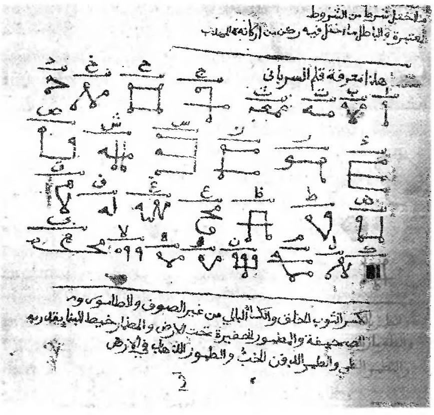
Giorgio Banti

Harari secret script

Oral tradition in Harär reports that Harari texts and manuscripts have existed which were written in an ornamental secret script. Very few of these texts have been preserved. Tradition suggests that it had been used as a secret writing-system among local Harari scholars and students, who normally wrote in Arabic. In this script were specially written letters with short messages in Harari language, still in the 1940s and up to the 1970s. Tradition calls it the *Suriyani* ('Syrian') script or "Ibrahim's Alphabet" (von Rosen 2003: 169 calls it "Alphabet of Abraham"). It might have been imported to Harär in the 19th cent. (possibly even before) and used in the time of the occupation by the Šäwan army.

According to the traditional scholar *ḥāğğī* ʿAbdulwadūd Wābar, he had himself written a manuscript in this script in the 1930's. This, however, got lost when he was imprisoned during persecutions in Harär in the late 1940's, his family burning it together with other books out of fear. Other texts had been destroyed in the same period. The political background seems to have been the movement for local autonomy in Harär after the 1941 liberation, followed by persecution by the Ḫaylä Śəllase I regime. During this period, Harari may have used this script for secret communications. Von Rosen is the only author who published, in the 1940s, a sample of the script, including a list of characters with their meaning in Arabic. He relates that, according to a local informant, the script originated from Urfa, east-north-east of Aleppo. His informant said, however, incorrectly, that no manuscripts in this script existed. But he showed him a Harari manuscript in which the characters were listed. Based on this report, Wagner (2003) mentions the script as a Harari secret writing-system.

Recently there had been several local attempts to revive this script for the Harari language, but this failed as the script is difficult both for handwriting and print. In local oral tradition the fact



Folio with Harari secret script and its description; 19th cent. (?), from the manuscript collection of ʿAbdullāhi ʿAlī Šarīf, photo courtesy of the author that this script existed is still preserved by some, but the knowledge of the script itself is almost extinct.

Harari writings contain information on other similar secret writing systems, whose origins had not been studied yet. Their use for the Harari language – different from the "*Suriyani*" script – is not documented.

Src.: interview with *ḥāǧǧī* ʿAbdulwadūd Wābar, ca. 70 years old, early 1970s; ms. from the collection of ʿAbdallāh Šarīf, Harär (ill.).

Lit.: BJÖRN VON ROSEN, *Berget och Solen*, Stockholm 1949, 169f.; EWALD WAGNER, *Harar: Annotierte Bibliographie zum Schrifttum über die Stadt und den Islam in Südostäthiopien*, Wiesbaden 2003 (AeF 61), 177.

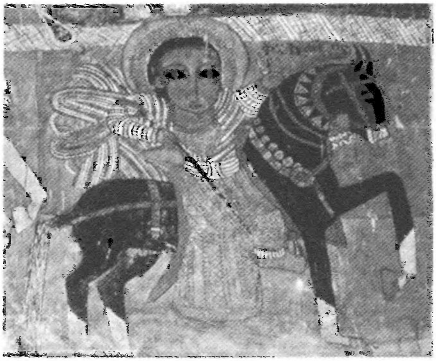
Ahmed Zekaria

Ḥarbay

Ḥ. (ሐርበይ, also Ḥarbe or Qəddus Ḥarbe, fl. late 12th cent.), a king of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, is venerated as a saint in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Church. According to the "long" version of the traditional Zagʷe "kings lists" (where he also appears as the last monarch of this "house"), he reigned 40 years; according to the less authoritative "short" and "longer" versions, eight years alone (CRStor 303–07, 317; Huntingford 1965: 8ff.; SerHist 240; TadTChurch 55f., n. 3).

The son of ↗Žan Śəyyum, Ḥ. married a certain Märkeza, who begot him ↗Näʾakʷəto Läʾab. Ḥ. ascended the throne immediately after his cousin *aṣe* ↗Yəmrəḥanna Krəstos and was followed by his brother ↗Lalibäla, whose 15th-cent. Vita is a major source of information about Ḥ.'s own life (Perruchon 1892:15ff., 31–34, 40–45). A few other details about Ḥ. and his family are found in the 15th-cent. Vita of Näʾakʷəto Läʾab: here the latter's father is called Gäbrä Mäsqäl (Conti Rossini 1943:115). A *Gädlä qəddus ʿArbi nəguś* ('Vita of the saint *nəguś* ʿArbi [= Ḥ.]') is mentioned by Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos (1963: 80), but remains unpublished and on the whole unknown to date.

In the Vita of Lalibäla, Ḥ. is said to have persecuted his brother – up to trying to poison him with the help of their sister – as a potential rival for the throne (Perruchon 1892:15ff.). Later, Ḥ. would have reconciled with Lalibäla, even abdicating in his favour and passing on to him his royal name, Gäbrä Mäsqäl (*ibid.*, 44f., with the passage, omitted by Perruchon, published in Kur 1972:400f.). Beyond the hagiographic canonization of the events, it is more likely that Lalibäla had him deposed through force of arms after a long family struggle (CRStor 307; Conti Rossini 1943:106), as indicated by local traditions still alive in contemporary popular painting (Tubiana 1963:221-28).



Ḥarbay, cloth mural (detail), 17th cent., Säqoṭa, Wəqro Mäsqäl, west façade; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

As to the name Gäbrä Maryam reportedly given to Ḥ. (along with 32 years of reign) in an elusive Ethiopic manuscript quickly seen at Lalibäla (Lasta) by ↗Raffray (1881:344ff.) and Simon (1885:322f.), and random read and translated for them by the Lazarist Duflos, it could simply be a misunderstanding for Gäbrä Mäsqäl (s. Tedeschi 1990:337f.).

An impressive 17th-cent. Gondärine mural (on primed cloth glued to the walls) with "Qəddus Ḥarbay" and the three other holy Zagʷe kings equally on horseback (↗Equestrian saints) is in the left-hand wall of the west façade of Wəqro Mäsqäl (Krəstos) church near ↗Säqoṭa in Lasta – the rulers of which claimed descent from that dynasty (Getatchew Haile 1984:42, 47). The same four kings are depicted standing in two Lastan booklets of miniatures (↗*Sənsul*), 17th and an 18th cent. respectively, both drawing on conventional Gondärine iconography: the former's exact provenance and location are presently unknown (Heldman 1993:247f., no. 109); the latter belongs to the church of Ašätän Maryam (↗Ǝšätän), near Lalibäla (ChojEthP 492f., 523, fig. 235c; Tedeschi in EncSant vol. 2, 159f., ill.).

Src.: JULES PERRUCHON (ed., tr.), *Vie de Lalibala, roi d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1892, 15ff., 31–34, 40–45 (text) = 80ff., 97–100, 106–10 (tr.); STANISLAO KUR, "Édition d'un manuscrit éthiopien de la Bibliothèque Vaticane: Cerulli 178", *Memorie dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* ser. 8ª, 16 [7], 1972, 383–425, here 400f. (text) = 419 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), "Gli Atti di Re Naʾakuĕto

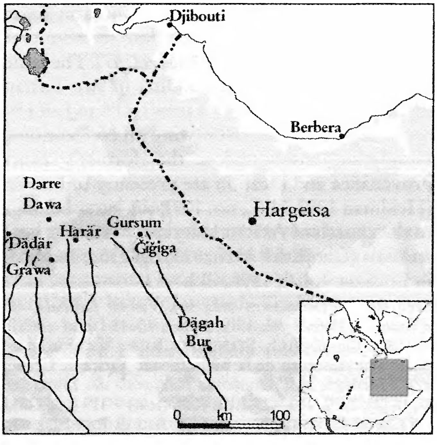
La-ᵓAb", in: *Scritti dedicati alla memoria di Francesco Gallina*, Roma 1943 (= *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 2, 1943), 105–232, here 106–09; 115 (text) = 180 (tr.); AKLILÄ BƎRHAN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, መርሐ፡ ልቡና (*Marḥä ləbbuna*, 'The Guide of the Intellect'), Addis Ababa 1943 A.M. [1951 A.D.], repr. 1955 A.M. [1963 A.D.], 80; ACHILLE RAFFRAY, "Voyage en Abyssinie et au pays des Gallas-Raïas", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris* 7ᵉ sér. 3, 1882, 324–51, here 344ff.; GABRIEL SIMON, *Voyage en Abyssinie et chez les Gallas-Raïas. L'Éthiopie, ses mœurs, ses traditions, le Négous Iohannès, les églises monolithes de Lalibéla*, Paris 1885, 322f.

Lit.: CRStor 303–07, 315ff. ["Harbai"/"Hezbai"]; JOSEPH TUBIANA, "Le frère de Saint Lālibalā", *Objets et mondes* 3, 1963, 221-28; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "'The Wealth of Kings' and the End of the Zāguē Dynasty", *BSOAS* 28, 1965, 1–23, here 8ff.; SerHist 240, 251–54, 265ff.; TadTChurch 55f., n. 3; BELAYNESH MICHAEL, "Ḫarbay, Ḫarbé or Qeddus-Ḫarbé", in: *DicEthBio* 82f.; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Who is Who in Ethiopia's Past, Part II: The Zagʷe Royal Family after Zagʷe", *NEASt* 7, 3, 1985, 41–48, here 42, 47; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Note sul re etiopico Naᵓakʷeto Laᵓab", *Quaderni utinensi* 8 [15-16], 1990 [1996], 335–43, here 336ff., 342; ID., "Ḥarbāy", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 157ff. (Lit.); ChojPaint 492f., 523, fig. 235c [inverted print]; MARILYN HELDMAN, "Sensul", in: *AfrZion* 247f., no. 109; EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "The Wall-Paintings of Wuqro Mäsqäl Church near Sokota", *Africana Bulletin* 50, 2002, 115–33, here 122f., pls. 1 and 19.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Hargeisa

H. is a Somali town which developed most probably during the second half of the 19th cent. as a *ṭarīqa* settlement (Qādirīya; ↗Islamic brotherhoods), established by *šayḫ* Maddar, in the vicinity of a water-point for nomadic stock-herders on the way to Harär. The name H. most likely derives from the nickname *Harär as-ṣaġīr* ('Harar the little'). By the end of the 19th cent., it was visited by Swayne, who described the results achieved there in sorghum cultivation, and Robecchi-Bricchetti. In 1870 the town was captured by Egyptian forces, who withdrew from North Somalia in 1884. In the early 20th cent. it was ravaged by the anti-British campaign of *sayyid* ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan (the "Mad Mullah"), who launched his guerrilla movement in 1899. British colonial rulers decided to move the capital of ↗British Somaliland to H. in 1941. Under British rule, it developed as a commercial town.



After 1960, H. declined as a political centre following the amalgamation with the former Italian Somalia, but retained its importance as a commercial centre and as the second-largest city in Somalia – the biggest in the northern region (in 1980, its population was estimated at 70,000). Under the military rule (1969–91), economical decline continued. During the ↗Ogaden war of 1977–78, H. functioned as a logistics centre and headquarters for military operations. After Somalia's defeat in the war, the economy of the North-West region was severely damaged by the creation of various Ogaden-refugee settlements.

In 1981 the Somali National Movement (S.N.M.) was organized in London. S.N.M. launched a political and military struggle in northern Somalia, capturing most of H. in May 1988. However, it was later ousted by a full-scale military counter-offensive following a systematic bombardment, which destroyed part of the city, caused several thousand casualties and forced many thousands of people to flee to Ethiopia.

In 1991, after expelling the Somali troops from the North-West region, the S.N.M. proclaimed independence and declared H. the capital of the new, non-recognized, state. The economy boomed and the population rose to an estimated 350,000 people in 2004. A university was officially inaugurated in February 2000, thanks mainly to the financial support of the diaspora, whose revenues constitute the main resource for the region's economy.

Src.: RALPH EVELYN DRAKE-BROCKMAN, *British Somaliland*, London 1912; LUIGI ROBECCHI BRICCHETTI, *Somalia e Benadir: viaggio di esplorazione nell'Africa Orientale*, Milano 1899; HAROLD GEORGE CARLOS SWAYNE, *Seventeen Trips through Somaliland and a Visit to Abyssinia*, London 1903.

Lit.: IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *A Pastoral Democracy: a Study of Pastoralism and Politics among the Northern So-*

mali of the Horn of Africa, London 1961; ID., "Hargeisa", in: *EI^2*, vol. 3, 206-07; ʿABDI ʿABDULQADIR SHEIK-ʿABDI, *Divine Madness. Mohammed Abdulle Hassan (1856–1920)*, London – New Jersey 1992.

Federico Battera

Hariyyaa

H. (or *Hiriiyaa*), a widely used word in the ↗Oromo language, has related meanings. Tutschek (1844:199), who used the spelling *hiria*, translated it as 'of the same age, Kamerad, aequalis'. The ↗Boorana have applied H. to their "formal organization of age groups that exists separate and apart from the generational organization" ↗*gadaa* (Asmarom Legesse 2000:105). Boorana also use H. for 'age-set' and as a form of affectionate address between members of the same set. Women are not members of sets but may use H. in casual conversation to age-mates of their husbands and to persons of both sexes of approximately their own age.

H. should never quarrel in public. They should always support each other in hunting, raiding and war and in social activities such as dancing and courting. Occasions which could cause dispute are limited by custom; a man cannot take offence at verbal abuse from a H. and, most strikingly, there cannot be adultery cases between age-mates. It is recognized that age-set amity can be difficult to achieve among young men who are in competition as warriors and as lovers. As one proverb goes, *Hariyyaa ilkaan koblaa garaa keessa morka*, 'Age-mates laugh with their teeth but competition is in their bellies' (Leus 1990:141).

Dance of Hariyyaa youngsters at Buso; photo 1934/35, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (no. 13-KB038-12)

H., like other East African age-sets, are intended to keep some control over the warlike ebullience of young men. Boorana probably devised H. as a practical military response to the generational rigidity of the *gadaa*-system, which dispersed men of warrior age across a span of *luba* (Baxter 1978:177f.). Boys born during the eight-year time-span of one *luba* make up one H. but otherwise the age- and generation-systems are quite distinct. The age-sets of some ↗Gabbra phratries, though based on a different time-scale, use the same names (Schlee 1989:84). Each Boorana H. holds a central naming ceremony, at which office holders are appointed, which is replicated at a number of local sites. Members of a H., or even of several H., may be called up together in emergencies, but members mostly act in locally based bands. An age-set is most likely to be active while its members are young and before they get enmeshed in domestic responsibilities. Ethiopian, Italian and Kenyan governments, observing that raiding increases after the creation of a new set, often restricted or banned the public performance of apparently aggressive age-set ceremonies.

The Konso "borrowed" the word H. "from the Borana" with "the sense of children who have grown up and played together"; but Konso H. were "not recruited on the basis of age at all" and were "perfectly integrated with the (generation) grades. By the mid-1960s the [H.], presumably the result of the cessation of warfare", no longer appeared to perform any "corporate duties" (Hallpike 1972:13f.; 186f.). By the mid-1990s even the generation-sets were "hardly operating" (Watson 2002:211).

↗Age group systems

Lit.: PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER, "Boran Age-Sets and Generation Sets: *Gada*, a Puzzle or a Maze?", in: ID. – URI ALMAGOR, *Age, Generation, and Time: some Features of East African Age Organisations*, London 1978, 151–82; ID., "Boran Age-Sets and Warfare", in: KATSUYOSHI FUKUI – DAVID TURTON (eds.), *Warfare among East African Herders*, Osaka 1979, 69–95; MARCO BASSI, *I Borana*, Milano 1996; VSAe II, 181ff.; ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada: three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York 1973, 58ff; ID., *Oromo Democracy: an Indigenous African Political System*, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 2000, 48–56, 10ff; TON LEUS, *Mammaassa Booranaa*, Yaaballoo 1990, 141; GÜNTHER SCHLEE, *Identities on the Move: Clanship and Pastoralism in Northern Kenya*, Manchester 1989, 84; KARL TUTSCHEK, *Dictionary of the Galla Language*, München 1844, 199; CHRISTOPHER ROBERT HALLPIKE, *The Konso of Ethiopia: a Study of the Values of a Cushitic People*, Oxford 1972; ELIZABETH WATSON, "Capturing a Local Elite: the Konso Honeymoon", in: WENDY JAMES et al., *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*, Oxford 2002, 198–218.

Paul T.W. Baxter

Ḥarla

Ḥ. (ሐርላ, Arab. حرلة Ḥarla, هرلة, Harla) is the name of a population that is mentioned in Arabic and Ethiopian historical sources since the 14th cent. In al-Mufaḍḍal's chronicle (quoted in CerIslam 264) they are subject to the king of ↗Amhara, together with ↗Damot. In later sources, the so-called *Chronicle of ʿAmdä Ṣəyon*, the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* and the *Awsa Chronicle*, they are allied to such Muslim leaders as the *qāḍī* ↗Ṣāliḥ, ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") and the *imām* Muḥammad. In the *Futūḥ* the Ḥ. are one of the four main components of Grañ's army, together with the Somali, the ↗Mäläsay and the Arabs. One of their main settlement areas (Arab. *balad*) is Zarba (BassHist 97 text] = 170 [tr.]), where farmers (Arab. *ḥarrāṯūn*) are mentioned explicitly. Zarba also occurs in the *Futūḥ* as the name of a tribe, together with other Ḥ. tribes such as the Zaman Bara, the Barzara, the Yaqula, the Ǧāsār, the ʿArab Taḫā and the Alqā (BassHist 56f. [text] = 118 [tr.]).

The late ↗*Fatḥ madīnat Harar* reports one of the oral traditions that are told now in south-eastern Ethiopia: the Ḥ. were a tribe that lived in the region of Harär in older times and dispersed because of plague and famine (cf. WagFath 46f.). Also, the ↗Karrayyuu in eastern Šäwa say that their region was previously inhabited by the Ḥ. According to other traditions, the Ḥ. were giants who built the ruined settlements in the area of ↗Ǧiǧǧiga and were punished by God, who sent against them a terrible wind that transformed everybody it reached into large rocks, still to be seen between Dərre Dawa and Harär (s. Mohamed Abdi Mohamed 1990:350). Between these two towns there is also a village called Ḥ., where an Arabic funerary inscription from 44? H. [ca. 1048–57 A.D.] has been found (Schneider 1969).

Paulitschke (1893:43) knew the Ḥ. as a subtribe of the ʿIssa Somali, living south-west of Zaylaʿ. Cerulli (1964), on the other hand, described a Somali group known as Ḥ. – self-denomination *Raḥál* – who live further to the south in the upper Fafan valley between Harär and Ǧiǧǧiga. Unlike the previous group of Ḥ., these claim to be ↗Daarood, descending from Koombe, the common ancestor of the ↗Garri and the Harti. The former are a large group of partially agriculturalist Somalis settled around Ǧiǧǧiga and towards Harär, while the latter is the ancestor of the major north-eastern Somali clans, the Majeerteen, the Warsangeli and the Dhulbahante. Cerulli (1964) published a few words and sentences of the *af Ḥarlaad* (lit. 'language of the Ḥ.') used by the Ḥ. of the upper Fafan valley. It seems to be a jargon or argot that is partially similar to those spoken by Somali low castes such as the Yibir or the Midgaan. For instance, it includes a number of phonetically manipulated Somali words like *bagaḍ*, 'girl' for Somali *gabaḍ* (*gabadh*), or *reeb*, 'cultivated field' for Somali *beer*. Other words are more difficult to explain, like *gastaḥ*, 'three' vs. Somali *saddeḥ* (*saddex*) or *din* fem., 'man' vs. Somali *nin* masc. Unlike the above low-caste jargons, even grammatical words undergo phonetic manipulation, such as *ḥamaa*, 'what?' for Somali *maḥaa* (*maxaa*), or *disee*, 'how?' for Somali *si-dee*.

Cerulli's Ḥ. may be a remnant group of the old Ḥ., that integrated into the Somali genealogical system, but kept a partially separate identity by developing a language of their own. Alternatively, they may be a group that made up its separate identity by adopting the name of the mythical Ḥ. and a new jargon. More field research both by anthropologists and by linguists is needed on this interesting group.

Src.: BassHist 52, 56f., 61, 64, 80, 97 (text) = 111, 118, 124, 130, 150, 170f. (tr.); MarAmdS 98f., 182f.; WagFath 46-49.
Lit.: BrHad 131–34, 143; Enrico Cerulli, "Il gergo degli Ḥarla", in: Id., *Somalia*, vol. 3, Roma 1964, 223f.; Id., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94, here 282 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80, here 264]; Mohamed Abdi Mohamed, *La Somalie aux hautes périodes (de l'antiquité à l'avènement de l'Islam)*, Ph.D. thesis, Besançon 1990, 350; Philipp Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, vol. 1: *Die materielle Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl*, Berlin 1893, 43; Madeleine Schneider, "Stèles funéraires de la région de Harar et Dahlak (Éthiopie)", *Revue des études islamiques* 37, 1969, 229–43.

Giorgio Banti

Ḥarr Amba

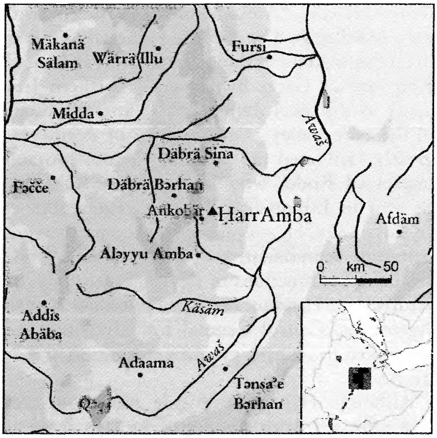
Ḥ.A. (ሐር፡ አምባ; also Ḥaramba, Arramba, Arramba Qaläb) is the name of a mountain (↗*Amba*), situated north-east of ↗Ankobär on the road to Däbrä Sina, of a settlement on its top and the small area around it. Ethiopian traditions interpret the name as "the silk mount", recalling that since early times the place was used by Ethiopian rulers as a depot for silk (Gəʿəz: *ḥarir*; Amh.: *harir*, *harr*) garments (GueCopMen 58, n. 4). Ḥ.A. is located adjacent to an important trade route linking the province of Šäwa through ↗Harär with trade routes crossing the hinterland areas from the Red Sea, the gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean.

Ḥ.A. is attested in sources as early as in the 17th cent., if Ḥar[r] Wägäb, mentioned in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos (PerChron I, 285; cp. BTafA 400f.), is identical with it. Ḥarr Wägäb was one of the strategically important strongholds of medieval Ethiopia. This was where Wäldä Gäbrəʾel – a pretender who attempted to reign in Šäwa under the name of Tewodros Ṣäḥay – took refuge when pursued by *ras* ↗Səʿəlä Krəstos (his other fortress was the mountain of ↗Ǝmmä Məḥrät, not far from Ḥ.A.).

In the early 18th cent., *märəd azmač* ↗Səbəstyanos began the expansion of the Šäwan kingdom from his capital ↗Doqaqit in the direction of Ḥ.A. His son and the third ruler of Šäwa, *märʿəd azmač* ↗Abbəyye, established his capital there after winning the area from the ↗Oromo (elswhere it is said that H.A. was the capital already under Səbəstyanos, s. Moreno 1942:164). According to a tradition, in order to oust certain Karrayyu (↗Baarentuu) Oromo, who had settled on the top of the mountain, Abbəyye and one of his loyal servants put silks of various colours behind their residence and around the enclosure of their cattle. The next morning, the Karrayyu allegedly saw the display as a sign that "God" had sent forces to eliminate their cattle. They left Ḥ.A. for the Awaš valley, leaving the place for Abbəyye to occupy (Märsəʿe Ḥazän Wäldä Qirqos 1944/45). From Ḥ.A. Abbəyye launched a series of punitive campaigns against the Karrayyu and Abbičuu Oromo, in the highlands of Šäwa west of Ankobär.

Märəd azmač ↗Amməḥa Iyäsus left H.A. and moved his capital back to Ankobär. In the 19th cent., chiefly during the reign of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase, Ḥ.A. played no important role except serving as one of the treasuries. In ca. December 1841 it was recorded as being under the authority of a certain Qälämäwärq, a chief responsible for the market revenues of Aləyyu Amba, Ankobär, Qʷəndi (Qundi), Däbrä Bərhan and Angoläla. The settlement continued to exist as a fortified village throughout the 19th cent., and was the birthplace and home of *aläqa* ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis Gäbrä Mäsih (BTafA 63f.).

Ḥ.A. is one of the three major political centres of Šäwa, along with Ankobär and Qʷəndi, where prominent notables, including some of the Šäwan rulers, have been buried. Abbəyye erected the church of St. Michael (AWTarik 82) in Ḥ.A. and reburied there the body of his father Səbəstyanos, having transported it from Ayne Maryam in ↗Mafud. Abbəyye himself was buried there in 1743. During the occupation of 1936–41 the church was burnt down by the Italians, who also massacred 24 leading members of the local clergy. The ↗*tabot* was saved by the church's *gäbäz* and kept in the *mäqaňňo bet*. A big religious ceremony is held there annually on 12 *Säne* – the feast of St. Michael – and the 12th day of each month.



Src.: AWTarik 82, 84 (Lit.); BTafA 63f., 400f., 928, s. index; CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, *A Diary Written during a Journey in Abyssinia in the Years 1840, 1841, 1842 and 1843*, London 1846, 225; GueCopMen 58f., 104, 325, s. index; HarAeth vol. 2, 366f.; MahZekr 138; MÄRSƎʿE HAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, በአንኮበር፡ ከተማ፡ የሸዋ፡ ነገሥታት፡ መቃብር፡ ጉብኝት (*Bäʾankobär kätäma yäšäwa nägäśtat mäqabər gubəňňət*, 'A Visit of the Tombs of the Šäwan rulers at Ankobär'), 1937 A.M. [1944/45 A.D.], ms. copy in possession of the author; MonVidTheo 44 (text) = 55 (tr.); MorTeod 164; PerChron I, 285, II, 219.

Lit.: AbbGeogr 246; R.H. KOFI DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menelik and the Ethiopian Empire, 1813–1889*, London 1975, 9, 12; EgeClass 22f., 25, 99, 107, 110, 189; StStud 105.

Ahmed Hassen Omer

Harrington, John Lane

H. (b. 16 January 1865, Wales, d. 1927, Surrey) was a British military officer and diplomat who played a crucial role in Ethiopian affairs between 1897 and 1908. H. pursued a military career before becoming a diplomat. In 1895 he was appointed Assistant Resident and Vice-Consul at ↗Zaylaʿ on the Somali coast, and later at the post of Assistant Political Agent.

H.'s intimate association with Ethiopia had its roots in the 1897 British mission headed by James

Rennell Rodd (↗Rodd Mission) to the court of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. The purpose of the mission was to establish Anglo-Ethiopian relations (↗United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland) in the interests of British imperial aims in the Nile Valley and the Horn of Africa. H. greatly facilitated the work of the mission and impressed Rodd, who later proposed that he be sent to Ethiopia as Britain's representative. In early 1898, H. was asked to become Britain's part-time representative in Addis Abäba, while retaining his functions in Zaylaᶜ. In late July, he returned to London and was appointed British Agent and Consul-General for Abyssinia and was asked to set up a permanent legation in Addis Abäba.

Although H.'s primary role was to protect and promote British interests, he also acted as an unofficial advisor to Mənilək. He staunchly supported the idea of Ethiopian independence. Between 1898 and 1902, H. was preoccupied with defining the Ethiopian-Sudanese border following Britain's conquest of the upper Nile Valley. This involved surveying the border and working out agreements with Mənilək and his government. H. was also involved in the negotiations over the southern border for a number of years, during which several survey parties were sent to delimit a possible boundary. Although H. succeeded in obtaining an agreement from the Ethiopian government in 1907 concerning the southern border, some details remained unresolved for many more years.

H.'s earlier efforts to promote British interests in the Nile Valley, Horn of Africa and Ethiopia itself made him extremely suspicious of the French, Britain's arch-rival in the region. The Tripartite Treaty of 1906 between France, Great Britain and Italy made H.'s anti-French position unwelcome to the British government, which needed France as an ally against Germany. H. was unable to adjust to this newer political reality. As a result, he fell out of favour after 1906, not only with his superiors in London, but also with the Ethiopians once they learned that they could no longer depend on Britain for protection from undue French influence. H.'s effectiveness in Addis Abäba greatly diminished after 1906 and in 1908 he retired to Surrey in England. He was knighted for his services in Ethiopia.

↗Treaties

Lit.: EDWARD COLTRIN KEEFER, *The Career of Sir John L. Harrington: Empire and Ethiopia, 1884–1918*, Ann Arbor, MI 1974 (microfilm); MONTY BROWN, *Where Giants Trod: the Saga of Kenya's Desert Lake*, London, 1989; PASCAL JAMES IMPERATO, *Quest for the Jade Sea: Colonial Competition around an East African Lake*, Boulder, CO 1998.

Pascal James Imperato

Harris, William Cornwallis

H. (b. 1807, Wittersham, Isle of Oxney, Kent, d. 1848, Surwur, India) was the leader of the first British diplomatic mission to ↗Šäwa. An engineer by profession, H. travelled to South Africa, and whilst there was appointed in 1841 British envoy to Šäwa. The move was in response to a letter from *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase to the British East India Company asking for help in the modernization of his country.

The envoy, who came with a party of 30 Englishmen carrying numerous presents, was, however, primarily interested in exploring the country, investigating the ↗slave trade and, in particular, persuading *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase to sign an agreement to open up his country to British commerce. Differences of objective between the two parties, and the envoy's arrogance, made the mission unpopular. It nevertheless remained in the country 18 months and signed an Anglo-Šäwan Treaty of Friendship and Commerce on 18 November 1841. By it *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase agreed

Sir William Cornwallis Harris; oil on canvas; ca. 1823; attributed to Ramsay Richard Reinagle; courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London (Reg.-no. 4098) to allow British merchants to enter his country, to export whatever they wished without payment of tax and to import goods subject to duties of only five per cent. None of the treaty's clauses were ever implemented. The agreement, which was a calligraphic masterpiece, written in black and red, was, however, important as the first ever signed between Ethiopia and the outside world in modern times. It earned H. a knighthood in 1844.

H. subsequently wrote an account of his mission in his three-volume *Highlands of Æthiopia* (1844). This work, which was translated into German, is marred by its florid style, but was accompanied by an invaluable, today little known volume of illustrations. Johann ↗Bernatz, a German who accompanied the mission, also produced an illustrated volume *Scenes in Ethiopia* (1852).

The mission's reports, including much scientific material, are preserved in the British Library's India Office and Records. H.'s portrait as a young man (ca. 1823), attributed to Ramsay Richard Reinagle, is in the collections of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

↗Treaties

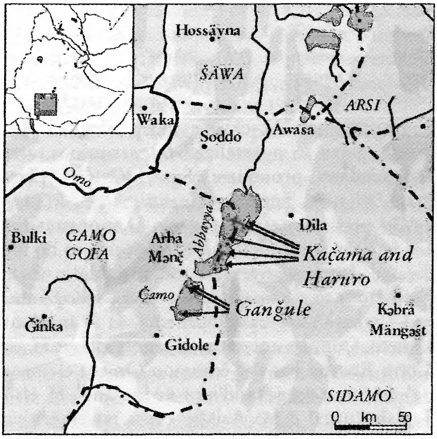
Src.: HarAeth; WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS, *Narrative of an Expedition into Southern Africa*, London 1838; JOHANN MARTIN BERNATZ, *Scenes in Ethiopia: Designed from Nature*, Munich – London 1852.

Lit.: EDWARD ULLENDORFF – CHARLES FRAZER BECKINGHAM, "The First Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty", *JSS* 9, 1964, 187–99; RubInd, s. index.

Richard Pankhurst

Harro

Harro language



H. (also Haruro) is a dialect cluster belonging to the East ↗Ometo family. These languages are found near or on the Lakes Abbaya and Čamo in southern Ethiopia. The terminology and exact membership of the cluster are unclear because of multiple older descriptions and the mobility of these peoples (s. a summary in Bender 2000:46 and the sources therein [mainly Brenziger 1995 and Siebert – Hoeft 1994], as well as the ethnologic sketches in this volume). Agreement in basic lexicon among named varieties of Gidiččo, Gaṣame, H., Gangule runs from 93 % (Gidiččo – Gangule) to 100 % (Gaṣame – Gangule). There are many variant spellings: e.g., Kačama, Gaṭame/Gatsʾame/Getʾeme for Gaṣame. The name *harro* and its variant *haruro* mean 'boat', a device of much use to these island-and-shore-dwelling peoples (Conti Rossini's "Haruro" may be identical to Gaṣame). A typical language self-name is *afan gidiččo*, using the Oromo form *afaan* ('mouth'), as is common in the area. Brenziger (1995:33) reports 150 H. and 1,006 Gangule. *Ethnologue* (1996:262) reports 550 Kačama-Gangule, of which 50 are Gangule, but this is superseded by the Brenziger study. There is no reliable estimate for the entire dialect cluster.

Linguistically, the H. cluster is in fact a part of the larger East Ometo family, having 83 % or more basic lexicon in common with Koorete and Zayse, but only 71 % in common with Zärgula. The segmental phonological inventories of H. languages are very similar to that of Koorete, but have not been reported in detail. In Bender 2000 (48f.) the inventory of Gangule (based on Fleming's 1971 unpublished notes) is as follows (marginal phonemes in parentheses):

Labials:	(*p̣*), *p*, *b*, (*ɓ*), *f*, *m*, *w*
Dental-alveolars:	(*ṭ-*), *ṣ*, *t*, *-ʦ*, *d*, (*-ʣ*), *ɗ*, *s*, *z*, *l*, *-r*, *n*
Palatals:	*č̣*, *-č*, *ǧ*, *š*, *-ž*, *y*
Velars:	*q*, *k*, *g*
Post-velars:	*ʾ*, *h-*
Vowels:	*i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *ai*, *au*, (*oi*)

In the data set, /*ṭ-*/ occurs only in *ṭansa* ('breast'), /*-ʣ*/ only in *hayʣ*(*i*) ('three'), /*-ž*/ only in *naž* ('child'). There are positional restrictions, e.g., /*h-*/ is initial only, /*-č*,*-r*,*-ʦ*/ are non-initial. Information on suprasegmentals is lacking, but at least one degree of accent is probable.

Canonical word order is Subject–Object–Verb as in all Omotic languages. A sample of H.-cluster basic lexicon follows (normalized transcriptions from several varieties):

‘one’	*biiz+o*	‘moon’	*agun+a*
‘two’	*namʾ+*	‘sun’	*aw+á*
‘three’	*haiʣ+*	‘blood’	*suʦ+*
‘fire’	*tam+a*	‘tongue’	*inṣúr+e*
‘water’	*wáaṣ+*	‘tooth’	*gagg+o*

Some common H.-cluster morphological elements, given in normalized transcriptions, are: Independent pronouns: Sg. 1st/2nd/3rd pers. masc./3rd pers. fem.: *tana/nena/esa/iso*, Pl. 1st/2nd/3rd pers.: *nuna/inina/usuna*. Demonstratives are unclear, but near/far *ha-/se-* seems to be indicated. Interrogatives are too variable in their elicitations to summarize, but *oone* (‘who?’) and *ay+* (‘what?’) are basic elements, as in most of Ometo. Copulas are not well reported, but H. of Conti Rossini has the common Ometo element *deʾ-* for most usages and *na ~ ne* for ‘and’. H. also has the usual Afro-Asiatic causative/transitive verbal suffix *-s* and passive/transitive *-t*.

Src.: HAROLD C. FLEMING, *Field Notes on Ganjulé*, ms., 1971; BARBARA E. GRIMES (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas ^{13}1996; RALPH SIEBERT – LYDIA HOEFT, “Languages of the Abbaya/Chamo Area. Report. Part I, with Notes on Koorete”, *S.L.L.E.* 21, 1994, 1–27; MATTHIAS BRENZIGER, “The ‘Islanders’ of Lake Abbaya and Lake Ch’amo: Harro, Ganjule, Gats’ame, and Bayso”, *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 26, 1995, 2–36.

Lit.: MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000 (Lincom Studies in African Linguistics 19); ID., *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*, Illinois 2003 (Lit.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, “Contributi per la conoscenza della lingua haruro (isole del Lago Margherita)”, *RRALm* ser. 6^{a}, 16, 1936, 621–79.

M. Lionel Bender

Harro ethnography

The H. cluster consists of the peoples of Gangule, who live on the islands of Dana and Gangule near the north-western coast in Lake ↗Č̣amo, as well as on the island Dano close to the south-western coast; Kač̣ama and Haruro, who inhabit the islands of Lake ↗Abbayya (the latter two are also often used as synonyms). According to a few receipts and surveys, these three populations share the same language and culture.

Gangule are also referred to as Gerğo or Gaṭama by the people living on the mainland like Guğği, Amarro and Done. According to Haberland (VSAe II, 682), the Kač̣ama as well as the Guğği (who live east of the lakes on the mainland) call the whole Lake Č̣amo “Gangule”.

Kač̣ama and Haruro inhabit a village called Haruro on the island of ↗Gidiččo, the inhabitants of which are also called “Gaṭame” (or “Gaṣame”). Unseth (1990:80) identifies “Kač̣ama” as the ancient name for Haruro, which is, according to Haberland (VSAe II, 682), the name given to the “Gaṭame” by the Wälaytta, Gamo and Amarro.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (S.I.L., s. Grimes 1996) classed the Gangule among the Kač̣ama – Gangule cluster. Their counting published in 1995 resulted in 500 Kač̣ama and only 50 Gangule. The Ethiopian Population and Housing Census of 1994 counted 1109 Gangule and 2643 Kač̣ama. Haberland (VSAe II, 681) expresses doubt whether Haruro, Gaṭame and Gangule really designate one single ethnic group, but he is sure of their sharing the same culture.

All islands in lakes Č̣amo and Abbayya are rather small and mountainous, Gangule itself appearing as a very steep and high rock. The numerous fields are laid out in terraces and many of the inhabitants work additional fields on the mainland. Here, on the west shore of Lake Č̣amo, they have constructed a village which S.I.L. identified as being called Šela-Mela. Early travellers have noted Gangule and Gaṭame as being very well-known among all their neighbouring groups for their fishing, for which only fishing-rods are said to be used while nets do not seem to be known. The fish caught are dried in the sun or roasted between hot stones. Gangule and Kač̣ama are equally known for hunting hippopotamus, which they do in groups with harpoons. The animals are cut and skinned directly on the lake, and the pieces of meat laid in the boat to be taken to the village. The thick skin is traded to neighbouring peoples, who work them into shields. According to Vannutelli and Citerni (1899:242) and Parenzan (in Brunelli et al. 1941: 119), the Gaṭame hang the testicles of killed hippopotami on the prow of their boats, as well as the tails of the female animals. The inhabitants of Haruro on Gidiččo are, like Gaṭame and Gangule, but unlike the rest of the inhabitants of Gidiččo, fishermen and hippopotamus hunters. They are said to sell the meat in markets to the Gedeo and the skin to tanners, as only a few men tan the skins themselves.

Lit.: VITTORIO BOTTEGO, *Il Giuba esplorato*, Roma 1895; GUSTAVO BRUNELLI et al., *Esplorazione dei laghi della fossa Galla: missione ittiologica dell’Africa Orientale Italiana*, 2 vols., Roma 1941; CSA 1996; EIKE HABERLAND – HELMUT STRAUBE, “Nordost-Afrika”, in: HERMANN BAUMANN (ed.), *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre traditionellen Kulturen*, Wiesbaden 1979, 69–156; EDGAR MAASS, “Eine Reise durch das südabessinische Seengebiet”, *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg* 47, 1941, 365-90; PETER UNSETH, *Linguistic Bibliography of the Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, East Lansing, MI 1990; Lamberto Vannutelli – Carlo Citerni, *Seconda spedizione Bottego: l'Omo, viaggio di esplorazione nell'Africa Orientale*, Milano 1899; Barbara Grimes (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas ^{13}1996; VSAe II, 716f.

Nicole Poissonnier

Ḥasän ᶜAli

Däğğazmač Ḥ.A. (**ሐሰን፡ ዓሊ**, Arab. حسن علي, Ḥasan ᶜAlī; b. 1883, ᶜAddi Ḥannəs [Yoḥannəs], Märagʷəz district, Säraye, Eritrea, d. 1968) was an interpreter, civil servant in the Colonia Eritrea and a prominent politician. He was born to a ↗Ğäbärti Muslim family. His parents died when he was about seven. With the help of relatives, Ḥ.A. left for ↗Asmära, where he found a job in the Department of Post and Telegraph. There, he had an opportunity to learn foreign languages. Thus, in addition to his mother tongue Təgrəñña, he soon mastered Italian, Arabic and Amharic (ErDizBio 162), and later also learnt Təgre, English and French. An autodidact, he attended no language classes other than Italian courses in Bäläza and Sägänäyti. Thanks to his extraordinary abilities, he was recruited as interpreter in the Massawa *commissariato* in 1907, to be transferred a year later to the central government headquarters in the Political and Civil Affairs Department, in Asmära.

During his service, Ḥ.A. was attached to a number of missions. From December 1910 to December 1911, he worked with Captain Carlo Citerni in the mission to delimit the borders between Ethiopia and ↗Italian Somaliland (↗Boundaries). In August 1926 he participated in the mission lead by Jacopo ↗Gasparini to sign the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between the Yemen and Italy. In February–May 1913, he served as interpreter in the Italian consulate in Ḥudayda, the Yemen; in July–November 1947, he worked as special class interpreter and translator at the Italian consulate in Ğidda, Saudi Arabia. Besides, he participated in a number of other missions on different occasions as a local dignitary of the Italian colony of Eritrea: to the Emirate of Assir (1932), Italy (1927, 1938) and Ethiopia (1939).

During Ḥ.A.'s over-four decades of service, Italian colonial authorities gave him the following titles: *blatta* (1912), *fitawrari* (1919), first class judge (1929), *azmač* (1931), *däğğazmač* (1936), head of notables (1937) and *commendatore* (1939) – a special title awarded for civic merits in Italy. In November 1939, he was appointed *capo rione* ('town chief') of the 2nd town quarter of Asmära, inhabited predominantly by Muslims (NadEr 39; ErDizBio 162), a post he retained throughout the ↗British Military Administration period (British Archives 1950, 2).

In the 1940s, acting as a politician, Ḥ.A. was head of two important institutions: the Islamic Relief Association (العمدية الخيرية الاسلامية, *al-ᶜAmdīya al-ḫayrīya al-islāmīya*), founded on 30 July 1937 to aid needy Muslims, with its offices in Asmära and Massawa; and the Arabic Colony (الجالية العربية, *al-Ğālīya al-ᶜArabīya*), the Arabic school in Asmära (renamed later *al-ᶜĀmm*), founded in 1942 by the Egyptian government to cater for the educational needs of the Arab community in Asmära and of Eritrean Muslims. The first head of the school, ↗Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār, was directly responsible to Ḥ.A. (Muḥammad Ṭaha Tawakkal 2003).

In the 1940's, Ḥ.A. was one of the founders of the ↗*Maḫbär fəqri hagär* (1941) and of the ↗Moslem League (1946). Advocating Eritrean independence, he enjoiyed great popularity and political influence ("among both Moslems and Copts", British Archives 1950:2). This explains why he was one of the primary targets of unionist terrorist acts: in 1946–48 in six attempts on his life, he narrowly escaped death twice (ᶜAlämsägäd Täsfay 2002:170; interview with Maryam Ḥasän, 2005); it is remembered that on one occasion his house, then on the outskirts of the city, was guarded by volunteer youths for as long as six months.

During the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation, he remained in his administrative post until he was appointed by Ḫaylä Śəllase I Ethiopian ambassador to the ↗Yemen in 1955.

Src.: ᶜAlämsägäd Täsfay, **ኣይንፈላለ** (*Aynəffälalä, 1941-50*, 'Let us Remain United, 1941–50'), Asmära 2002, 170, 188; British Archives (ed.), *Leading Personalities in Eritrea*, 1950, 2; *käntiba* Gila-Mikaʾel ᶜUqbay, **ጎዳይፍ** (*Godayf*, 'Memoir'), ms. [n.d.]; interview with Maryam Ḥasän Ali (a daughter of Ḥasän Ali), 92 years old, 2005 [taken by Mäbraḥtom Habtä Maryam].
Lit.: ErDizBio 162; Muḥammad Ṭāhā Tawakkal, *Murāğaᶜāt fī waṯāʾiq mustanadāt Irītriyā* ('Review on Eritrean Evidence and Documentation'), internet source, 2003; NadEr 39.

Kebre-Ab Tesfaí

Ḥasan b. Aḥmad

Ḥ. (حسن بن احمد, ᶜAfar: Ḥasan b. Ḥamad) was a *sulṭān* from the Ankālá tribe, with his residence in Meḍgebḍa, 13 km south of ↗ᶜAsab. Together with his brother Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad and the "*sulṭān* of Buyya" ᶜAbdallāh b. Šeḥem, also of Ankālá descent, Ḥ. negotiated the purchase of the ᶜAsab coast by Giuseppe ↗Sapeto.

A first agreement (15 November 1869) included a small stretch of land from Ras Luma (Lōma) to the little hill of Ganga (273 m A.S.L.), a few miles in the interior. A second negotiation (11 March 1870) extended the area from Ras Luma to Buyya (the cape immediately to the south of the town of ᶜAsab of the Italian period) and Ganga. A third negotiation (15 May 1880) between Sapeto, Ibrāhīm and Ḥ. included the coastal stretch from Ras Luma to Ras Darma (Ras Tarma on the maps, east of Baylūl), with the island of Sanabour (Sanaᶜbūri), to the north of ᶜAsab.

Lit.: DIDIER MORIN, *Dictionnaire historique afar (1288–1982)*, Paris 2004, 88f.

Didier Morin

Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī

Ḥ. (الحسن بن احمد الحيمي, al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Duᶜayš b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza; b. 1017 H. [1608 A.D.], Ḥayma, near Kawkabān, north-west of Ṣanᶜāᵓ, Yemen, d. 1070 H. [1659/60 A.D.]) was a Yemenite author and traveller, known for his *Sīrat al-Ḥabaša* (DonHaySirat).

Ḥ. wrote poetry and a polemic in defence of the Law-school of the Zaydī *imām* al-Mutawakkil ᶜalā Allāh Ismāᶜīl (r. 1644–68; Brockelmann 1937–42, S II, 550f., no. 7). A devout Muslim, Ḥ. performed the *ḥağğ* three times and followed Islamic food prescriptions even when travelling to Ethiopia. He also was sent to ↗Ḥaḍramawt to settle differences between the rulers of the Āl-Kaṯīr (Serjeant 1963, index).

Ḥ.'s journey to Ethiopia resulted from an initiative of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, who between 1642 and 1647 entered into correspondence with the *imām*. In the end the *imām* sent Ḥ. to find out whether the Christian ruler wanted to embrace Islam. The envoy left the *imām*'s residence at Šahāra on 4 July 1647 with an escort consisting of 22 troops, twelve of them musketeers. Via Ṣanᶜāᵓ, he travelled to Muḫā, from where he sailed in two days to ↗Baylūl, ruled then by *sulṭān* Šuḥaym b. ↗Kāmil ad-Dankāli. *Sulṭān* Šuḥaym accompanied Ḥ. with some 30 people, together with some 30 Ethiopian merchants, all under constant fear of being attacked by the Oromo, against whom muskets proved to be effective. A message was sent to *bäᶜalä gada* Aḥada Anbäsa, the Ethiopian governor of ↗Əndärta who resided at Anṭalo (in Arab. sources Ḥinṭālū; CRHist vol. 2, 186). An answer to the message was found in ᶜAynamalī, perhaps identical with Ayne-Mela, at or near Korbeta, north of Lake Ašangi (CrawItin 73; *Guida* 310). In Anṭalo the *kabīrī ṣāliḥ*, local Muslim jurists, came to see Ḥ., who had a letter and garments for them from the *imām*. Yəsḥaq, the governor of Ṣähart, accompanied the caravan with an army of about 2,000 men as far as Abärgälle (Conti Rossini 1904:189–93), whose governor Qabā Qusṭūs (Qawəsṭos?) came to meet them. They crossed the river Täkkaze and arrived at the Səmen, whose governor Damūh – probably *abeto* Damo (GuiIohan 20, 27, 32) – was living at the King's court. The caravan entered the Amhara region and came to a Muslim village near ↗Gondär (probably Əslam bet). On 18 March 1649 they arrived at the new capital and faced hostility. The Christian companion of Fasilädäs's envoy to the *imām* had warned the inhabitants that a Muslim was about to arrive, intending to convert the Emperor to Islam. The Muslim messenger to the *imām*, *al-ḥāğğ* Sālim suggested that Ḥ. change the wording of the letter, which was not sealed, but the Yemenite did not see any reason for alarm. In a place near Gondär, perhaps ↗Ənfräz, due to court intrigues Ḥ. had to wait for two days before getting the Emperor's permission to enter the capital.

In the newly built castle at Gondär, Ḥ. saw beds from Istanbul, mattresses from India glittering with gold, sofas inlaid with pieces of jewelry and gems, gowns of silk brocade embroidered with gold, golden girdles set with beautiful stones and precious gems and swords from Sənnar inlaid with the choicest pure gold. He also noted the tall Ethiopians with their frizzly hair, uncovered heads, golden bracelets and pendants adorned with pearls.

Ḥ., who stayed with his party in the house of the minister Ḥawarya, had three audiences with the Emperor, two in public and one in private. His interpreter, Muḥammad Mūsā, a descendant of al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī, who spoke Arabic fluently, was a renegade from Islam. The Emperor honoured the Muslim from the Yemen by stepping down from his throne and sitting on the floor and saw to it that the Yemenites were well provided with wheat, sheep, goats, cows, honey and butter.

During the third audience Ḥ. knew that the Emperor's secret intention was not to embrace

Islam, but to open a new trade route to Baylūl, the only port on the Red Sea that was independent from the Turks. Wishing to leave via Massawa as soon as possible, he was kept for more than nine months by the Emperor, who wanted him to return via Baylūl. Ḥ., notwithstanding the enmity between the Yemenites and Turks, requested the *imām* to ask the Turkish *paša* of Massawa and ↗Sawākin for a safe-conduct for Massawa. At Gondär he met *amīr* ʿAbdalwahhāb, an Arabic-speaking inhabitant of Sawākin and envoy of the *paša*, whose purpose was to find out why the Yemenite had come via Baylūl and not via Massawa. The *paša* was fearing a diversion of trade from Massawa to Baylūl. In a state of drunkenness, the Emperor would have agreed with the departure via Massawa, and Ḥ. was assisted by ʿAbdalwahhāb in approaching the *paša*.

In his account, Ḥ.'s judgement of the Ethiopians is rather unfavourable. They lack a man's good qualities (Arab. *murūʾa*), are mean and greedy. These bad characteristics are not due, he remarks, to their being Christians. He also gives insight into the situation at the court of Gondär around 1650. A religious scholar himself, Ḥ. wanted to be informed about the Book and the religious laws of the Ethiopians. But the monks, the only people thought to be able to give that information, were ignoramuses. More positive were his contacts with the pupils of *abunä* ↗Marqos. He went to see them in the pleasure-grounds where the *abun* used to go, perhaps Qäha Mankil near Qʷəsqʷam (*Guida* 356f., 360f.). He made friends with their superior Ḥāṭirūs, who had also been Marqos's pupil, though censuring him scathingly for his conduct. Ḥāṭirūs, who, as he spoke Arabic, may have been an Egyptian Copt, showed great interest in Islam and desired to accompany Ḥ. to the Yemen. For ten days the *faqīh* studied what he calls the first three volumes of the Gospel in Arabic, but did not find anything that came near to the prescriptions of ↗*šarīʿa*.

The stories of *abunä* Marqos and *abeto* ↗Gälawdewos were known to Ḥ. before his arrival in Gondär. They had raised hopes that the Emperor might be interested in Islam, but the good prospects had turned out to be an empty promise. Two daughters of a Muslim woman who had become a Christian had been brought to Ḥ.'s house by the woman's sister. When no reaction came from the Emperor or his ministers, Ḥ. sent the girls to their father in Massawa through the good services of ʿAbdalwahhāb.

On 16 December 1648, Ḥ. finally was able to leave for Massawa. The halting-places of the return journey are not mentioned in Ḥ.'s travel account, but they may have been more or less the same as those of von Heuglin (1868:157, map). During Ḥ.'s stay of ten days in ↗Dəbarwa, the governor of Sähart was dismissed so that no escort could be given for the final leg of the journey. Half-way between Dəbarwa and Massawa the caravan was attacked by Christian nomads, who were checked by the muskets. They dispersed when information came that a hundred Turkish troops with 50 muskets were on their way. In Massawa, Ḥ. was received with great honour by the local ↗Balaw ruler, who since 1650 acted as deputy or *nāʾib* of the Turkish *paša* (DonMurad 218, n. 111). Having survived a heavy storm between the ↗Dahlak Islands and al-Luḥayya, Ḥ. reached Šahāra on 18 March 1649. He finished his travel account in Kawkabān on 8 August 1650.

Src.: DonMurad; DonHaySirat; FRANZ-CHRISTOPH MUTH, "New Light on al-Ḥaymī's Embassy to Ethiopia (1647–1648 A.D.)", in: *PICES* 15, in preparation; CrawItin 73f.; CRHist vol. 2, 186; GuiIohan 20, 27, 32; M. THEODOR VON HEUGLIN, *Reise nach Abessinien, den Gala-Ländern, Ost-Sudán und Chartúm in den Jahren 1861 und 1862*, Jena 1868.

Lit.: ROBERT BERTRAM SERJEANT, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast*, Oxford 1963 [repr. Beirut 1974]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Appunti sulla lingua Khamta dell'Averghellé", *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 17, 1904, 182–242; CARL BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, Suppl. II, Leiden 1938, 550f.; ID., *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, vol. 2, Leiden ²1949, 529; *Guida* 310.

Emeri van Donzel

Ḥasän Ǝngamo

Imām Ḥ.Ǝ. (b. Ǝnnämor, d. August [?] 1889, Säba, Qabeena) was a Muslim ↗Hadiyya leader. His mother was a ↗Gurage and his father, Walga Moče, was a leader of the Hadiyya in ↗Ǝnnämor. With his group, Walga had migrated to Zäna Bänär, where, in the 1830s, together with two Muslim Gurage (s. also ↗Səlṭi) followers, Umar Bekesa and Ali Dänäbo of Čaha, he founded the Muslim petty-state of ↗Qabeena. For strategic reasons, Walga made Umar Bekesa *imām* of the new state, whilst himself remained his assistant and spokesperson among the predominantly Hadiyya-speaking community.

During his childhood, Ḥ.Ǝ. studied in Ǝnnämor in the mosques founded by his father, and later in Qabeena and at Ambälta in ↗Wäläne, where his teacher was the famous *šayḫ* Abdälaziz. Ḥ.Ǝ. was married to a step-daughter of Ali Dänäbo in Ambälta. On his father's death, Ḥ.Ǝ. succeeded him as Umar's spokesperson. During Ḥ.Ǝ.'s 30-year long office, the Qabeena state was consolidated. Through the active participation in both the east-west and north-south axis of major long-distance trade, it became one of the most important commercial centres of the country. Ḥ.Ǝ. also promoted ↗Islam opening new mosques and schools and attracting new teachers. Qabeena emerged as an important regional Islamic centre, with strong ties with other centres of its like.

Umar Bekesa's harsh rule arouse discontent among the Hadiyya. His agreement, in 1875, to pay an annual tribute to the Christian state in the person of *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II), for which Umar received the title of ↗*däǧǧazmač*, was interpreted as a betrayal of Islam, and Ḥ.Ǝ. launched a resistance campaign. In organizing his movement, Ḥ.Ǝ. used Qabeena's long-established religious and commercial ties to Islamic areas, including Wäläne, Wällo, Ǧimma and Arsi, and even the Sudan. His former teacher *šayḫ* Abdälaziz played an important ideological role during the campaigns. Ḥ.Ǝ. was considerably inspired by other Islamic regions. In 1878, escaping *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV's decree of forced conversion to Christianity, a great number of Wällo Muslims led by *šayḫ* Ziyin moved to Qabeena. Other routes also played an important role, such as the Sudan via Ǧimma. One *sayyid* Tayyibe, presumably a Sudanese ↗Mahdist official, sent "a letter and spear" through a messenger called Muḥammad Tahera (a Hadiyya, then residing in Sudan) to Ḥ.Ǝ., asking him to wage wars against "infidels" in Ethiopia as the Mahdists did in Sudan. Ḥ.Ǝ. went to Wäläne to discuss this message with *šayḫ* Abdälaziz and *šayḫ* Ziyin, which resulted in an agreement to wage a *ǧihād*. Imitating Prophet ↗Muḥammad's flight from Mecca to Medina in 622, the three leaders and their followers went on a *ziyāra* ('pilgrimage') to the hill of Garbaǧa, an act that marked the beginnings of such holy wars.

In 1878, Ḥ.Ǝ. led an uprising against Umar, who, accompanied by ca. 500 fellow Gurage, fled to Yäšähara in Aklil. The Hadiyya destroyed his houses at Moǧar and confiscated the possessions of his followers. A year later, Umar, supported by the Gurage from Aklil, Muḫər, Gumär, Čaha and Wäläne, attempted a backstroke but was defeated. Ḥ.Ǝ.'s victory ensured him an unchallenged position as head of the Qabeena state.

Subsequently, Ḥ.Ǝ. organized a revivalist movement aiming at the purification of Islam – which he considered to have been adulterated by Umar Bekesa – its protection from the imperial expansion of Christian Šäwa and the establishment of an Islamic state. Immediately after the foundation of the Mahdist movement in 1881, he started campaigns among the neighbouring Oromo and Gurage groups of Amaya, Wälliso and Nadare, as well as Wäläne and Soddo, who had recently been made tributaries by Mənilək. The latter, having failed to tame Ḥ.Ǝ. by diplomatic means (e.g., an offer of the provinces beyond the Awaš river), sent troops under *qäññazmač* Wəbe Argäno, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wälde Aššagari and *baša* Habtä Śəllase to fight the Muslim leader. However, Ḥ.Ǝ. emerged victorious and expanded his religious campaigns to *Säbat bet* Gurage areas. Starting at Mäqorqor, his troops moved to Aklil, where Umar Bekesa finally submitted to Ḥ.Ǝ., joined the movement and became the second leader of the campaigns. Soon, nearly all (sub-)groups of the *Säbat bet* embraced Islam without much resistance, whilst Ḥ.Ǝ.'s forces destroyed shrines of traditional deities and churches.

Only Saramo Gačeno, who worshipped ↗*Waq* (the sky-god) of Čaha, offered resistance to Islamic conversion and was killed in public by the *ǧihād* warriors at the village of Yabäze. The resistance of the Christian ↗Muḫər was better organized, both sides suffered considerable losses in the battles of Ečäne and Yaminan in Muḫər. In the end, the Muslims were victorious and destroyed Muḫər properties.

The huge Hadiyya–Gurage *ǧihād*, which by then had also ties with other resistance movements to Mənilək's expansion (e.g., Arsi Oromo), was attacked in 1886 and 1888 by the troops of *däǧǧazmač* Wälde Aššagari, resulting in a new Muslim victory at Wälliqo. Mənilək then sent his largest force under the command of *ras* ↗Gobanaa Dač̣i who in 1889, at the battle of Ǧäbiddu Meda (BrHad) near Wäliso, defeated the Muslim coalition forces. Ḥ.Ǝ. escaped to Ǧimma and on his way back, crossing the Gibe gorges, was infected by malaria. He died shortly after at Säba and was buried there at his family's graveyard.

Src.: WORKU NIDA, *The Revivalist Movement of Hassan Enjamo*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1984; ID., ጀቢዱ። የጉራጌ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ታሪክና፡ ባህል (*Ğäbidu. Yägurage ḥəzb tarikənna bahəl*, 'The History and Culture of the Gurage People'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1991 A.D.].
Lit.: BrHad 263ff.

Worku Nida

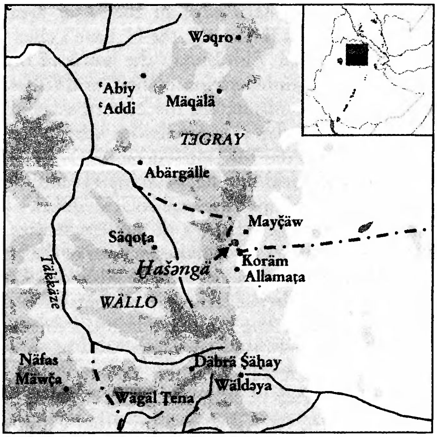
Ḥaṣe(ge) ↗Aṣe

Ḫašəngä

Ḫ. (ኃሽንገ, Amh. Ašange) is the largest freshwater lake in northern Ethiopia (15 km²). It lies in the south-eastern part of Təgray north of ↗Koräm in ↗Wäǧǧärat, among mountainous chains, close to the ancient trade routes linking Təgray with Lasta, Wag and Amhara. In 1867/68 the ↗Napier Expedition passed by Ḫ. and established a temporary camp there (at the southern border of ↗Ambalage under the local governor ↗Wäldä Iyäsus, Kaśa Ḫaylu's rival, who temporarily caused supply problems to Napier).

Modern geological research carried out at the Ḫ. sediments produced extensive data on climate change since Late Pleistocene / Holocene, the period of ca. 10,400 to 6,800 years ago having been stable, warm and wet, followed by a dry period (starting from ca. 2,900 years ago "with some signals of wet pulses", Zelalem Kubsa 2005).

Src.: CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 247f.; TREVENEN JAMES HOLLAND – HENRY MONTAGUE HOZIER, *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, London 1870; *Illustrated London News* 1867/68.



Lake Ḫašəngä, photo 2005, courtesy of the author

Lit.: ZELALEM KUBSA, *Lake Sediment Records of Environmental and Climatic Changes from Northern Ethiopia (Lake Ashange)*, Mekelle 2005, ms.

Wolbert Smidt

Ḫaṣīb Idlibī ↗Ydlibi

Hāšim

Walī H. (هاشم) was a Haräri saint whose tomb is venerated some kilometres north of Harär on a river-bank near Nazaro. In that place there was once a village named Walī Hāšim, now abandoned. In several documents, however, it is mentioned as the place where the last ↗Walašmaʿ *sulṭān* of Harär, Ḥabīb b. ʿUmardīn, was killed by the Ethiopian general ↗Ḥamälmal in 1559. This means that *walī* H. must have lived before that date.

In some sources, as well as in part of the secondary literature, *walī* H. is confused with the scholar *šayḫ* ↗Hāšim b. ʿAbdalʿazīz b. *amīr* Hāšim. For instance, a legend in Leslau (1965: 204ff.), dealing with the latter *šayḫ* Hāšim, seems in fact closer to the figure of *walī* H. Such a legend tells that in his youth he was asked by his mother to cut firewood in the mountains, just as his brothers did. He loaded the wood on an elephant, tying it up with snakes. When his mother and brothers saw this they became frightened. From then on they never asked him to work again so that he became free to read the *Qurʾān*.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, [328], 1931, 39–101, here 89 (Arab. text) = 91 (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 197 = 200]; WOLF LESLAU, *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background*, vol. 1: *Harari*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1965 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 7), 204ff.
Lit.: BTafA 850f.; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 515; EWALD WAGNER, "Harari Texts – A Literary Analysis", in: SIEGBERT UHLIG – BAIRU TAFLA (eds.), *Collectanea Aethiopica*, Stuttgart 1988 (AeF 26), 203–15, here 203, n. 2; GETATCHEW HAILE – EWALD

WAGNER (eds., tr.), "Die Geschichte Nūr b. Muǧāhid's von Harar oder The History of Aẓe Zärᵓa Yaᶜqob", *ZDMG* 139, 1989, 43–92, here 56.

Ewald Wagner

Hāšim b. ᶜAbdalᶜazīz

Šayḫ H. (هاشم بن عبد العزيز, full name: Abū ᶜAbdallāh Hāšim b. ᶜAbdalᶜazīz b. *amīr* Hāšim al-Muḥammadī aš-Šāfiᶜī al-Ašᶜarī al-Qādirī al-Hararī, b. ca. 1711, d. ca. 1765) was a grandson of the Haräri *amīr* ↗Hāšim b. ᶜAlī b. Dāᵓūd. In spite of his noble descent, H. preferred to lead a scholarly career. He became a *šayḫ* of the Qādirīya brotherhood (↗Islamic brotherhoods), publishing his spiritual ancestry (*silsila*) in a special pamphlet (Wagner 1997:10f., no. 8). As can be gleaned from his name, he was dogmatically an Ašᶜarite who followed the Šāfiᶜite school of law (↗Šarīᶜa).

Šayḫ H. was a prolific writer. The most prominent of his works are the *Muṣṭafā*, of which two versions in ↗Harari are known, and the Arabic *Fatḥ ar-raḥmānī*. They contain prayers and praises of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad (*taṣliya*), which are still often recited in ↗Harär. Both works have been printed. Several other works of his exist, in print or as manuscripts, or are at least known by the title. Their contents are very similar to those mentioned above.

Šayḫ H. died in 1765 or some years later (Drewes 1983:71). He was buried in the cemetery of *āw* ↗Aḥmad ᶜIzzīn near the gate called Assum Bari in Harär, where his tomb is still extant. Moreover, he has a *zikri bēt* inside the town, near the Erer Gate or Argob Bari.

Šayḫ H. is often confused with *walī* ↗Hāšim, who lived two centuries earlier.

Src.: HĀŠIM B. ᶜABDALᶜAZĪZ, *Kitāb Fatḥ ar-raḥmānī fī ḏikr aṣ-ṣalāt ᶜalā ašraf al-ḫalāᵓiq al-insānī Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā l-ᶜAdnānī* ('The Book of Divine Inspiration about the *Ḏikr* [liturgy] for Praying on the Noblest of the Human Beings, Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā l-ᶜAdnānī'), ed. YŪSUF ᶜABDARRAḤMĀN, Addīs Abābā 1386 H. [1966 A.D.], ^{2}1970 A.D., ^{3}1401 H. [1980/81 A.D.]; ID., *Kitāb Ḥizb al-abrār* ('The Book of the Liturgy of the Pious') [printed together with the *Fatḥ ar-raḥmānī*]; ID., *Muṣṭafā*, ed. by YŪSUF ᶜABDARRAḤMĀN, Addīs Abābā 1394 H. [1974 A.D.].

Lit.: ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "The Library of Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd al-Shakūr, Sulṭān of Harar, 1272–92/1856–75", in: ROBERT LEONARD BIDWELL – GERALD REX SMITH (eds.), *Arabian and Islamic Studies: Articles Presented to R.B. Serjeant*, London – New York 1983, 68–79, here 70f.; EWALD WAGNER, "Harari Texts – A Literary Analysis", in: SIEGBERT UHLIG – BAIRU TAFLA (eds.), *Collectanea Aethiopica*, Stuttgart 1988 (AeF 26), 203–15, here 203, n. 2; EWALD WAGNER, *Afrikanische Handschriften*, Teil 2: *Islamische Handschriften aus Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1997 (VOHD 24, 2), 10f., 17–32, 47f., nos. 8, 15–20, 51 [review by ALESSANDRO GORI, *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 250–57, here 251f.].

Ewald Wagner

Hāšim b. ᶜAlī b. Dāᵓūd

H. (هاشم بن علي بن داود; d. 10 February 1671, r. 1662–71) was the second *amīr* of the ↗ᶜAlī b. Dāᵓūd dynasty in ↗Harär. He was one of the ten sons of ᶜAlī b. Dāᵓūd and succeeded his father on his death on 23 November 1662. Little is known about his reign. In 1671, the ↗Arsi Oromo attacked Harär. At the battle that took place in Eğu, between Dərre Dawa and Kombolča, H. was killed. He was succeeded by his brother ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAlī b. Dāᵓūd. H. was also the grandfather of the scholar *šayḫ* ↗Hāšim b. ᶜAbdalᶜazīz b. *amīr* Hāšim.

Lit.: PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 512ff.; RENÉ BASSET, "Chronologie des rois de Harar", *JA* 11, 3, 1914, 245–58, here 250; ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli emiri di Harar dal secolo XVI alla conquista egiziana (1875)", *RSE* 2, 1942, 3–20, here 10f. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 365–82, here 373]; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "L'Emirato di Harar secondo un documento inedito", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 481–500, here 488f.; BTafA 852f. [s. also the review by EWALD WAGNER, *ZDMG* 139, 1989, 233–40, here 239].

Ewald Wagner

Ḥasōba

Ḥ. (ᶜAfar: Ḥasōbá or Ḥassōbá) is an ↗ᶜAfar subgroup and part of the ancient Wēᶜima coalition. Its territory lies within Djibouti and Ethiopia, on the south-western edge of the ᶜAfar area. West of ↗Obock (Djibouti), the Ḥ. have a chiefdom called Kōná ᶜElih Buḍá ('the house of the five wells'), a confederation of five local tribes. In Ethiopia, in Mullu, on the eastern edge of Ifat, the Ḥ. are also associated with other ᶜAfar groups, such as the Tákᶜil in Kurbíli.

The genealogical link between the Ḥ. and the ↗Sāho (↗Ḥazo) indicates an ancient influx of elements from the territory of modern Eritrea. Another tradition says that the ancestor of the Ḥ. was a Yemeni named Yaᶜqūb of the Ṣabbīya tribe, who was buried in Ras ᶜĀra between Sheikh Said and Aden. According to this tradition, the name Ḥ. is derived from the root *ḥ-s-b*, 'idea of good origin'. Four of Yaᶜqūb's descendants crossed the Red Sea. Two of them settled in the area of Obock; one of them died and the other became the ancestor of the Ḥ. of the Mabla mountain (Ḥasōbá Sek-Arbāhinto). The two others went to ↗Tağūra, where the *sulṭān* gave them lands on the Goda mountain. The group, which settled in Ambabbo on the coast, had the same Yemeni ancestor as the Ḥ. of Mabla, is, however, considered as coming from Ethiopia and of lesser prestige. The Ḥ. of Goda are collectively called Dīni-Ḥummaddo or Yaᶜqubto. Their ancestor, Dīni b. Ḥummad (Aḥmad), left for Ethiopia during a time of drought, ca. 1650. One of his descendants, Muḥammad "Tamboyta", came back to the Goda (1760). He is the great-grandfather of ↗Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm Šaḥīm.

Lit.: DIDIER MORIN, *Dictionnaire historique afar*, Paris 2004, 188ff.

Didier Morin

Hassəbe Bähabte

Näggadras H.B. (**ሀሰቤ፡ በሀብቴ**, also **አሰቤ**) was a member of an important family from Šäwa who became established in power in ↗Harär during the governorship of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mika'el. Like his father Bähabte and his two brothers Yəggəzu and Ṭänna Gaššaw, H.B. held high positions in Harär. First, in 1909 he was *balambaras* and Director of Customs and in 1910 was appointed *näggadras*. He held the latter position until 1912 when he fell from power after the death of *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw and the fall from grace of *ras* Abatä. He was later reinstated as *näggadras* of Harär and removed for a second time in 1918. Thereafter, his fortunes probably continued to rise and fall with the prestige and power of his more famous brothers.

Peter Garretson

Ḥaṣurä mäsqäl

Ḥ.m. (**ሐጹረ፡ መስቀል**, 'Rampart of the Cross') is the general title of a group of Gəᶜəz "canonical" magic texts (according to the classification by Strelcyn 1960) that glorify and praise the Cross (↗*Mäsqäl*). Next to this group, some similar texts such as the litanies published by Grébaut (1935, also entitled Ḥ.m.), the *Wəddase mäsqäl* 'Praise of the Cross' or the *Wəddase wägənay lämäsqäl* 'Praise and homage of the Cross', are equally known for that matter, yet with more pronounced liturgical character (Lifchitz 1940:87ff.).

The average Ḥ.m. texts have the form of hymns or long prayers (mostly ascribed to the Prophet Jeremy) with distinctive protective features, due to the power of the magical names and formulas they include, against all sort of evil and enemies. Usually, those texts are meant to limit or undo the destructive spell of Satan (↗Devil). In amulets and ↗magic scrolls (where the aforesaid litanies are also reproduced), the longer Ḥ.m. prayers (sometimes exceeding 10 folios in mss., s. Lifchitz 1940:92-147) appear in shorter versions, often detectable from the introductory words, **ጸሎት፡ በእንተ፡ ሐጹረ፡ መስቀል**... (*Ṣälot bä'əntä ḥaṣurä mäsqäl*..., 'Prayer for the rampart of the Cross...'), as well as by the subsequent mention of the ↗demons and ↗diseases against which the possessor of the amulet is to be specifically protected by the Ḥ.m.

In literary terms, the Ḥ.m. texts are composed of lines or verses, each containing the word "cross" followed by a list of the latter's attributes or beneficial actions. Parallels are known in Greek and Nubian, where a "Stauros-Text" survives that is a version of the sermon "In venerabilem crucem" wrongly attributed to ↗John Chrysostomos (CPG III, no. 4525; Browne 1984, 1998; for other versions, including Gəᶜəz, cf. Proverbio 1998:75). Although there is no special study in this respect, a few of the texts gathered now under the title Ḥ.m. could really go back (via Arabic?) to a Greek original – as in the case of the Nubian sermon "In venerabilem crucem". On the other hand, manuscript evidence of Ḥ.m. prayers dating back to the 15th cent. suggests that these texts may have enjoyed a particular favour and/or may have been composed in that period, as a reaction against the ↗Stephanites' rejection of the cult of the Cross (Conti Rossini 1941:213).

The apotropaic function of the sign of the Cross in Ethiopian popular beliefs, as well as the established cult of the Cross, played an important role in the development, diversification and spread of this kind of literature. Ḥ.m. texts are common in any collection of Ethiopian scrolls: e.g., among the 652 items of the Sandro Angelini Collection, Bergamo (one of the biggest collection of Ethiopian magic scrolls in the world), there are no less than 157 Ḥ.m. texts (cf. Raineri 1990:315).

↗Crosses; ↗Magic literature

Lit.: GERALD M. BROWNE, *Chrysostomus Nubianus: an old Nubian version of Ps.-Chrysostom* In venerabilem crucem sermo, Roma 1984 (Papyrologica Castroctaviana 10) (Lit.); ID., *Old Nubian Textual Criticism*, 1998 (Beiträge zur Sudanforschung, Beiheft 8); SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "Tri magicheskih syuzheta po materialam efiopskih rukopisnyh amuletov iz sobraniya MAE" ('Three Magical Subjects after the Ethiopian Hand-written Amulets in the Collection of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography'), *Africana. Afrikanskiy etnograficheskiy sbornik* 10, 1975, 208–18; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, [review of Lifchitz 1940], *RSE* 1, 1941, 212f.; *CPG* II (Lit.); SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Litanies de la Croix", *Aethiopica* [New York] 4, 1935, 187–90; ID., "Petit Ḥaṣoura Masqal", *Aethiops* 6, 1938, 12–13; DEBORAH LIFCHITZ, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*, Paris 1940 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 38), 87–211, 245ff. (Lit.); DELIO VANIA PROVERBIO, *La recensione etiopica dell'omelia pseudocrisostomica* de ficu exarata *ed il suo* tréfonds *orientale*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 50); OSVALDO RAINERI, *Catalogo dei rotoli protettori etiopici della collezione Sandro Angelini*, Roma 1990; JEAN SIMON, [review of Lifchitz 1940], *Orientalia* nuova ser. 11, 1942, 199–208; STEPHAN STRELCYN, "La magie éthiopienne", in: *PICES* 1, 147–65.

Bogdan Burtea – Red.

Ḥatäta Zärʾa Yaʿəqob

The Ḥ.Z.Y. (**ሐተታ፡ ዘርአ፡ ያዕቆብ**, '[Philosophical] Inquiry of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob') is a ↗Gəʿəz treatise on God and his nature purportedly written by a certain Zärʾa Yaʿəqob in 1667; a continuation of this text, with a more pedagogic and parenetic character, is known under the name of his pupil Wäldä Ḥəywät, who records the death of his master in 1692.

The author of the Ḥ. claims to have been born in Aksum in 1599 and to have pursued his studies in the traditional Ethiopian schools, studying the ↗Psalter and especially the ↗*qəne* technique and ↗exegesis. During the persecutions by *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, he would have managed to escape from Aksum, taking his Psalter with him and then sheltering for two years in a cave. There, in peace and solitude, far from conflicts among humans, he elaborated his philosophy – a form of rational knowledge of the existence of God and of his relationship to man.

Such an unusual "theological" approach and the relevant discussion of religious matters, departing from all known works of ↗Gəʿəz literature, prompted modern scholars to conclude that the author of the treatise was not an Ethiopian, but a Catholic missionary who had to hide his opinions: according to Conti Rossini (1920), followed by Guidi (1932:77 and n. 1), it was Father Giusto da ↗Urbino in the first half of the 19th cent. What can be objected, suggesting a late 18th-cent. date for the composition of both works, is that the author's education does not go beyond the elementary grade of a *qəne* school: in fact, the language of the Ḥ. is rather poor for such a connoisseur of Gəʿəz as Giusto da Urbino, nor does the text show any acquaintance with ideas traditional Gəʿəz literature.

In spite of the scepticism of modern scholars, an attempt at re-establishing the authorship of the Ḥ.Ẓ.Y. and its continuation as original works of Ethiopian philosophy, in no way elaborated from foreign sources, has been made by Sumner (1985:224–29, with detailed summary of his argumentations).

Src.: AbbCat nos. 215, 234; CRAbb nos. 143, 144; ENNO LITTMANN (ed., tr.), *Philosophi Abessini, sive Vita et philosophia magistri Zarʾa-Yāʿqōb eiusque discipuli Walda-Ḥeywat philosophia*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1904 (CSCO 18, 19 [SAe 31]); BORIS TURAEV (ed., tr.), **ሐተታ፡ ዘርዐ፡ ያዕቆብ።** *Izsledovanie Zara-Yakoba* ('*Ḥatäta Zärʾa Yaʿəqob*, 'Inquiry of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob'), St. Petersburg 1904.

Lit.: ANTON BAUMSTARK, *Die christlichen Literaturen des Orients*, Leipzig 1911 (Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur 5), vol. 2, 57ff.; CARL BEZOLD, "Syrisch und Äthiopisch", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 8, 1905, 286–304, here 301f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Fonti storiche etiopiche per il secolo XIX, I. Vicende dell'Etiopia e delle missioni cattoliche ai tempi di ras Ali, deggiac Ubié e re Teodoro secondo un documento abissino", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916, 425–550; ID., "Lo Ḥatatā Zarʿa Yāʿqob e il padre Giusto da Urbino", *ibid.*, 29, 1920, 213–23; IGNATIY KRACHKOVSKIY, "Zara-Yakob ili Džusto da Urbino" ('Zärʾa Yaʿəqob or Giusto da Urbino?'), *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 1924, 195–206; LINO MARCHIOTTO, *Gli Hatata Zarʾa Yaʾqob, Walda Heywat e la loro filosofia*, tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi di Napoli 1964–65; EUGEN MITTWOCH, *Die amharische Version der Soirées de Carthage*, Berlin–Leipzig 1934, 1–10 ["Die angeblichen abessinischen Philosophen des 17. Jh."]; THEODOR NÖLDEKE, "Zwei abessinische Deisten", *Deutsche Rundschau* 123, 1905, 457–59; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Le ultime fortune di Giusto da Urbino", in: *A Francesco Gabrieli. Studi orientalistici offerti nel sessantesimo compleanno dai suoi colleghi e discepoli*, Roma 1964 (Studi Orientali pubblicati a cura della scuola orientale 5), 225-41; CLAUDE SUMNER, *Ethiopian Philosophy*, vol. 2: *The Treatise of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob and of Wäldä Həywåt: Text and Authorship*, Addis Ababa 1976; ID., *The Classical Ethiopian Philosophy*, Addis Ababa 1985, Los Angeles ^{2}1994; BORIS TURAEV, "Abissinskie svobodnye mysliteli XVII veka ('Abyssinian Free Thinkers of the 17th cent.)", *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya* 350, 1903, 443–76; ID., "Issledovanie Zara Yakoba, ispoved' abissinskogo svobodnogo myslitelja XVII veka ('Inquiry of Zara Yakob, a Confession of a Free Abyssinian Thinker of the 17th cent.)", *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdelenija imperatorskogo Russkogo obščestva* 16, 2–3, 1905, 1–62.

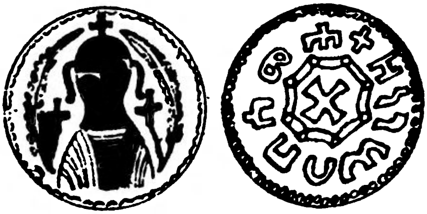
Claude Sumner

Ḥatäz

Ḥ. (**ሐተዘ**) is the conventional form of the name of a Christian king of ↗Aksum toward the end of the 6th/beginning of the 7th cent., for which a vocalization *Ḥetaza is however suggested by its Greek rendering: ΗΘΑΖΑ, i.e. Ἡθαζα, *Hēthaza* (cp. Godet 1986:198). The name Ḥ. has been unduly connected with Gr. Ἀθαθ, *Athath* of 1 Chr 4:13 (actually *Atat* in the Gəᶜəz Bible), and therefore considered to be a biblical one (Altheim 1967:508; Hahn 1983:141f. and 2001:126f., fig. 6; Lusini in StAeth 68 and n. 5; but s. Godet 1986:198). Possibly a successor of ↗Gersem, Ḥ. may well be the "king" mentioned in the Arabic *Annals* of aṭ-↗Ṭabarī as the father of *nəguś* ↗Ǝlla Ṣaḥam, who ascended the throne before 622 A.D. The latter's patronymic *ʾbn ʾbğr*, as it is in the text edited by de Goeje (1881-82:1569f.), has been amended to *ʾbn ʾl(ʾ)ğbz* by Hartmann (1895:299f.), with reference to *nəguś* ↗Ǝlla Gäbäz. Yet, the clearly corrupted *ʾbn ʾbğr* can better be interpreted as *ʾbn ʾlḥtz* (a reading distinguished from Hartmann's by diacritical dots alone), i.e. *ibn *Al(l)a* [= Gəᶜəz *Ǝlla*] *Ḥataz*(*a*) or just *ibn *al-Ḥataz*(*a*), with added Arabic article [< *ibn *Ḥataz*(*a*)]. This would establish a more precise chronology for Ḥ.'s tenure, as well as for his ↗coinage (of which very few perfect specimens survive), sometime divided between two different rulers, "Ḥ. I" and "Ḥ. II" (Anzani 1926:41f., 90f., 93f.; cp. Pankhurst in DicEthBio 83f., and SerHist 202), but listed under one single reign in recent studies (s. Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995:245–53).

In his most scarce gold coins, one of which discovered at ↗Adulis, Ḥ. appears on both sides, half-length bust rightwards, wearing low tiara or head cloth respectively; the tiara ends in four points topped by discs, a tail-like ribbon falling behind; his figure is flanked by small wheat stalks and further contained in an inner beaded circle with Greek legends. The obv. is inscribed: BACIΛỊ AΞωMI, i.e. Βασιλẹ[ὺς] Ἀξωμι[τ(ῶν)], *Basilẹ*[*us*] *Axōmi*[*t*(*ôn*)], 'King of the Aksumites' (cp. ↗Ǝsraʾel). Thanks to the clearer lettering of new numismatic evidence, the script on the rev., usually read as + IA + Θ + ΛΙ + A, i.e. Ἰαθλια, *Iathlia*, but also Ἰαθαζ(α), *Iathaz*(*a*) (or Ἠθασας, *Ēthasas*), and attributed either to a separate king "Iathlia" (Conti Rossini 1927:208f., no. 34; Pankhurst in DicEthBio 88; Pedroni 1997:74f.) or to "Iathaza (?) = Hataz?" (Type 136 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995:245), can be definitely restored to + H + Θ + AZ + A, i.e. Ἠθαζα, *Hēthaza* (hence Gəᶜəz *Ḥetaza, cp. Gr. HZANA, i.e. Ἠζανα, *Ēzana*, for ↗ᶜEzana, on Aksumite coins).

Equally rare silver examples display, on the obv., the king in a broad plain (or beaded) border, half-length bust full face, wearing either a tiara of four arches (with dots inside) and five spikes topped with discs, and pellets above each arch, or a crown composed of four splayed out ovals surmounted with discs on a base of three arches under further ovals also with discs. There is a Gəᶜəz legend: *ngś ḥtz*, 'King Ḥ.'. The rev. bears a Greek cross, sometimes with tripartite ends to the arms, in a diamond-shaped frame terminated by four crosses dividing the legend *śhl lʾḥzb*, 'mercy to the people', into as many groups of two letters (Type 137 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995:246). The same iconography and inscriptions, with a remarkably elegant design, apply to part of Ḥ.'s copper issues (Types 141-42, ibid., 251ff.). On the obv. of an elaborated copper var., the king is represented head and shoulders bust full face, with a hemispherical crown or helmet, flanked by wheat stalks; on the rev., a Greek, often flared-arms cross stands out in a peculiar octagon composed of usually concave lines and surrounded by the legend *ḥtz ngś ʾksm*, 'Ḥ., king of Aksum' (Type 140, ibid., 248ff.; AfrZion 115, no. 47). Other silver and copper coins have the king head and shoulders profile bust rightward on both sides, wearing a tiara or a head cloth, and labelled *ḥtz* and *ngś*, respectively (Types 138-39 and 142 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995:247f., 253).



A copper coin of King Ḥataz; diametre ca. 16–18 mm; drawing courtesy of Stuart Munro-Hay

Src.: DAE I, 54, 58; ARTURO ANZANI, "Numismatica axumita", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* ser. 3ª, 3 [39], 1926, 5–110, here 39f. ["Iathlia"], 41 ["Hataz (o Hataza I)"], 41f. ["Hataz (o Hataza II)"], 86f. [no. 250], 90f. [nos. 273–76], 93f. [nos. 282-300], pls. I–M; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Monete aksumite", *Africa Italiana* 1 1927, 179–212, here 208f. [§34 "Yathlia"], 211f. [§37 "Ḥataz"]; CRStor 217; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches (Mit Katalog, metallurg. u. theolog. Anhang)", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80, here 174, no. 48 ["Iathlia"], 177, nos. 62–66 ["Hataza"]; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, "Hataz AE I", in: *AfrZion* 115, no. 47; ID., *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999, 44, nos. 518–53, pls. 48–52; ID. – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 245–53; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica* ser. 1ª, 15, I–II [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 138f. [nos. 398–408, pls. 31–32], cp. 74f.; ABŪ ǦAᶜFAR MUḤAMMAD B.

Ğarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Annales* (*Taʾrīḫ ar-rusul waʾl-mulūk*), ed. by Michael Jan de Goeje et al., ser. I, vol. 3, Lugduni Batavorum 1881-82, 1569f.; Michael Fishbein (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, VIII. *The Victory of Islam*, Los Angeles, CA 1997, 108f.

Lit.: Arturo Anzani, "Numismatica e storia d'Etiopia", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* ser. 3^{a}, 5–6 [41–42], 1928–29, 5–69, here 40–43; Id., "Le monete dei re di Aksum. Studi supplementari", *ibid.* ser. 4^{a}, 1 [43], 1941, 49–73, here 60f.; Franz Altheim, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, vol. 4, Berlin 1967, 508; Richard Pankhurst, "Hatäz, or Hatäza, I" and "II", in: *DicEthBio* 83f. (Lit.); Id., "Iathlia", *ibid.*, 88 (Lit.); SerHist 202; Eric Godet, "Bilan de recherches récentes en numismatique axoumite", *Revue numismatique* 6^{e} sér. 28, 1986, 174–209, here 197f., 209, pl. VIII (T); Id., "ḤTZ (= Ḥataz; Ethaza)", in: *D'Axoum à Gondar. Monnaies et manuscrits éthiopiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (*1–1 P^{er} juillet–29 octobre 1988*), Paris 1988, 3, no. 27; MHAksum 89f., 93, 157, 187, 194; Wolfgang Hahn, "Noe, Israel und andere Könige mit biblischen Namen auf axumitischen Münzen. Der Gottesbund als Legitimation der christlichen Königsherrschaft im alten Äthiopien", *Money Trend* 33, 12, 2001, 124–28, here 126f., fig. 6; Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Note linguistiche per la storia dell'Etiopia antica", in: *StudAeth* 67–77, here 67f. and n. 5; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "ʾElla Gabaz/(ʾElla) Ḥēṭāzā", *La Parola del Passato* 60, 2005, in preparation.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Ḥatmīya ↗Islamic brotherhoods

Haud/Haud Reserved Area ↗Ogaden

Hausa

H. is the name used for the Afro-Asiatic language from the Chadic family and its speakers. In the Horn of Africa, H. is spoken by a number of small Muslim groups in western parts of Eritrea and Ethiopia and in large areas in the Sudan. The H. language varieties spoken in these regions remain undocumented (the only exception is the H. wordlist compiled by Ellero in Eritrea in the 1930s; EllLusAnt 99–102).

The most important reason for H. speakers settling in the Ethiopian and Sudanese regions is the *ḥağğ* (↗Pilgrimages). H.-speaking pilgrims might have come via these border regions for centuries. The pilgrimage often took years, as the pilgrims had to earn their living on the way and sometimes stayed. For example, the plantations in ↗Ḥumära attracted H.-speaking workers from the Sudan since colonial times. The same is reported on the ↗Gaš plantations nearby, in the Eritrean–Sudanese border area, where in the 1960s about one quarter of the land was used by West-Africans. Some of these also settled as farmers, manual workers and medicine men in nearby Kunama areas in Eritrea (settling, e.g., at Šambuko, s. Nikodemos Idris 1987:27; and at Dukambiya, s. EllLusAnt 103). Most of the Sudano-Eritrean H. groups are descendants of early-19th-cent. ↗Mecca pilgrims.

The H. speakers of the northern Eritrean highlands and their Sudanese hinterland are generally known as the ↗Tukrir (EllLusAnt 97, 103f.). This Muslim group of farmers and merchants can be found in settlements between Kärän and the Sudanese border town Kassala, and in cities like Täsänäy, Aqordät, Guluğ, ʿOm Hağer etc. (EllLusAnt 103). H. is particularly often spoken by transborder merchants. A prominent minority of Tukrir merchants in Kassala who are known for the production and resale of handicrafts speak H. Most H. speakers form large communities in several villages near Kassala, e.g. in Wagar in the Sudanese Gaš plain (s. Morin 1993/94). Most would use Arabic or/and Təgre as a second language. Like other H.-speaking groups, they show a remarkable degree of adaptation to their cultural environment, taking over the clothing, cuisine and other aspects of material culture of the hosting ↗Beğa society, but their main activity remaining trade.

Another H.-speaking Tukrir community was, at least up to the mid-20th-cent., that of the petty merchants and workers in the Sudanese quarter of ↗Massawa (EllLusAnt 103; Morley 1991: 11). Massawa served as a station on their way to Mecca, but World War II prevented them from reaching their aim. Today they are not identifiable as a group any longer; some H. seem to have merged with local Təgre and ʿAfar seafarers.

Locally H. speakers are often referred to as "Nigerians" (cp. interviews in the 1930s,

Hausa speakers in Beni Šangul, 2002; photo courtesy of Günther Schlee (664–019)

EllLusAnt 97). According to a 2002 estimate, ca. 5,000 "Nigerians" are living in Eritrea and are beginning to get a certain degree of recognition from the government.

Additionally, several small settlements of H. speakers have been recorded recently in the area of the ↗Berta. They are results of recent immigration from Qadarif in the Sudan; they settled south of Qadarif after a pilgrimage to Mecca in the 1930s to 40s, living from rain-fed agriculture. These farmers speak H. and Arabic and some of them Oromiffa. They declare to have followed a written prophecy which says that "you will find a good life in Ethiopia" (Schlee 2002). Their neighbours tend to identify them with the, however ethnically different, ↗Fellata.

Another H.-speaking group of unknown size lives in ↗Käfa. In daily life Käfiččo is spoken, but the H. language is still used in mosques. Their migration history is unknown. Their presence could be explained by an expedition from the Belgian Congo to Käfa in 1898–99, led by the journalist Nebel (↗Expeditions). Their ca. 200 troops consisted of Senegalese and H. soldiers, many of whom took wives on the way and stayed in Käfa (Recking 1936).

Src.: Communication on H. groups in Käfa by Bərhanu Gäbäyyähu, Addis Abäba, 2001; field notes of Didier Morin, 1993/94; field notes of Günther Schlee, 2002.

Lit.: EllLusAnt 95–105; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Migration und ethnischer Wandel*, Stuttgart 1992 (SKK 103), 90–96; JOHN MORLEY, "Eritrea Fifty Years Ago: an Eye Witness Account", *RICE Occasional Papers* 1, February 1991, 11f.; RUPPERT RECKING [= HEINRICH NEBEL], *Ein Journalist erzählt*, vol. 2: *Ein Kaiserreich auf Aktien*, Berlin 1936, 112, 434, 438; NIKODEMOS IDRIS, *The Kunama and their Language*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1987, 27; DIDIER MORIN, *Le texte legitime, pratiques litteraires orales traditionelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Paris 1999, 13; KURT KRIEGER, "Die Takruri im Ostsudan", *Baessler-Archiv N.F.* 1, 26, 1952, 87–113; A. JOHANNISIANY (ed.), *Zwei Jahre in Abyssinien oder Schilderung der Sitten und des staatlichen und religiösen Lebens der Abyssinier von Sr. Hochw. Pater Timotheus* ..., 2. Teil, Leipzig, n.d., 26; BassHist 426.

Wolbert Smidt

Ḥawarya Krəstos

Ḥ.K. (ሐዋርያ፡ ክርስቶስ, also Ḥawarya Kəsos, d. 4 May 1700) was a member of the Gondärine court and royal chronicler. Ḥ.K. belonged to the higher clergy (*liqawənt*) in the court of the Gondärine rulers and to the *curia regis*. As such, he held the title of ↗*azzaž*. Towards the end of the reign of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs (r. 1667–82), Ḥ.K. was also granted the title of ↗*ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* and was probably the author of the Emperor's Chronicle (GuiIohan). He viewed this literary work as a service to the sovereign and always remained in the narrative loyal to the Emperor's interests. Thus, in describing the Church councils summoned by Yoḥannəs to solve the religious differences between the two theological parties of ↗*Qəbat* and ↗*Täwaḥədo*, Ḥ.K. took the side of the latter, whom the Emperor favoured.

In July 1682 Ḥ.K. and another *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz*, Wäldä Haymanot, were in charge of sending messages to every province announcing the death of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs and the enthronement of his son *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I. Ḥ.K. completed the Chronicle of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs and began that of *aṣe* Iyasu I, which he continued to write until his death. Well versed in the art of church poetry, on 16 January 1694, during the ceremony of Epiphany, he had the honour to improvise ↗*mäwäddəs* for *aṣe* Iyasu I.

Ḥ.K. was killed in a battle between the royal army and the warriors of the Oromo ↗Gudru. The royal Chronicle was continued by his successor *azzaž* Zäwäld, who in the Chronicle wrote regarding his death: "When Ḥawarya Krəstos was killed, the royal signet-ring was on his finger; then the *ṣäḥafe* who followed him, his direct subordinate, went to the place where he had been killed and brought the royal signet-ring back. And among the clergy [...] Zäwäldä Maryam was speared in the breast, but escaped death by God's mercy" (GuiIohan 228). The "short chronicle" gives also the name of the scribe (*abba* Kəfle) and mentions that "*abba* Zäwäld was wounded in the breast, and the Emperor appointed *abba* Zäwäld in the office of *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* of Ḥ.K., and since then he was called *azzaž* Zäwäld" (BassÉt I, 366).

Src.: GuiIohan 63, 228 [tr.]; DombrChr 212, 231; BassÉt I, 366; BegCron 68, 76.

Sevir Chernetsov

Ḥawaryat: Gädlä ḥawaryat

The G.ḥ. (ገድለ፡ ሐዋርያት, '[Spiritual] Contendings of the Apostles') is the main Ethiopian collection of apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles* – in fact, a "slavish" translation from Arabic, dating not later than the 14th cent. There is no evidence for the translation of apostolic apocryphal texts in the Aksumite period, apart from the *Acts of Mark* (Getatchew Haile 1981; Lusini 2002) and, probably, some lists of Apostles and Disciples: e.g., in the mss. BN Éth. 181 (ChAbb 153f.), fols. 125vb–

127ra, and EMML 3515, fols. 93r–94r. The *terminus ante quem* for the G.ḥ. cannot be sought after in ms. EMML 1767, unlikely to date to 1292/97 (cf. UhPal 68, n. 31), but is still provided by ms. BN Éth. 52 (ZotBNat 53ff.), dating to 1379.

In its most extensive recension, the G.ḥ. comprises the texts indicated in CANT as nos. 190.iv, 197 *longior*, 204–05, 218, 223–24, 235, 238, 240, 245.ii, 252, 260–61, 276 and 282, plus BHO, nos. 891–97. The G.ḥ. is the final stage of a work composed within the Coptic Patriarchate of Alexandria by arranging a comprehensive collection of Arabic translations (13th cent.) of Greek or Coptic originals, generally freed from Gnostic and heterodox elements. The existence of an early collection of Coptic texts, denied by Guidi (1888), is now currently acknowledged (s. Lucchesi 1984).

Besides Guidi's, the main contributions to the study of the G.ḥ. were made by Malan (1871), whose translation from the ms. Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Eth. 6 (cf. Strelcyn 1974:9ff.), served as a basis for Lipsius's study (1883:222ff.), Budge (1899, 1901, 1935), who edited and translated the widest recension of the G.ḥ., from the mss. BritLib Orient. 678 and 683 (cf. WrBriMus nos. 101, 102); and by James (1902), with important remarks on Budge's edition.

There are no less than 68 mss. of the G.ḥ., and on account of the distribution of the texts, a first attempt at a classification has been made (s. Bausi 2000–01, with a full list of mss. and further details). The oldest recension (perhaps 13th cent.) is found in mss. EMML 1767; BN Éth. 52; Ṭānāsee 173 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 62 (cf. SixTana III, 226ff.); BN d'Abbadie 58 (CRAbb no. 45). It includes the following 28 texts, as well as an "Introduction": *Preaching* and *Martyrdom of Peter*; *Martyrdom of Paul*; *Preaching* and *Martyrdom of Bartholomew*; *Acts* and *Martyrdom of Matthew*; *Martyrdom of Luke*; *Preaching* and *Martyrdom of Philip*; *Preaching of Andrew*; *Acts of Andrew* and *Bartholomew*; *Martyrdom of Andrew*; *Acts* and *Death of John*; *Martyrdom of James, son of Alphaeus*; *Acts* and *Martyrdom of Matthias*; *Acts* and *Martyrdom of James, son of Zebedee*; *Martyrdom of Mark*; *Preaching* and *Martyrdom of Thomas*; *Preaching of Judas Thaddeus*; *Preaching* and *Martyrdom of Simon Judas*; *Preaching* and *Martyrdom of James, brother of our Lord*. In the course of time, other texts were added to the original nucleus of the G.ḥ.: short – as in mss. Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. III 4 (Bausi 1989:24ff.); EMML 1825; Ṭānāsee 43 = Kebrān 43 (HamTana I, 184f.); BritLib Orient. 684 and 685 (WrBriMus nos. 108, 109); BN d'Abbadie 64 (CRAbb no. 46) – and then longer ones: in particular, a second recension of the *Acts of Matthias and Andrew* and five new episodes of the *Acts of Thomas* (also found isolated in mss. EMML 1963 and BN d'Abbadie 91 [CRAbb no. 57]); cf. mss. EMML 1482, 2406, 4442, 5409, 6839, 7604; BritLib, Or. 678; Ṭānāsee 25 = Kebrān 25 (HamTana I, 138f.); VatLib et. 234 (GreTisVat 739ff.) and 296 (van Lantschoot 1962:494f.); Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Eth. 6. The *Acts of Peter* and *Acts of Paul* were integrated later into the collection (around the 17th cent.): mss. BritLib Orient. 683, 681, 679 (WrBriMus nos. 102, 103, 107) and EMML 676 and 813. The same texts appear in three mss. in which the *Martyrdom of Philip* is wrongly attributed to Andrew: BritLib Orient. 680, 682 and 677 (WrBriMus nos. 104–06).

It is possible that the insertion of new texts was also accompanied by the revision of others, as it seems to be the case for the *Martyrdom of Peter*: in all mss. of the oldest recension, the final "Speech of Peter on the cross" is missing, while it is found in some mss. from the 15th cent. onward (s. Bausi 2000–01); however, as G.ḥ. is quoted in the Vita of ↗Absadi of Däbrä Maryam, its circulation in an isolated form already in the 14th cent. is possible (cf. LusStud 73). It seems very unlikely that in the case of the mss. of the G.ḥ. the rule *recentiores non deteriores* applies, since the oldest Ethiopic recension, composed of 28 texts, is exactly the same as the oldest Egyptian Arabic one indicated by Graf (GrafLit vol. 1, 259f.). However, a recent hypothesis on the existence of a different old Arabic collection of 35 apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles* has been put forward by van Esbroeck (1999), to whom we owe the only studies on the Arabic tradition after Graf's 1944 work.

The large number of mss. of the G.ḥ. is due to the enduring fortunes of the work, which has become the main source of inspiration for the cult of the Apostles. The short apostolic entries in the second recension of the ↗*Sənkəssar* are taken from the G.ḥ. (cf. Colin 1988:310f.), and the romanesque adventures of the Apostles are a frequent subject in church wall-paintings. A modern Təgrəñña compendious translation of the G.ḥ. by Yaʿəqob Ṣägga Zäʾab (1991) is also available.

↗Gəʿəz literature;
↗Pseudoepigrapha and apocrypha

Src.: ChAbb 154; CRAbb 69ff., 102ff.; EMML; GreTisVat 739ff.; HamTana I, 138f., 184f.; Arnold van Lantschoot, "Inventaire sommaire des mss Vaticans éthiopiens 251–99", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, vol. 1, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e testi 219), 453–512; SixTana III, 226ff.; Stefan Strelcyn, *Catalogue of Ethiopic Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library*, Manchester 1974, 9ff.; WrBriMus 59–71; ZotBNat 53ff.; Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ገድለ፡ ሐዋርያት** (*Maṣḥafa Gadla Ḥawâryât*, 'The Contendings of the Apostles'), London 1899 [repr. Amsterdam 1976: vol. 1, Eth. text]; Id. (tr.), *The Contendings of the Apostles* (*Maṣḥafa Gadla Ḥawâryât*), London 1901; Id. (ed., tr.), *The Contendings of the Apostles: Translated from the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London – Oxford ^{2}1935 [repr. Amsterdam 1976: vol. 2, Engl. tr.]; Yaᶜǝqob Ṣägga Zäᵓab, **መጽሐፈ፡ ጼው። ገድለ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ብትግርኛ** (*Mäṣḥafä ṡew. Gädlä ḥawaryat bätəgrəñña*, 'Book of the Salt: the Contendings of the Apostles in Təgrəñña'), Asmara 1991.

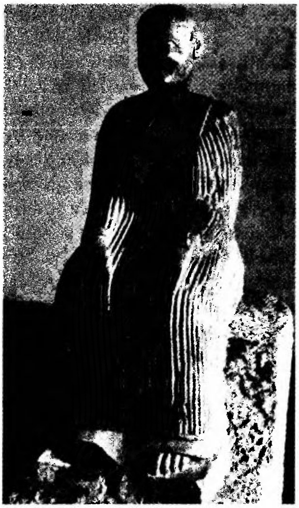
Lit.: Alessandro Bausi, "I manoscritti etiopici di J.M. Wansleben nella Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze", *RSE* 33, 1989 [1991], 5–33; Id., "Alcune osservazioni sul *Gadla ḥawāryāt*", *Annali IUO* 60–61, 2000–01 [2002], 77–114 (Lit.); BHO nos. 891-97; CANT 190.iv, 197, 204f., 218, 223ff., 238, 240, 245.ii, 252, 260f., 276-82; Gérard Colin, "Le Synaxaire éthiopien. État actuel de la question", *ABoll* 106, 1988, 273–317, here 310f.; Michel van Esbroeck, "Une collection de 35 apocryphes apostoliques", in: Samir Khalil Samir (ed.), *Actes du 5^{e} Congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes* (*Lund, août 1996*), vol. 1, Kaslik 1999 [= *Parole de l'Orient* 24], 179–99 (Lit.); Getatchew Haile, "A New Ethiopic Version of the Acts of St. Mark (EMML 1763, ff. 224^{r}–227^{r})", *ABoll* 106, 1981, 117–34; GrafLit vol. 1, 259f. (Lit.); Ignazio Guidi, "Gli Atti apocrifi degli Apostoli nei testi copti, arabi ed etiopici", *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 2, 1888, 1–66; Montague Rhodes James, "The Ethiopic Romances Concerning the Apostles", *Journal of Theological Studies* 3, 1902, 286–91; Richard Adelbert Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden: ein Beitrag zur altchristlichen Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 1, Braunschweig 1883; Enzo Lucchesi, "Contribution codicologique au corpus copte des Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha", in: Paul-Hubert Poirier, *La version copte de la Prédication et du Martyre de Thomas*, Bruxelles 1984 (Subsidia hagiographica 67), 5–24; Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Les *Actes de Marc* en éthiopien: remarques philologiques et histoire de la tradition", *Apocrypha* 13, 2002, 123–34; LusStud 73; Solomon Caesar Malan, *The Conflicts of the Holy Apostles*, London 1871; UhPal 68, n. 31.

Alessandro Bausi

Ḥawəlti

Ḥ. (**ሐውልቲ**, lit. Tgn. 'monument'; cp. Gəᶜəz *ḥawəlt* 'monument') is an archaeological site located in a broad fertile plain approximately 10 km south-east of ↗Aksum in Təgray, Ethiopia.

Archaeological excavations at Ḥ. carried out by the Ethiopian Institute of Archaeology in 1958–59 revealed a probable elite ceremonial centre with two quadrangular-shaped stone buildings and square monolithic pillars likely dating to the ↗Pre-Aksumite culture period. The quadrangular-shaped buildings seem to represent small Pre-Aksumite temples or shrines. These two buildings are oriented on an east-west axis and each has a flight of stone steps leading to a terrace surrounded by a bench-like structure.


Statue of a female figure, Ḥawəlti; from Buxton 1970: 205

Excavations at Ḥ. revealed pottery vessels similar to examples found in Pre-Aksumite assemblages at ↗Yəḥa and ↗Mäṭära and a number of ceramic figurines including depictions of seated female human figures, cattle and wild animal figures, and miniature models of yokes and round and rectangular-shaped houses. These ceramic figurines and models may represent ex-voto offerings left in the temples sometime during the Pre-Aksumite period. Also found at Ḥ. were a ceramic sphinx figure, several white limestone statues (only one of which was intact) and an elaborately carved covered limestone throne or naos. Two of the statues depict seated female figures generally similar in form to the statue found at the archaeological site of ↗ᶜAddi Gälämo (s. Caquot – Drewes 1955).

The most complete statue at Ḥ. is 82 cm in height and depicts a woman seated with her hands on her knees and wearing a long robe-like garment with narrow vertical pleats, a necklace with a large pectoral counterweighted at the back, and four-ringed bracelets on each wrist. The covered "throne" is about 140 cm in height with feet carved in the form of cattle hooves and friezes of ibexes carved onto the front and sides. The covered throne also has low reliefs carved on its sides depicting a tall bearded male figure wearing a cloak-like garment and carrying a fan-like object. The bearded man is preceded by a small beardless figure (female?) holding a staff and wearing an ankle-length robe-like garment with a mantle covering the shoulders. In addition to ceramic artefacts and the limestone statues and throne, two blue faience figurines and a number of bronze artefacts were found during excavations at Ḥ. Bronze artifacts found at Ḥ. include open-faced thin metalwork badges or plaques containing geometrical designs and a variety of bronze tools, including sickles, daggers and axe blades.

Various stone inscriptions (RIÉ nos. 14–17) and bronze monograms in South-Arabian writing known as "identity marks" (RIÉ nos. 293–94), along with the archaeological complex of the site, suggest that H. was an important elite centre during the Pre-Aksumite culture period of ancient Ethiopia. Inscription RIÉ no. 15 from H. contains the name of king WʿRN ḤYWT (also known from RIÉ nos. 1 and 11), RIÉ nos. 16-17, the name of a woman associated with the king, *ʿrky*(*t*)*n* (RIÉ no. 1).

↗Arabia

Src.: ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES – ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie – I", *AE* 7, 1967, 89-106, here 93ff.; ID., "Documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie – II", *ibid.* 8, 1970, 57–72, here 57f.; RIÉ nos. 1, 11, 14–17, 293, 294.

Lit.: ANDRÉ CAQUOT – ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, "Les monuments recueillis à Maqallé (Tigré)", *AE* 1, 1955, 17–41; HENRI DE CONTENSON, "Les fouilles à Haoulti-Melazo en 1958", *ibid.* 4, 1961, 39–60; ID., "Les monuments d'art Sud-Arabe découverts sur le site de Haoulti (Éthiopie) en 1959", *Syria* 39, 1962, 64–87; ID., "Les fouilles de Haoulti en 1959 – Rapport préliminaire", *AE* 5, 1963, 41–86; ID., "Pre-Aksumite culture", in: UNESCO, *General History of Africa*, vol. 2, London – Berkeley 1981, 341–61; JEAN LECLANT, "Haoulti-Melazo (1955–1956)", *AE* 3, 1959, 43–82; JACQUELINE PIRENNE, "Haoulti et ses monuments – Nouvelle interprétation", *ibid.* 7, 1967, 125–40; ID., "Haoulti , Gobochéla (Mélazo) et le site antique", *ibid.* 8, 1970, 117–27.

Matthew C. Curtis

Ḥawi: Mäṣḥafä ḥawi

M.ḥ. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ሐዊ**, lit. 'The Book of *Ḥawi*') is a ↗Gəʿəz translation, from Arabic, of a large "encyclopaedia" of Christian doctrine and moral and ascetic theology that is divided into 63 chs. The title comes from Arabic كتاب الحاوى (*Kitāb al-ḥāwī*, lit. 'Book of the Collector'). The work's importance is indicated by a miraculous story concerning the M.ḥ.'s origin and divine protection in the *Miracles of Mary* (↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*; mss. EMML 1606, fol. 50a, miracle no. 112; Paris, BN d'Abbadie 222 [= CRAbb no. 53, fol. 110r–112r, miracle no. 68]).

The Greek original (Πανδέκται τῶν ἑρμηνείων τῶν θείων ἐντολῶν τοῦ Κυρίου, 'Pandects of the Explanations of the Divine Commandments of the Lord') was allegedly compiled in the 11th cent. by Nikon, monk from the monastery of the *Theotókos toû Rhoïdíou* ('Mother of God of the Pomegranate'; sometimes called *toû Rhaïthou*, through mistake, in the manuscripts), near Antioch (GrafLit vol. 2, 64ff., 327). In the introduction to his work Nikon declares that he imitated a previous collection made by Antiochus, a monk from Mar Saba, near Jerusalem, who lived in the 7th cent. (GrafLit vol. 1, 412).

According to the preface of the Ethiopic version, the work was translated from Greek into Arabic by "Gäbrəʾel *wäldä Bäträk*" (?), a monk from the monastery of St. Anthony, in the year 1266, but this dating is cerainly too late and refers only to the copy used by the Ethiopian author (ZotBNat 106). In fact, the tale transmitted in the *Miracles of Mary* assigns the Arabic version to the Egyptian patriarch "Gäbrəʾel *wäldä Tarik*", who wrote it during a three-year period of exile in the monastery of Paul. This personality can be identified with Ǧibrāʾīl (II) b. Tarīk, the 70th patriarch of Alexandria, in office from 1131 to 1145 (Conti Rossini 1925:505), while the introductory passage of the Ethiopic M.ḥ. probably refers to the same person, even if here the date is imprecise.

The Ethiopic (Gəʿəz) version was prepared in 1582 by ↗Salik at the monastery of Däbrä Libanos in Šäwa, during the 20th year of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl's reign. Philological traces of the Arabic Vorlage are apparent in the Ethiopic text.

The M.ḥ. was not translated into any other Ethiopian contemporary language, with the exception of chs. 50–63, available in an Amharic version (ms. EMML 7424), from a seemingly careless Ethiopic Vorlage (however, precisely these chapters are missing in ms. EMML 4749). The majority of available manuscripts are in good condition. Perhaps the best example is an 18th-cent. manuscript of the work from the collection gathered by Eduard ↗Rüppell, now at the Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek Frankfurt am Main (ms. orient. Rüpp. III, 1).

Though most of the Church Fathers quoted in the work are from the East, there are also many from the West, like Cassianus, Pope Gregory I and Isidore of Seville (WrBriMus 253). The text contains numerous detailed instructions concerning Christian life: Holy Scripture and doctrine, the clergy's behaviour in the world, monks, nuns and laity, prayer, food, fasting, almsgiving, clothing, relationships between men and women, moral obligations, the right attitude of a spiritual guide towards spiritual children, attitudes to different church orders and ways of worship, attitudes to Muslims and pagans etc.

Src.: CRAbb 87, no. 53, fol. 110r–112r [Abbadie 222]; Lazarus Goldschmidt, *Die abessinischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Frankfurt am Main* (*Rüppell'sche Sammlung*). *Nebst Anhängen und Auszügen verzeichnet und beschrieben*, Berlin 1897, 22–48 [orient. Rüpp. III, 1]; WrBriMus 235–55, no. 348 [Orient. 778]; ZotBNat 99–106, no. 110 [Éth. 111]; HamTana I, 91, ms. Ṭānāsee 2 = Kebrān 2; HamTana II, 127–31, ms. Ṭānāsee 95 = Rēmā 6; EMML vol. 5, 95, no. 1606; EMML 4749, 7424.

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Aethiopica (II^{a} serie)", *RSO* 10, 1925, 481–520, here 502–05 [§40: "Sull'autore del *Maṣḥafa Ḥawi*"]; Carlo de Clercq, "Les Pandectes de Nicon de la Montagne Noir", *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Orientale* 4, 1949, 187–203; Alphonse Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collections of Manuscripts*, vol. 2: *Christian Arabic Manuscripts and Additional Syrian Manuscripts*, Cambridge 1936, 66–69; vol. 3: *Additional Christian Arabic and Syriac Manuscripts*, Cambridge, MA 1939, 26f.; GrafLit vol. 1, 512; vol. 2, 64ff. and 327.

Ezra Gebremedhin – Red.

Hawiye

H. is one of the major ↗Somali clan families. The H. live scattered in a wide belt that extends from the Mudug region along the coast of the Indian Ocean in the east to Bale and north-eastern Kenya in the west. Some of their major clans are, in Somalia, the Habar Gidir, the Abgaal, the Murursade (also known as Murasade or Murusade) and the Sheekhaal, and in Ethiopia the Jiidle. The Gaalǧeᶜel and the Ḥawaadle in the central regions of Somalia and the Dagoodiyo (also known as Digoodiya) in Kenya and southern Ethiopia are usually regarded as H., even though according to several genealogies they don't descend from Irir like the other H.

The term H. was first mentioned by the Arab geographer Ibn Saᶜīd in the 13th cent. (Cerulli 1957:93ff.) in relation to settled people behind ↗Merca. In the following centuries a sultanate led by the Aǧuraan – today a minor H. clan – prospered in the rich agricultural area of the lower Shabeelle (↗Wabi Šäbälle) and had close links with the Muẓaffar sultanate in ↗Mogadishu. The Abgaal and some other closely related H. clans made of Shingaani – one of the historical districts of Mogadishu – the seat of their *imām* in the 18th cent. At the end of the 19th cent. a member of the family of the Majeerteen *sulṭāns*, Yūsuf ᶜAlī Keenadiid, conquered ↗Obbia on the coast where the Habar Gidir border with the Murursade and established an independent sultanate. In later decades, the enmity that was thus kindled between the H. and the ↗Daarood has been frequently evoked, even when they uneasily joined their forces in the Somali Youth League, the major Somali political party in the 1950s–60s.

Like other Somali, the H. are camel- and cattle-pastoralists, but also engage in agriculture where there is enough water and rain. During the colonial occupation and in the subsequent decades, consistent groups of H. migrated to Mogadishu, where they played an important role in the economy. Their lineage-organization, material culture and religious life does not differ substantially from that of the other northern Somali. It is worth mentioning, however, that the Sheekhaal are a religious lineage that frequently lives in small groups among other clans.

Only the H. of the central regions of Somalia, i.e., southern Mudug, Galgaduud, Hiiraan and Central Shabeelle, speak dialects that are somewhat different from those spoken by the mainly Daarood Somali that live around them – they were called Benaadir dialects by Moreno (1955) and Lamberti (1983:58 ff.). The H. participate in the rich oral literary Somali tradition to which they contributed with several well-known poets, such as *šayḫ* Aḥmad Gabyow (b. 1844), and Faaraḥ Šuuriye (d. ca. 1960). It is noteworthy that the Abgaal have two genres of poetry of their own, the *guurow* and the shorter *širib*.

Src.: VSAe II.

Lit.: Mohamed Abdi Mohamed, *La Somalie aux hautes périodes* (*De l'antiquité à l'avènement de l'Islam*), 4 vols., Ph.D. thesis, Université de Franche-Comté, Besançon 1990; Enrico Cerulli, *Somalia, scritti vari editi ed inediti*, 3 vols., Roma 1957–64; Angelo Colucci, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario della Somalia meridionale: i gruppi sociali, la proprietà*, Firenze 1924; Ali Jimale Ahmed (ed.), *The Invention of Somalia*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1995; Lee Vincent Cassanelli, *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People. 1600–1967*, Philadelphia, PA 1982; Marcello Lamberti, *Die Somali-Dialekte*, Hamburg 1983; LewPeople; Id., *A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, London – New York 1980; Martino Mario Moreno, *Il somalo della Somalia*, Roma 1955.

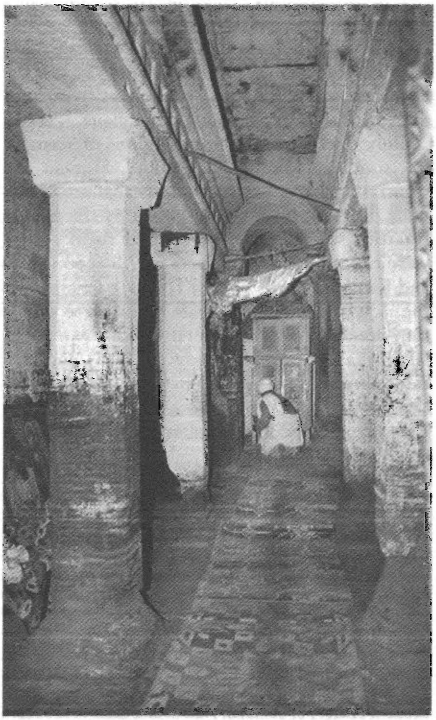
Giorgio Banti

Ḥawzen

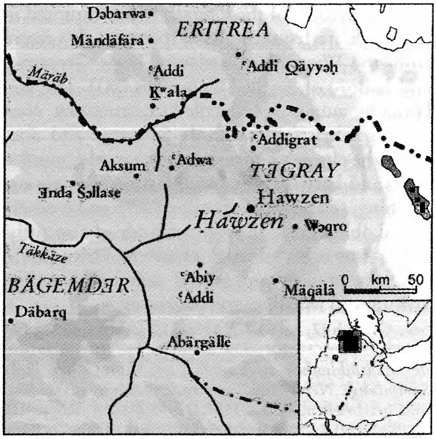
Ḥ. (ሐውዜን) is the name of a *wäräda* (93,300 inhabitants) and its administrative capital (3,250 inhabitants) situated in the West Təgray Zone.

In the past, the Ḥ. plain was part of the historical region of ↗Gärᶜalta, an area important for its cultural heritage. According to a classical hypothesis, the name Ḥ. is reminiscent of the South Arabian place-name Hawzan (HWZN), and this part of the Ethiopian highlands was affected by the Sabaean migration. Aksumite material, including inscriptions, has been found in the Ḥ. *wäräda* (↗Dəgum, ᶜAnza, with RIE no. 218; ↗Aksumite culture). Old hagiographic traditions arose in this area: among the several groups of ↗Ṣadqan, the so-called Ṣadqan of Ḥ. are known.

Such archaeological and traditional evidence seems to point to the importance of Ḥ. in ancient times (as already perceived by Manoel ↗Barradas, Tractatus, II, 43; s. Barradas 1996:153, Beccari 1912:137). The most significant monument, still preserved in the modern town, is a three-aisled south-west-oriented rock-hewn church, possibly of a very early date (10th/11th–12th/13th cent.?). The sanctuary (to the east), which contains a *tabot* dedicated to *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, unusually wide capitals with splayed corners and chamfered columns with stepped bases, recalls similar features in monuments found around the thrones of ↗Aksum.



Ḥawzen, Täklä Haymanot church; central nave, eastward view: chamfered columns with large bracket capitals and stepped bases; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers



After the decline of Aksum, the Ḥ. area must have kept its important role, as suggested by a series of still visible religious monuments (Bäraqit, Dəgum). According to a tradition transmitted in the 17th-cent. *Gädlä Märqorewos*, at the end of the 13th cent. the province (*bəḥər*) of H. was ruled as a part of one single royal appointment (*śimät əmḥabä nəguś*) over the territories extending from the Täkkäze river to Arho (i.e. the Salt Plain), and including ↗Mänbärta, ᶜAṣbi, ↗ Dära, ↗Ṣəraᶜ, ↗Ǝndärta, ↗Säḥart, ↗Tämben, Gärᶜalta and Amba Sənit, up to the confines of ↗ᶜAdwa (Conti Rossini 1904:33f.).

In the form Ḥawzena (ሐውዜና), the place-name is mentioned in two land-granting documents of the *Liber Axumae* attributed, respectively, to the mythical couple ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa (ca. 4th-6th cent.) and to Aram, *nəburä əd* of Aksum at the end of the 18th cent. (CRAxum 19, 56).

Src.: MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634): a Seventeenth Century Historical and Geographical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABETH FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 153; CAMILLO BECCARI, *Il Tigrè descritto*

da un missionario gesuita del sec. XVII, Roma ²1912, 137; Central Statistical Authority, *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia. Results for Tigray Region*, I: *Statistical Report*, Addis Ababa 1995, 10f.; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum* I. *Acta Marqorewos*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 17 (text) = 17 (tr.); CRAxum 19, 56 (text) = 20, 67 (tr.), nos. 2, 77; HuntLand 29f., 70; KinBibl 87, no. 128; RIÉ 312f., no. 218.

Lit.: CRStor 103; Ruth Plant, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 175f., no. 105; Claude Lepage, "L'église rupestre de Berakit", *AE* 9, 1972, 147–92, here 155, 168; Id., "Les monuments chrétiens rupestres de Degum, en Ethiopie (rapport préliminaire)", *Cahiers archéologiques* 22, 1972, 167–200; HuntGeogr 61, 96, 99, 120, 163; David Buxton, "The Rock-Hewn and other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 103, 1971, 1–99, here fig. 1; Eric Godet, "Répertoire des sites pré-axoumites et axoumites du Tigré (Éthiopie)", *Abbay* 8, 1977 [1978], 19–58, here 47f. (Lit.); Otto Jäger – Ivy Pearce, *Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia*, Stuttgart ²1974, 123f.; Roger Sauter, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 2, 1957, 235–92, here 256; Id., "Églises rupestres au Tigré", *AE* 10, 1976, 157–75, here 161.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Haycock Islands ↗Ḥaniš Islands

Ḥaydar ʿAssāl al-ʿAwlaqī ↗ʿAbdalkarīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr

Ḥaydära

Ḥ. (ሐይደራ, or Ḫaydära) was the ruler of ↗Däwaro, tributary to the Christian Emperor ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I in the 1330s. His name, connected with the Arabic *ḥaydar* or *ḥaydara* ('lion'), indicates that he was a Muslim.

Not mentioned in the Muslim sources at all, Ḥ. was, according to the Chronicle of ʿAmdä Ṣəyon, allied in conspiracy with the rebellious ↗Walašmaʿ ruler of Ifat, ↗Ṣabraddīn b. Muḥammad b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr. As the Chronicle states, Ḥ. was "like Judas the traitor ... double tongued": perfidiously, he openly professed in words his love to the Emperor whilst secretly approaching Ṣabraddīn to create an alliance to provide mutual support. ʿAmdä Ṣəyon, however, foiled the plot of Ḥ. and his ally and in April 1332 conducted a long and difficult punitive expedition against the two rebels. After having subdued Ṣabraddīn, who had surrendered, ʿAmdä Ṣəyon also captured his friend and former ally Ḥ., bound him in chains and ravaged the whole Däwaro region. Thererupon, the country was placed under Ṣabraddīn's brother, ↗Ǧamāladdīn, as a tributary of Ethiopia.

Ḥ.'s name must have made a deep impression upon the Ethiopians since his defeat is mentioned several times in the songs of the soldiers in praise of ʿAmdä Ṣəyon and ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob. In two passages (Guidi 1889:62, 64 [nos. viii, 13; x, 33]) it refers to the governor of Däwaro, in another one (ibid. 63 [no. ix, 6]) it possibly indicates a geographical name (Hedra and many variants).

Src.: BecRASO III [Pedro Paez, *Historia Aethiopica*, Liber III, Caput I], 3f.; BruNile II, 18–23, here 21; August Dillmann, "Die Kriegsthaten des Königs ʿAmdä Ṣion gegen die Muslim", *Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Berlin* 42, 1884, 1007–38, here 1018ff., 1037; Ignazio Guidi, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di re Abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4ª, 5, 1889, 53–66, here 62ff. [nos. viii, 13; ix, 6; x, 33]; HuntAmd 62, 65, 107f., 129, 132ff. [nos. viii, 13; ix, 6]; KrAmdS 12, 15f., 67 (text), 16, n. 101, 20, 71 (tr.); Enno Littmann, *Die altamharischen Kaiserlieder*, Straßburg 1914, 26f., 30; Id., "Altamharisches Glossar, der Wortschatz in den 'Canzoni geez-amariña'", *RSO* 20, 1943, 473–505, here 500; MarAmdS 68f., 76f., 184f.; PerrAmdS 24, 30, 111 (text), 124, n. 1, 129f., 134, 192 (tr.).

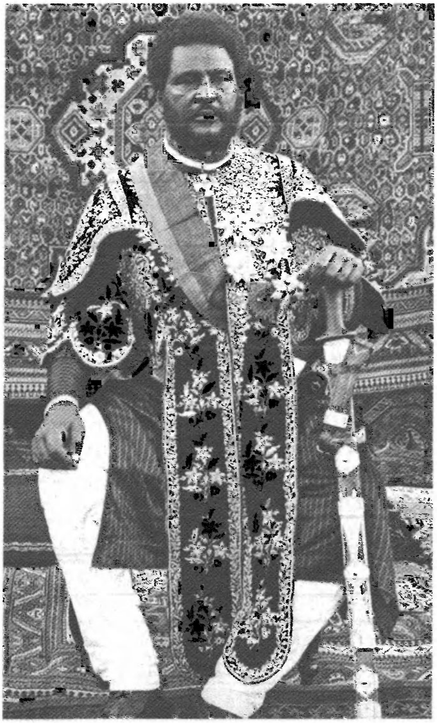
Lit.: Enrico Cerulli, "Harar, centro musulmano in Etiopia", in: *CerStud* I, 1–55, here 23 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 281–327]; Josef Marquart, *Die Benin-Sammlung des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden, beschrieben und mit ausführlichen Prolegomena zur Geschichte der Handelswege und Völkerbewegungen in Nordafrika*, Leiden 1913 (Veröffentlichungen des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden, Serie II 7), cclxxiif., cccxxix n. 1; TadTChurch 141; Taddesse Tamrat, "Ethiopia, the Red Sea and the Horn", in: Roland Oliver (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 3: *From c. 1050 to c. 1600*, Cambridge 1977, 98–182, here 145; PankBord 43, 69f., 73, 98.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Ḫaylä Giyorgis Wäldä Mika'el

Bitwäddäd Ḫ.G. (ኀይለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል, d. 15 April 1925) was an important politician at the court of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. A ↗*näggadras* of ↗Addis Abäba and ↗Dərre Dawa, when the Council of Ministers was introduced in 1907, Ḫ.G. became the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commerce.

Ḫ.G. tried to westernize bureaucracy in Addis Abäba and centralize control over the city. He introduced a new kind of land tenure in the capital, strengthened police forces and optimized the collection of custom revenues, relying heavily on his French advisors. Ḫ.G.'s economical power was, among other things, based on his co-operation with Ḥasīb Idlibī (↗Ydlibi) and the so-called "rubber monopoly" – a concession given by Mənilək to the English company to grow rubber plantations on the banks of the Baro river.



Ḫaylä Giyorgis Wäldä Mikaʾel in 1917; from the estate of Maurice de Coppet, Helsinki University Library, archive no. 3471

In 1909 Ḫ.G. opposed *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul and was subsequently dismissed from his high positions. The post of the Minister of Foreign Affairs was given to *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorigis. Ḫ.G. was put in chains but released a day later. After Ṭaytu's fall, he was reinstalled in his position, won the trust of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu and had almost absolute authority in the internal administration of Addis Abäba. Ḫ.G.'s marriage to Iyasu's sister, *wäyzäro* Səhin, helped him in his court career. He was promoted to ↗*bitwaddäd* and got Habtä Giyorigis's position as de-facto prime minister.

During the 1916 ↗coup d'état, Ḫ.G. joined the opposition against Iyasu, which ensured his pardon from Habtä Giyorgis and the new government. In 1917, however, he was arrested and chained; all his property was seized at ↗Zäwditu's and Täfäri Mäkʷännən's (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) order. He was released soon thereafter, but never got back to power.

Src.: GebMolIyas 464; Public Records Office, Kew, London, letter of Thesiger to Balfour, 12 July 1917 [FO: 371/2855].
Lit.: BZHist 115, 125ff.; PETER GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Abäba from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49), passim.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Ḫaylä Mäläkot

Ḫ.M. (ኃይለ፡ መለኮት, b. ca. 1827, d. 9 November 1855) was *nəguś* of ↗Šäwa from 1847 till 1855. The eldest son of *nəguś* ↗Sahlä Śəllase, his mother was Bäzzabbəš, granddaughter of Ṭədu of Morät, who was defeated by *märʿədazmač* ↗Asfa Wässän (Sahlä Śəllase's grandfather). There were rumours that his father preferred the younger son, Säyfu, to succeed him, but when Sahlä Śəllase died, Ḫ.M. was proclaimed king. Nevertheless, he did not imprison his brothers, as had been common in Šäwa until then, modelled on the practice of the imperial court. When the ↗Tuulama Oromo, who had been defeated by Sahlä Śəllase, heard of his death, they revolted and Ḫ.M. spent the first few years campaigning, with great success, against them.

Ḫ.M. aspired to a central role in Ethiopian politics and according to Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase (AWTarik 127) he even took the title of ↗*aṣe*, although he was not anointed and was usually known by the title of *nəguś*. In 1853 he invaded Därra and liberated *ras* ↗Ali Alula, who had been imprisoned by the local ruler when he took refuge there after being defeated by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. In June 1855 Tewodros invaded Wällo. Ḫ.M. co-operated with the Wällo ruler, ↗Wärqitu, but their plans failed

Ḫaylä Mäläkot; photo courtesy of the IES (no. 92 H10, 71) and Ḫ.M. returned to Šäwa. In October 1855 Tewodros invaded Gəšše and a series of battles ensued with local Šäwan governors, who were all defeated. The main Šäwan army was deployed at Atakəlt, north of Däbrä Bərhan, and followed some skirmishes with the army of Tewodros. But Ḫ.M. was seriously ill and on 30 *Ṭəqəmt* 1848 A.M. (9 November 1855 A.D.; many sources erroneously date it to 1847 A.M.) he died and the Šäwan army fled. They buried Ḫ.M. at Däbrä Bäggə^{c} (20 km south-south-east of Däbrä Bərhan). His young son, Mənilək (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) was proclaimed king of Šäwa.

Lit.: AWTarik 127; BTafA, passim; REXFORD HENRY KOFI DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire 1813–1889*, London 1975, passim; GueCopMen, s. index.

Svein Ege

Ḫaylä Maryam Gäbre

Däǧǧazmač Ḫ.M. (ኀይለ፡ ማርያም፡ ገብሬ, d. 1826) was a prominent, albeit secondary player in national political struggles. The son of *ras* ↗Gäbre Täsfa, whom in 1815 he succeeded as ruler of Səmen and Wägära, he was subordinate to *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa of Däbrä Tabor, whose daughter, Ḫirut, he married. They had at least two sons, Märso and Betul (the father of Ṭaytu and Wäle). From another woman he had one more son, Wəbe (later his successor, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam).

Ḫ.M.'s rule over Wägära and Wälqayt was constricted, to the south and south–west, by *däǧǧazmač* Maru and, to the north and north-east, by *ras* Wäldä Śəllase of Təgre. Ḫ.M. was protector of the monastery of ↗Wäldəbba where he was buried. He was one of a group of leaders who sent to Alexandria for a bishop to replace *abunä* ↗Qerəllos, not long before the latter's death. Just before his death he succeeded in deposing *aṣe* ↗Gigar, briefly, in favour of *aṣe* ↗Bä^{c}ədä Maryam III. He died following defeat in battle.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La cronaca reale abissina dall'anno 1800 all'anno 1840", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 25, 1916, 779–923; ID., "Nuovi documenti per la storia d'Abissinia nel secolo XIX", *ibid.* ser. 8^{a}, 2, 1947, 357–416.
Lit.: AbPrince 5, 32f.

Donald Crummey

Ḫaylä Maryam Kaḥśay

Ḫ. (ኀይለ፡ ማርያም፡ ካሕሣይ; b. ca. 1894/95, ↗^{c}Addigrat, d. 25 November 1970, ^{c}Addigrat) was a Catholic bishop and the first native eparch of Ethiopia. He was the son of Wälättä Bərhan and Kaḥśay Däbäsay – who was related to Emperor Yoḥannəs IV's mother – the two stemming from a long line of highly respected families from the ^{c}Agamä.

Following the 1897 decree urging Catholics to either convert or to leave the country, Ḫ.'s family went into exile to Mänäkusoyto (Monksoyto), in the recently established colony of Eritrea, where banished Catholics were given asylum. Ḫ. and his brother and sisters followed a religious life. At the age of 13, he attended the secondary school founded by the Lazarists in ↗Alitena and, once completed education, he was sent in September 1919 to the Ethiopian College at the Vatican. Due to poor health, he returned to Təgray 18 months later and continued his studies at the seminary in Alitena. As at the time there was no bishop in the Vicariate of Abyssinia, he was ordained priest in Asmära, on 30 August 1925.

After teaching in Alitena for one year, *abba* Ḫ. was sent to teach at the Vincentian College in Addis Abäba, but for reasons of ill health returned, after a year, to Alitena. Several years later, owing to deteriorating eyesight, he joined his elder brother, *abba* Täklä Maryam, who had been exiled to ↗Jerusalem. There, Ḫ. underwent medical treatment for eight months.

With the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, as native priests were treated with deep suspicion, *abba* Ḫ. was exiled to Ǝnda Śəllase in western Təgray, where he grew popular with the local population. To avoid his popularity from spreading further, he was again removed and sent to Bizät. Once all suspicion of any political intrigue had been removed, he was sent back to G^{w}al^{c}a. With the intention of promoting education in general and sponsoring vocations to the priesthood, he reactivated and reorganized a diocesan college at a new location called Kudḫanay, a few kilometres to the east of ^{c}Addigrat.

After liberation, as the priest-in-charge of the Apostolic Prefecture of Təgray, Ḫ. was nominated Prefect Apostolic. On 1 May 1951, he was consecrated a bishop in Rome, marking a further step in restoring the ecclesiastical structures of the Ethiopian Catholic Church. According to the Apostolic Constitution of 31 October 1951 he became the Apostolic Exarch of Ethiopia and, as the only bishop, he had jurisdiction over 13 of Ethiopia's provinces. From his residence in Addis Abäba, he exercised many initiatives by inviting various religious and missionary congregations to the country and establishing schools. Those initiatives, in fact, extended beyond the capital as in 1952, once his legal claims to the land had been recognized, he established the parish of ʿAddigrat and began building a more permanent diocesan college and a church, which later became his cathedral.

In February 1961, when the Ethiopian hierarchy was established with Addis Abäba as the Metropolitan See, *abunä* Ḫ. declined to be the first Metropolitan. Instead, he withdrew to become head of the newly created eparchy of ʿAddigrat, which replaced the former Apostolic Prefecture of Təgray. To consolidate the formation and education of his priests of the Ethiopian rite, he initiated the construction of a major seminary. In April 1969, the cathedral of the Holy Saviour was consecrated, where he was later to be interred.

↗Catholicism

Lit.: በእንተ፡ ሢመተ፡ ጵጵስናሁ፡ ለብፁዕ፡ አቡነ፡ ኃይለማርያም፡ ካህሣይ (*Bäʾəntä simätä pəppəsənnahu läbəṣuʿə abunä Ḫaylämaryam Kahśay*, 'Concerning the Episcopal Appointment of Our Blessed Father Ḫaylämaryam Kahśay'), 1 May 1951; ʿAddigrat diocesan archives.

Kevin O'Mahoney

Ḫaylä Maryam Mammo

Ləǧ Ḫ.M. (ኃይለ፡ ማርያም፡ ማሞ; d. 6 June 1938, Gafra) was a ↗Resistance fighter. He emerged from being an obscure ↗*balabbat* and farmer in northern Šäwa to become a national hero during one of the most troubled periods in Ethiopian history, 1935–41. Early in his life, Ḫ.M. had been a ↗*šəfta* and was imprisoned for murder. However, on the eve of the ↗Italian war of 1935–36, he was pardoned by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I to join the fight against the Italian invasion. Thereafter, he joined the northern front, where he was one of the few to challenge the advance of the enemy, far superior in military weaponry. At a place called Č̣äč̣a Suke Ṣärabi, near ↗Däbrä Bərhan, he ambushed a contingent of enemy troops, causing significant human and material losses. However, the Italians were able to recover from this attack and capture, on 5 May 1936, ↗Addis Abäba.

Ḫaylä Maryam Mammo; photo courtesy of the IES (no. 88 H10)

Following this, Ḫ.M. created a rebel formation of his own and continued fighting against the Italians, joined by such Šäwan patriot leaders as *ras* ↗Abbäbä Arägay. In July 1936, he took part in the unsuccessful assault on Addis Abäba. Contrary to the hesitations of such leaders as Abärra Kaśa of Sälale, he remained determined to continue the struggle. Later, he was joined by several cadets from the ↗Holota Military Academy, who, attracted by his determination and methods, had abandoned Abärra to fight under his command.

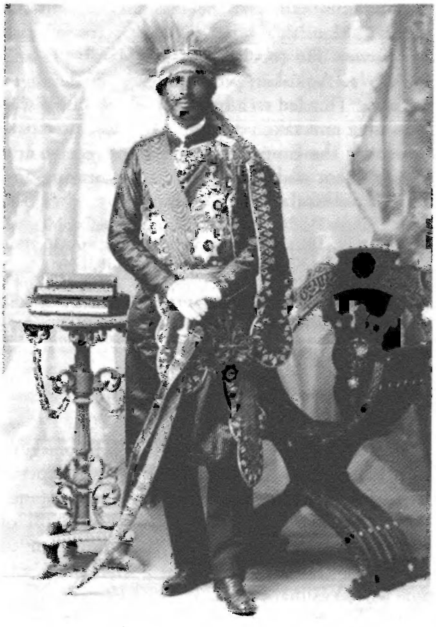
Ḫ.M. fought against Italian forces with uneven success in Sälale, Tägulät, Märḥabete, Gindäbärät and Bulga. His final encounter with the Italians was on 6 June 1938 at the Battle of Gafra or Gormesa (Bulga) – in which Abbäbä escaped while Ḫ.M. was mortally wounded. During the post-Liberation period, his remains were brought to Addis Abäba and reburied in a cemetery reserved for patriots at the Holy Trinity Cathedral. His person is remembered in poems and his name was given to a school (in Däbrä Bərhan), a hospital (↗Adaama) and a street (Addis Abäba).

Lit.: TADDÄSÄ ZÄWÄLDE, ቀሪን፡ ገረመው፤ የአርበኞች፡ ታሪክ (*Qärin gärrämäw: yäʾarbäññočč tarik*, 'Those Who Survived were Amazed: a History of Patriots'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.], 19–58, 113–29; ABEBECH AFEWORK, *A Biography of Däjjazmach Abära Kassa 1906–1936*, B.A. thesis, Addis Abäba University 1973, 21–29; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale: la caduta dell'impero*, Roma – Bari 1982, 17, 24, 64, 319; MockWar 142ff., 159, 169f., 183, 190; SELTENE SEYOUM, *A History of Resistance in Gojjam (Ethiopia): 1936–1941*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1999, 64.

Seltene Seyoum

Ḫaylä Maryam Śärabyon

Ḫ.M. (ኃይለ፡ ማርያም፡ ሠራብዮን, also Haylä Maryam ["*Paša*"], b. 1863, Dänqäz, d. 1929, Addis Abäba) was the son of *aläqa* Śärabyon and *wäyzäro* Ṣəllatä Kidan. Few details are known about his early life: he was a talented student of traditional church school and was sent to be educated in France, where he spent quite a number of



Ḫaylä Maryam Śärabyon; photo by L.M. Yazedjian; courtesy of the author

years. He returned to Ethiopia after the ↗ᶜAdwa battle and soon became one of the top ten advisors of ↗Mənilək II. Ḫ.M. spoke French, German and Italian in addition to Gəᶜəz and Amharic which helped him to be promoted to the rank of Palace Minister (*yägəbbi minister*) with special responsibility for educational affairs. He acted as a translator and sat on the Board of Directors of the Addis Abäba – Djibouti Railway Company as the representative of the Ethiopian Government for several years. In 1905 he was delegated, with *däǧǧazmač* Mäšäša Wärqe and other officials, to Turkey (↗Ottoman Empire), where he successfully worked on settling the question of the rights of the Ethiopian community in ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān (probably, he was called "*Paša*" thereafter).

Founder of eight parish schools in various parts of Ethiopia, which were precursors of modern schools, Ḫ.M. was an intellectual and a promoter of modernisation. He also was the last author of a ↗hagiography in the history of this genre in Ethiopia for he wrote the *Life of Joseph* (ገድለ፡ ዮሴፍ, *Gädlä Yosef*), the mss. of which were deposited in St. Joseph churches in Addis Abäba and Gondär, established by H.M. in 1908 (mss. EMML 894).

Ḫ.M. was entrusted by *aṣe* Mənilək with designing the Imperial coat of arms (↗State symbols). His design, completed in 1905 and rich in symbolism going deep into Judeo-Christian Ethiopian tradition, was accepted and the coat was used from the beginning of the 20th cent. until 1974. After Mənilək's death, Ḫ.M. kept his position, but, a supporter of *ləǧ* Iyasu, he was disliked by ↗Zäwditu and considered potential enemy by *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən.

Src.: mss. EMML 894, 909; GueCopMen 619; ḪAYLÄ MARYAM SÄRABYON, የኢትዮጵያ፡ ትምሕርተ፡ መንግሥት። ሰንደቅ፡ አላማና፡ ዘውዱን፡ የጃንሆይንም፡ አዋጅ፡ የሚናገር፡ መጽሐፍ (*Yäʾityopya təmḥərtä mängəśt. Sändäq alamanna zäwdun yäǧanhoyənəm awaǧ yämminnaggär mäṣḥaf*, 'The State Symbols of Ethiopia. The Book which Speaks of the Flag, the Crown and the Proclamation of His Majesty'), Addis Abäba 1906 A.M. [1913/14 A.D.]; ETIENNE MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Éthiopie: l'Abyssinie sous Ménélik II*, vol. 2, Paris 1922; GebMolIyas 10, 13 (text) = 306, 310 (tr.); HerTar; MahZekr 633 (ill.).

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Hayla Maryam Sarabihon", in: *EncAfr* 85; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Le biografie del blātengētā Ḫəruy Wålda Səllāsē", *RSE* 30, 1984–86, 15–52, here 47; CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II, Ethiopia 1883–1910*, New York 1986, 254; AʾƎMƎRO NƎGUŚE, የሰላም፡ ዘብ (*Yäsälam zäb*, 'Guardian of Peace'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963 A.D.]; IAN CAMBELL, "The Imperial Coat of Arms", *IES Bulletin*, Addis Ababa 2000, 1–5; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Profilo storico di Dayr as-Sulṭān", *JES* 2, 2, 1964, 92–160, here 149f.; PankEcon 247, 631.

Berhanu Gizaw Haile Mariam

Ḫaylä Mikaʾel Əšäte

Däǧǧazmač Ḫ.M. (ኃይለ፡ ሚካኤል፡ እሸቴ, also Ḫaylu Əšäte, b. 26 June 1753, d. ca. 1809/10) was the son of Əšäte, *däǧǧazmač* of Damot, a close relative of *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa), and of *wäyzäro* Wälättä Rufaʾel. Ḫ.M. was one of the most prominent characters of the ↗Gondärine kingdom during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. On the basis of his life-story, written by his friend and associate *abeto* ↗Abägaz (Guidi 1902; BlunChr 303–57 [tr.]), his biography could be reconstructed in great details (Tekle-Tsadik Mekouria in PICES 8, vol. 2; Kropp 1989:14–22).

Ḫ.M. had a hazardous life, usual for that time, taking part in political struggles, "king-making", riots and military campaigns during the reigns of ↗Täklä Haymanot II, ↗Sälomon II, ↗Täklä Giyorgis, ↗Iyasu III and ↗Həzqəyas. Due to tense relations with *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq, Ḫ.M. had to go to a short-time exile in the monastery of ↗Maḫdärä Maryam in Bägemdər, where he met Abägaz. The two aristocrats decided to collect historiographic heritage of the Ethiopian rulers. Ḫ.M. sponsored the work of Abägaz, who completed his large collection of Ethiopian royal chronicles in 1785 (Kropp 1989:20, 26). The collection, which incorporated also some other documents and Ḫ.M.'s biography, became commonly known as "Ḫaylu-compillation" (its portions were published in BlunChr; Conti Rossini 1916).

According to Abägaz's record, in the time when unscrupulous political alliances, treason and murder were common, Ḫ.M. always remained loyal to his sovereign and kinsmen and was always on the losing side. During the second part of his life, Ḫ.M. was an ally of *ras* ↗Ali and *ras* ↗Aligaz of Yäǧǧu, and later of *ras* ↗Märəd Ḫaylu and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Zäwde of Goǧǧam. In 1801, Ḫ.M. had to leave his estate in Bägemdər and thereafter lived under Zäwde's protection; after Ḫ.M.'s death, his enemies tried to hinder the translation of his body to Bägemdər (his daughter *wäyzäro* Mərṣit putting them to shame with her verses, Tekle-Tsadik Mekuria in PICES 8, vol. 2, 209). Finally, Ḫ.M. was buried in ↗Mäkanä Iyäsus at Ǝste, in the church he had estalished.

Src.: BlunChr 303–57; Carlo Conti Rossini, "La cronaca reale abissina dall'anno 1800 all'anno 1840", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916, 779–923; Ignazio Guidi, "La storia di Ḫāyle Mikāʾēl", *ibid.* 11, 1902, 2–79; GuiIyas 12 (text) = 10 (tr.).
Lit.: Manfred Kropp, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung Däǧǧazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern – Paris 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalische Studien 13), 25; Tekle-Tsadik Mekuria, "Histoire abrégée de Haylou Esheté (Degiazmatche)", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 189–213.

Sevir Chernetsov – Red.

Ḫaylä Mikaʾel Śahlä Śəllase

Märəd azmač Ḫ.M. (ኃይለ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ሣህለ፡ ሥላሴ; d. 1880s) was a Šäwan lord. The youngest son of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa and a Muslim woman (MasMis vol. 10, 190), he governed various districts in Šäwa during the reigns of his brother *nəguś* ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot and of *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase.

In 1856, Ḫ.M. was appointed by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II over Šäwa, with the traditional title of ↗*märəd azmač*. The next year, although he had not joined other rebel nobles and remained loyal to the Emperor, sending him taxes from his province, he was arrested and at the end of 1858 imprisoned in Tamo. This probably happened because of his unwillingness or inability to deal with a revolt led by his brother ↗Säyfu Śahlä Śəllase in eastern Šäwa.

In 1866, when prison guards deserted Tewodros, Ḫ.M. joined his nephew Mənilək (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II). In 1876 he was involved in the plot of Mənilək's wife, ↗Bafäna, to increase her power. He rebelled against Mənilək II and took over Ankobär, where he was made *nəguś* of Šäwa. This led to a battle in which Ḫ.M. was wounded and taken prisoner. He was later pardoned by the Emperor, but did not receive any appointment and died without performing any further political role in the country.

Src.: TSTarik IV, 26.; BTafAs 757, 929; GueCopMen 92, 94, 117, 132, 161; AWTarik 136ff; MasMis vol. 10, 190; ZanLitTheo 26, 30, 38 = MorTheod 165, 168, 174.
Lit.: Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II, Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 50f.; RubTew 53, 75, 77f.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Ḫaylä Śəllase I

Early career

Ḫ.Ś. (ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ, b. 23 July 1892, Ǝǧǧərsagoro near Harär, d. 1975, Addis Abäba), last Emperor of Ethiopia, was beyond question the outstanding Ethiopian figure of the 20th cent. Son of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, governor of ↗Harär and first cousin of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, and his wife Yäšimabet Ali, he was named Täfäri, Ḫ.Ś. being both his baptismal and regnal name. He was a descendant, through his father's mother, of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa.

Ḫ.Ś. received a mixture of traditional church education and tutoring by Catholic ↗Capuchin friars, including André de ↗Jarosseau and an Ethiopian friar, *abba* Samuʾel. After his father's death in 1906, he was summoned by Mənilək to Addis Abäba, where he briefly attended the ↗Mənilək II Secondary School. Clearly destined for high office, he was first appointed governor of Sälale in Šäwa and then of Därasa *awraǧǧa* in Sidamo (in 1908), returning to Addis Abäba following Mənilək's illness in 1909. In 1910, at the age of 17, he was appointed to his father's governorship of Harär. The following year he married ↗Mänän Asfaw, daughter of *ǧanṭərar* Asfaw of Ambassäl in Wällo, and grand-daughter of *ras* (later *nəguś*) ↗Mikaʾel; they were to have three sons and three daughters.

He remained in Harär, with occasional visits to Addis Abäba, until mid-1916, when *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu reassigned him to Käfa – a move evidently dictated by his own desire to control Harär, a key location for the implementation of his policies. Täfäri however remained in Addis Abäba, and his role in the events that led to the deposition of Iyasu on 27 September has never been fully elucidated. This resulted in his elevation to the rank of *ras*, and regent and heir to the throne, under Mənilək's daughter, the childless *nəgəśtä nägäśt* ↗Zäwditu. He was present at the battle of ↗Sägäle, on 27 October 1916, which confirmed the establishment of the new government.

As regent, *ras* Täfäri was nominal head of a government over which, initially at least, he had little control. The final word rested with the Empress, and other leaders – including *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis Dinagde, Minister of War and victor of Sägäle, and *abunä* ↗Matewos – enjoyed independent positions of strength. Although Täfäri's cousin and ally ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase took over the key province of Harär, other governors including *nəguś* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis and later *ras* ↗Gugsa Wäle in Bägemdər, *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot in Goǧǧam, and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Balča Śafo in Sidamo, ruled with little reference to Addis Abäba. *Ləǧ* Iyasu remained at large until 1920. Täfäri's strengths lay in his ability to play a waiting game, and to maintain relations with the outside world, notably through the diplomatic missions in Addis Abäba. Gradually, however, he was able to extend his control over the central government, and infiltrate young and relatively educated appointees into key positions, notably those concerned with revenue collection.

Täfäri used his diplomatic contacts and skills to secure Ethiopia's admission to the ↗League of Nations in September 1923, a move which – though it ultimately failed to protect Ethiopia against external aggression – secured the country's formal diplomatic equality with other states, and also supplied Täfäri with leverage in his attempts to control provincial governors through the suppression of slavery, which had been a key sticking point in the battle for admission. Following a visit to Djibouti and Aden in 1922, he embarked in 1924 on a tour of Europe, including France, Italy and the United Kingdom, taking with him a large retinue including *ras* Ḫaylu and *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša.

Diplomatically the trip was a failure, since he was unable to persuade the then colonial powers to allow Ethiopia unrestricted access to the sea through any of their possessions; he was however able to use Ethiopia's membership of the League to force the retraction of an Anglo–Italian accord that had sought, without reference to Ethiopia, to define their respective spheres of influence in the country. The most important result of the visit was in bringing himself and his country to the attention of the European press and public, and indeed to other Africans and people of African descent. The ↗Rastafarian movement in Jamaica took its name from his name and title at that time.

Däǧǧazmač Täfäri, Harär, around 1910; from Hoffman 1948:194

The death of *fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis in December 1926 enabled Täfäri to take full control of the central government, and over the next few years he asserted his command over the leading provincial governors. In September 1928 he was elevated to the rank of ↗*nəguś*. The defeat and death in March 1930 of the last major independent governor, Zäwditu's husband *ras* Gugsa Wäle, was immediately followed by the death of the Empress herself. On 3 April 1930, Täfäri was elevated to the throne with the title of *nəgušä nägäśt* Ḫ.Ś. I.

Accession, War and Exile

As Emperor, Ḫ.Ś. rapidly sought to consolidate his position, both at home and abroad. He as-

Ḫaylä Śəllase in coronation attire around 1930; photo courtesy of Basler Mission (QQ-34 001 0032)

sumed an aloof and consciously imperial style, which, added to his natural dignity, made a lasting impression on all who met him. His coronation, on 2 November 1930, was designed to present the most favourable impression to the distinguished delegations, especially from the major European powers; the British delegation was led by the Duke of Gloucester, son of King George V. The following year, he promulgated Ethiopia's first written ↗Constitution, a document that both proclaimed Ethiopia's modernity for external consumption, and unequivocally insisted on the emperor as the sole ultimate source of power domestically, arousing some disquiet from members of noble lineages, who viewed him as no more than the first among equals. Contemporary official prints showed the Emperor's authority as descending directly from God to Ḫ.Ś., who in turn transmitted it – in the form of the constitution – to his people. Though a two-chamber ↗parliament was established, this had no direct elections and no more than titular powers (↗Government).

The remaining quasi-autonomous provincial governments were rapidly brought under central control. *Ras* Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam was an obvious target, since his venality made him unpopular in his own domains; he was implicated in a plot to free the imprisoned *ləǧ* Iyasu in 1932 and was imprisoned. The wealthy sultanate of ↗Ǧimma, governed autonomously by its native ruler under an agreement with Mənilək II, was placed under central supervision. These developments were aided by a programme of road construction, and by the first steps to train a modern ↗army. A team of Belgian officers arrived early in 1930 to train the ↗imperial bodyguard, which was to be the nucleus of the new army. A Swedish adviser, General Virgin, recommended the creation of a military academy, established in 1934 at ↗Holota, west of Addis Abäba. Other foreign advisers were recruited, to work in the ministries of education, finance, interior and justice. Particular attention was paid to education and revenue generation. Though the tasks to be undertaken were almost insuperable, Ḫ.Ś. successfully projected the impression of Ethiopia's transformation into a modern state.

Internationally, however, the situation grew steadily more threatening, as the fascist government of Italy finalized plans to conquer Ethiopia from its colonies of ↗Eritrea and ↗Somalia. It remains open to question whether more adept diplomacy on Ḫ.Ś.'s part could have induced France and the United Kingdom to provide effective support against Mussolini's ambitions, though it is likely that these powers would have sacrificed Ethiopia to their European priorities. Certainly, Ḫ.Ś. greatly overestimated the effectiveness of the League of Nations in preventing aggression, and continued to pursue diplomatic attempts to resolve the crisis. Even though these had little impact on the immediate situation, they were important in establishing Ethiopia's moral position in the eyes of the outside world.

Ḫ.Ś. had little military experience, and after the Italian attack on 2 October 1935 he left the army under the command of the minister of war, *ras* ↗Mulugeta Yəggäzu, moving north to Däse in late November. Only in late March 1936, when the military situation was already disastrous, did he move to the front at ↗Mayč̣äw, where for honour's sake and to meet the expectations of his people, he launched a doomed attack. After its failure, and with Ethiopian resistance collapsing, he made his way back to Addis Abäba, where on 30 April he faced one of the most critical decisions of his life: whether to stay and fight, retreating towards the south-west, or to go into exile, and continue the struggle by diplomatic means. The decision in favour of exile, though criticized by some as an abandonment of his country, was unquestionably correct. On 2 May, he left Addis Abäba for Djibouti, where he embarked on a British warship. After a stop in Jerusalem, he travelled to the United Kingdom, which he left to address the League of Nations in Geneva on 30 June.

The speech to the League, drafted by ↗Lorenzo Täʾəzaz, was the most memorable in that organisation's undistinguished history, and dramatically counterpoised the promise of collective security and the horrors inflicted on Ethiopia. Delivered with unquenchable dignity, it established Ḫ.Ś. on the world stage, and presaged the forthcoming ↗World War II. For the following four years, however, he lived in exile in the small English city of Bath, remaining in touch as best as he could with resistance leaders within Ethiopia. Only after Italy's entry into the World War II in June 1940 did he once more gain an international role, when he was flown by the British to Khartoum to help foster resistance to the Italians in Ethiopia. It was only in January 1941, however, that was he able to re-enter Ethiopia, at ↗Omedla on the Sudanese frontier with Goǧǧam, with a small force which included two battalions raised from Ethiopian refugees. On 5 May 1941, aided by the defeat of the main Italian armies to the north and south, he re-entered Addis Abäba and resumed his reign.

The Restored Empire

Ḫ.Ś.'s first task on returning to Addis Abäba was to regulate his relations with the British government, elements within which sought to treat Ethiopia as an occupied enemy territory, or implicitly as a British protectorate. Having already secured a statement by the British government that it would welcome Ethiopia's restoration to independence under his leadership, he asserted his position by immediately appointing a number of ministers, even though his actual exercise of power was still subject to irksome constraints. The British position was first regulated by an agreement of 31 January 1942, which recognized Ethiopia's independence but nonetheless gave the United Kingdom a privileged position within the country, including the exclusive right to appoint "advisers" to the Ethiopian government. Though these included some individuals, such as Daniel ↗Sandford and Wilfred ↗Thesiger, with strong personal connections to Ḫ.Ś., he never permitted them to exercise executive functions; at the same time, he sought to reduce British influence by strengthening his relations with the United States. A second agreement in 1944 removed the special status of the United Kingdom, which however continued to govern the Somali-inhabited ↗Ogaden region into 1948 and the Haud until 1954.

Ḫ.Ś. had also to establish his supremacy over the "Patriots" or *arbäññočč*, Ethiopian ↗Resistance leaders, many of whom welcomed his return, while others regarded him as having deserted his country in its hour of need, and returned on the backs of foreign soldiers. A mixture of skilful conciliation with the imprisonment or even execution of recalcitrants enabled him to re-establish control. The ↗*Wäyyane* rebellion in Təgray in mid-1943, which resulted from a combination of local grievances, could only be suppressed with British help.

Within Ethiopia, Ḫ.Ś. steadily constructed a highly centralized administration, in which even trivial decisions had to be referred to himself, and in which key positions were overwhelmingly held by his own protégés, most of whom were educated Šäwans from relatively humble backgrounds. During the period between 1941 and 1955, *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs enjoyed a position almost equivalent to that of a prime minister, while the three brothers ↗Mäkʷännən, ↗Aklilu and ↗Akalä Wärq Habtäwäld also gained influential roles. Ḫ.Ś. made little use of his own family members, save in constructing dynastic alliances through his daughters and granddaughters.

Although the regime's official rhetoric was constructed around a narrative of modernization, with education receiving special emphasis, this equated in practice to the creation of a centralized state, without any effective representation of independent or popular interests. The federation (or "reunion") of the former Italian colony of Eritrea with Ethiopia in 1952 (↗Eritrean–Ethiopian Federation) exemplified both Ḫ.Ś.'s diplomatic skills (notably in enlisting US support, in exchange for agreeing to a US communications base near Asmära), and his failure to recognize the desire of Eritreans to run their own autonomous government, which was reduced to dependence on Addis Abäba by a succession of imperial nominees, without regard to the longer-term political consequences. Similarly, although a revised constitution was introduced in 1955, allowing for the first time for the election of the Chamber of Deputies by universal adult suffrage, no political parties were allowed to form, and parliament as a whole remained only marginal to the political process.

Ḫ.Ś., accustomed since his youth to be lauded as a "modernizer", came during the 1950s to be regarded as the embodiment of an anachronistic political system, all the more evidently by comparison with the populist and anti-colonialist regimes then arising elsewhere in Africa. The first visible break in the façade of benevolent imperial rule came in the ↗coup d'etat of December 1960, when a small group of plotters led by the commander of the imperial bodyguard, ↗Mängəśtu Nəway, seized control of the palace, and announced Ḫ.Ś.'s deposition and replacement by his eldest son, Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän. Though the coup d'état was put down by force, and its leaders killed or executed, the aura of imperial omnipotence was shattered, and for its remaining years the regime was living on borrowed time.

Decline, Overthrow and Death

Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, Ḫ.Ś. came to be regarded, especially by younger educated Ethiopians, as an increasingly anachronistic figure in a rapidly changing Ethiopia. Although every attempt was made to associate him personally with each modernizing initiative, especially in education, his own mentality remained locked in the early 20th cent. Ethiopia in which he had been raised. The deaths of his favourite son prince ↗Mäkʷännən in 1957, and of his wife Empress Mänän in 1962, intensified his isolation. His political and manipulative skills remained as great as ever, but were decreasingly relevant to the management of a government that had spread well beyond the palace, or of a population that made increasing demands for a level of political participation that his regime was in no position to satisfy. Student demonstrations intensified from the mid-1960s onwards (↗Student movements), and drew the attention at least of the urban population to demands for radical reform, not least in land tenure.

One area in which Ḫ.Ś. continued to exercise considerable skill, and enjoyed important achievements, was foreign affairs. He adeptly positioned himself to benefit from the African decolonization movement of the 1950s and 1960s, profiting from the role of an elder statesman whose own resistance to Italian ↗imperialism had aroused the admiration of fellow Africans in the 1930s, and making common cause with African nationalists whose own mentalities and regimes were actually very different from his own. His moment of greatest triumph was in May 1963, when he hosted the summit of independent African leaders that established the ↗Organization of African Unity, and secured its headquarters for Addis Abäba. This success, together with the recognition of the shared interests of Ethiopia and of most post-colonial African states in maintaining their existing frontiers, was of enormous benefit in securing African and global diplomatic support for Ethiopia in its struggles against Somali irredentism and the growing secessionist threat in Eritrea. Much of his time in his later years was spent in state visits and attempts to mediate African conflicts, to the detriment of attention to domestic issues. He continued to seek military aid from the United States, where however his influence gradually declined, while maintaining at least correct relations with the Soviet Union and its satellite states, as well as with radical Arab nationalists.

His downfall in 1974, though prompted in part by ↗famine, was due more to his own age and declining powers, and especially to the incapacity of the court administration that he ran to cope with the sudden release of pent-up demands from urban groups of every kind. All of his efforts to manage and manipulate the chaotic events of the first half of 1974 (↗Revolution) came to nothing, until on 11 September, with all of his key agents already removed from power, he was simply deposed and driven into detention in the back of a small car. Early in 1975, he was secretly murdered by the new regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), and his body buried beneath the bathroom in one of the buildings in the ↗Jubilee palace used by the new dictator, Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam. Their whereabouts revealed after Mängəśtu's overthrow in 1991, his remains were disinterred and reburied in 2000 in the vault of the Qəddus Śəllase cathedral in Addis Abäba that he had prepared for them.

Character, Significance and Legacy

Ḫ.Ś.'s significance and legacy will long be debated, and only a preliminary assessment can be attempted here. His public face, honed over many years of deliberate self-control, is less contentious. Immediately on ascending the throne in 1930, he assumed an aloof and dignified style,

Ḫaylä Śəllase I surrounded by his family, Crown Prince Asfa Wäsän to his right; photo ca. 1965

which maximized his imperial aura; normally dressed in military uniform, he forsook the traditional dress of an Ethiopian nobleman that he had usually worn during the regency, though in later life (especially on diplomatic occasions) he appeared increasing in an ordinary western suit. Numerous accounts from foreigners testify to his personal charm. There is no reason to regard his lifetime devotion to the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church as anything but sincere.

This public persona masked an acute political mind, which closely conformed to the leadership style advocated in Macchiavelli's *The Prince*. He conceived the art of rule essentially as the manipulation of individual human beings, in which he was extremely adept. He was cautious and secretive, and – even during the regency period, when he was viewed as the leader of the modernizing tendency within the government, as against more traditional figures – he rarely took bold initiatives. His style was instead to encourage others to take such initiatives, whereupon he would himself act as an ostensibly neutral arbiter, without evidently taking sides, or assuming direct responsibility. It was an inclusive form of leadership, which encouraged different factions and individuals to work within the imperial system, while at the same time enabling him to remain central to the process, by playing off one faction against another. Keeping his options open, he very seldom resorted to brutal measures, even against those who had plotted against him – the leaders of the failed coup d'état of December 1960 providing a rare exception. Disgraced politicians were instead relegated to titular positions, from which they could aspire to return to imperial favour.

Compared with other leading Ethiopians of his generation, he was always acutely aware of the international dimension, and constantly sought diplomatic support to strengthen his position within the domestic political arena. His courting of the allied legations at the time of the 1916 ↗coup d'état against the Iyasu government set a pattern that continued. At the same time, he remained entirely Ethiopian in his own intellectual formation and allegiance. He never succumbed to the attractions of foreign ideologies, and when, as his regime was collapsing in early 1974, he had the option of seeking an honoured and comfortable exile, he refused it. He lived and died an Ethiopian.

As early as the 1920s, he was widely regarded as financially acquisitive, and in the later years of his reign, rumour ascribed to him a vast overseas fortune. There is however nothing to indicate the truth of such assertions. At the time of his wartime exile in 1936–40, he and his entourage lived in extremely straitened circumstances, while if he did possess a large fortune at the end of his life, he certainly took no steps to enjoy it. It is more likely that, in keeping with his highly personal sense of power, he simply failed to distinguish between his personal wealth and that of the state. Surprisingly, perhaps – and contrary to the dynastic clauses of the 1931 and 1955 constitutions – he never took any active steps to establish a dynasty. Though his two elder sons held titular provincial governorships, the Crown Prince in Wällo and prince Mäkʷännən in Harär, neither they nor any other of his descendants were given the opportunity to acquire the practical experience of government on which his own career had been founded. Instead, they were reduced to the role of idle appendages of the court.

Ḫ.Ś.'s broader historical role was that of a state-builder, adapting the legacies of his predecessors Tewodros II, Yoḥannəs IV and Mənilək to the circumstances of the central 50 years of the 20th cent. He readily appreciated and adopted those modern technologies, including aircraft, improved communications, taxation systems, and the bureaucracy, that could be used to strengthen imperial rule; but he had no evident conception of a modern state, as an organization that rested not just on hierarchical structures of rule, but on ideas and institutions that could link the population to the means by which they were governed. "Nation-building", insofar as it was pursued at all, took the form only of the extension of political and social forms characteristic of the central highlands, such as Christianity and the Amharic language, to other parts of the country.

The Italian war apart, Ethiopia was far more peacefully governed during his reign than either before or afterwards; and though this was at one level the result of benefiting from the pause between the ending of resistance to central government led by regional lords, and the rise of resistance derived from popular regional and ethnic nationalisms, it also reflected Ḫ.Ś.'s own lack of vindictiveness and skilful management of dissent. At the same time, he was quite unable to appreciate or adapt to the demands for popular engagement in political life, which in his own time were most evident in Eritrea and which subsequently spread to other parts of the country. Nor could he recognize ideologically based demands for social change, most powerfully expressed in the slogan "land to the tiller", that led to his own overthrow by a Marxist military regime. Many of the subsequent problems of Ethiopia were inherent in the state that he had done so much to form. While his status as one of Ethiopia's greatest rulers is assured, the exact nature of his rule and legacy is likely to remain deeply contested.

Src.: HSLife I, II; *Selected Speeches of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie First, 1918 to 1967*, Addis Ababa 1967. **Lit.:** Harold Golden Marcus, *Haile Sellassie I: the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987 (Lit.); Id., *Ethiopia, Great Britain and the United States, 1941–74*, Berkeley, CA 1983; ClapHS (Lit.); Philip Hoffman, *Abyssinian Memories*, Santa Barbara, CA 1948, 194 (ill.); John Markakis, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*, Oxford 1974; MockWar; John Spencer, *Ethiopia at Bay: a Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, Algonac 1984 (Lit.); Hans Wilhelm Lockot, *The Mission: the Life, Reign, and Character of Haile Sellassie I*, London 1989.

Christopher Clapham

Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa

Ḫ. (ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ጉግሳ, b. 1900, d. 1974, Addis Abäba) was a noble and collaborator of the Italians. He was the son of *ras* ↗Gugsa Arʾaya. In May 1934 *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I appointed *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša as provisional military commander for all Təgray in the event of war. He also reorganized the region's administration by appointing Ḫ. over eastern Təgray, excluding Aksum, Bora (Šinašša) and Säläwä, which were given to Śəyyum. Ḫ. reacted by secretly meeting with the Italian authorities in Asmära. On 27 May 1934 he suggested to them that, once they invaded Ethiopia, he would open the road for them from Mäqälä down to Däse. This act of treason had far-reaching implications for ↗Mussolini's decision to initiate the war (↗Italian war 1935–36).

Unsuspected by the Emperor, Ḫ. was put in charge of a central unit in the line of defense planned in September 1935. Upon receiving the appointment, he immediately revealed its details to the Italians. In response he was instructed by the Fascists to continue as normal until Ethiopian and Italian forces met. However, on 9 October 1935, six days after the Italians invaded Təgray, Ḫ. panicked and joined the opposition forces, a move that infuriated the Italians. In prematurely exposing his betrayal, he took away the Italian's element of surprise. Though they could now take Təgray quite easily – Ḫ. did open the main road for them – they could not beat, as they had expected, a substantial number of Ethiopian soldiers and had to resort to guerrilla tactics for the rest of the year. The Italians nevertheless continued to use Ḫ. in their campaign. Although they proclaimed him governor of Təgray on 16 October 1935, in practice they had little confidence in his abilities. During the entire Italian occupation of Ethiopia, Ḫ.Ś. was confined to Addis Abäba, where he lived in luxury, and it was only in 1938 that the Fascists promoted him to *ras*.

During the British campaign to liberate Ethiopia, Ḫ. continued to serve foreign interests. On 17 April 1941, he appeared in British-occupied Asmära and reported to their authorities. He repeated the same arguments he previously made to the Italians, that he was a representative of Təgrayan nationalism oppressed by a Šäwan emperor. At that time the British officers in charge of Eritrea were themselves contemplating the idea of a separate Təgrayan entity (↗British

Military Administration). They recognized Ḫ. as a *ras* and began financing his renewed government in eastern Təgray, but when he failed to pacify the Azäbo Oromo in his territory, the British confined him to Asmära on 18 May 1941. They refused, however, to hand him over to the Emperor, who considered putting the traitor on trial as an act necessary for both national recuperation and for re-establishing central authority over eastern Təgray. On 30 July 1941, Ḫaylä Śəllase filed a legal demand for Ḫ.'s extradition but the British officers in Asmära claimed they had promised Ḫ. never to hand him over to the Emperor (the documents available in the British archives attest, to the contrary, that he was specifically told there would be no such British commitment). Based on this claim, the British War Cabinet exiled Ḫ. to the Seychelles on 24 October 1941, from where he was allowed to continue corresponding with his men in eastern Təgray until a demand by the Emperor from December 1942 halted this activity. After four years of continuous pressure from the Emperor, London finally agreed to hand Ḫ. over for trial in Addis Abäba on September 1946. The trial lasted from August to October 1947 and Ḫ. was condemned to death, later commuted to life in prison. In September 1974 he was released by the new *Därg* regime and died in Addis Abäba some time later.

Src.: Theodoro Konovaloff, *Con le armate del Negus* (*Un bianco fra i neri*), Bologna 1938 (Diari e memorie 7); HSLife.

Lit.: Haggai Erlich, *Ethiopia and the Challenge of Independence*, Boulder, CO 1986, 129–209; Corrado Zoli, *Etiopia d'oggi*, Roma 1936; Id., *Chronache Ethiopiche*, Roma n.d.; Hadara Tesfai, *Ras Seyum Mangasha*, B.A. thesis, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University 1976; Luca dei Sabelli, *Storia d'Abissinia*, Roma 1936–38; Angelo del Boca, *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale. La caduta dell'impero*, Roma – Bari 1982; George Lowther Steer, *Caesar in Abyssinia*, London 1936; Id., *Sealed and Delivered*, London 1942; TSTarik 4; Gabriel Baer, *The Coming of the Italian-Ethiopian War*, Harvard, MA 1967; *Bərhanənna Sälam*, issues 1925–35 A.D.; Alberto Sbacchi, *Legacy of Bitterness: Ethiopia and Fascist Italy, 1935–1941*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1997, ch. 7; Käbbädä Täsämma, የታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ (*Yätarik mastawäša*, 'Historical memoirs'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], ^{2}1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.].

Haggai Erlich

Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School

The Ḫ.Ś. was the first secondary school in Ethiopia. In popular parlance, it was known as Kotäbe, after the neighbourhood in which it stands. It was opened on 23 July 1943, coinciding with the Emperor's 51st birthday, on the site of an agricultural research station that the Italians had built during the Occupation. Much of the school's initial equipment was also supplied by the Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property, while the food for the boarding students was provided by the Imperial Palace.

The school was modelled on the English public school and its management remained in foreign hands until 1964, alternating between the British (through the British Council), the Canadians (through the Sudan Interior Mission) and the Swedes. Starting in 1948, the students also began to take the British matriculation examination, the General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.), a pattern that was followed by other secondary schools until superseded by the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination (E.S.L.C.E.).

The school's first batch of students had had their prior education either inside Ethiopia before the Italian War or while in exile in Europe and the Middle East during the Occupation. Subsequently, sons of provincial chiefs and scholarship students from other African countries (Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda) also joined in. The school, which was noted also for its rich extra-curricular life (with clubs numbering 16), served as a springboard for higher education, sometimes even before the completion of the courses at Kotebe, and as a major source for recruitment into the ↗Harär Military Academy, the Imperial Air Force and the Harär Teacher Training Institute.

The graduates of the school ultimately became prominent members of the country's political and cultural elite in the 1950s and 1960s. These included ministers (↗Ǝndalkaččäw Mäkʷännən, ↗Kätäma Yəfru, Mika'el Ǝmməru and Zäwde Gäbrä Śəllase), writers (↗Mängəśtu Lämma) and one of the leaders of the abortive 1960 coup, ↗Gärmame Nəway.

The Ḫ.Ś remained a boarding school even after all other boarding schools became day schools in 1961. It had its first headmaster, Zäwdenäh Yəmtatu, in 1964. A satellite primary school, subsequently named Däǧǧač Wändyerad School, was opened through the initiative of Ḫ.Ś. students, who raised the funds to start the school. In 1968, the Ḫ.Ś. was transformed into a teacher-training college, known as the Kotebe College of Teacher Education.

↗Education

Lit.: CHERNET TILAHUN, *History of the Haile Selassie I Secondary School*, B.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 1983.

Bahru Zewde

Ḫaylu

Ḫ. (ኃይሉ) was the name of several important figures active in the period before and during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II.

The first to be mentioned is the Emperor's assumed father, Ḫaylu Wäldä Giyorgis, a lesser ruler from the early-19th-cent. Qʷara, who in all probability was also the father of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kənfu, who eventually brought Tewodros up. Not much is reported about him, chronicles of the time giving partially controversial information on his role and family situation. His first wife, Wälättä Täkle, was a niece of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Maru of Dämbəya and he had in all probability two sons by this marriage, Kənfu and Gäbru. He probably had other wives, but only one more of them is reported in the sources, ↗Attəṭägäb, a low-born woman from Gondär who bore him a third son, Kaśa (future *aṣe* ↗Tewodros). Probably, Ḫ. died soon after Kaśa's birth in the early 1820s as he does not figure actively in any of the chronicles or sources after this time.

Another Ḫ. we know from the time is *käntiba* Ḫ., a close advisor and perhaps godfather to Tewodros, who was allowed to participate in a church council (MonVidTheo 27). In 1854 Giustino De ↗Jacobis was placed in his custody. In 1867 *käntiba* Ḫ. became disconnected from the Emperor and is not mentioned in the sources of later times.

An *azzaž* Ḫ. was one of Tewodros's military leaders. He fell in a battle, pursuing the troops of ↗Bərru Goššu in May 1854 (ZanLitTheod 17).

Two years later, a certain *baša* Ḫ. was appointed governor of Goǧǧam along with *ras* ↗Əngəda.

Däǧǧazmač ↗Ḫaylä Märyam of Səmen is also often mentioned in the sources under the abbreviated form of his name, Ḫ.

Src.: FusTeod 1f. (text) = 64f. (tr.); ZanLitTheod 17, 26 (text); MonVidTheo 27 (text) = 33 (tr.); HENRY STERN, *Wanderings among the Falashas in Abyssinia*, London 1862, 63; HENRY DUFTON, *Narrative of a Journey through Abyssinia in 1862–3*, London 1867, 120.
Lit.: RubTew 25–28; RubInd s. index; CrumPriest 96.

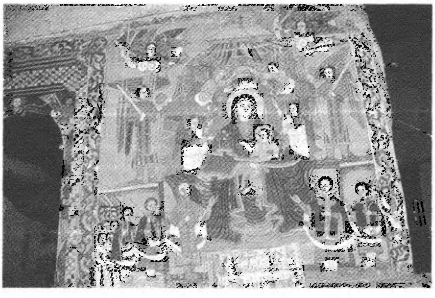
Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Ḫaylu Käbbädä

Däǧǧazmač Ḫ.K. (ኃይሉ፡ ከበደ, b. 1893/94, d. 1937, Walah) was a resistance leader during the ↗Italian war of 1935 and the occupation years. The son of *wag šum* ↗Käbbädä Täfäri, on his mother's side he descended from *ras* ↗Aligaz of Yäǧǧu and was married to the family of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV. Ḫ.K. lived in the court of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase) and joined the Parliament as a member of the Senate in 1931. At the end of 1934, with the Italian conflict near, he was sent to Wag to support his father and to organize the war effort. In March 1935, following the orders to prepare for mobilization to the forces of Wag, he travelled with his group of 300 armed fighters to Koräm, where there was a telegraph line to communicate with Addis Abäba.

Before the mobilization edict against the Italians was issued in November 1935, the forces of Wag under Ḫ.K. had already started their northward march as vanguard forces to garrison ↗Ambalage. On the defection of *dağğazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa in October 1935, Ḫ.K. was ordered by the Emperor to proceed to Mäqälä, but later withdrew because of the approach of heavy Italian forces. In early November 1935, two Italian aeroplanes bombed the forces of Wag near Ambalage, in what was the first serious action of Italian aviation.

In early December 1935, Ḫ.K. was again ordered to lead his forces towards Tämben, whose capital city ↗ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi had fallen to the Italians. On 18 December 1935, the forces of Wag engaged the well-fortified Italian army and recaptured the strategic peak of Amba Ṣällare and ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi. This victory, which was ac-



Virgin Mary with donors: ᶜAlämayyähu Dästa, Käbbädä Täfäri, Ḫaylu Käbbädä and Täfäri; cloth mural, western wall, Säqoṭa, Mädhane ᶜAläm church, ca. 1915; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers claimed by the Amharic weekly *Bərhanənna Sälam*, strengthened the morale of the Ethiopian forces in the north. It boosted the heroic zeal of the Ethiopian army to repeat a second victory in what later came to be known the First Battle of Tämben, in January 1936. However, in February 1936, on the defeat of the Ethiopians in Tämben, the forces of Wag suffered the worst casualties due to Italian air superiority. Following the battle of ↗Mayč̣äw on 31 March 1936, Ḫ.K. and his forces went to the countryside to continue with the resistence.

Däǧǧazmač Ḫ.K. then organized one of the earliest patriotic ↗Resistance movements, establishing his quarters in the valley of the Täkkäze in Dəhana, Wag. The Italians, who by then had lost control of the rural areas of Wag, regarded him as their strongest enemy. Thus, in early September 1937, aiming at an attack on Ḫ.K.'s forces from different directions, they mobilized a large army from Təgray, Lasta and Koräm, across the Ṭərari River, supported also by the Rayya-Azaboo Oromo. Although the forces of Wag scored the first victories, the Italians overpowered them on the last major battle on 22 September 1937 at Walah, near ↗Säqoṭa, capital of Wag. Ḫ.K. was wounded and died soon afterwards. His forces retreated in disarray, whilst the Rayya-Azaboo Oromo inflicted heavy damage, burning down churches and villages and looting the countryside as far as the Täkkäze valley.

Ḫ.K.'s body was transported by the Italians to Säqoṭa, barbarously mutilated and his head posted on a long pole for three days both at Säqoṭa and Koräm, to frighten the people into submission. They dropped leaflets to mark their victory and as a warning to other patriotic leaders. The surviving patriots of Wag rallied under Ḫ.K.'s wife, *wäyzäro* ↗Šäwanäš Abrəha, and moved to Qʷalisa, beyond the Täkkaze into Bägemdər, continuing the struggle.

↗Italian war 1935–36

Src.: *Bərhanənna Sälam*, 13 *Taḫśaś* 1928 A.M. [24 December 1935 A.D.], 7 *Ṭərr* 1928 A.M. [17 January 1936 A.D.]; HSLife; *New Times and Ethiopian News*, 23 October 1937. **Lit.:** Andrew J. Barker, *The Civilizing Mission: a History of the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1935–1936*, New York 1968; Pietro Badoglio, *The War in Abyssinia*, London 1973; Angelo del Boca, *The Ethiopian War, 1935–1941*, Chicago 1969; Alberto Sbacchi, *Ethiopia under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience*, London 1985, Anthony Mockler, *Haile Selassie's War*, London 1987; Wudu Tafete, "Dajjazmach Haylu Kabbada and the Patriotic Resistance Movement in Wag, 1935–41", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 97–110.

Wudu Tafete

Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot

Ras Ḫ. (ኃይሉ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት, birth name Śəyyum, "horse names" Abba Ṣäḥay, Abba Ḫayyal, Abba Tänna; b. ca. 1868 [?] Mänqʷärär, Däbrä Marqos, d. 2 May 1951) was a controversial and important Goǧǧame figure active during the first part of the reign of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

Ḫ. was the third son of *ləǧ* Adal Täsämma (↗Täklä Haymanot). At the age of 14 he was named *fitawrari* and appointed governor of Däga Damot. In 1896, he was promoted to *däǧǧazmač* of Mäč̣č̣a. On the death of his father in 1901, *aṣe* Mənilək II chose him, before his half-brothers ↗Bäläw and ↗Bäzzabbəh, as his successor. The following year, accused of having falsified a seal, he was imprisoned and replaced by Bäzzabbəh. Released in December 1906, he was made *ras* and was reappointed over Goǧǧam. He adopted then the name of Ḫaylä Iyyäsus II, in remembrance of his ancestor Ḫaylä Iyyäsus I "the Great". This name, "Ḫaylä", he would keep until death. In 1911, he married his daughter Säblä Wängel to *abeto* ↗Iyasu.

On the rise of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) in 1916, Ḫ. adopted a calm but diffident approach. Later, during the campaign of Däse which ended with the capture of Iyasu, he submitted formally to the authority of the new regent (June 1921). However, Täfäri included him, along with many other dignitaries whom he wanted to watch, in the delegation that visited Europe in 1924. Having passed under the influence of the Italians around 1928, Ḫ. helped Iyasu to escape in 1932. After that he was detained and sentenced to prison, but through his agents he could continue to manage his properties and interests. While fleeing Ethiopia to Djibouti in 1936, Ḫaylä Śəllase first took Ḫ. along with him but later freed him in Dərre Dawa.

During the Italian occupation, Ḫ. collaborated with the occupants, who paid him significant subsidies, while maintaining contacts with the resistance. For a short period, in February 1941, Italians gave him back Goǧǧam. On the return of Ḫaylä Śəllase he surrendered in Däbrä Marqos (April 1941), but the Emperor sent him to Addis Abäba under house-arrest. Shortly after, during the trial of *däǧǧazmač* Bälay Zälläqä and his own son, Mammo Ḫaylu, both accused of sedition, the Emperor obliged him to be a member of the jury (Greenfield 1965). After a long disease, Ḫ. died and was buried in Däbrä Marqos. His

Ras Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam, from Hartlmeier 1953:162

family enjoyed for a long time an unquestionable prestige in Goğğam.

Very rich, active in several commercial operations, open to foreign travellers and married several times, Ḫ. appears as a picturesque early-20th-cent. figure rather than the odd and tyrannical enemy of progress that has often been depicted. He was also a typical example of the traditional Christian Amhara and Təgrayan aristocracy. Like a number of local princes, he never accepted the hegemonic policies of the house of Šäwa, nor did he ever abandon his own political ambitions over Ethiopia. There is hardly any work dealing with contemporary Ethiopia or a travel book written between 1920 and 1950 where he is not mentioned.

Src.: GueCopMen vol. 2, 494ff., index.

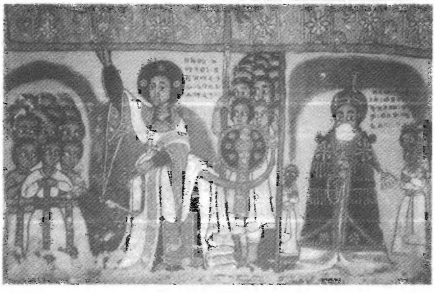
Lit.: Bairu Tafla, "Two of the Last Provincial Kings of Ethiopia: Negus Täklä-Haymanot Abba-Tänna of Goğğam, 1850–1901, and his Sons, and Negus Wäldä-Giyorgis Abboyyé Abba-Säggäd, c. 1859–1918", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 29–55; Richard Greenfield, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, New York 1965, 158, 176–79 and ff.; Marcel Griaule, *Flambeurs d'hommes*, Paris 1934, ^{2}1991; Bertrand Hirsch – Michel Perret, *Éthiopie, année 30*, Paris 1989, 107–15, 118, 158–63, 182; Paul Hartlmeier, *Amba Ras. Eine Reise durch das Kaiserreich Äthiopien*, Frankfurt 1953, 162 (ill.).

Alain Rouaud

Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən

Däğğazmač Ḫ. (ኃይሉ፡ ተወልደ፡ መድኅን, nicknamed Habal, 'skew-eyed' [s. RubActa II, 63]; d. 17 July 1876, Wäkki Dəbba, Ṣäʿazzäga) was a local lord and an ally of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. A member of the local nobility of ↗Ṣäʿazzäga in Ḥamasen, he became in the 1830s governor of Ḥamasen with the title of ↗*däğğazmač*. Whilst in office he did his best to consolidate and enlarge his control over the province, an ambition cherished by many pretenders. Ḫ. was prudent enough to rely on the rising fortune of Tewodros II.

In September 1858, Ḫ. fought in Ḥamasen on the Emperor's behalf with *däğğazmač* Agäw Nəguśe (↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel) and later pushed back the Egyptian advance, remaining completely loyal to Tewodros. He maintained his loyalty for long and as late as on 3 October 1867 ↗Ǝmnätä Maryam wrote to Antoine d'↗Abbadie that "*Däğğač* Ḫaylu is the only one loyal to the king" (RubActa II, 335). However, as the imminent downfall of Tewodros became obvious, Ḫ. wrote on 17 November to *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāʿīl Ibrāhīm asking for Egyptian support against his Christian rivals. With the arrival of the British expeditionary corps his loyalty toTewodros vanished completely and he joined Kaśa Mərç̣a (the future *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV), who had declared himself independent ruler of all Təgray.



Däğğazmač Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən of Ḥamasen and his wife Warka; diptych found in 1868 in Mäqdäla, painting on wood, 19th cent.; London, the British Museum (inv. Af 1979 01.3130); photo 1995, courtesy of Michael Gervers

In December 1868 Kaśa Mərça imprisoned Ḫ. and appointed *ras* ↗Wäldä Mika᾽el Solomon to rule Ḥamasen instead. In March 1876 Yoḥannəs IV once again appointed Ḫ. and dismissed Wäldä Mika᾽el. The latter, though, attacked Ḫ., who was killed on 17 July 1876 in the battle at Wäkki Dəbba near Ṣä῾azzäga (in the same battle, a Swedish misionary Per Erik Lager was killed, for which Wäldä Mika᾽el later apologized, s. ArEvang 197–201; RubActa III, 282).

Src.: RubActa II, 62, 63, 245, 304, 322, 335, 337, 369; RubActa III 212, 254, 282; RubInd 72f., 191, 209, 250f., 259, 278, 290, 334; KolTrad I nos. 247–50.
Lit.: ZewYohan 81; ArEvang 197–201.

Sevir Chernetsov

Ḫaylu Wäldäyäs

Ḫ.W. (ኃይሉ፡ ወልደየስ, b. Wälläga, fl. in the first decades of the 20th cent.) was one of the pioneers, together with ↗Bälaččäw Yəmär, of Ethiopian folk-painting, or so-called tourist painting, in the early 1930s.

Believed to have come from a high-ranking family, Ḫ.W. started his career by painting scenes from Ethiopian everyday life. He sold many of his paintings to the members of foreign delegations who were attending the coronation of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1930. He became famous for his portraits of important personalities, such as Theodore Roosevelt, King Fārūq I of Egypt or Leopold III of Belgium. Among the subjects of his works were the first landing of an aeroplane in Addis Abäba in December 1929, the animal fable *Cats and Mice* and a banquet given by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I. Adolf ↗Jensen bought up a large number of Ḫ.W.'s paintings and deposited them at the ↗Frobenius Institute. Ḫ.W.'s pictures can also be found in several European museums (e.g., the Lindenmuseum in Stuttgart).

Lit.: GIRMA FISSEHA – WALTER RAUNIG, *Äthiopien in der volkstümlichen Malerei*, Stuttgart 1993; IID, *Mensch und Geschichte in ÄthiopiensVolksmalerei*, Innsbruck 1985; ADOLF JENSEN, *Im Lande des Gada*, Stuttgart 1936; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Some Notes for a History of Ethiopian Secular Art", *EthObs* 10, 1, 1966, 5–80, here 44.

Girma Fisseha

Ḫaylu Wänd Bäwässän

Ras Ḫ. (ኃይሉ፡ ወንድ፡ በወሰን, fl. ca. 1791–1818) was the son of *daǧǧazmač* ↗Wänd Bäwässan of Lasta, one of the king-makers in the early part of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, and himself an important political figure.

Ḫ. became governor of Lasta in 1791/92. He demonstrated his opposition to *ras* ↗Aligaz of Yäǧǧu by releasing *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis from detention in Əmäkina, where he had been imprisoned by Aligaz in 1789, after a failed attempt to regain power.

Ḫ. stayed in good terms with Täklä Giyorgis and his family. In 1810 he is reported to have visited the court of his heir, *ras* Wäldä Śəllase, where he received gifts of firearms.

To defend Lasta from the constant raids of the Yäǧǧu Oromo, Ḫ. established closer relations with *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray and *wag šum* ↗Kənfu of Wag. They allied to defend their regions from Yäǧǧu Oromo incursions. In 1808 they mobilized their forces, attacked and killed Goǧǧe Aligaz, the Yäǧǧu chief and son of *ras* Aligaz.

Ras ↗Gugsa Märsa, the Yaǧǧu king-maker, repeatedly attacked Lasta in an attempt to suppress Ḫ.'s resistance. The last attempt in 1818 failed when Ḫ. avoided capture by withdrawing to his mountain stronghold of ↗Wähni Amba.

Src.: CHARLES BEKE, *Diary of a Journey through Abyssinia 1840–1843*, mf. Institute of Ethiopian Studies 18/A/1; GuiIyas; BlunChr; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce*, 2 vols., London 1831; HENRY SALT, *A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of that Country*, London 1967.
Lit.: BTafA s. index; WUDU TAFETE, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, c. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995.

Wudu Tafete

Ḫaylu Yosedeq

Ras Ḫ.Y. (ኀይሉ፡ ዮሴዴቅ, d. 1795, Nazret) was ruler of ↗Goǧǧam and an important player during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*.

Born of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Yosedeq Wäldä Abib and ↗Wälättä Əsra᾽el, daughter of *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) and sister to *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II, Ḫ.Y. succeeded his father as governor of Goǧǧam. He was given the rank of *ras* by *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis (BTafA 416). Following this, he made his capital at ↗Bəčäna and was one of the principal actors during the *Zämänä mäsafənt*.

Involved in the long struggle that removed and installed the rulers claiming to be the heirs to the Solomonic throne, Ḫ.Y. was also engaged in continous raids, battles and alliances with princes and kings. He confined Iyasu III in his own castle and ruled beyond Dangal Bar (Täklä Iyäsus 1975:79). He went to war against *aṣe* ↗Həzqəyas, siding with *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis I.

Later, however, he abandoned Täklä Giyorgis and conspired with others to install Iyasu, thus effecting the break-up of the Gondärine monarchy. He also nursed personal enmity with *däǧǧazmač* Ḫaylu Əšäte, who was his kinsman, although at times they were reconciled (Tekle-Tsadik Mekouria in PICES 8, vol. 2, 207).

Ras Ḫ.Y. died suddenly in Nazret (Goǧǧam) on 30 *Sane* in the year of the Creation of the World 7287 [5 July 1795] (BlunChr 435). He was buried at Däbrä Iyäsus (Täklä Iyäsus 1975: 83). Known for his love for churches, he built, among others, Däbrä (Mäkanä) Iyäsus in Nazret, Ǧəb Amba in Bäränta, Ṣəd Maryam in Qəmbʷat, Yägäwärä (Qʷəsqʷam) in Liban, Yädäränä in Gozamen, Mänkusä Gäbrəᵓel in Ṭähənän – still today existing – and sponsored church paintings. In Bəčäna he commissioned the well-known artist *aläqa* Asadu to draw St. George on a horse. He acted as a model for the artist by mounting personally on a horse and demonstrating to the artist how the horse lifted its hooves (Täklä Iyäsus 1975:81).

Ḫ.Y. had five children: his successor *däǧǧazmač* Mared, born to Məskäb, Dənqənäš, born to Malidama, Fasil, Yawəbdär and Wälättä Giyorgis. His counsellors were *däǧǧazmač* Walta, *käntiba* Iyoram, *fitawrari* Gigar and *fitawrari* Haleltu (*aläqa* Täklä Iyäsus [Täklä Zäbəḥerä Goǧǧam] 1975:83). The chronicler paints Ḫ.Y. as a kind and righteous man and calls him "the nourisher of the whole world" (BlunChr 435).

Src.: BlunChr 435; BTafA 416; GuiIyas.

Lit.: TEKLE-TSADIK MEKOURIA, "Histoire abregée de Haylou Esheté (Degiazmatche)", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 189–213, here 207; *alaqa* TÄKLÄ IYÄSUS [TÄKLÄ ZÄBÄḤƎRÄ GOǦǦAM], የዘመን፡ ታሪክ (*Yäzämän tarik*, 'History of Times'), Addis Abäba 1975, ms. Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Project no. 480–2, C20.

Fentahun Tiruneh

Haymanot mäsiḥawit

H.m. (ሃይማኖት፡ መሲሐዊት, 'Christian Faith' or 'Messianic Faith', i.e., 'the Faith Pertaining to the Anointed One'), is a concise and precise Gəᶜəz treatise, where the faith of the Unctionists (↗ *Qəbat*) is systematically exposed. The text, attempting an explanation as to what anointment or unction means to Jesus the Son of God, was probably written during the reign of *aṣe* Fasilädäs (1632–67), or perhaps even earlier. In any case, according to the H.m. itself (Getatchew Haile 1990:35), the text is the decision of an ecclesiastical council summoned to discuss the question of the Unction of Jesus Christ on 23 June 1655 at ↗Aringo, in the presence of *aṣe* Fasilädäs.

The H.m. is the earliest elaborated exposition of the problem originating from the initial controversy over the significance of the "unction" (*qəbᶜat*) of Jesus Christ. The subject matter is the question of unction and its relation to the heresy of ↗Nestorius and the formula of faith adopted at the council of ↗Chalcedon; other heresies, such as those of Sabellius, Macedonius and Arius, are also reviewed and condemned. Although strictly keeping to the *Qəbat* position, the treatise gives an evidence on all the three schools of ↗Christology which emerged in the first half of the 17th cent.

As recorded in the Chronicle of Susənyos, the definition of the Unctionists' faith was first uttered by the Emperor himself (cf. Getatchew 1990:vii [tr.]), probably in 1612/13 or in 1619/20: "Unction for Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is the grace of the Holy Spirit given to his humanity at the time of the union of humanity and divinity. Although he gives grace to all in his divinity equal with the Father and the Holy Spirit, he received grace in his humanity to give it to his brothers, the children of Adam. The grace which he received from the Holy Spirit was not by measure, as in the case of the Prophets and the Apostles, but without measure [...] This unction is like the grace of the Holy Spirit which makes the martyrs firm at the court of martyrdom and the righteous strong at the time of their strife with devils in the wilderness, and which assists the preachers in their preaching" (PerChron 237f. [text]). In 1621/22, passages of the treatise *Mäṣḥetä ləbbuna*, 'Mirror of Intelligence', are clear evidence of the same discussions (cf. Cerulli 1960:xiiff.).

From an historical point of view, the Unctionists' faith might be considered a consequence of the attempts by ↗Jesuit missionaries in the 16th–17th cent. to put the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Church under the suzerainty of the Roman Pope. Although the Emperor had traditionally the last word in any dispute, including theological, this time he did not, and not all monastic leaders went quietly along with this definition. The attempt to convert and the teachers' forceful reaction created a schism in the Ethiopian Church, causing the emergence of three schools: the *Qəbat*, maintaining that Christ became the natural Son of God by the unction or anointment of the Holy Spirit (*bäqəbᶜat wäldä baḥrəy*); the ↗*Ṣägga* (↗*Yäṣägga ləǧ*) or ↗*Sost lədät*, teaching that Christ at the third birth became the incarnated Son of God by grace (*bäṣägga*); and the ↗*Täwaḥədo* or ↗*Karra haymanot*, believing that the Son himself is unction and that Christ became the natural Son of God by unity of the flesh with the divinity (*bätäwaḥədo wäldä baḥrəy*).

The H.m. quotes extensively verses from the Old and New Testaments that refer to unction (as Susənyos did) and the works of the Church Fathers as preserved in the ↗*Haymanotä abäw* and the ↗*Qerəllos*. Interestingly, the other schools rely on the same sources and only differ in their interpretations.

Preserved either as an independent work by itself, or within other compositions (s., e.g., Getatchew Haile in PICES 6, or Guidi 1893, 1900-01), the text of the H.m. has been published on the basis of mss. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Eth. MS 1; EMML 2163; Paris, BN, Éth. 149; and Ṭānāsee 53 = Kebrān 53 (s. Getatchew Haile 1990:i (text), xiiif. [tr.]).

Src.: EMML VI, 271f.; GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Faith of the Unctionists in the Ethiopian Church* (*Haymanot Mäsiḥawit*), Louvain 1990 (CSCO 517, 518 [SAe 91, 92]), i (text), xiii (tr.); 35 (text) = 32 (tr.); HamTana I, 252; PerChron 237f. (text) = 183 (tr.); STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue of Ethiopic Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, Manchester 1974, 1f.; ZotBNat 252.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI-XVII*, vol. 2: *La Storia dei Quattro Concili ed altri opuscoli monofisiti*, Città del Vaticano 1960 (Studi e testi 204); GETATCHEW HAILE, "Materials on the Theology of Qəbᶜat or Unction", in: *PICES* 6, 205–50; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Di due frammenti relativi alla storia di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 2ª, 8, 1893, 579–605; ID., "Uno squarcio di storia ecclesiastica di Abissinia", *Bessarione* 8, 1900–01, 10–25; ID., "La Chiesa abissina", *Oriente moderno* 2, 1922, 123–28, 186–90, 252–56, here 187–90.

Getatchew Haile

Haymanot rətəᶜət

H.r. (**ሃይማኖት፡ ርትዕት**, 'Orthodox faith') is a Gəᶜəz theological treatise probably written by *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Käbte, the prominent scholar of ↗Exegesis in 18th-cent. Gondär. Named after its *incipit* ("... we shall begin by the help of God writing the matter of Orthodox Faith"), the H.r. is concerned with five major points of the Orthodox doctrine (some of them are the same, though different in order, as in ↗*Amməstu aᶜəmadä məsṭir* texts): belief in the Father, belief in the Son, belief in the Holy Spirit, belief in the Church and belief in the Resurrection. In a manuscript, presently in possession of the author of the article, the work is entitled "The Treatise [*məᶜəlad*] of *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Käbte, the Five Pillars of Mystery [*Amməstu aᶜəmadä məsṭir*] he composed". The manuscript previously belonged to a traditional scholar of ↗*andəmta*, most probably an adherent of the ↗*Ṣägga* teaching. However, it is difficult to say whether Käbte followed the *Ṣägga* school. According to Admasu Ǧämbäre (1961/62:303), Käbte represented the ↗*Qəbat* position (*bäqəbat yäbaḥrəy ləǧ*). In any case, the assumption "that the H.r. is originally a treatise of the Adoptionists [*Ṣägga*]" (Getatchew Haile in PICES 6, 208) seems questionable, for the essential statement of the text hardly confirms it: *Ḫadärä laᶜəlehu mänfäs qəddus... wäzəntu ḫədrätu täsämyä qəbᶜatä* ('The Holy Spirit dwelled upon Him [the Incarnate Son] ... and this dwelling was called Unction').

The work is arranged in the form of a fictitious dialogue with alternation of questions and answers, e.g.:

> Question: If anyone asks how faith can be one while there are five ["objects" of belief]?
> Answer: We shall say to him ...
> Question: Do you have evidence from the Scriptures, or is it your own invention?
> Answer: We say to him: yes we have ..., etc.

As usual in this kind of works, the evidence presented by the H.r. is fetched from the ↗Bible and patristic literature.

Gəᶜəz text of the H.r. is preserved in mss. EMML 632 (19th cent.) and 6983; London, BriMus Add. 16199; Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1801 (19th cent.); an Amharic version is preserved in EMML 1131 (19/20th cent.).

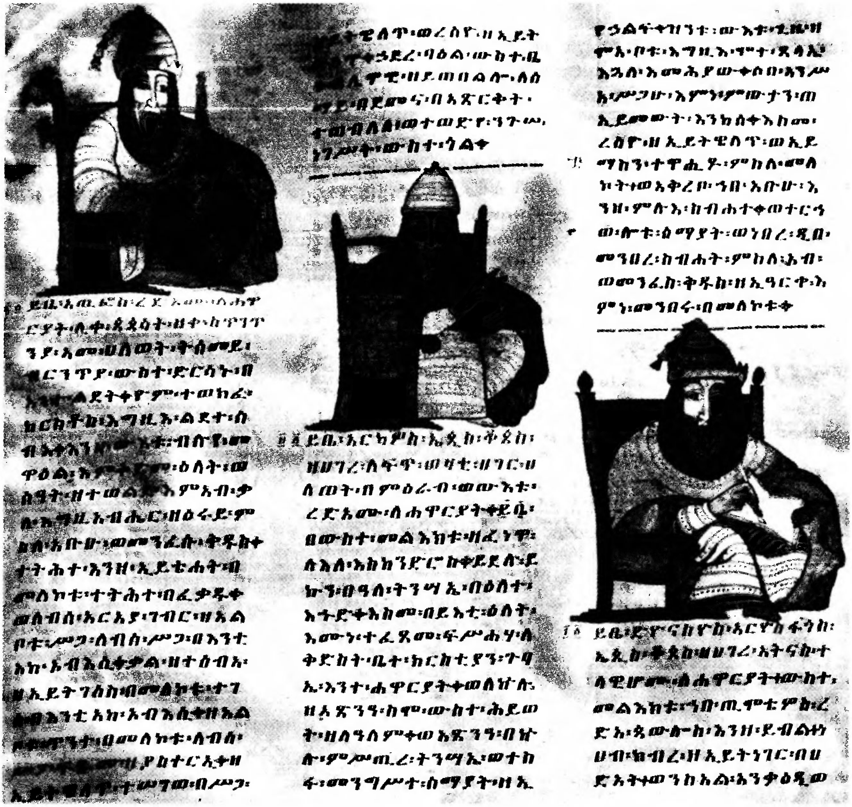
Src.: DillmLond 20f., no. 15 [Add. 16199]; EMML vol. 2, 381 [no. 632]; vol. 4, 38 [no. 1131]; no. 6983; EDWARD ULLENDORFF – STEPHEN G. WRIGHT, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library*, Cambridge 1961, 34, no. 32 [Or. 1801].

Lit.: *mälᵓakä bərhan* ADMASU ǦÄMBÄRE, **መድሎተ፡አሚን** (*Mädlotä Amin*, 'Balance of the Faith'), Addis Abäba 1954 A.M. [1961/62 A.D.], 303; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Materials on the Theology of Qəbᶜat or Unction", in: *PICES* 6, 205–50.

Fisseha Tadesse Feleke

Haymanotä abäw

The H.a. (**ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው**, 'Faith of the Fathers') is the title of the Gəᶜəz version of a large Arabic compilation of writings of early Church Fathers and later Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. A section is devoted to anathematize any deviation from what they confess. The work



Folio from a 17th-cent. ms. of the *Haymanotä abäw* showing Church Fathers; Čäläqot, Śəllase Church, fol. 12r; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

mainly deals with the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation and its main goal is to defend the non-Chalcedonian ↗Christology (Bandrès 2003; Cowley 1998:285). Translated from an 11th-cent. Arabic Coptic florilegium اعتراف الآباء (*Iʿtirāf al-abāʾ*, 'The Confession of the Fathers', s. GrLit II, 321ff.), the H.a. has become part of the corpus of patristic and post-patristic literature in Ethiopia, the so-called **የሊቃውንት፡ መጻሕፍት** (*Yäliqawənt mäṣaḥəft*, 'The Books of the Doctors').

According to Ricci (RicLett 839, n. 17), the H.a. was translated before 1577, since it is quoted in the ↗*Mäzmurä Krəstos*. Isenberg (1841:198) holds that the translation is by Mäbaʾa Ṣəyon son of *ras* ʿAmdu and that it was done during *aṣe* Gälawdewos's reign (1540–59). This statement has been repeated by many scholars; however, no manuscript shows evidence for this attribution.

Graf has made an exhaustive analysis of the Arabic Coptic compilation and given references to Greek texts that have served as a source for its elaboration. However, neither the H.a., nor its Arabic Vorlage have been hitherto critically edited. The only edition is that of the Gəʿəz text with its Amharic translation, prepared within the Patriarchate of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (1967 A.M.).

At the beginning of the 17th cent., the H.a. acquired importance in the context of the controversies with the ↗Jesuits, who considered it as the most important book in connection with the Ethiopian creed at that time. For this reason, they did not attack directly the Fathers' writings, and Pedro ↗Paez even made use of them to defend the Catholic doctrine (BecRASO, vol. 3, 430; vol. 6, 235; vol. 11, 328), while Father Antonio ↗Fernandes said that he made some corrections in it between 1622 and 1624, erasing the "blasphemies" against Pope Leo and the Council of ↗Chalcedon (BecRASO, vol. 11, 510; vol. 12, 55).

Those controversies have been studied by Cerulli, who also gave trails for the study of the different recensions of the H.a. (Cerulli 1942). According to him, four states could be found: the "primitive" one; the Jesuits' one; a "monophysite" version which would be contemporaneous to the Jesuits'; and finally the "revised" version, corrected after the departure of the Jesuits. Unfortunately, as the indication that manuscript Paris BN Eth. 111 would date from the 16th cent. is quite uncertain, the earliest manuscripts known are from Emperor Yoḥannəs's reign (1667–82): ms. EMML 3459, dated 1671, from Yäǧǧu, Wällo; ms. EMML 1 which had formerly belonged to Məṭraha Maryam church at Lake Ṭana (Heldman 1993:242) and ms. Ṭānāsee 182, from Qaḥa Iyäsus, Gondär (SixTana III, 247–50). Those last two are illustrated with a frontispiece miniature of the 318 bishops at the Council of Nicaea, then with portraits of each of the 37 patriarchs. Also decorated similarly are the two following volumes: Śəllase church, in Ç̣äläqot (Heldman 1993:243), probably from the beginning of the 18th cent., a volume belonging to Gondäročč Giyorgis church, Gondär (Leroy 1967). Finally four other volumes of the end of the 17th cent. are known: a manuscript used by Graf, ms. Tübingen aeth. 18, dated 1688, belonging to the Enno Littmann collection and now preserved in Halle; ms. BritLib Orient. 784, dated from 1695 (WrBriMus 232ff.); EMML 2051, 17th cent., Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos; EMML 4753, 17th cent., Boru Śəllase, Täkʷəlädäre, Wällo.

As far as the liturgical use is concerned, all the services of Holy Week, until the vigil of Easter Sunday, include lessons from the H.a. (↗*Fasika*; ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*). At Mass, it is often read during the communion of the clergy.

The H.a. should not be confused with **ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው፡ ቀደምት** (*Haymanotä abäw qäddämt*, 'Faith of the Ancient Fathers'), the title of an Amharic history of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church produced by two generations of Ethiopian scholars: *däbtära* ↗Kəflä Giyorgis and ↗Kidanä Wäld Kəfle.

Src.: **ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው** (*Haymanotä abäw*, 'Faith of the Fathers'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1975 A.D.], ^{2}1986 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.]; **ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው፡ አንድምታ፡ ትርጓሜ** (*Haymanotä abäw andəmta tərgʷame*, 'Faith of the Fathers, Commentary, Translation'), ms. 2, Addis Abäba, St. Francis Major Seminary; BecRASO, vol. 3, 430; vol. 6, 235; vol. 11, 328, 510; vol. 12, 55; EMML I, 48f., no. 1; VIII, 278f., no. 3459; X, 293, no. 4753; CHARLES WILLIAM ISENBERG, *Dictionary of the Amharic Language*, London 1841, 198; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Paintings in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gondar Dynasty*, London 1967, pl. 35f.; SixTana III, 247–50; WrBriMus 232–34; ZotBNat 106–24.

Lit.: *abba* AYELÈ TEKLEHAYMANOT [MARIO DA ABIY-ADDÌ], "The Theological Terminology of the Haymanota Abaw used in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", *Adveniat regnum tuum*, numero speciale edito nel 25° anno di A.R.T., Asmara 1986, 87–110; JOSÉ LUIS BANDRÈS, "Christologie éthiopienne contemporaine", *Irenikon* 77, 1, 2004, 64–67 [with an appendix by UGO ZANETTI, "Le florilège dogmatique 'La Foi des Pères'"]; ENRICO CERULLI, "I manoscritti etiopici della Biblioteca Nazionale di Atene", *RSE* 2, 1942, 181–90, here 188; ROGER WENMAN COWLEY, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation: a Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 38), 285; GEORG GRAF, "Zwei dogmatische Florilegien der Kopten. B. Das Bekenntnis der Väter", *OrChrP* 3, 1937, 345–402, here 356; GrafLit II, 321ff. (Lit.); AfrZion 242f.; OTTO ARNOLD JÄGER – LISELOTTE DEININGER-ENGLHART, "Some Notes on Illuminations of Manuscripts in Ethiopia", *RSE* 17, 1961, 45–60, here 49; RicLett 839f.

Anais Wion – Emmanuel Fritsch

Haymanotä abäw

H.a. (**ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው**, 'Faith of the Fathers') was a religious association of college students. It was set up in November 1957 by Orthodox Christian students from the three colleges then existing in Addis Abäba, the University College, the Engineering College and the Building College (today all part of the ↗Addis Ababa University). The Association's scope was the deepening of religious knowledge with the help of new scientific and philosophical ideas and the preservation of religious traditions, hence its name.

Those who drew up the initial constitution of the Association were: Asfaw Damte, Ǝste Gännät Zäwde, Getahun Nägaš, Ḫaylu Fulas, Näbyat Täfäri, Taddäsä Täʾammərat, Yäšimmäbet Ǝmaññu and Zäwdnäh Yəmtatu. The latter and Taddäsä Täʾammərat became the first officers of the H.a. as President and Secretary, respectively. A representative was also assigned for each of the colleges in order to facilitate co-ordination of the activities of the colleges with the overall central body, as well as with one another.

The primary object of the H.a. was to educate its members in the fundamentals of their religion. This was achieved through conducted evening classes under a teacher thoroughly versed in the teachings of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church and one who took account of the special needs of the college students. *Abunä* ↗Tewoflos, then the deputy Patriarch, assigned three successive teachers for the University College, the third being Paul Verghese, from the Indian Orthodox Church of Malabar and versed in Amharic.

In the spring of 1958, after an invitation by the Patriarch of the Indian Orthodox Church through a letter to Ḫaylä Śəllase, the H.a. sent two delegates to attend the Golden Jubilee of the Indian Orthodox college students association. It also organized a conference attended by the Patriarch and other prominent leaders of Church and state. These activities brought the H.a. to greater public notice.

However, with the coming of the *Därg* and its anti-religious policies, H.a.'s activities were severely curtailed and eventually the Association became dormant. After the fall of the *Därg*, during the first years of the 1990s an attempt to reactivate it faced the opposition of the Patriarch. In its place a youth association named *Maḫbärä Qəddusan*, having a wider scope and under the lead of the Patriarchate, was established sometime in 1993–94.

Asfaw Damte

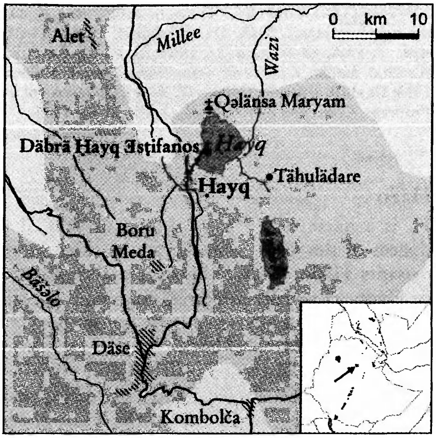
Ḥayq

Lake Ḥ. (**ሐይቅ**) is located 60 km north of ↗Däse and east of the Mäqälä road in Amhara *kəlləl* (currently South-Wällo zone, ↗Ambassäl). The diamond-shaped lake lies at the bottom of a formerly eroded volcanic crater. This intensively cultivated depression towers in a 500 m escarpment above the lowlands of Wärräbabbo, which form a balcony high above the ↗ᶜAfar Triangle. In Amharic, *ḥayq* means 'lake' (cp. Gəᶜəz *ḥayq* 'seashore, riverbank'); hence the designation Ḥ. Ǝsṭifanos ('Lake Ǝsṭifanos'), after the name of the venerable isolated Ǝsṭifanos monastery (↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos) located on the island of the same name.

The waters of the lake come from an outlet of Lake Ardibbo, to the south, and its surface can vary as much as 40 %, according to the rainfall. Its waters leave the lake through the ↗Millee, crossing the highlands until they join the ↗Awaš in ᶜAfar. Its once-marshy shores support between 150 and 200 inhabitants/km^2 (5-9 persons per cultivated km^2) and have recently seen the development of agriculture irrigated through water-pumps. The proximity of the urban markets of Däse (130,000 inhabitants) and Kombolča (63,000 inhabitants) offers good opportunities for vegetable production.

The reputation of Ǝsṭifanos monastery in Ethiopian history since the 13th cent. and the impressive scenery of the lake are an attraction for many pilgrims and tourists. A new road leaves Ḥ. eastwards and joins the ᶜAsäb road below the town of ↗Bati, the largest market in Ethiopia. The town of Ḥayq (11,000 inhabitants) lies next to the track leading to the lake branches off the main road. It offers a few hotels, garages, petrol stations, various shops and *wäräda* Tähuladare (↗Täkʷəlädäre) office buildings. The road to the north, the former Italian *Strada della Vittoria*

Lake Ḥayq; photo courtesy of Marie-Laure Derat



(‘Road of the Victory’) has lost some of its importance since the independence of Eritrea.

Src.: CSA 1998; CSA 2000; EMAtlas.

Lit.: ODD EIRIK ARNESEN, “The Becoming of Place: a Tulama-Oromo Region of Northern Shoa”, in: PAUL TREVOR WILLIAMS BAXTER – JAN HULTIN – ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (eds.), *Being and Becoming Oromo*, Uppsala 1996, 210–38; DESSALEGN RAHMATO, *Famine and Survival Strategies: a Case Study from Northeast Ethiopia*, Uppsala 1991; *Guida* 321; HuntGal; MesfGeogr; MESFIN WOLDE-MARIAM, *Suffering under God’s Environment: a Vertical Study of the Predicament of Peasants in North-Central Ethiopia*, Bern 1991; TadTChurch 36f., 110, passim.

Alain Gascon

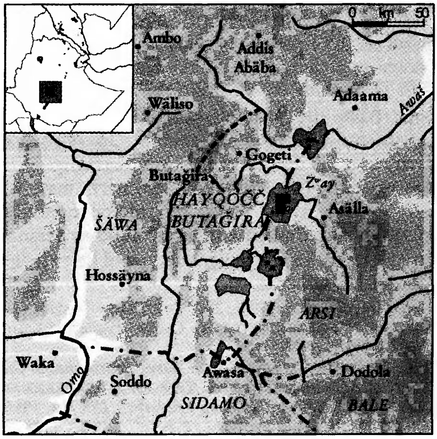
Ḥayqočč-Butağira

Ḥ.-B. (**ሐይቆችና፡ ቡታጂራ**, *Ḥayqoččənna Butağira*, ‘Lakes and Butağira’) *awrağğa* was, together with the ↗Kämbata [and Hadiyya] and ↗Čäbo-Gurage *awrağğas*, one of the southern sub-provinces of Šäwa province. Ḥ.-B. covered ca. 10,900 km² in the region south of the Awaš river between the edge of the Gurage – Kämbata highland range or the Bilate (Weera) river, respectively, and the Rift Valley lakes (Lake ↗Qoqa, Lake ↗Zʷay, Lake ↗Langano, Lake ↗Abyata, Lake ↗Šala and Lake ↗Awasa). The population of the *awrağğa* was ca. 489,400 inhabitants in 1970 and increased to 1,288,178 in 1984 (CSO 1971; CSA 1984).

From its integration into the Ethiopian Empire till the Italian occupation, the north of the region was part of ↗Gurage province (administrative centre: ↗Wäliso) and the south was part of Kämbata province (administrative centre: Hosaʾəna [↗Hossäyna]). Under Italian rule the region was integrated into the “Galla e Sidama” *governorato*, the north becoming the sub-province “Residenza dei Guragè Orientali” (administrative centre: Gogeti near ↗Butağira), the south the “Residenza del Cambátta” (administrative centre Hosaʾəna). In 1962 the whole area became part of Šäwa province under the name of Ḥ.-B. (BrHad 353, 357, 360, 369; Guida 548). Ḥ.-B. was suspended as a administrative unit during the re-organization of Ethiopia’s administrative divisions after the fall of the *Därg* regime.

Ḥ.-B.’s administrative capital was ↗Adamii Tulluu (s. EAE V) at the southern shore of Lake Zʷay, later Mäki in the north of the lake and finally the newly founded town of Zʷay. In the 1960s the *awrağğa* consisted of seven *wärädas* (administrative centres and number of sub-districts in brackets): ↗Mäsqan (Koto, 2), ↗Səlṭi (Qəbät, 2), ↗Soddo (Buʾi, 3), ↗Alaaba [1970 Alaaba Qolito] (Qolito, 2), ↗Nagallee (Nagallee, –), Adamii Tulluu (Adamii Tulluu [in 1970 Mäki], 3), Šašämänne (↗Šašämänne, 2) [CSO 1964:183; 1970:198].

The composition of the population of Ḥ.-B. *awrağğa* was characterized by ethno-linguistic diversity. Highland East Cushitic was represented by the Hadiyya (subgroups of Šaašoogo and Baadaawwaččo were partly, and Maraaqo fully included into the *awrağğa*) and Alaaba. Lowland East Cushitic-speakers in H. and B. were the Arsi and Ğəle (↗Tuulama), East Gurage was spoken by the different Səlṭi groups and other Gurage languages were represented by Mäsqan, ↗Dobbi (↗Gogot) and the Kistane/↗Soddo.



Islam is predominant in most of the area. It is traditionally linked to the Muslim centres of Abrät (Čaha Gurage), Qoliṭo (Alaaba), Alkäso (Səlṭi) and ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn in Bale. The Orthodox Church has its strongest following among the Mäsqan and Kistane.

The region of Ḥ.-B. had long great importance as a passage-way for trade as well as migration. The route via Maraaqo, Qəbät and ↗Wəlbaräg into the Hadiyya and Kambaata highlands, which is more or less similar to the all-weather-road of today, has long been a caravan route (especially for the trade in ivory, slaves and coffee from the south), connecting central Šäwa with Wälaytta.

Src.: CSO 1964, 183; CSO 1970, 198; CSA 1984; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY, *Ethiopia [Map 1:2,000,000]*, Addis Ababa 1985; PerGov (map: *Ethiopia Provinces in 1935*); *Guida* 548.

Lit.: BrHad 353, 357, 360, 369, 425 (map).

Dirk Bustorf

Hayyuu

H. is an honorary Oromo title traditionally given to holders of secular offices who had been chosen by consensus and had specified responsibilities, such as *hayyuu gosa*, H. of a moiety or clan; *hayyuu* ↗*hariyyaa*, H. of an age-set; *hayyuu adu-ulaa*, H. of the council. Some were selected for life and some for periods of some years, but all were expected to be wise, knowledgeable, experienced and devoted to the maintenance of custom and peace ↗*aada*, *nagaa* (↗Greetings) through their wise counselling and sagacious judgements. Nowadays, H. is commonly used colloquially as 'judge' (Leus – van de Loo – Cotter 1992:109), 'eliticist, intellectual or wise' (TilDic 298) or 'member of council of elders' (GraggDic 205).

It is possible to delineate the portrait of the sage from the prominence which the notion occupies in Oromo ↗proverbs. In terms of frequency of occurrence, it ranks amongst the keywords most employed. Sagacity may be acquired in many ways: by inference, study, through suffering, moulding by another person, by the heart. Such a sapiential type of knowledge diminishes violence.

Src.: GraggDic 205; TilDic 298; TON LEUS – JOSEPH VAN DE LOO – GEORGE COTTER, *An Oromo-English Vocabulary*, Debre Zeit 1992, 109.

Lit.: ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York 1973; ABDURAHMAN MOHAMED KORRAM, "Oromo Proverbs", *JES* 7, 1, 1960, 65–80; ID., "Oromo Proverbs (Part 2)", *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 105–26; MARIO BORELLO, "Proverbi galla", *RSE* (volume supplementare), 1945, 111–30; *ibid.* 5, 1946, 103–21; *ibid.* 7, 1948, 68–88; *ibid.* 24, 1969–70, 40–73; CerFolk; ANGELO MIZZI, *I proverbi galla* (*Prima serie*), Valletta 1935; CLAUDE SUMNER, *Oromo Wisdom Literature*, vol. 1: *Proverbs. Collection and Analysis*, Addis Ababa 1995.

Claude Sumner

Hazo

H. is a name of a ↗Sāho sub-group and of a dialect of the Sāho language; it has three more variants: Ḥádo, Ḥádu or Ḥázu. The forms Ḥádo or Ḥádu are usually preferred, so as not to recall the day when the two brothers ᶜUmar "Tarūᶜá" and Aḥmad "Ḥazwān" had to "cut" (*ḥaz*) in two the flock they shared. This division occurred in a place called Lā Ḥazén ('cows divided'), near Mount Gadam. Traditionally, the H. wander during the winter from Mount Wangābo, south of Iḍāfalu, to *wadi* ᶜIndēli (Asad), which is the limit of their seasonal migration in summer. The H. neighbour the ᶜAfar Balᶜossuwa to the east. According to the Italian census, the H. numbered around 3,000 in 1931. They are divided into seven lineages (*gaysa* or *fire*): ᶜAsa ᶜAlīla (or ᶜAsa-Alila), ᶜAsa-ᶜAli *gaysa*, Konsubi *fire*, Ḥammadi *gaysa*, Maḥammad-Kayyūya, Mūsabbago and ᶜUmarto. The H. and the Saho Tarūᶜa are linked genealogically with the ᶜAfar ↗Ḥasoba.

According to a recent hypothesis the H. might be identified with the Ḫasa of an inscription by King ↗ᶜEzana (DAE no. 11 [=RIÉ 189.9]), as well as with the Ḫāsu of Ibn Ḥawqal (Kramers 1930:55f.), whose name might have survived in the Təgrəñña toponym Ḥasa Zäga (↗Hazzäga; Lusini in StudAeth 73ff.).

Src.: DAE 11=RAE 189.9; T.H. KRAMERS (ed.), *Opus geographicum auctore Ibn Hawkal*, Leipzig 1938, 55.

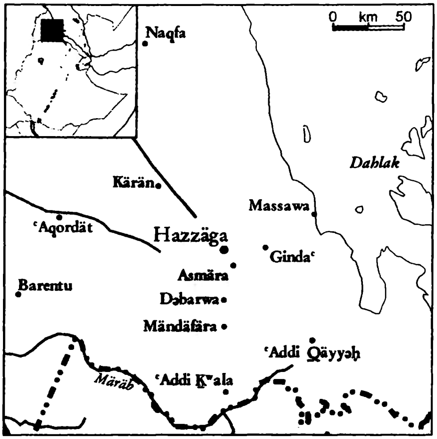
Lit.: DIDIER MORIN, *Des paroles douces comme la soie: introduction aux contes dans l'aire couchitique* (*bedja, afar, saho, somali*), Paris 1995 (Langues et cultures africaines 19); ID., *Dictionnaire historique afar*, Paris 2004, 190; PollEr 264f.; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Note linguistiche per la storia dell'Etiopia antica", in: *StudAeth*, 67–77, here 73ff.

Didier Morin

Hazzäga

H. (**ሀዘጋ** [cp. ↗Hazo]; 15'N, 38'E; 2,129 m A.S.L.) is today a village of ca. 2,000 inhabitants, belonging to the Minabä Zärᵓay descent group, in the ↗Däqqi Täššəm district in Ḥamasen, Eritrea.

Historically, H. was the seat of a branch of the Däqqi Täššəm dynasty of ↗Ḥamasen rul-



ers, called Ǝnda Hazzäga ('House of H.'), which competed with the other, more dominating branch of nearby (Ǝnda) ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga. Oral tradition reports that the dynasty's 17th-cent. ancestor Täsfa Ṣəyon was a native of H. It was in his time that the rivalry between the two settlements initiated; his two younger sons founded Ṣäᶜazzäga, while the older remained in H. Power came into the hands of the younger branch, but the Ǝnda Hazzäga retained claim to governorship.

In the 18th cent., a descendant of the H. branch, *käntiba* Qälätä, was briefly put into power by the ruler of Təgray, *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Səḥul. This revived the old claim, culminating in a bloody struggle between the family of his grandnephew *ayte* Sälomon (son of Zärᵓay, who ruled Ḥamasen for over 40 years) and the house of Ṣäᶜazzäga in the 19th cent. After the death of his father, Sälomon claimed the governorship by succession. He was followed by his widow ↗Ǝllen as the regent of Ḥamasen in the 1850s (in the name of her young son ↗Wäldä Mikaᵓel). The long, sometimes interrupted, governorship of their rival, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən from Ṣäᶜazzäga, was marked by the fierce blood-feud led by *ras* Wäldä Mikaᵓel. He always rose to power when Ḫaylu was deposed (e.g., in 1868 and in 1875).

A number of local leaders of different districts and descent groups of Ḥamasen in his time built houses in H., to be present at the governor's court.

A crucial moment for the final fall of both houses, however, was the year 1876, when Wäldä Mikaᵓel declared himself and Ḥamasen subject to Egypt in order to consolidate his rule. In the following battle of Wəkkidəbba, his rival lost his life, he himself had to flee from the Təgrayan armies. The governorship was then in the hands of appointees from Təgray and thus lost for ever. In July 1889 H. was burnt and pillaged by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫadgä Anbäsa, by then in Italian service, and subsequently brought under Italian rule (KolTrad III, A110; KolTrad II, 198f.).

The ancient rivalry between both houses deeply influenced the development of the ↗Märäb Məllaš and also dominates the traditional oral historiography, the most monumental documentation of it being called **ዛንታ፡ ጸዐዛጋን፡ ሀዘጋን** (*Zanta Ṣäᶜazzägan Hazzägan*, 'The Story of Ṣäᶜazzäga and H.'), collected and translated by Johannes ↗Kolmodin in the early 20th cent. (KolTrad). The last chapter of the collection is concluded with a note on the end of the rivalry between two "houses". This was ended in the time of Italian colonialism, but was to revive one day in the future, in a battle near ᶜAddi Yaqob "before the arrival of Tewodros", the mythical leader who would bring eternal peace to Ethiopia (KolTrad II, 204; ↗*Fəkkare Iyäsus*).

Lit.: KilHDic 247f.; KolTrad I, II, 198f., 204 [s. index], III, A102–A111 ["Les annales modernes de Hazzega"]; RUFFILLO PERINI, *Di qua dal Marèb (Marèb-mellasc')*, Firenze 1905, 54–96; [Tgn. tr. by GÄBRÄ NƎGUŚ, *Märäb Məllaš*, Roma – Asmära 1995]; YƎSḤAQ YOSEF, **ንግስነት፡ ሃገረ፡ ምድሪ፡ ባሕሪ፡ (ኤርትራ፡), ታሪኽ፡ ደጊያት፡ ሃይሉ፡ «ኣባ፡ ጋላ፡»** (*Nəgsənnät hagärä Mədri Baḥəri* [*Ertəra*], *tarik̠ däggiyat Haylu «abba Galla»*, 'The Narrative of the Land of the Sea [Eritrea], the History of *Däggiyat* Haylu «*Abba* Galla»'), Asmära 2000.

Wolbert Smidt

Coup d'état 1916

Lǝǧ ↗Iyasu, son of *ras* Mikaʾel Ali of Wällo and grandson of *aṣe* Mǝnilǝk II, became a de-facto ruler of Ethiopia after the death of *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw in 1910. With the growth of his power, the Šäwan party, lead by *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis, *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis and probably *däǧǧazmač* Täfäri Mäkʷännǝn (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śǝllase I), among others, grew afraid of losing its central position in the country. The international context of ↗World War I and the ruler's support for the Central Powers was also of some meaning for the Šäwan party, mostly connected with the Allies. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church felt at the same time threatened by the pro-Islamic sympathies of *lǝǧ* Iyasu.

As a result, in 1916 the nobles and clergy used Iyasu's visit to Harär for a coup. At a meeting on 27 September in Addis Abäba, they accused *lǝǧ* Iyasu of betraying both Mǝnilǝk's will and the Christian religion. They proclaimed Mǝnilǝk's daughter ↗Zäwditu the new Empress and Täfäri Mäkʷännǝn the Heir to the Throne, with the title of *ras*. *Fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis became the third member of the triumvirate. On 11 February 1917, Zäwditu was crowned Empress (*nǝgǝśtä nǝgǝśtat*). The Wällo army led by *ras* Mikaʾel was defeated by Šäwans under *fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis at ↗Sägäle on 27 October 1916. *Lǝǧ* Iyasu would spend the next years hiding until he was arrested and imprisoned in 1921.

Src.: Borg G. Steffanson – Ronald K. Starret (ed.), *Documents of Ethiopian Politics, the Decline of Menelik II to the Emergency of Ras Teferi, Later Known as Haile Selassie 1910–1919*, vol. 1, Salisbury 1976, 113–18; HSLife I 43–59; GebMolIyas 60–96, 354–88; Didier Morin, *Le texte légitime. Pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Paris 1999 (Langues et Cultures Africaines 25), 260.

Lit.: Harold Golden Marcus, *The Time and Reign of Menelik II of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1975, 272–81; Id., *Haile Sellassie I, the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, LA 1987, 18–27; BZHist 127f.; TSTarik IV 108f.; Hanna Rubinkowska, "Wybrane aspekty panowania Lydża Ijasu, 1909 – 1916", *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Afrykanistycznego "Afryka"* 12, 2000, 25–38; Id., "Coup d'etat in Ethiopia – 1916", *Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures* 29, 2001, 39–52.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Coup d'état 1960

On 13 December 1960 A.D., Brigadier General ↗Mängǝśtu Nǝway, commander of the Imperial Bodyguard, and his younger brother ↗Gǝrmame Nǝway, governor of Ǧiǧǧiga province, occupied the imperial palace in Addis Abäba. Their supporters included General ↗Mulugeta Buli, former Imperial Guard commander and personal Chief of Staff to the Emperor, *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śǝllase I; Brigadier General Ṣǝgge Dibu, Chief of Police; Lieutenant Colonel ↗Wärqǝnäh Gäbäyyähu, chief of security; and Getaččäw Bäqqälä, Acting Minister in the Marine Department; and parts of the Imperial Bodyguard's rank and file.

On 14 December 1960, the rebels detained *alga wäraš* ↗Asfa Wässän Ḫaylä Śǝllase, announced the overthrow of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śǝllase who was in Brazil on a state visit and appointed *alga wäraš* Asfa Wässän Ḫaylä Śǝllase as the new Emperor. The rebels also appointed *ras* ↗Ǝmmǝru Ḫaylä Śǝllase, *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śǝllase I's cousin, as premier for a government that advocated an 11-point socialist and nationalist program under a constitutional monarchy. Major-General ↗Märǝd Mängäša, chief of staff of the armed forces, and Major-General Käbbädä Gäbre, chief of ground forces, opposed the rebels. The rebels sought to avoid a battle by opening negotiations with these two loyalist officers through the US military attaché. However, Märǝd Mängäša and Käbbädä Gäbre used the interlude to gather reinforcements.

On 15 December 1960 Märǝd Mängäša announced that troops had deployed throughout Addis Abäba and called on all Ethiopians to remain loyal to the Emperor. The following day, he declared that the C. had failed. On 17 December 1960 countless thousands of Ethiopians lined the streets to welcome the Emperor's return. However, fighting continued on the outskirts of Addis Abäba for some days. On 21 December 1960 the authorities captured Getaččäw Bäqqälä while Mulugeta Buli, Ṣǝgge Dibu, Wärqǝnäh Gäbäyyähu committed suicide. On 24 December 1960 soldiers killed Gǝrmame Nǝway and captured Mängǝśtu Nǝway.

On 12 January 1961 the Emperor pardoned all Imperial Guard privates and non-commissioned officers who had participated in the C. but indicated that officers would be placed on trial. Two officers eventually received prison sentences of 15 and 10 years respectively. On 30 March 1961 Mängǝśtu Nǝway was hanged in a public square in Addis Abäba. The failed C. attempt resulted in numerous casualties in the armed force (29 killed; 43 wounded), Imperial Guard (174 killed; 800 wounded) and among the civilian population (121 killed; 442 wounded). At least seven foreigners also died in the fighting.

The events that led to the C. attempt centred on dissatisfaction with the growing corruption, inefficiency and incompetence of the Imperial government. The C. plotters also expressed sympathy for the plight of the landless peasants and believed they could be freed from exploitation by a more socially conscious government.

The most important consequence of the C. concerned its impact on Ethiopia's intelligentsia, students and armed forces, all of which became more convinced that a more modern, responsive government would ensure social and economic progress for all Ethiopians.

Lit.: RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 375–418; "Ethiopia", *Keesings Contemporary Archives* no. 17882, 14–21 January 1961; no. 18107, 20–27 May 1961; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, "The Ethiopian Coup d'État of December 1960", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, 4, 1968, 495–507; JOHN MICHAEL COHEN, "Traditional Politics and the Military Coup in Ethiopia", *African Affairs* 74, 295, 1975, 222–48; REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, "About the Abortive Coup Attempt in Addis Ababa from 5 Tahsas to 8 Tahsas 1953 (14–17 December 1960)", *NEASt* 3, 2, 1996, 21–38; Paris Match no. 612, 31 December 1960, 21.

Thomas P. Ofcansky